

THE ANC CHAPLAINCY: A RELIGIO-POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

MICAH MHLUPHEKI NTHALI

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF THEOLOGY

in the

DEPARTMENT OF CHURCH HISTORY AND CHURCH POLITY

at the

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

SUPERVISOR: PROF. JERRY PILLAY

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation:

The ANC Chaplaincy: A religio–political perspective

is my own work and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references. Furthermore, I have not previously submitted it in its entirety or in part to any university for a degree.

Signed.....

Date.....

Micah Mhlupheki Nthali

Signed.....Date.....

Prof.J Pillay (Promoter)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the following person's inputs and contributions to the difficult and laborious work, which met with various challenges. First and foremost I would like to extend my gratitude to Prof J. Pillay, for his scholarly guidance; the sampled five members and officials interviewees each from the following structures, namely: the ANC Youth League (ANCYL); ANC Women's League(ANC WL);ANC uMkhonto weSizwe Veteran's League(ANCVL); and the uMkhonto weSizwe Military Veteran's Association(MKVA) plus the officials and members of the ANC Provincial Executive Committee(PEC).

I also extend my gratitude to the interviewees for their responses and for agreeing that I use their names for educational purposes. My thanks for the following people for their advice and help: Cde.M Ndlovu, Cde. MJ Msibi, Cde J. Nyalunga, Cde.W Nkatha, Cde.TPN Nyoni, Cde. T Shabangu, Cde. L Ngomane, Cde.Dr.MJ Sibiya, Pastor WD Ndlovu, Bishop NT Sithole, Pastor R Swarts, Cde. S Mzangwe.Elder DB Ndlovu (Session Clerk) whom I thank very much for understanding what I was going through with my studies, the members of the Session and the St.James Congregation which God has allowed that I pastor on a part time basis.

My thanks to my beloved wife Rachel Thelma Nthali and sons Mlungisi Nthali, Bonga Nthali for their understanding and prayers, and the other family members who gave moral and spiritual support are Musa Solomon Nthali, and Lorraine Nthali. Last but not least I would like to express my gratitude to the editor, Rev. G Alston for taking his time to edit this dissertation thoroughly. To all of the above I shall forever be indebted. Thank you very much and God bless you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| Declaration | ii |
| Acknowledgements | iii |
| Table of Contents | iv |
| Chapter One: Introduction to the Study of Religion and Politics | |
| 1.1 Historical Background | 1 |
| 1.2 Research Problem | 3 |
| 1.3 Research Objectives | 6 |
| 1.4 Literature Review | 7 |
| 1.5 Research Methodology | 9 |
| 1.6 Research Design | 13 |
| 1.7 Outline of Chapters | 15 |
| Chapter Two: Historical Background of Religion and Politics in South Africa | |
| 2.1 Introduction | 18 |
| 2.2 The Early Relationship between Church and State | 19 |
| 2.3 Religion and Politics in South Africa | 26 |
| 2.3.1 A Brief History and Contribution of John Phillip: 1775-1851 | 29 |
| 2.3.2 A Brief History and Contribution of Bishop Colenso: 1814-1883 | 32 |
| 2.3.3 A Brief History and Contribution of Ntsikana: 1790-1821 | 33 |
| 2.3.4 A Brief History and Contribution of Andrew Murray: 1828-1917 | 36 |
| 2.3.5 A Brief History and Contribution of Tiyo Soga: 1829-1871 | 41 |
| 2.3.6 A Brief History and Contribution of Nehemiah Tile | 43 |
| 2.4 The Role of the Dutch Reformed Church and the racist State | 48 |
| 2.5 The Role of the English Speaking Churches and the racist State | 53 |
| 2.6 The Role of the Ethiopian Church Movement and the racist State | 64 |

| | | |
|-------|--|----|
| 2.6.1 | The Role played by Rev. Nehemiah Tile | 68 |
| 2.6.2 | The Role played by Mangena Mokone | 68 |
| 2.6.3 | The Role played by Matta Dwane | 69 |
| 2.7 | African National Congress and Religion | 73 |

Chapter Three: The ANC and three Epochs of the History of Religion and Politics in South Africa

| | | |
|-------|--|-----|
| 3.1 | Introduction | 85 |
| 3.2 | The Historical Epochs of the ANC | 93 |
| 3.2.1 | The Period between 1912 and 1976 | 94 |
| 3.2.2 | The Period between 1976 and 1990 | 110 |
| 3.2.3 | The Period between 1990 – 2017 | 114 |
| 3.3 | The Exploration of the Presidential Administrations | 120 |
| 3.3.1 | President Nelson Mandela | 126 |
| 3.3.2 | The Thabo Mbeki Administration 2000-2009 | 135 |
| 3.3.3 | The Jacob Zuma Administration 2009-2018 | 144 |
| 3.4 | The Exploration of Integrated Questions | 153 |
| 3.5 | Responses from questionnaire | 155 |
| 3.5.1 | Where are you from and how would you describe yourself and the role you play in the ANC? | 155 |
| 3.5.2 | Can religion and politics work together or separately? | 157 |
| 3.5.3 | What role has religion played in shaping South African politics? | 159 |
| 3.5.4 | What would your opinion be to the notion that the ANC was established to be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa? | 160 |
| 3.5.5 | What evidence do you have that if indeed the ANC was used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondage of colonialism and apartheid? | 162 |

| | | |
|--------|--|-----|
| 3.5.6 | Why, out of so many other organizations, was the ANC the one committed to the people of South Africa's freedom, democracy and a better life for all? | 163 |
| 3.5.7 | What could have led the founder group when the ANC was formed to establish a Chaplaincy within their organization? | 165 |
| 3.5.8 | Has the ANC's original mission changed, remained the same or enhanced by religious and political persuasions within it? | 166 |
| 3.5.9 | Does the ANC still have the same views as they had in 1912 about religion and politics in its new dispensation as a ruling party in South Africa? | 167 |
| 3.5.10 | What would your opinion be of the people who maintain that the ANC's foundation is built on Godly values? | 169 |
| 3.5.11 | What role do you think was played by the Chaplaincy during and in the struggle for freedom and democracy? | 170 |
| 5.5.12 | What can you say in so far as the importance of religion and politics co-operating and working together going forward even in the secular South Africa? | 172 |
| 3.5.13 | Is there any connection that you can recollect in your experience that points out between religion and politics that undergirds the ANC's thinking and work? | 173 |
| 3.5.14 | What would you say, if you were to analyse the past Presidential Administrations of Mandela and Mbeki with the current Administration of President Zuma and the ANC Chaplaincy? | 175 |
| 5.5.15 | What can you recommend to the ANC for the ministry to do when it is formed? When do you think is opportune time to embark upon such a process, and who should be tasked to lead this process, the religious sector or the ANC Chaplaincy or both, why and how? | 177 |

Chapter Four: The Mission and the three Ministries of the ANC Chaplaincy

| | |
|--|-----|
| 4.1 Introduction | 183 |
| 4.2 Background | 184 |
| 4.3 The Establishment, Tasks and Structure of the ANC Chaplaincy | 187 |
| 4.3.1 The Establishment of the ANC Chaplaincy | 187 |
| 4.3.2 The Structure and Tasks of the ANC Chaplaincy | 188 |
| 4.4 The Terms of Reference for the ANC Chaplaincy | 189 |
| 4.5 The ANC Religious Desk | 190 |
| 4.6 The Ministries of the ANC Chaplaincy | 194 |
| 4.6.1 The Ministry of Spiritual Development | 194 |
| 4.6.2 The Ministry of Revolutionary Morality | 199 |
| 4.6.3 The Ministry of Pastoral Care | 206 |
| 4.7 The Commission for Religious Affairs | 208 |
| 4.7.1 The Spiritual Function | 208 |
| 4.7.2 The Political Function | 208 |
| 4.7.3 The National Religious Function | 209 |
| 4.8 The ANC Chaplaincy | 209 |
| 4.9 The Birth of the Interfaith Movement in South Africa | 210 |
| 4.10 The National Religious Leaders Forum | 211 |
| 4.11 The Establishment of the National Interfaith Leaders Council in South Africa | 214 |
| 4.11.1 Introduction | 214 |
| 4.11.2 The Objectives of the National Interfaith Council in South Africa | 214 |
| 4.11.3 The Background of the National Interfaith Council in South Africa. | 214 |
| 4.11.4 A New Chapter in the Evolution of the Interfaith Movement | 220 |

| | |
|------------------|-----|
| 4.12. Conclusion | 224 |
|------------------|-----|

Chapter Five: Research Methodologies, Analysis and Recommendations

| | |
|--|-----|
| 5.1 Introduction | 226 |
| 5.2 Research Methodologies | 228 |
| 5.3 Summary of Chapters | 234 |
| 5.4 Analysis of Extracted Information | 235 |
| 5.4.1 Where are you from and how would you describe yourself and the role you play in the ANC? | 236 |
| 5.4.1 Where are you from and how would you describe yourself and the role you play in the ANC? | 237 |
| 5.4.3 What would your opinion be of the notion that the ANC was established to be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa? | 237 |
| 5.4.5. What evidence do you have that if indeed the ANC was used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondage of colonialism and apartheid? | 238 |
| 5.4.6 Why, out of so many other organizations, was the ANC the one committed to the people of South Africa's freedom, democracy and a better life for all? | 238 |
| 5.4.7 What could have led the ANC founder group when it formed to establish a Chaplaincy within their organization? | 239 |
| 5.4.8 Has the ANC's original mission changed, remained the same or enhanced by religious and political persuasions within it? | 239 |
| 5.4.9 Does the ANC still have the same views as 1912 about religion and politics in its new dispensation as a ruling party in South Africa? | 240 |

| | | |
|--------|--|------------|
| 5.4.10 | What would your opinion be of the people who maintain that the ANC's foundation is built on Godly values? | 240 |
| 5.4.10 | What would your opinion be of the people who maintain that the ANC's foundation is built on Godly values? | 241 |
| 5.4.12 | What can you say in as far as the importance of religion and politics cooperating and working together going forward even in the secular South Africa? | 241 |
| 5.4.13 | Is there any connection that you can recollect in your experience that points out between religion and politics that undergirds the ANC's thinking and work? | 242 |
| 5.4.14 | What would you say, if you were to analyse the past Presidential Administrations of Mandela and Mbeki with the current Administration of President Zuma and the ANC Chaplaincy? | 243 |
| 5.4.15 | What can you recommend as ANC the ministry to do when it is formed? When do you think is opportune time to embark upon such a process, and who should be tasked to lead this process, the religious sector or the ANC Chaplaincy or both, why and how? | 244 |
| 5.5 | Recommendations | 244 |
| 5.5.1 | To the Faith Based Organizations | 245 |
| 5.5.2 | To the Government | 250 |
| 5.5.3 | To the ANC as a Ruling Party | 254 |
| 5.6 | Conclusion | 258 |
| | Bibliography | 262 |
| | Appendices | 268 |
| | Appendix A: Questionnaire | 268 |
| | Appendix B: Questionnaire | 270 |
| | Appendix C: Letter from the ANC Provincial Secretary | 279 |

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF RELIGION AND POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. Historical Background to the Study

Religion and Politics have been combined right from the onset in the African National Congress (ANC). The formation of the ANC has its seeds in the Ethiopian Church Movement of the 1880's. It is for this reason that President OR Tambo once correctly observed that: "The African National Congress has a long history of association with the Church. Our founders were churchmen and women. Throughout our years, that link has never been broken" (Mayson, 1995:1).

The first ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) of 1912 appointed its first Chaplain General, the Rev. Dr. EJ Mqoboli assisted by Rev. Henry Ngcayiya. This was soon after the agreement was reached to form the ANC in 1912, where the founders led by the first Chaplain General sang together the founding hymn: "God of truth fulfil your promise" which translated into Xhosa reads: "*Lizalis' idinga lakho; Thixo, Nkosi yenyano*". This hymn is seen as a commitment to God's guidance as they were embarking on the struggle for freedom and democracy.

Since then and throughout the following decades up until the banning of the ANC in 1960 there has always been spiritual guidance and pastoral ministry championed by the Religious Leaders who, some of them, were members and supporters of the struggle for a just and free society. The ANC and Religious Leaders among others, both kept the vast numbers of many social forces together through its ministry called "Revolutionary Morality" that ensured that the struggle was conducted with discipline and integrity. The Religious Leaders that the researcher has in mind, among others, are the Rev. EJ Mqoboli, Rev. Henry Ngcayiya, Rev. John Langalibalele Dube, Rev. Mangena Maake Mokone and Rev. ZR Mahabane.

During the time when many ANC cadres were in exile under the leadership of President OR Tambo, a Religious Desk was established to provide, amongst other things, spiritual guidance. Within the country during the time of apartheid, many Faith Based Organizations and Ecumenical Bodies such as the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and South African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC) provided spiritual support, spiritual guidance and pastoral work in support for the

liberation of the people of South Africa. As the struggle for freedom advanced, some Religious Leaders played a role in various terrains of the struggle.

After the unbanning of the Political Organizations in 1990, such Faith Based Organizations and Ecumenical Bodies participated in peace structures. These structures were established to create conducive conditions for free and fair elections. The 1994 democratic elections was a breakthrough that opened the space for faith communities to participate in the democratization of the country. The untimely death of the ANC's former Treasurer General, Mr.Nkobi in the early 1990's, with his funeral being undeclared official state funeral made President Mandela to instruct Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, then ANC Secretary General, to explore possibilities of re-establishing the Religious Desk at Shell House, ANC Head Quarters. At the beginning of 1994, the Religious Desk was established alongside with the Welfare Desk.

In 1995, the ANC Religious Desk in pursuit of involving the Faith Based Organizations in the process of democratizing the country, established the ANC Religious Committee on an Interfaith basis and charged it with the responsibility to facilitate interaction between religious and political organizations. This Committee was also charged with the responsibility to prepare an input to the 1997 ANC National Congress in Mafikeng which included an amendment to the ANC Constitution with regard to the Chaplaincy. The 1997 Congress indeed amended the Constitution which, since the inception of the ANC, always referred to a Chaplain General as an individual who became the custodian of spiritual guidance. This amendment led to the establishment of the "National Chaplaincy" which was to be a religious service on an interfaith basis (Rule 12.2.18:36).

This change led to the current Constitutional provisions in Rule 16.9 of the African National Congress Constitution as amended by and adopted at the 50th National Conference of December 1997 which states: "There shall be a National Chaplaincy appointed by the NEC on an interfaith basis to provide spiritual guidance." and Rule 22 of the African National Congress Constitution as amended by and adopted at the 53rd National Conference of Mangaung 2012 which states: "Provincial Chaplains may be appointed by the PEC on the same basis as the National Chaplaincy, respectively.

The Chaplaincy at both National and Provincial levels was appointed by the NEC of 1998 consisting of representatives from different faiths. This NEC also appointed the first Commission for Religious Affairs (CRA) in accordance with the ANC Constitution, Rule 11.5 read with Rule 12.2(6) of the African National Congress Constitution as amended by and adopted at the 54th National Conference at Nasrec, Johannesburg, 2017 which states: "Have the power to elect or appoint any commission or committee and assign specific tasks and duties to such commission or committee" and "Establish Departments and set up committees, as it considers appropriate and to delegate powers and functions to such Departments and committees, respectively(ANC Constitution:2017,Rule 11.5,p.33 and Rule 12.2.6,p.34).

The researcher deems these rules important because they gave birth to the Chaplaincy which is not just a committee but a Constitutional structure that is mandated by the ANC Constitution to provide spiritual guidance and pastoral care, to open all gatherings on an interfaith approach and ensuring that there is interaction between the ANC Chaplaincy and State Chaplains on policy matters as the ANC led Government implements the policies of the ANC. .This proves that religion and politics in and outside the ANC cannot be separated and therefore encourages those who think otherwise to begin to shift from this tendency so that they cease to disassociate themselves from politics.

1.2. Research Problem

There is a tendency by some people to separate religion and politics whereas many others view this as inseparable, and that religion and politics definitely have something to do with each other. However, those who do not agree with this notion of religion and politics being inseparable find themselves disassociating themselves from politics. The reason they provide for their disassociation is that politics is part and parcel of the 'world' whose prince is the devil. They conclude that religion and politics cannot be or work together. This posed a challenge in that those who do not accept that religion and politics can be and work together find themselves, as they maintain, protecting religion and not expecting politics to take the place of God neither to prevent the preaching of the gospel nor the effective functioning of the

household of God. For example, the Pentecostal or Charismatic Churches who are a religious group which make emphasis on the divine gifts of the Holy Spirit especially the power to heal those that are sick, tend to promote this way of thinking though nowadays this sense of responsibility, buried too long, is beginning to rise. Many of them are coming under the conviction that because they are members of the human race, they have inescapable responsibilities to society.

James D. Smart (as cited in Cassidy & Verlinden, 1976: 407 & 423) in his work attests to the fact that religion and politics are inseparable as he noted that: "Too often those who advise the preacher to confine his attention to the souls of men and to keep his hands off such unspiritual matters as politics, economics and the problems of society are not concerned for the spirituality of religion so much as for their own freedom to do as they please in social, economic and political matters without hearing any restraining or rebuking word from the pulpit." The attempt to grapple with the research topic is to show that Religion and Politics are inseparable and can work well together. This has been done before in the dismantling of colonialism and apartheid. The researcher believes that these together can still play an important role in bringing about transformation in South Africa today by making a new emphasis on the ANC Chaplaincy. This can be achieved because of the working cooperation that has been there for years between the ANC and Churches in and during the struggle for liberation. It is therefore hoped that by allowing religion and politics to work together as they belong together will encourage religious people to be actively involved in politics. It is important to prove this in South Africa today as we refer to the partnership envisaged by President Mandela when he addressed the religious leaders in June 1997 where he said: "The transformation of our country requires the greatest possible co-operation between Religious and Political bodies critically and wisely serving our people together. Neither Political nor Religious objectives can be achieved in isolation. They are held in a creative tension with common commitments. We are Partners in building our Society." (Mehana, 2012:1).

President Mandela in this address shows the importance of religion and politics to cooperate and work together in serving all the people of God especially the poorest of the poor and thereby encouraging religious and political activists to be involved in activities aimed at improving the lives of the people. In line with President Mandela, Bishop Tutu in 1993 declared: "I have never doubted that faith is a highly political

thing. We believe in the incarnation – the participation of God in the affairs of the world. However, the political dimension of our faith varies according to the requirements of each different context” (Tutu, 1993:6). The ANC’s foundation is built on Godly values because its mission has always been to restore the dignity and morality of the people as it delivers a better life for all ensuring that religious and political activists continue to work together critically and wisely in the service of God’s people.

Since the ANC has always associated politics and religion in order to enable the religious people to be involved in politics, this research wishes to find out whether the ANC saw itself as the one mandated by God to be the champion of the liberation struggle, hence the main question of this research: Was the ANC established with the notion that it should be God’s vehicle to liberate God’s people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all? In this, we see the connection of religion and politics which undergirded the ANC’s thinking and work. The secondary questions of this research are: If indeed the ANC has been used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondage of apartheid and colonialism, how was this established in the ANC Chaplaincy? Another question of relevance is: Does the ANC still have the same views about religion and politics in its new dispensation as the ruling party in South Africa? This research attempts to probe into these questions since they are very critical and relevant in South Africa today and it would help us to understand further the debate of associating religion and politics.

The researcher concurs with Saayman (1991:51) when he, said “that the abdication of the political dimension of mission, implicitly or explicitly, is a very dangerous option to take for yet another reason. In essence such an option means that Christians write off this world and are looking only for a way in which to survive until the time comes for all of them to enter heavenly bliss. The implication is that the world, which is after all a particular object of God’s love, is so evil that there is no real possibility of realizing the reign of Christ in the here and now also. This kind of thinking contradicts what is entailed in the great prayer ‘Our Father who art in heaven, your will be done on earth as it is in heaven’. The prayer assures us that what God does here on earth is what He does in heaven as He lives here and now as He also lives in heaven here and now being an omnipresence God.”

1.3. Research Objectives

This research aims to show that the ANC as a national liberation movement started with the objectives to create a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic prosperous society; and to unite the African people and spearhead the struggle for fundamental political, social and economic change, meaning the liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general, from political and economic bondage. This also means uplifting the quality of life of all the oppressed, especially the poor people in South Africa and saw religion as a vital instrument in obtaining these objectives. The research also questions critically if such objectives are prevalent in the ANC now that they have political power.

The general aims of the study are to: (1) Trace the history of Religion and Politics in South Africa with an attempt to show the relationship and solidarity of the Church and the African National Congress (ANC) thereby indicating the close connection between religion and politics. This solidarity was deepened when the relationship was started in the 1870's when some missionaries collaborated with the colonial powers that forcibly dispossessed Africans of their land and its natural resources with their sons who became magistrates who administered oppressive and racially discriminatory laws. (2) Trace the direct association that the ANC has with the Churches in South Africa over the years. For example, the President of the ANC, Oliver Reginald Tambo on the 4th – 5th May 1987 in Lusaka, Zambia told the World Council of Churches (WCC) on Liberation Dialogue, that: "The African Congress has a long history of association with the church. Our founders were Churchmen and women. Throughout our 75 years that link has never been broken." (Mayson, 1995: 1).

This is where President Tambo asked the WCC gathering which included delegates from the South African Council of Churches (SACC) to take sides and work with the ANC to remove the apartheid regime which oppressed and dehumanized the majority of people in South Africa militating against the very principles on which the church itself was founded. The founding Fathers and Mothers including many of our leaders through their collective wisdom over the last century made very important

pronouncements about the importance of preserving the link between the ANC, Religion and Faith Based Organizations (FBO's); and

(3) To show how the ministries of the ANC Chaplaincy formed part of the programme of the struggle for freedom and democracy. The ministries are: (i) that of spiritual development which acknowledges the on-going presence of God in and during the struggle; (ii) that of ensuring that all the Cadres of the ANC conducted themselves within the context of revolutionary morality; and (iii) that of providing Pastoral Care at all times to all cadres and families of the ANC movement. This is a clear indication that religion and politics were closely linked in the South African context.

The purpose of these objectives is to prove that it is necessary and important for religion and politics to remain united in working together because religion is the foundation of state and society; to prove that religion as part of politics can provide unity, harmony and social stability for society; and to prove that religion is vital for politics as religion drives people to obedience, makes them familiar with laws and how to live in a peaceful society (Barbier, 1998:112 - 130).

1.4. Literature Review

The researcher used some selected books in this study for the purposes of writing this work because of the following reasons. First, the views expressed by some of these writers, correspond directly or indirectly with our view that religion and politics are inseparable; second, these works have exercised great influence in religion and politics in South Africa; third, the writers represent divergent view points; fourth, some of these works contribute valuable insights on the topic of our study. This does not, however, mean that all the books which we will discuss in this study are included in this review.

1.4.1. Saayman W. (1991) in his "*Christian Mission in South Africa*" covers clearly and fully the notion that religion and politics cannot be separated and can work together as it maintains that Christian mission in South Africa in our day has a political responsibility as its central dimension, and that this responsibility is carried out in communion with the Christian *ecumene*. The church in the Constantine era, after emperor Theodosius, became the state church. Because of its increasingly cordial relations with the state, the church had to redefine its political responsibility.

The kind of confrontational, even revolutionary, stance which the early Christians sometimes took was no longer acceptable.

The growing alliance between the church and state called for a completely different political relationship. Thus the church increasingly adopted the responsibility for the cultural and religious extension of the empire. The Constantinian understanding that religion should bolster the state became clearer that the close entanglement between mission and colonialism was therefore to be expected. The colonialist state expected that the missionaries would aid them in 'civilizing' the 'natives' and most missionaries accepted this as the political dimension of their mission, although there were exceptions.

1.4.2 De Gruchy J.W. (1979) *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, covers clearly and fully the notion that religion and politics cannot be separated and can work together pointing out that the story of the church in South Africa demonstrates that religion is directly and intimately related to the socio-political history of the country. One may ask whether or not the church should have been involved in politics in the ways it has been and still is, but nothing can alter the fact that in South Africa, politics and the church have been, and remain, bound together in one historical drama, one persistent struggle.

1.4.3. Cassidy and Verlinden (1976) *Facing the new Challenges*, adequately promotes the notion that religion and politics cannot be separated and can work together maintaining that too often those who advise the preacher to confine his attention to the souls of men and to keep his hands off such unspiritual matters as politics, economics and the problems of society are not concerned for the spirituality of religion so much as for their own freedom to do as they please in social, economic and political matters without hearing any restraining or rebuking word from the pulpit.

Although these and a number of other publications deal with religion and politics in the South African context, state clearly and fully that religion and politics cannot be separated and that they can work together, all of them seem not to be focusing on interfaith connections, let alone that of the ANC Chaplaincy. A review of some of the important publications relating to the topic will be given as an indication of the work already done and to be able to understand the need for a dissertation such as this one (Norris, Ronald & Inglehart, 2004);(Phillip, 2006);(Merkl & Mart, N.1983); (Jelen

& Wilcox, 2002);(Hallencreutz & Palmberg, 1991);(Eisenach (as cited in Hobbes, Locke & Mill, 1981));(Halliday, 1995);(Erik, Hamadi & Redissi, 2009);(Sharma, 2012).

The gap already identified in all these above-mentioned literature is that, though they deal with religion and politics, they don't focus much on the ANC Chaplaincy work as in the days of apartheid South Africa. Christianity was the only religion recognized by the state hence the state was called a 'Christian state'. I therefore aim to provide information on the ANC Chaplaincy work by examining post-apartheid material as well as the archival material of the ANC to investigate whether at its inception other religions also constituted the ANC Chaplaincy. The material on the Chaplaincy provides new information that clearly establishes the connection between religion and politics in South Africa as indispensable in the formation of a liberated and democratic country.

1.5. Research Methodology

The study would embark upon field research method which includes quantitative and qualitative methods with participant observation, direct observation and unstructured or intensive interviewing. The study will use the field research and qualitative research somewhat interchangeably as it seeks to fulfil the research objectives of: (1) tracing the history of Religion and Politics in South Africa with an attempt to show the relationship and solidarity of the Church and the African National Congress (ANC) thereby indicating the close connection between religion and politics; (2) tracing the direct association that the ANC has with the Churches in South Africa over the years; and (3) to show how the ministries of the Chaplaincy formed part of the programme of the struggle for freedom and democracy indicating clearly that politics and religion were closely linked in the South African context.

These methods have been at the centre of debate since the 1980's. Dezin and Lincoln (1998) define qualitative research in this way: "Qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretative, naturalistic approach to its subject. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them" (Dezin & Lincoln,1998:3)

“Quantitative research is a process of careful, rigorous inquiry into aspects of the social world. It produces formal statements or conceptual frameworks that provide new ways of understanding the world, and therefore, it comprises knowledge that is practically useful for those who work with issues around learning and adjustment to the pressure and demands of the social world” (McLeod, 2001:3, Swinton & Mowat, 2006:31).

In both the above definitions, this research seeks to undertake this phenomena that are being studied; namely: Was the ANC established with the notion that it should be God’s vehicle to liberate God’s people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all? In this, we see the connection of religion and politics which undergirded the ANC’s thinking and work.

The secondary questions of this research are: If indeed the ANC has been used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondage of apartheid and colonialism, how was this established in the ANC Chaplaincy? Another question of relevance is: Does the ANC still have the same views about religion and politics in its new dispensation as the ruling party in South Africa? A rigorous and careful enquiry will provide views of understanding religion and politics in particular through the work of the ANC Chaplaincy.

Though the researcher has defined the two methods above, the researcher intends to engage more on the qualitative method as he researches the study at hand. The use of questionnaires in this study as a research technique will be seen as a quantitative strategy whereas interviews and observations will be thought of as qualitative techniques. The interviews will be structured and analysed to allow for open-ended responses and lead to the in-depth study of individual case.

Rubin and Babbie, (1993:358) maintain that “Commonly used qualitative research methods include participant observation, direct observation, and unstructured or intense interviewing. The term field research is often used to include all these methods of qualitative and quantitative researches.” (Ibid.opcit).Field work or research refers to the process of going out to collect research data. Such data may be described as original or empirical, and cannot be accessed without the researcher

engaging in some kind of expedition. The researcher plans to do field research and interview identified key people to gather information.

This will involve visiting the ANC structures to interview its identified or sampled members and their leadership, administer questionnaires and sit in meetings observing what takes place. In visiting the ANC structures and members, the researcher will use both the qualitative research interview questionnaire (Appendix A) and quantitative research interview questionnaires (Appendix B).

The qualitative research interview questionnaire (Appendix A) will be used for the identified Provincial Secretary of the ANC Provincial Executive Committee, the mother body; the Chairpersons of the four (4) Regional Executive Committees and Chairpersons of the three(3) ANC Provincial Women's League, ANC Youth League, ANC Provincial uMkhonto weSizwe Military Veteran's League; one(1)ANC Provincial uMkhonto weSizwe Veteran's Association and one(1) Provincial member of the Chaplaincy. This therefore means that ten (10) chairpersons will be visited to be interviewed on questions based on Appendix A, which is a qualitative research method.

The quantitative research interview will be conducted through the distribution of questionnaire (Appendix B) to the four (4) identified members from the ANC Provincial Executive Committee (PEC); four (4) members from each of the Regional Executive Committees, four members from each of the ANC Leagues and Association and four (4) Regional members of the Chaplaincy.

Deskwork as one of those research processes will be done also after the collection of material from the sampled members and after detailed responses were obtained from the PEC Secretary and Chairpersons of various structures of the ANC as mentioned above. These will include the administration, collection and analysis of surveys, analysis of data collected by others, literature researches in the library, research using the internet and, of course, writing the dissertation.

The analysis will be done by searching for explanation from the data collected and for the understanding of the data collected. In the course of analysis concepts and theories will likely be advanced, considered and developed. Collecting data will be by focusing on the analysis of the four main techniques for data collection identified, namely: documents, interviews, observations and questionnaires.

The researcher as he analysed, did so in a systematic way as he observed and conducted interviews. By doing this, the researcher answered the questions posed as they often dictated the range of answers that may be given. The whole point was to get consistent answers to consistent questions as he asked those identified precisely those questions that he wanted to be answered.

In pointing out the focus and limitation of the research of this magnitude, one should admit that it can take some years to undertake and therefore one needed to set scope and parameters in order to give limits that can be manageable. Apart from literary works which came from books, journals, and electronic data, the research was based on interviews and questionnaires which were conducted within the province of Mpumalanga at the ANC's Che Masilela House in Mbombela which is the Head Quarters where people and material relevant to the study can be found and accessed. Since the researcher was familiar with the South African context, he was going to overcome any hindrances which might have been raised by suspicion and reserved attitudes which might be given to an outsider.

The materials engaged will have classical and current literature on religion and politics. These are the ANC archived materials such as the papers of the symposium on Faith and Politics in Society from the ANC Commission for Religious Affairs and the Netherlands Christian Democratic Party in 1997, a thirty (30) minutes video designed to trigger off discussion on this theme. The focus of this study will be on the practical realities that the interviews and questionnaire returns from the ANC Provincial Secretary and members of the Provincial Executive Committee(PEC); the Chairperson of the ANC Women's League(WL) and members of the Provincial Executive Committee; the Chairperson of uMkhonto weSizwe Military Veteran's Association(MKMVA) and members of the Provincial Executive Committee; the Chairperson of the ANC Youth League(ANCYL) and members of the Provincial Executive Committee; the Chairperson of the ANC's uMkhonto weSizwe Veteran's League(ANCVL) and members of the Provincial Executive Committee; the Chairpersons of the ANC Regional Executive Committees(REC's) and the members of the Regional Executive Committees of Ehlanzeni, Bohlabela, Nkangala and Gert Sibande regions.

1.6. Research Design

The research design will guide the researcher in collecting, analysing and interpreting observed facts as he attempts to achieve the objectives of this research. This relates to the focus, the unit of analysis and the time dimensions of the problem he is addressing and this therefore suggest that social research can be used to explore almost any topic of the social world, although with differing degrees of success. However, it is useful to try to classify the most common of these, since they sometimes require different types of research design. (Bless & Higson-Smith, 1988:63-64).

The focus of research may be understood in terms of three different categories: conditions, orientations and actions and for the purposes of this research proposal the researcher intends to focus on orientations (1988:64). Orientations are concerned with the attitudes and beliefs of subjects and therefore as a researcher, I am interested in religious and political views hence will focus on the orientations category. In most cases the three different categories namely: conditions, orientation and actions are not mutually exclusive and social researches must be sensitive to all simultaneously. Social research is concerned with the things that are changing even as we measure them, and that change even more because we measure them. In fact, much of the time we study how things are in order to provide useful information that will help us change the things we are studying. (Lune, Pumar & Koppel, 2006: ix).

On the conditions category, the researcher wishes to explore the current state of the subjects of the research during the periods 1912 -1976 and 1976 – 1990 and 1990-2016. The category on actions will be explored too, because very often it is a focus of research as well. The actions may be observed directly or may be reported by the actor or others who observed the actor or might rely on interviews, which is an indirect method. The periods are meant to reflect the important transitions in the history of South Africa, whereby the researcher wishes to investigate and evaluate what was exactly happening in these periods.

The research approach is qualitative, meaning that the researcher has sought to understand the conditions, orientations, actions and practices of the African National Congress in establishing its Chaplaincy so as to provide acceptable answers to the

research problem or the main and secondary research questions posed. The showcase structure, namely ANC Chaplaincy, will be studied. 'It is often not practical or possible to study the entire population, so it is necessary to make general findings based on a study of a subset of that population. A subset of a population is known as a sample' (Melville & Goddard, 2001:34).

In sampling, the researcher set out to interview the ANC Provincial Secretary and members of the Provincial Executive Committee(PEC); the Chairperson of the ANC Women's League(WL) and members of the Provincial Executive Committee; the Chairperson of uMkhonto weSizwe Military Veteran's Association(MKMVA) and members of the Provincial Executive Committee; the Chairperson of the ANC Youth League(ANCYL) and members of the Provincial Executive Committee; the Chairperson of the ANC's uMkhonto weSizwe Veteran's League(ANCVL) and members of the Provincial Executive Committee; the Chairpersons of the ANC Regional Executive Committees(REC's) and the members of the Regional Executive Committees of Ehlanzeni, Bohlabela, Nkangala and Gert Sibande regions.

If the scope were widened, it would take years to do the research. The narrowing of the sampling has been done to enable the research to encompass manageable parameters. In order to have an accurate data collection, the interviews will be of religious-political probing type and well-structured questionnaires will bring out information in the said people and regions. This will help to find out whether the phenomenon under scrutiny and inquiry has its original mission changed, remained the same or enhanced by both religious and political persuasions of the ANC. The impact of the ANC Chaplaincy on the mind-set of the people is to be assessed on whether it has religious and political thrust.

Sampling is an empirical survey research method that depends upon a portion of the whole which is assumed to represent a population accurately (Munthali, 2014:21). Therefore, the techniques by which the sample is chosen are vital to the validity of the research findings. The other method to be used in this research is quantitative, which will use numerical data to bring the study into the framework of comparison. 'Qualitative methods of research emphasize depth of understanding...attempt to tap the deeper meanings of human experience and tend to generate theoretically richer, observations which are not easily reduced to number. The Quantitative methods on the other hand emphasize the production of precise and generalized statistical

findings. When we want to verify whether a cause produces an effect, we are likely to use quantitative methods' (Rubin and Babbie, 1993: 30).

The researcher collected data from the South African Council of Churches (SACC), South African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC) and the National Interfaith Council of South Africa (NICSA) to be able to assess the view that the ANC was the tool used by God to liberate the people of South Africa. The research was carried out, beginning with investigation from literary works, in order to establish the historical basis of classical work on religion and politics with special focus on the ANC Chaplaincy. The main perspective included assessing and enquiring the separation and non-separation of religion and politics in South Africa. The feasibility framework helped locate the research in the context of the limitations, and focus on the problem to be solved.

The scope is vast and has been narrowed to specific related material, namely the ANC Chaplaincy. A bridge was created to link the topic to be researched into the context of where the researcher can conduct research effectively. Mpumalanga is a province known as the home of the ANC and therefore the research cannot but rise from this context to find out whether religion and politics in South Africa has any bearing on the ANC Chaplaincy in improving the plight of the majority of our people and impacting on those who think that religion and politics cannot work together. The research, as indicated, was conducted in four regions, namely Nkangala, Gert Sibande, Bohlabela and Ehlanzeni.

1.7. Outline of Chapters

The researcher has set out to answer his research question in the chapters, as follows:

Chapter one, deals with the introduction to the study of religion and politics in South Africa, then mentions the research problem, research objectives, literature review, research methodology, research design, outline of chapters and the references.

Chapter two examines the historical background of religion and politics in South Africa. In this chapter the main and secondary questions of this research are raised: Was the ANC established with the notion that it should be God's vehicle to liberate

God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all? In this, we see the connection of religion and politics which undergirded the ANC's thinking and work. The secondary questions of this research are: If indeed the ANC has been used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondage of apartheid and colonialism, how was this established in the ANC Chaplaincy? Another question of relevance is: Does the ANC still have the same views about religion and politics in its new dispensation as the ruling party in South Africa?

Chapter three, addresses the historical background of the ANC struggle against colonialism and apartheid for liberation, freedom and democracy in the three epochs of South African history the first being the period between 1912 and 1976; the second being the period between 1976 and 1990 and the third period, being the period between 1990 and 2016. In this chapter, the researcher aims to show the association, interconnectedness and working together of ANC and religion throughout these periods in the history of the ANC with the hope that this will help address the research undertaken.

Chapter four, deals with the mission and the three ministries of the ANC Chaplaincy, namely, (i) The ministry of spiritual development which acknowledged the on-going presence of God in and during the struggle, (ii) The ministry that ensures that all the Cadres of the movement conducted themselves within the context of revolutionary morality, and (iii) The ministry that provide pastoral care at all times to all Cadres and their families. In this chapter, the researcher aims to show the religious role played by the ANC as it formed its Chaplaincy which was established as a religious desk and an interreligious or interfaith desk, the role played by Chaplaincy throughout its inception as it engaged with its ministries. The researcher believes that as he unpacks the mission and ministries of the Chaplaincy, this will certainly help to address the research problem and research objectives as set out in this study.

Chapter five, deals with the research findings, analysis and recommendations reflecting on the relationship between religion and politics or church and state by making analysis of the past democratic Presidential Administrations as well as the administration of former President Zuma and the role the ANC Chaplaincy in this regard. It makes recommendations about how this relationship should be enhanced in its future responsibilities and objectives. Here, the researcher believes that the

findings will significantly impact on the association of religion and politics in South Africa.

And now the researcher turns to chapter two which examined the historical background of religion and politics in South Africa and enabled us to see the connection of religion and politics which undergirded the ANC's thinking and work as we focused on the ANC Chaplaincy.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF RELIGION AND POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Introduction:

This chapter examined the historical background of religion and politics in South Africa. In this chapter the main and secondary questions of this research are raised: Was the ANC established with the notion that it should be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all? In this, we see the connection of religion and politics which undergirded the ANC's thinking and work. The secondary questions of this research are: If indeed the ANC has been used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondage of apartheid and colonialism, how was this established in the ANC Chaplaincy? Another question of relevance is: Does the ANC still have the same views about religion and politics in its new dispensation as the ruling party in South Africa?

One of the primary values of 'church history is that it links the past factual data of the Christian gospel with the future proclamation and application of the gospel in a present synthesis that creates understanding of our great heritage and inspiration for its further proclamation and application. Church history shows the Spirit of God in action through the church during the ages of existence.' (Cairns 1981:17).

Munthali (2014:50) points out that, "When history is put into context, it is evident that those involved, the missionaries and those doing politics have been a big part of transformation, development, healing, and improving of human society. Religion has linked ancient and modern times to the God-given responsibility of working and caring for God's earth for his own glory until he comes again."

This, therefore, shows that the gospel message of transformation, development, and healing is part of God's plan to renew, restore, and bring hope to a broken world. It is obviously not possible to study the complete history of the South African religion and politics in a study such as this. It is for this reason that I will restrict my focus to look at some of the pioneers from the period of the earlier history of religion and politics in

South Africa. Therefore, I will look at some selected pioneers from the period of the earlier history of religion and politics in South Africa. The choice of selection of the six White and Black Christian pioneers was made because of their invaluable contribution to the establishing of Christianity in South Africa and to show that the history of Christian mission in South Africa cannot be regarded as basically an all-White concern.

This chapter has been divided into the following headings: Introduction and historical background to this study; religion and politics in South Africa and further divided into the following sub-headings: the Dutch Reformed Church and the racist state; the English-speaking churches and the racist state; the Ethiopian Church Movement and the racist state and lastly, the ANC and Religion and the racist state.

The researcher agrees with Cairns (1981:18) when he says that,

“Church history has a cultural value. The history of western civilization is incomplete and unintelligible without some understanding of the role of the Christian religion in the development of that civilization. The history of human beings can never be divorced from the history of their religious life. The efforts of despots throughout the ages to eliminate the Christian religion have always resulted in the substitution of some false religion. One who has studied the history of the Church will never again be denominationally provincial.”

It becomes apparent that any faculty of learning has a link to historical beginnings hence Harris maintains that, “The study of history is the best medicine for a sick mind; for in history you have a record of infinite variety of human experience plainly set out for all to see, and in that record you find for yourself and your country both examples and warnings: fine things to take as models, base things, rotten through and through, to avoid.”(Harris, 1970:692).

2.2 Early Relationship between Church and State

The interrelationship of church and state has been established because of the understanding that the church has been sent out to all the spheres of human life, including the political one. So, the cooperation of the churches in political affairs is

not by any chance a mistake, but a deliberate move since the church has a political responsibility and a great commission to respond to.

During the Constantine era (Saayman1991:2), it is pointed out that," when the church became the state church, it looked quite different as far as its mission, politics and ecumenism is concerned. The church had to redefine its political responsibility because of its increasing cordial relations with the state. The alliance between the church and state grew such that it called for a completely different political relationship that increasingly caused it to adopt the responsibility for the cultural and religious extension of the empire."

As the church benefited much more from the growth of the empire, it felt the need to justify the political status quo and the reasons the church had for supporting it. In this dispensation, the church understood the political dimension of its mission no longer as mainly critical and confrontational, but rather as providing the theological underpinnings of the ethos of the state. The relationship between church and state was still in force when the era of western colonialism began in the 15th century when the various western powers, both Catholics and Protestant, worked on the assumption that a country had to accept the religion of its ruler (Saayman.op cit).

In this assumption, it is very clear that the Constantinian understanding was that religion should bolster the state. In other words, the colonialist state expected that the missionaries would aid them in civilizing the natives, and most missionaries accepted this as the political dimension of their mission although there were exceptions. The Social Gospel movement which started in the 19th century was another significant development in theological thinking which reflected the political and ecumenical mission of the church. This movement absorbed impulses from many theological developments namely, Reformation, Pietism, Puritanism, the Great Awakening, etc. (ibid.3).

Saayman (ibid.3) points out that," of special importance is the fact that proponents of the Social Gospel basically located the commonwealth of God in this world. This made the political involvement of God's people very important, for social evils such as poverty, unemployment, poor medical care, exploitation of workers, inequality etc., couldn't be justified or tolerated in 'Christian' countries, that is to say, countries in which a majority of the people defined themselves as Christians and where the

culture was broadly based on Western 'Christian' values. Proponents of the Social Gospel believed that the Western industrial powers had at their disposal the economic and technological resources to create the ideal society through development and progress."

Christians had to be the conscience of the state to prod the state into the right direction. Christian mission meant therefore the joint involvement of Christians in action such as rallies, protests, political parties, political congresses, councils etc. They believed, though, that their political involvement should lead to evolution, not revolution. Hence in the 20th century the involvement of the total body of believers in the political affairs was overwhelming. Though the political dimension is not completely absent from their agenda, but it does not really have any priority either. This sometimes tend to be what they call apolitical or neutral stance, which unfortunately often turns out in practice to be supportive of the prevailing situation.

This group of Christians would generally propagate socio-political changes where there is injustice though they argue that such changes will only come about as a result of a change in the hearts of converted or born-again individuals. They therefore conclude that it is not the role of the believing community to propagate or participate in direct political actions, and that Christians who wish to see political change should work and pray so that those individuals with political responsibility are converted to Christ.

This clearly demonstrate the fact that there is a relationship between religion and politics that has been there from long time ago, a relationship that as the years gone by it needed Christians who should not just work and pray but should opt for a liberationist perspective which has similar characteristics with the Social Gospellers and join those individuals with political responsibility and share that responsibility themselves. From a liberationist perspective, there is no realistic possibility that the huge social, economic and political injustices will be rectified through evolutionary development.

The main question which is raised and at the centre of this study is: Was the ANC established with the notion that it should be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all? The ANC as a national

liberation movement was formed in 1912 and started with the following objective which offers an answer to the said question:

- (i) To unite the African people and spearhead the struggle for fundamental political, social and economic change, meaning the liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general, from political and economic bondage (www.anc.org.za)

According to Saayman (ibid.4). "The gulf between rich and poor, the powerful and the oppressed, is so vast that only a revolution will be able to overcome it. Christian mission therefore means becoming politically active, moving among the poor and oppressed in the form of a servant, expressing the love of Christ in the form of solidarity with them. Where possible, those who regard themselves as Christian missionaries may join in conscientising and organizing the poor, but never in a superior way, as the poor will have to liberate themselves, for the poor are the real agents of the Christian mission in our day"

In other words, this means creating an inclusive healthy environment for people to experience change and enhancement of the quality of life of all the oppressed people, especially the poorest of the poor in South Africa. The ANC saw religion as a vital instrument in attaining these objectives because religion is a foundation of society that can bring about unity, harmony and social stability. It is for this reason that one should trace the history of Religion and Politics in South Africa with an aim to demonstrate the relationship and solidarity of the Church and the African National Congress (ANC) thereby indicating the close connection between religion and politics.

This is attested by Nico J. Smith (ibid. viii). who when writing a foreword in Saayman's book on 'Christian Mission in South Africa' said," Saayman's book is therefore to be welcomed as a serious call to the church in South Africa to become a site of struggle in order to keep alive the ideals of humanity, freedom and justice, and thus to contribute towards God's drawing of his creation towards its eschatological fulfilment"

This solidarity of the Church and the African National Congress (ANC) was deepened in the 1870's when the relationship was started because some

missionaries collaborated with the colonial powers that forcibly dispossessed Africans of their land and its natural resources with their sons who became magistrates who administered oppressive and racially discriminatory laws.

The researcher fully agrees with the notion that God established the ANC as His vehicle to liberate His people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all because of the following reasons, firstly, this is evident in their founding objective of creating a society which does not discriminate against race, gender, class but promote a united society that does not see colour or sex but human beings that must live harmoniously together as they were formed in the image of God, the Creator of heaven and earth.

And secondly, the reason why one supports the notion that God established the ANC as His vehicle is because the ANC sought to free all human beings as they are created equally to be politically, socially and economically free from bondages such as slavery, colonialism, apartheid and oppression by one another as we were all created to co-exist in a peaceful and dignified manner with one another. God through His spirit in action discerned and saw that His masterpiece of creation, human beings, were no longer in a harmonious co-existence and therefore influenced the founding fathers and mothers of the ANC to establish this movement to embark on this long struggle to liberate God's people to live as God wanted them to, not as inferior human beings.

At the formation of the ANC Psalm 68:31, was read: "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God" (Xozwa, 2009:3), and the meeting burst into a song that pleaded, acknowledged and covenanted with the God of truth who must help them fulfil His promise to enable them to liberate His people from the hands of the colonizers through His spirit that the researcher believed was discerned by them which was in their midst.

Dwane (1989:60) attests to this notion of the ANC being God's tool to liberate, as he points out, that "Apartheid as a philosophy to promote the interests of one group at the expense of the wider family is a form of life-denial and a deviation from the norms which govern life as a gift from the creator. It is the man-centred (sic) view of life writ large. To embrace this distortion of life is to embrace death itself. It is to be caught up

in a nasty tangle which no human programme, not even the 'total strategy', can unravel. God alone can release the white man from the manacles by which he has so securely bound himself. The God of the Exodus is sure to hear the cry of the oppressed and to vindicate His honour by liberating them from the yoke of the oppressors. What is so wonderful about this God is that while God flatly opposes iniquity and injustice, God loves both oppressor and oppressed with steadfast love."

Dwane (op cit) maintains, that "God, has no favourites, but God can use the Assyrians to crush those whom God has chosen when they rebel against Him, and the foreign King Cyrus to liberate them from Babylonian captivity when they turn to Him in penitence and sorrow for their disobedience. God can use the ANC to liberate His people from colonialism, oppression and apartheid when they earnestly seek His face. God's judgment upon human failure and weakness is never total and unmitigated, but it is always tempered with compassion and the desire for the renewal of the creature."

The researcher agrees with Dwane when he says that "With this God, it is never too late to mend. And there, I believe, lies the hope for the oppressors, who may fear radical change largely because of a past which they are not able to atone for. God will liberate the oppressed from the degradation and despair, and it is up to the oppressors to cooperate with Him in realizing this, and in so doing to prepare for their own liberation from fear and folly"(op cit).

Bishop Sgqibo Dwane (ibid.55-60) in his book: *"Issues in the South African Theological Debate"*, points out in his study on Christ and the Search for Liberation that..."Liberation theology is here to remind the church that through God's exercise of His power and sovereignty over the creation which He loves with steadfast love, both the oppressor and the oppressed are set free, and brought to the liberation of the sons of God wherein the masks and partitions of the Old Babel are demolished and the new humanity is born. It reminds the church of the cross, and that in consequence of it there can be no cheap reconciliation", for we were bought by the high price of the precious blood of Jesus Christ.

Bishop Sgqibo Dwane (ibid.58) says that,

"If white Christians are going to play the role of Ananias and Saphira, or the rich young man, then they cannot belong to the new covenant community. For

them liberation is freedom from the possessive hold which mammon has upon their soul. It is freedom from the love of comfort which makes them refuse to cast their eyes beyond their own security and self-interest. It is the freedom to die to all form of racial prejudice, and to be able to receive their fellow black Christians as joint heirs of God's promises."

Dwane (ibid.59).points out that,

"For black Christian's liberation theology has some equally hard things to say. Liberation for black Christians involves being set free from that hatred of the oppressor which can very easily become the invisible companion of the zeal for justice and the dedication to the cause of total liberation. Black Christians need to be set free from self-pity and from the anger and bitterness which seeks nothing else but revenge. We need to receive God's healing of those deep wounds which have been inflicted upon us by white people, so that we may be set free from the legacy of oppression and enabled to forgive and to make a fresh beginning when radical change comes."

This tells us that He is the God who holds religion and politics together, in charge and in control of the past and the present, who established the ANC and used it as His vehicle to liberate His people from colonialism and apartheid by His other people because of their selfish and greedy ways of life. The interviewees pointed out during their interviews that the ANC's establishment was a vision from the religious leaders who then ensured that it was formed in Waaihoek Methodist Church as the majority of the founding members were clergy and laity, citing its first President Dube as a minister of religion. This, according to the interviewees, was a clear indication that God was present, in their midst when they established the ANC resembling the manifestation of the Israelites when they were liberated from Egypt and set free to land in Canaan

Dwane(op cit)maintains that, "God liberates man from self-centredness so as to enable him to live as an integral part of human family. From the biblical tradition we learn that this God is the Sovereign Lord who commands what is not, to be what He wills. He has the power to release life so as to make it available to beings other than Himself. This is what theology means when it designates God as the creator. Because God is the creator and liberator, He alone is able to bring renewal to His

creation. When the creature, misguided by self-interest, pursues those goals which tend to undermine the quality of the God-given life as a corporate venture, life itself is put in jeopardy. For the man-centred and self-centred life is a form of life-denial, and a turning away from the giver of life. It is an act of rebellion against the creator, which is suicidal.”

This knowledge that Dwane maintains validates the notion that the ANC was established to be God’s vehicle to liberate His people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom and democracy and a better life for all. As a liberator, God who works mysteriously intended to work through the ANC which sided with the oppressed, so that the oppressor should experience the need to be free from all that were a burden, making them experience liberation, freedom and democracy. God’s intention for the ANC was driven by the fact that the majority it constituted were Christians who believed in Him and were prepared to do this assignment knowing fully well that they were not alone but directed by God.

2.3. Religion and Politics in South Africa

Having shown above that religion and politics as inseparable, interconnected and interrelated, the researcher now looks at a few black and white pioneers from the period of the earlier history of religion and politics in South Africa. In discussing these, reference is made only to male pioneers not because the researcher discriminates against women but because of the fact that there is very little that has been written about pioneer women in this field of study. This, maintains Saayman (ibid.36), “reflects the patriarchal domination of the church, and serves in itself to indicate an area of concern for the liberating mission of the church”

The researcher has attempted to outline the history of South Africa which brought us where we are today and help form our convictions. The history of organized Protestant mission in South Africa, though, can be said to have started in a rather tentative way with the history of the colonial occupation of the Cape through the landing of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652. His prayer, states Saayman (ibid.37)., “upon landing at the Cape was the typical contemporary mixture of commerce and Christianity as he prayed for the commercial success of the Colony, inter alia so that

the true Reformed faith can be spread among these wild and brutal people' (the San and Khoi -Khoi, the original inhabitants of the Cape Peninsula).Quite early on, therefore, there were a few sporadic and unorganized attempts to spread the faith among the Khoi- Khoi, but they basically came to nothing.”

After its inception, states Saayman (ibid.37) “the Cape began to be seen by some colonists who came earlier, not only as a half way station on the route to India, but as permanent settlement. As the Colony grew, religion and education also began to be placed on a more permanent footing. In 1737, mission therefore also began to be practiced in a more organized way, especially after the arrival of the first Moravian missionary, Georg Schmidt, at that time, the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) was the state church, and this church did not recognize Schmidt’s ordination as a minister. The Dutch Reformed Church reacted sharply and negatively when Schmidt himself baptized his first five Khoi-Khoi converts, as a result he found himself returned to Europe.”

In 1792, in the DRC itself new missionary enthusiasm began to flow as a result of the ministry of two young ministers, Rev H. van Lier and Rev.M.C. Vos, whose ministry was a better attitude towards mission societies, so that it became possible again for the Moravians to return to the Cape. The Cape Colony, in 1795, was occupied by British forces, thus bringing to an end the era of Dutch occupation although the Colony was briefly returned to Dutch control from 1803 to 1806.The new British colonial authority brought changes to the power structures of church and mission, especially in its relation to the state.

Saayman (op cit.) states that, “In 1799 the first London Missionary Association (LMS) missionaries landed. One of their missionaries, Dr.J.T. van der Kemp, was destined to have a strong influence on the relationship between church and state and especially on the relationships between Black and White. This relationship was beginning to get more and more problematic as more and more colonists (especially hunters and stock farmers) settled deeper in the interior, bringing them into conflict with the African tribes on the ownership of land”

In the north-eastern frontier of the Colony, presently known as Eastern Cape, great dissatisfaction was caused among the Dutch settlers by the emancipation of the slaves by the British government. On top of that, the LMS missionaries intensified

their campaign for equality before the law for White and Black, especially the Khoi-Khoi, something that went against the grain of the colonists with their increasingly racist way of life. This therefore laid a foundation for an attitude of mistrust between the Dutch, Afrikaans colonists and mainly British missionaries John Phillip who took pride of place was one among those missionaries that were mistrusted and disliked.

Saayman (ibid.1) points out that Christian mission in South Africa in our day has a political responsibility at its central dimension and that this responsibility is carried out in communion with the Christian *ecumene* as mission, political and ecumenical are interrelated. The first Christian Church in Jerusalem led by Peter and others openly made some bold-political claims about the injustice involved in the killing of Jesus(Acts 2:22-24;3:13-16).Peter made these claims openly and as part of important public statements. When he and John were arrested, they openly claimed for themselves, on the basis of their faith, the right of civil disobedience (Acts 4:18-20).According to Acts 4:23-31, this decision of Peter and John was unanimously supported by the whole congregation”, indicating that from antiquity religion and politics were inseparable and therefore conveyed a message that believers needed to challenge and fight injustice. In doing so, they will be representing the true God of justice and fairness who expects believers to do the same whenever they are faced with such situations.

It is for this reason that the majority of Christians in the ANC were inspired and encouraged by people like Peter and John who made some bold moves against the injustices of the colonial and apartheid governments .They too following in their footsteps, openly denounced the injustices of that time and pronounced the establishment of their organization as that which was established by God as His tool to liberate His people, in particular the Africans and black people in general from the shackles of colonialism and apartheid. Their belief in this notion was unshakeable and strong, such that they never minded about the risk they took that could land them in trouble or even to death for that matter, because God had taken over directing, controlling, guiding and using them as His tool knowing fully well that He is on their side as the poor and oppressed.

Saayman (ibid.1) points out that, “In this light it is interesting to consider also the characterization of the early Christians in Acts 17:6-9:people who cause trouble all over the world, people who turned the world upside down, people who defy Caesar’s

decrees. It seems to me, on the basis of this account of the history of the early Christians, that political involvement through clear public testimony, as well as through their way of life, was a natural part of their life and being.”

And now, we turn to the six Christian pioneers whom the researcher intended writing about for the researcher believe that these three whites and three blacks searched for the true meaning of the Christian faith in the colonial and apartheid situations with an aim of hearing and discerning what God wants them to hear and do to His people regarding the situations they found themselves in, so that they could harmoniously live together as equals and enjoy the rest of His creation. The point in mentioning these pioneers is to indicate that not only white but black Christian people too have played a role in bringing about a better understanding of Christianity. These and many others did so from their perspective of their understanding and interpretation of the scriptures which were influenced by their different backgrounds and status thereby adapting Christianity in the situation they find themselves, making it relevant, meaningful and contextual to the people and the South African situation.

2.3.1 John Phillip, 1775 – 1851

Born in 1775 into a Scottish working class family and when felt called to the ministry, he was sent to London to train as a minister in the Congregational Church. After completing his studies he became a minister to a congregation in Aberdeen and it was there that he strongly felt led to go to the mission field and presented himself to the LMS. On acceptance, his first missionary appointment was as superintendent of the LMS in the Cape Colony, where he arrived in 1819.

He was deeply influenced by Scottish evangelicalism, and Ross pleads with us to keep this in mind in attempting to evaluate his labours (Ross 1986:4-5). Characteristic of this evangelicalism, and of Phillip’s life, maintains Saayman (ibid.38), was the desire for evangelization, and that is why he was so strongly interested in the evangelization of Southern Africa. He was an obvious influence to a whole number of mission societies that came to do mission work in Southern Africa. Phillip always emphasized the spiritual foundation of mission work, together with the need for education and industrial development (Van der Merwe 1936:102). Philip, according to Ross (ibid.219) regarded the preaching of the gospel as the number one priority of mission work, although he also considered the development of civilization

very important hence his involvement in the life of the community around him as he made attempts to improve the quality of life for South African Blacks himself.

Philip in reality, states Saayman (ibid.39), was a typical missionary of the imperialist and colonial era, believing that British rule would bring justice and equal opportunity to the Black population of the colonies. His instruction to LMS missionaries and their congregations in 1834, during the border war, was to remain faithful to the colonial government even to the point of serving in the colonial army was a clear indication that he was loyal to colonial authorities. He, at the same time, became an outstanding champion of the rights of the Black colonial peoples who strongly advocated for equality before the law for Blacks, especially, the Kho-Khoi. He enabled Ordinance 50 to apply which ordinance enforced equality before the law, providing for the Khoi-Khoi to enjoy equality and at the same time caused the requirement of carrying passes at all time to be abolished.

He clearly became public enemy number one in the eyes of the colonists as he had many running battles with the colonial authorities about the rights of Black people. He campaigned for Black rights not because he was fundamentally against the White population, but because he believed that the key to the solution of the problem of bad race relations, especially in the border areas, was a just solution to the question of land rights believing it should be possible for the Black tribes to be able to retain their identity and internal unity. Philip could not approve of the constant expansion of White land which is a fundamental dimension of colonialism (ibid.40).

He firmly believed in capitalism, believing that capitalism would bring prosperity to the whole community making him in the 19th century, a firm believer in the coupling of commerce and Christianity .It was for this reason that he wanted the colonized people to be drawn more and more as consumers into the Western (capitalist) economic system.Mcmillan(1959:115) comes to the conclusion therefore that no other missionary saw as clearly as Philip that there was a need ‘to think of these backward peoples not merely as a convenience, “animated tools,” but rather as potential consumers, who would be better for consuming more.’

Philip believed that the British colonial structure was the best system for the advancement of the colonized peoples. He was however a sensitive man and he soon became aware of the colonial reality of oppression, especially of the Khoi–Khoi.

True to his evangelical convictions; he actively resisted this oppression and sought to bring it to an end. This change in favour of the Khoi-Khoi gives evidence of a man sensitive to his context, and especially to the poor and oppressed in that context. Thus he became deeply involved in colonial politics as he was aware of some of the evils perpetrated in the name of a system in which he had earlier believed, and began to rebel against them. But his rebellion did not go far enough. Saayman (ibid.42), indicates that the key reason for this is the fact that Philip did not realize the strong interrelation between colonialism, capitalism and racism always came together especially in the 19th century.

Elphick states that even the Anglo-Saxons too, were bitterly divided on the advisability of a missionary's engagement with politics - a difference epitomized by the debate between the London missionaries, John Phillip and Robert Moffat. In Natal and Zululand, missionaries brought a particularly rich variety of social models they wished to implement in a Christianized Africa – from the communal solidarities of German medieval villages to the assertive liberties of the early American Republic. Philip rejected racism, but remained to be a firm believer in colonialism and capitalism, not realizing that his high ideals would inevitably be shattered on this hard rock at the core of the whole imperialist system. Philip was a firm proponent of the necessary unity of the Christian missionary effort, but his position lacked ideological clarity. This is true especially as far as the influence of colonialism through its link with capitalism and its role in the alienation of land is concerned. Yet his firm resistance to the racist oppression of Black people did lay a foundation upon which the South African church can build a century later. In so doing, the church needs to be aware that the forces of political power and class are intertwined with that of racism.

Saayman (ibid.42), points out that any attempt by the Christian community in South Africa to root out racism should deal firmly and consistently with all three. If this does not, the attempt is doomed to failure – as Phillip's history illustrates.

Saayman (op cit) continues to say that wherever the missionaries went, they were drawn into the internal politics of African societies and, often too, into their external relations with other African and colonial powers. The British and American missionaries, in general, had a more activist or Calvinist attitude toward the state

than did the Lutheran missionaries from Germany and Scandinavia, and hence were more inclined to come into open conflict with white settler societies or with Christian African rulers like Khama. This clearly indicated the connection between religion and politics that was always there. The interviewees cautioned that religion and politics both attract large following which can cause division or unity in the society and that their relationship ought to remain intact for peaceful coexistence for all.

2.3.2 Bishop John Colenso, 1814 – 1883

John William Colenso was born in England in 1814 who became a teacher and later a tutor in mathematics. He was deeply religious and belonged to a group we call 'evangelicals' nowadays. He had interest in spiritual and theological matters hence he resolved to become a priest in the Anglican Church in 1846. During this period he became involved with the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), one of the missions societies in the Anglican Church.

In 1852, the Bishop of Cape Town invited him to become Bishop of Natal. In 1855, he set out with his party of forty people to Natal and was able to learn the language of the people, isiZulu. Bishop Colenso did not regard himself simply as bishop of the White Anglicans of Natal, but rather regarded himself primarily as a missionary bishop, a shepherd to the Black pagans who had to be evangelized (Saayman, *ibid.* 43).

Saayman (*ibid.*: 43) points out that, "The experience of preaching the gospel to Black people in the colonial context had a profound influence on Colenso's theological thinking. More and more he clashed with his fellow colonists because of their racist views; as a result many White Anglicans wanted to have nothing to do with him". He then found himself absorbed more and more in his missionary activity such that he rapidly developed his mission station known as Ekukhanyeni, the place of the light, where he continued to study isiZulu with the help of William Ngidi and soon translated the Bible into isiZulu. Ngidi challenged the Bishop by posing the question about the veracity of the stories of the Bible such as those about Noah which caused the bishop to re-evaluate his own views on Scripture

Bishop Colenso started an intensive study of the six books of the Old Testament (OT) which resulted in the compilation and publishing of a study of seven volumes in 1862 titled, *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined*. This publication

caused a furore in both ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical circles, because Colenso made use of the results of the historical-critical method in Biblical scholarship which had been developed since the beginning of the nineteenth century in Germany. He was accused of abandoning the literal inspiration, and together with that the trustworthiness of the Bible, especially because he questioned the historicity of the OT.

This led to the fact that the SPG then withdrew their support while his fellow bishops prohibited him from preaching in their dioceses because he was regarded as heretic. Hence in December 1863, Bishop Gray in Cape Town brought a charge against him and ordered to abandon his heretical views in four months, failing which he would be deposed as bishop. Unfortunately, Colenso could not and would not repudiate his views resulting in his deposition by Bishop Gray, but Bishop Colenso disputed Gray's action in court. In 1865 the court ruled that Gray had acted 'ultra vires'. His reinstatement as Bishop of Natal, Colenso and the Anglican Church embarked on an unpleasant struggle between them resulting in the split between the Anglican Church or the Church of the Province of South Africa, supporters of Bishop Gray and the Church of England in South Africa which consisted in largely Colenso's supporters.

Edgecombe (as cited in Saayman, 1991:44), maintained that "In a very original way, Colenso based mission on the praise which we owe God. Apart from this spark of originality, though, Colenso held the typical nineteenth century views, especially on the relationship between church and colonial authority in Christianizing and civilizing the 'natives'". Edgecombe (as cited in Saayman, 1991:44), further maintained that. "Actually he held the typical colonial (Constantinian) view on the relationship between church and state, mission and governmental authority". This clearly link well with the point topic and validate the point that religion and politics or church and government work well together without any constraints and contradictions.

2.3.3 Ntsikana, C: 1790 – C.1821

Ntsikana was born about 1780 as a member of an important Xhosa clan. He had a traditional Xhosa upbringing. By the year 1815, when he was already a married man, Ntsikana converted to Christianity. Hodgson (as cited in Saayman, 1991:54), points out that Ntsikana did convert to Christianity "despite the possibility that he had heard Van de Kemp, missionaries apparently played no role". Nsikana started an

evangelizing ministry immediately after his conversion. His gift of singing led him to compose four hymns even known today as the first Christian hymns in Xhosa.

Hodgson (as cited in Saayman, *ibid*: 55), points out that in his preaching, Ntsikana focused strongly on 'this thing that entered him, this thing that hated sin'. It is important to note that at the beginning of his ministry, Ntsikana did not have a Bible. Even if he had, he neither could read it and yet he placed great emphasis on 'the word of God', which for him was a word God directly revealed to him. In his composed hymns, there was especially his so-called "Great Hymn" where he acted as a traditional eulogist who sings the praises of his new king namely, God Himself. Ntsikana very successfully used well-known traditional concepts, which he filled with new content to lead his people into the new faith.

Hodgson (as cited in Saayman, *ibid*:55), points out that unlike the practice in traditional Xhosa religion, they knelt in prayer and addressed God directly, rather than through the ancestors, thus introducing a new regular act of worship in a new ritual context. Ntsikana remained a councillor of Ngqika, thus showing his relationship and playing his political role in the tribe. He kept providing the king with political advice, for example in the war of Amalinde in 1818, feeling that the source of his advice was a new, strange God, not the traditional God. Hodgson further (as cited in Saayman, *ibid*:55), pointed out that Ntsikana's pacifism ran counter to Xhosa tradition and this was an accurate assessment, for Ntsikana's political involvement did indeed flow from his new faith.

Saayman (*ibid*.56) points out that, "Ntsikana did not have much to say about the unity of all believers. One can say, however, that his conception of the Christian faith carried in itself the seed of universality. Ntsikana's universality differed sharply from a tribalistic particularism and one seems justified in stating that, at least on the theoretical level, he laid the foundation for unity among African Christians. His tradition was initially carried further by a group of Xhosa Christians who became members of the congregation of the London Missionary Society (LMS), missionary, John Brownlee".

Hodgson (as cited in Saayman, 1991:56), stated that during the twentieth century Ntsikana's memory was kept alive in various ways, amongst others by the formation of the Ntsikana Memorial Association which especially attempted to have Ntsikana

serve as a symbol for wider African unity. Saayman (ibid.56) points out that, “A very interesting link was established a few years later by the fact that a number of Black leaders came to hold posts simultaneously in the Ntsikana Memorial Association and in the (South) African National Congress (ANC)”

According to Hodgson (as cited in Saayman, 1991:57), ‘the non-violent teaching of Ntsikana almost certainly had its effect on ANC policy’. Apart from his non-violence, his value as a symbol of supra-tribal African unity was also utilized by the ANC. Another way in which the influence of Ntsikana was kept alive was through the church. In 1911, the Ntsikana Memorial Church was founded. It split from the mission church, the United Free Church. This church wanted to constantly follow in the footsteps of Ntsikana. The ANC policy has shown to have been influenced by Ntsikana was a clear indication that Ntsikana was a pointer that his God through that ‘thing’ he felt, presumably the Holy Spirit, foresaw that around the ANC the unity of the Africans would be realised for the establishment of the ANC as God’s tool to liberate His oppressed people strengthening the notion that the ANC was God’s vehicle to liberate His masses from the evil colonialism and apartheid to freedom ,democracy and a better life for the common good.

According to Hodgson (as cited in Saayman, 1991:57), “In these two ways, via the nationalistic ideal and the church, Ntsikana’s memory and influence were kept alive until the 1950’s, when they started declining. Despite the decline, though, Ntsikana was and still is of seminal importance as a Christian pioneer, as through him, the African people can find unity in all the complexity of their diversity”. According to Ntsikana’s traditional, holistic African world-view, he did not see any contradiction between political involvement and Christian faith. His new -found faith became for him the well-spring of his political actions. That is one of the reasons why his heritage could be so easily integrated with the growing African nationalism.

Saayman (ibid.57) cautions us that, ‘Of course the danger exists that such an application of faith can lead to the development of some form of an African civil religion. In order to prevent that from happening, the Ntsikana tradition will have to exist in self-critical dialogue with other South African Christian traditions. If we apply his heritage in this way, it can help us today to fulfil the political dimension of our mission in South Africa.’

As shown, since the 50's of the twentieth century, the Ntsikana's tradition has been in the decline. It is especially during this time that the Nationalist Party government imposed its ideal of ethnic separation on all the South African people. Black and White had long been separated, but now, attempts were made even to separate the Black ethnic groups from each other. African nationalist organizations, like the ANC, have rejected this ethnic separation from the beginning. With all the instruments of power at its disposal, however, the regime imposed its will on South African society, and undoubtedly succeeded in making many people think exclusively in ethnic categories, as was evidenced in the measure of success the regime enjoyed with its homelands policy of ethnic separation on the entire South African people. Black and White people had long been separated but now attempts were made even to separate the Black ethnic groups from each other.

In evaluating Ntsikana's contribution from the perspective of *missio politica oecumenica* the researcher agrees with Saayman as indicated in the previous paragraphs that "according to his traditional, holistic African world-view, Ntsikana apparently did not see any contradiction between political involvement and Christian faith. His new-found faith became for him the well-spring of his political actions. That is one of the reasons why his heritage could be so easily integrated with the growing African nationalism. Of course the danger exists that such an application of faith can lead to the development of some form of an African civil religion (Ibid.)." The researcher also does not see any contradiction because if there was, the notion that God chose the ANC as His tool to liberate His people from all forms of oppression and indeed be able to deliver His people to the land of freedom and democracy. It might therefore also have been the ANC making use of Ntsikana, rather than simply Ntsikana influencing the ANC.

2.3.4 Andrew Murray, 1828 - 1917

Andrew Murray junior was born in 1828. He was a son of Rev. Andrew Murray senior of Graaff – Reinet who was one of the band of pioneering Scottish Presbyterian ministers who were brought to the Cape Colony as part of Lord Somerset's strategy of Anglicization and also because of a shortage of Dutch ministers at the time. After he had finished school in Scotland, Andrew junior went to the Netherlands in 1845 for his theological education.

The theological scene in Netherlands at that time was characterized by rationalism, and revival. Andrew chose revival over rationalism. Andrew became a member of Search the Word student association where the ideas of the revival were promoted by theological students. Saayman (ibid.47) points out that Murray and the members of Search the Word association consciously tended to insulate themselves from secular and liberal influences at the Dutch universities. This was found by Murray to be completely in line with his pietistic orientation and helped cement his conservative theological approach.

After Murray had completed his studies in 1848, he returned to South Africa and his first congregation was outside the borders of the Cape Colony, in Bloemfontein, where he ministered to the Voortrekkers in 1849. His congregation included the whole central and northern Orange Free State, as well as parts of the Transvaal Republic. In 1859, he was called to Worcester in the Cape Colony which at that stage, the Colony, was still the centre of Afrikaner culture and begun to play a more important role in the life and work of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC). In 1864 he was called to Cape Town, and in 1871 to Wellington. Saayman (ibid.:48) points out that, "During these years he came to be associated indissolubly with a series of inter-church conferences and revival movements which were destined to have a strong influence on the ecclesiastical scene in South Africa. Inside the DRC he exerted strong influence especially as secretary of the Ministers' Mission Association."

When the DRC contemplated to start missionary work in the Northern Transvaal and elsewhere, he was the real inspiration behind this decision. Andrew Murray junior was also one of the first Dutch Reformed theologians to occupy himself with systematic theological reflection on mission which resulted in him writing his book which was the fruit of this reflection, and published in 1902 titled: *Die sleutel tot die Sendingvraagstuk*, (*The key to the mission problem*). As mentioned previously, Murray was a typical pietist in his understanding of mission holding up the Moravians as an example to other churches and mission societies in his published book. He maintained that the mission problem is a personal problem: strive therefore for a deepening of the spiritual life of every individual, and dedication to mission will follow automatically, as the whole missionary task is a personal task (ibid.48).

The political impact of Murray's ministry must be understood against the background of the 'liberation struggle' within the DRC in the 1860's. This formed part of what Du

Toit called the broader “Cape Afrikaners” failed liberal moment. About this era Du Toit said: “For a while the liberals seemed to be winning all the main battles, yet when the dust of the synodical disputes, theological controversies, and court actions began to settle after 1870, it became clear that the liberal tendency was a spent force. The real, lasting, victors were the ‘orthodox party’, who would henceforth put their stamp on the mainstream of SDRC piety and religious culture (in Saayman, *ibid*: 49)

Andrew Murray was one of the main spokesperson for the ‘conservative party’ and the DRC was at this stage very much part of the broader political debate flourishing at the Cape, especially focused on the debate about responsible government. This was basically a debate about representative institutions both in church (DRC) and state. The doctrinal conflicts, especially between ‘liberals’ and conservatives’, were therefore embedded in the wider social, economic and political structures (*ibid*: 49)

Du Toit (as cited in Saayman, 1991:49) pointed out that, “With the advent of Murray, a whole new generation of conservative church-people came to the fore, destined to change traditional patterns of DRC practices and religious sensibility almost beyond recognition” Saayman (*ibid*:49) points out that Murray “indeed established himself as a leader of this new group of well-educated young men, both theologians and ‘lay people ‘who ‘were not rooted in traditional rural communities or restricted to localized resources; they were highly mobile, skilled organisers and enthusiastic conference-goers, trying to reach a wider audience”.

Saayman (*ibid*.49) states, “

Seen against this background, the inter-church revivalistic conferences inspired by Murray gain new meaning. Taking into account Murray’s position of leadership in this conservative group during these formative years, one can better understand Durand’s statement (in Villa-Vicencio & De Gruchy 1985:40-45) that ‘the Scottish or Murray evangelical tradition ‘contributed decisively to the growth of Afrikaner civil religion, which came to play such a foundational role in the shaping of Afrikaner thinking on social and racial issues, later making possible growth of apartheid theology.

Andrew Murray is widely regarded as an ecumenical figure of great importance in the South African church. Several factors play a role in this regard, among them the

series of inter-church conferences in Worcester while he was ministering there. It is undoubtedly true that the unity of Christians was of great importance for Murray. He saw unity as one of the important conditions for the church to receive that power of the Holy Spirit which would enable it to carry out the Great Commission. The unity brought about by the true Christian love, empowers every Christian; in this way everybody gains more power by way of the cooperation of the whole body. This love, in a reciprocal way, empowers women and men in the unity of the body. Murray (as cited in Saayman1991:50).

Murray cooperated in ecumenical endeavours of his time as expected he participated for example in the Evangelical Alliance and the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity and in this he remarked, "Would it not be wonderful and a blessing if the whole church could gather for a week at the feet of its Lord, to consecrate itself to this one task – the extension of the kingdom by way of mission?."(Ibid.50).In this light of Murray's emphasis on unity, it is interesting to note that he wanted to limit the first Worcester conference (1860) to White members of the DRC. It also is interesting to note his remarks about distance from both English and 'natives'. At least this seems to imply that Murray was aware of the fact that unity between Whites only would not be enough; unity also with Black Christians would have to be sought if a body of Christ were to be built.

Andrew Murray had a lasting influence on the South African church in general and the DRC in particular. It is especially his personal piety and devoted prayer life which is still held up as an example for South African Christians from various denominational traditions (ibid.:51) points out that "What is not so clearly and so often emphasized is that Murray's pietistic understanding of the Christian faith served to pave the way for Afrikaner civil religion, which was later to become rampant". This is even cited by Villa – Vicencio & De Gruchy 1985:40, 42-43).

On the other hand, Murray had a negative influence on the mission, politics and ecumenism in South Africa as mission for him meant evangelization, and he would probably have denied its political dimension altogether by his typical pietistic position. And yet on the other hand Murray's ministry was intensely political, as it helped create the theological climate within which the foundations of Afrikaner civil religion and its heretic twin, apartheid, could be established.

Murray (as cited in Saayman, 1991:51) maintains:

This he did without becoming overtly politically involved, but exactly because of his supposedly 'neutral' position. Such a supposedly neutrality is impossible; for, as I have already pointed out in chapter 1, 'there is no pure ecclesiastical neutrality, just as there is no apolitical theology; there are only those who are not'. Most probably Murray would not willingly have supported apartheid. His history illustrates, though, how dangerous it can be, theologically as well as socially, not to be conscious of the political dimension of our Christian mission.

The researcher concurs with Saayman (1991:51) when he concludes that the abdication of the political dimension of mission, implicitly or explicitly, is a very dangerous option to take for yet another reason. In essence such an option means that Christians write off this world and are looking only for a way in which to survive until the time comes for all of them to enter heavenly bliss. The implication is that the world, which is after all a particular object of God's love, is so evil that there is no real possibility of realizing the reign of Christ in the here and now also. This kind of thinking contradicts what is entailed in the great prayer 'Our Father who art in heaven, your will be done on earth as it is in heaven'. The prayer assures us that what God does here on earth is what He does in heaven as He lives here and now as He also lives in heaven here and now being an omnipresence God.

While the Prime Minister was concerned with 'practical improvements' in African welfare, the claims of the Congress would raise fear and resentment among the White electorate, who lost the next general election in 1948 to Dr. Malan and the Afrikaner Nationalist Party with its slogan 'apartheid'. Rather than the practical improvement Smuts had spoken of, for example, increased expenditure on African education or an about-face in 'native policy', segregation was to be tightened up. In addition an attempt was made to divert African political ambitions from parliament to tribal legislatures in the Bantustans or 'homelands', those deteriorating rural backwaters set up by the Natives Land Act of 1913 and the Natives Trust and Land Act of 1936. This showed how the Afrikaner Nationalist Party or politics worked well together and supported each other as Dutch Reformed Church and state to the successful implementation of the apartheid system. They used their relationship to the disadvantage of the oppressed and yet they could not abdicate the mission

dimension as Church for they would be writing off this world and looked only for a way in which to survive until the time comes for all of them to enter heavenly bliss.

2.3.5 Tiyo Soga, 1829 – 1871

He was born in 1829 and his father was a leading councillor of Ngqika, as was Ntsikana, and one can conclude that he probably was influenced by Ntsikana. He went to a mission school and for more advanced education went to Lovedale which was not purely at that stage a Black school, but multiracial. During the war of 1846, Tiyo was taken by a Scottish Presbyterian missionary known as Mr. Govan who was his teacher at Lovedale and fled with him to Scotland, where in 1848 was baptized before he returned to South Africa later in the same year.

Tiyo Soga became a teacher in the Eastern Cape until he fled again with the Scottish missionaries during the 1850 war. In 1851, he returned to Scotland and now to study for the ministry, inter-alia at the University of Glasgow. In 1856, he was ordained in the Presbyterian Church and became the first Black South African to be ordained as a minister. In 1857, he married a Scottish woman, Janet Burnside, before returning to South Africa and served as missionary at Mgwali between the years of 1857 and 1868 and at Tutura from 1868 till his untimely death in 1871.

Saayman, (1991:62) maintains that, "Soga's service as a missionary must be evaluated against the background of the entanglement between mission and colonialism. This entanglement placed missionaries (both Black and White) in an almost untenably ambivalent position. The colonial authority expected of them to be precursors of governmental authority and sources of information on the Black population. For this very reason the missionaries were distrusted by the Black, whose trust they had to win for a successful mission. "

The border wars in the Eastern Cape contributed to the creation of tension and problems in particular the commando system which, as Black tribes, often ascribed the depredations of punitive commandos to the influence of missionaries where the mission stations were regarded as outposts of White authority. It is therefore against this tense and complicated background that Tiyo Soga started his mission work among the Xhosa people.

Tiyo contributed immensely to the origin and growth of an African nationalism. As a Black man with a White wife in the colour-conscious imperialist society, he made

contact daily with racism. This, inevitably, had to influence his view of Black Nationalism. Also, his training in Scotland made him part of the new educated black elite in the Colony and established him firmly as a member of the middle class and therefore this fact would influence his view of African nationalism. Tiyo's contribution to African nationalism begins with the advice he gave to his children when he sent them off to school in Scotland that they should, "...take your place in the world as coloured, not as white men, as Kafirs not as English-men...For your own sakes never appear ashamed that your father was a Kafir, and that you inherit some African blood. Tiyo Soga (as cited in Saayman, 1991:62)

Tiyo Soga's dedication to the Black cause is too evident, for example, in his view on the place of blacks in Africa. In this respect he believed that God had given Africa to the descendants of Ham. God Himself would therefore establish and maintain blacks in Africa, also in the southern portion of the continent; nothing will break this link between all Black people and Africa. Tiyo Soga (as cited in Saayman, 1991:62) pointed out that, "According to this point of view the articulated Black Consciousness of the 1960s and later therefore had its origins and roots in the nineteenth century, in a process in which Tiyo Soga played an essential role."

Indeed, Tiyo Soga (as cited in Saayman, 1991:63) was probably the only minister of his time who preached in congregations of all the Protestant denominations of his time. His encompassing African-consciousness therefore carried in itself the seeds of the unity of the African church. It is clear from the above that Tiyo Soga contributed in a foundational manner to the origin and growth of later Black Consciousness, which was to play and still plays an important role in African nationalism and black politics. It is equally clear that this contribution sprang from his concern about the equality and oppressive colonial context of his time.

As such this first ordained Black minister can be regarded as the forerunner of a large number of Black Christians who would later come to play an important role in the development of African nationalism. Saayman (1991:63) maintains that, "It seems clear to him also that Soga made this contribution exactly because he wanted to be consciously Christian and African at the same time. Although his position in the colonial society of his day often caused him severe problems, so that sometimes he had to be ambivalent about important matters, and although in many respects he

held the basically, ('apolitical') Pietistic views of his time, Soga did contribute to the socio-political welfare of his people.”

He certainly revealed no fundamental dichotomy between his faith and his social and political involvement. His supra-tribal Africa-consciousness provides us with a solid foundation on which to strive for the unity of the African church. The very fact that it was at the same time supra-tribal as well as African indicates that for Soga the political and ecumenical dimensions of his faith belonged together, attesting to the fact that indeed religion and politics cannot be separated as they can work best together.

Saayman (1991:63) points out that, “It can be argued, then, that Soga left a legacy which is important today in the development of Black Consciousness and even Pan-Africanism. This dimension of Soga’s contribution flowed from his concern about the equality of life of his people in the oppressive colonial context. Tiyo Soga, because of this basic concern for people, served as a symbol of unity already in his lifetime. As a loyal Presbyterian minister until his death, Soga can be seen as the role model of generations of African church people to come after him, people who were and are both consciously Christian and consciously African.

2.3.6 Rev.Nehemiah Tile: Died in 1891

Rev.Tile started work as an Evangelist for some years with the Wesleyan mission before he was sent to Healdtown College for theological training in the 1870’s where he met James Dwane who also was destined to play a leading role in the Ethiopian movement. He served as a probationer in Tembuland from 1879.While serving in this position, he clashed with his superintendent known as, Rev. T. Chubb and resulted in him leaving the Wesleyan Church in 1833,Balia (as cited in Saayman, 1991:64),to start the Thembu Church of which he became its head until his death in 1891.

The years of Tile’s ministry coincided with a period of great importance in the Transkei’s history. The Cape colonial authorities regarded the annexation of the Transkei as of great economic importance to the Cape. Pretorius (1988:32) pointed out that ‘the income from hut taxation was to pay for the new roads and bridges, cheap labour could be provided for the Colony while much timber of quality was available.’ Once more the entanglement of mission and colonialism was therefore exerting great influence on the course of events. The Xhosa people did not simply

acquiesce in the annexation of their territory and this resulted in two frontier wars that of 1877-1878 and 1880 -1881. Tile's ministry must be evaluated against this turbulent background.

As a nationalist whose home was in Tembuland was a minister with definite ideas about where he thought the church should be going. Firstly, Tile's clashes with his superintendent were also that, he was taking part in political matters and stirring up feelings of hostility against the magistrates in Tembuland. Siggibo Dwane maintains that one would have thought that the magistrates were perfectly capable of looking after themselves. The second complaint was this matter of addressing meetings on Sundays, presumably, meetings of political nature.

Thirdly, there was a donation of the beast for a circumcision feast. The donation of a beast to Chief Ngangelizwe was for the circumcision of Prince Dalindybo, heir to the paramountcy of the Tembus. Circumcision was one of the Xhosa customs which were frowned upon by missionaries. That of course to many in the 19th and 20th – century missionaries would have been a red rag to a bull. Therefore in doing this, Tile was defying the church's ruling, and making a claim for the legitimacy of his own culture. (Dwane, 1989:84 - 85)

In the face of all these challenges, Tile felt unable to continue, and left the Methodist Church. He founded his own Tembu National Church in 1884. Tile's Tembu Church was the first of the later series of African Independent Churches and as such is of great importance. In Tile's secession, it seems, as if two things especially played an important role. On the one hand, he was very sympathetic to the national aspirations of the Tembu, while on the other hand he was dissatisfied with the degree of White control in mission especially by Wesleyan Church.

Kamphausen (as cited in Saayman, 1991:65) points out that:

“There can be little doubt that Tile's activities as a Tembu nationalist played the leading role in his secession from the Wesleyan Church. It seems also as if the church acted in conjunction with the Cape Department of Native Affairs. In any case, the church produced whole series of accusations against Tile as indicated earlier. After his secession, his influence in Tembu affairs increased rather than decreased. These activities of Tile are of great importance, as they introduced a new era of protest. By this time it was clear that Black military resistance to

White conquest had failed. Tile introduced a new form of protest by petitioning the colonial authorities. This created a new channel for the expression of religious and political protest.”

Tile was regarded as a very able preacher and a diligent worker by the missionaries, therefore started propaganda for an indigenous church free from White domination. The established church with the Tembu king Ngangelizwe as head. To express the link between king, people and church, Tile composed a prayer which was to be sung everywhere in the Tembu Church. In this prayer he asks for God’s blessings on the Tembu king, his son and the whole Tembu people and no longer on the Queen of England, her family and the English people like he used to do whilst a preacher in the Methodist Church (Saayman, *ibid.* 64-65).

An important aspect of Tile’s political involvement, which also had important missionary consequences, was his strong attachment to the Tembu king and the traditional power structure. Tile always wanted an independent tribal structure under the leadership of the traditional king. In opposition to most White missionaries, he therefore wished to cooperate with the traditional power structure and to fortify them against White encroachment.

Two consecutive Tembu kings employed his educational and political skills in an effort to maintain their independence from the Cape colony. However, Saunders (as cited in Saayman, 1991:66), pointed out that:

“The goal of chiefly independence, it soon became apparent, was one impossible to attain, and it rapidly faded away, though the idea of an independent Black state was to reappear as a practical programme in the Transkei some 70 years later. The Tembu Church, like later Ethiopian-type Independent Churches, pursued a clear political agenda under Tile’s leadership. This eventually led to another aspect of the Tembu Church rising above its originally narrow ethnic base to exert a much wider attraction among Black people. Tile himself later gave evidence that he did not consider ethnic or tribal considerations of greater importance than a common Blackness. Thus Tile told Veldtman Bikitsha, so the headman reported later, that the church had its object ‘a political move to free the Native from European control, and for the ultimate supremacy of the Coloured races throughout South Africa.’”

Odendaal (as cited in Saayman,1991: 66) maintained that, “The fundamental principle of later Black nationalists in South Africa, namely that White power had to be resisted by Black unity, thus finds its basis here with Tile.” Also, Kamphausen (as cited in.Saayman, 1991:66) points out, “that the Tembu Church set itself such a clear political agenda need not surprise us. In a basically illiterate society, the pulpit is an important tool in political conscientisation. Through the political involvement of the Tembu Church the foundation was therefore laid for churches in South Africa to become involved in the politics of African nationalism.

Saunders(as cited in Saayman, ibid.66) attests to this as he maintains that:

And the element of African assertion in early religious independency, which first expresses itself in Tile’s church, was to form a major ideological component of African nationalism.” While his church started as a Tembu Church, Tile’s thinking eventually rose above tribe-centred particularism. Both in the light of his own achievements, as well as in the light of the later importance of the Ethiopian Independent Churches, therefore, Tile is of foundational significance for church and mission in South Africa.

Kamphausen (as cited in Saayman, ibid.67) points out that, “In direct contrast to Tiyo Soga’s ambivalence towards African traditional religious and tribal structures, Tile clearly regarded them in a positive light. So, for example, he was said to have contributed an ox towards the circumcision celebration of Dalindyebo, son of Ngangelizwe,” and like Soga, however, “he contributed in a very important way to the origin and growth of later Black Consciousness, which was to play an important role in African nationalism and Black politics. It seems clear that for Tile this involvement sprang from his understanding of the demands and promises of the gospel. Of special importance was Tile’s conscientising role in his community – a role the Black churches are called to play increasingly in our day” (Saayman, ibid.67).

Saayman (1991:67) maintains,

Another aspect of Tile’s importance for us today is obviously his role as the leader of the first African Independent Church. When one considers the fact that between twenty per cent and thirty per cent of the Black population of South Africa today belongs to the African Independent Churches, the importance of this pioneer founder of an Independent church is self-evident.

Many commentators regard the Independent churches as basically fissiparous and sectarian, in other words that they have a negative effect on the unity of the church.

However, Daneel disputes this view on the basis of twenty years of empirical research on Shona Independent Churches. According to him, there are positive signs of ecumenism within the African Independent Churches. Considering what Saayman said earlier about Tile's supra-tribal Africa-consciousness in the light of Daneel's findings, it becomes crystal clear that one can indeed say that Tile's contribution contained seeds of ecumenism on which the South African church can build today(Saayman, *ibid.*67).

Saayman (1991:68) maintains that:

As far as the political and ecumenical dimensions of Christian mission in South Africa are concerned, Tile therefore made an important contribution. His emphasis on holistic African traditional religion and culture enabled him to keep his Christian faith and his political commitment together integrally. Of special significance is also Tile's conscientising role in his community – a role many Black pastors and priests would have to play later when organized political activity was made impossible by restrictions and states of emergency.

In concluding this section, it is important to say that considering all three Black pioneers, in a sense, one can say that each one of them is a representative of a specific group in the South African churches today. Saayman (*ibid.*68) states that,

“Ntsikana can be considered a representative of the millions of ordinary lay members who are responsible for such a large part of the growth of the Christian church in Africa today. Tiyo Soga can be considered a representative of the thousands of ordained African ministers who labour faithfully and contribute towards the Africanization of the church-and Nehemiah Tile can be considered the father and mother of the influential group of African Independent Churches, who are indigenizing the Christian gospel in a meaningful way”.

Saayman (*ibid.opcit*) points out that, “What is clear in the contribution of all three of them is that they did not regard their socio-political involvement as some sort of unnecessary adjunct, but as an essential dimension of their Christian existence. This undoubtedly was influenced by a holistic African world-view. It is also interesting to

note that all three of these early South African Christians gave evidence of a universalism in their outlook which transcended the traditional tribal particularism. The unity of the church was therefore for them at least a strong ideal to strive for. As far as the mission, political and ecumenism of the church is concerned, they therefore made a useful contribution and left the South African church a valuable heritage on which it can build in the troubled times it is experiencing today.”

2.4 The Dutch Reformed Church and the racist State

The DRC was a staunch propagator of the apartheid policy that has ruined so many lives and rendered the majority of the people, especially the blacks, disgraced as their dignity was taken away from them as if they were non-humans. The refusal of the state-whether dominated by White English-speaking South Africans or Afrikaners-to countenance an alternative non-racial approach for the governance of the country. This had been made clear when Dr Xuma as President of the ANC, wrote to Prime Minister Smuts encouraged by Roosevelt’s and Churchill’s signing of the Atlantic Charter in 1941, with its statement that people should be free to determine the type of government under which they lived. Xuma set up a committee to explore the Charter’s implications for South Africa. The result was a broad statement of political faith, the ANC policy document called the *African Claims* (Motsekga, 2012:3)

This called for the dismantling of segregation, for equality before the law and the full participation of Africans in parliament. In 1944, Xuma wrote to Smuts requesting an interview and enclosing a pre-publication copy of *African Claims*. Smuts, through his Private Secretary stated that an interview would serve no useful purpose. The letter continued: ‘Your study is evidently a propagandist document intended to propagate the views of your Congress...The Prime Minister cannot agree to be drawn into the task by means of an interview with him. He does not agree with your interpretation of the Atlantic Charter and with your effort to stretch its meaning so as to make it apply to all sorts of African problems and conditions’ (Walshe, 1995:20).

Walshe (ibid: 24) on the DRC Synod points out that in one of their meetings it concluded that, “If the Dutch Reformed Church does differ from other churches, the difference is not due to a different view of moral concepts and values or of Christian

ethics, but to a different view of the situation in South Africa and the teaching of God's word in this regard. Separate but equal was simply the most practical method for achieving a loving, more just society in which all of God's diverse peoples held each other in mutual respect. To pare the racist culture of Afrikanerdom away from such biblical exegesis was to be a painful process."

Walshe (ibid:23) points out that, " There were few dissenting voices, individuals who planted the seed of doubt even as their arguments were rejected and in some cases their persons vilified. The first was Professor B.B. Keet of the NGK Seminary at Stellenbosch who, in his 1995 book, *Wither South Africa*, dismissed the biblical defence of apartheid as a major error founded on the "false assumption that diversity is synonymous with separation," a separation "at variance with God's ordinances. Afrikaner colour prejudice," he wrote, "is probably the greatest factor in producing non-white agitators and revolutionaries."

Walshe points out that turning away from such criticism and shunning these dissidents, the white Dutch Reformed Churches continued their efforts to legitimize apartheid. Of these, the most important attempt to provide a biblical defence of government policies came in 1974 with the NGK's General Synod's Human Relations and the South African Scene in the Light of Scripture. Once again two major themes emerged: "the essential unity of mankind," but also the conviction that "ethnic diversity is in its very origin in accordance with the will of God for its dispensation." (1995:23)

Walshe (ibid:23) maintains that, "The creation narratives, Genesis 1-11 and the story of the Tower of Babel were critically examined and interpreted to emphasize that sin had irrevocably sundered the unity of human beings - only at the end of time would these divisions be healed. In the interim a spiritual unity would have to co-exist with practical separation. In specific, historical circumstances, the Synod argued, 'the New Testament makes provision for the regulation on the basis of separate development of the co-existence of various peoples in one country. The role of the Church, then, was to see that such co-existence took place justly, with love of neighbour. Justice was to be worked for within the parameters of apartheid which, in principle, was in harmony with God's wishes even if some of its practices were imperfect. For example, migrant labour, with its threat to African family life, should as far as was possible be eliminated, not maintained as deliberate state policy."

Walshe (1995:21) points out that while this thrust towards apartheid alarmed English-speaking churches; persistent attempts were made by the Dutch Reformed Churches to legitimate the policy. Having identified with and fostered the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, the white Dutch Reformed Churches set out to articulate an idealized version of segregation that, in theory, would lead to the elimination of white domination: a biblical defensible apartheid. Separate but equal opportunities and rights were the goals. The native was to have every opportunity to reach the highest possible measure of learning and culture”, but not in an attempt to “mimic the civilization of the white man.” Rather he was to be made fit for “his own people and country”. Christian National Education was to be based on racial traits and aimed at the awakening of race pride, each ethnic group being founded “on what is peculiar to it”. Certainly the “native had no right to equality with the European in areas which (were) more particularly in the possession of the latter” that is 87 percent of the country.

Walshe, *ibid*: 21 states that by 1958:

...the largest of the white reformed churches, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) was finessing its defence of discrimination in which Apartheid did not imply black inferiority. Rather, a policy of separation could be “defended from the Christian point of view and was the only realistic solution to the race problem...No single race may deem itself superior to other races...This neither denies nor ignores the fact of the multiplicity of nations, but in that multiplicity the unquestioned equality of all races and people must be recognized according to the Scriptures. These were enticing clarifications, balm to the conscience of whites: Baaskap (domination) was being abandoned. In reality, the arguments were made on behalf of a white, racist culture enjoying stark economic privilege and within which the Dutch Reformed Churches were now captive.

Having resisted British imperialism and the prospect of Anglicization; having defended their white congregations from the economic threat of a capital system over which, at first, Afrikaner had no control; and having supported the apartheid state in defence of the *volk* against the perceived threat of the black majority, the white Dutch Reformed Churches were engrossed in self-serving myths, segregated structures and a racist theology.

As we have seen, a very different view of Christian responsibilities within society was held by the African Ministers' Federation, an ecumenical body many of whose members identified with the African National Congress. There was, it argued, no validity in the Dutch Reformed Church's attempt to base apartheid on scriptural authority. The commitment behind apartheid was the "antithesis" of the Spirit and teaching of Christianity as pronounced in the New Testament – as well as a negation of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights (Walshe 1995:21).

Walshe argues what the Synod concluded by saying, what if building respect among human beings was not simply a spiritual process awaiting effective expression at the end of time? What if the Scriptures were read, not as a means to maintaining an ideological commitment to white separatism (and de facto to white dominance), but as a condemnation of existing inequalities and as a call to witness within the church and wider political arena to human solidarity? What if apartheid was inherently divisive, fracturing the Body of Christ still further and thwarting the churches' mission to build that broader human community of which South Africa was – at least potentially – a microcosm? (1995:24)

As a decade of the fifties drew to a close, eleven DRC theologians followed in Keet's footsteps and published, *Delayed Action*. One of the contributors was Professor A.S. Geysler who held the chair of New Testament Theology at Pretoria University and was later to cooperate with Rev. Beyers Naude in founding the anti-apartheid and ecumenical Christian Institute in 1963. Writing on Christian community as a call to surmount social division, Geysler condemned all state policies which interfered with such fellowship. He also attacked racial discrimination within the segregated Dutch Reformed Churches as in conflict with the Scriptures (Walshe, 1995:23).

Walshe (1995:24), points out that,

While the white Dutch Reformed Churches were eventually to abandon their biblical attempt to defend apartheid, they continued throughout the eighties to support state policy on practical grounds. Short of black racist domination, it was argued, South Africa could not be governed in any way other than through the structures of group rights or separate freedoms. Only in 1990 were the first halting sounds of repentance heard from the leadership of the NGK as, under great pressure from other Christians, it abandoned apartheid and moved in

tandem with President de Klerk to open up to negotiations for a new South Africa. Even then, however, there was an attempt to reassert “group rights” and a refusal to move decisively into one united body as a desegregated Reformed Church communion. This has been the history of the Dutch Reformed Church which propagated that their Afrikaner churches should accept segregation and this was later justified as they concocted a biblical legitimation of apartheid.

Ralph Elphick(1997: 2-3). argues that white colonists, persuaded that their eternal salvation derived from God’s promise to their ancestors, embraced Christianity as an exclusive and inherited religion which shored up their group boundaries, nurtured their sense of superiority, and laid the basis of a white-dominated racial order. But a minority of whites in the Dutch Reformed Church embraced another Christian tendency with very different social implications: the Continuing Reformation’s belief that people’s salvation depended, not on their ancestry, but on a personal conversion to Jesus Christ.

Many early African Christians, like most missionaries, regarded Christianity and African religious views as mutually exclusive and even hostile to one another. White Dutch-speaking settlers continued to rely on the Dutch Reformed Church as a bulwark of their identity and their exclusiveness, despite the Christian universalism entailed in that church’s growing evangelical and missionary commitments. Some Griqua also formed an ethnic identity around Christian affiliation, while Christianity provided the social backbone of the new Khoisan community founded at the Kat River in 1829. Later in the century Khama of the Ngwato blended Christianity into the national ideology of his kingdom.

Elphick (1997:5). points out that the missionaries’ relations with colonial political powers varied greatly depending on the time, the place, and the missionary’s nationality and social philosophy. Some comparatively radical missionaries clashed periodically with Cape officials in the early nineteenth century. But others, such as Joseph Williams, the founder of the first permanent mission to the Xhosa in 1816, were willing to serve as government agents.

Throughout South Africa missionaries strove to inculcate in Africans an appreciation for European trade goods and values, and a confidence in the beneficence of at least some forms of European rule. Yet Africans often made very different use of the

missionary message. Christians of deep piety, such as the Kat River rebels in 1851, Dukwana of the Xhosa, and Johannes Dinkwanyane of the Pedi, took up arms against white colonialism.

In subsequent decades, particularly in the Eastern Cape and Natal, a moderate but politically active response to colonialism emerged among members of the new African “middle class, “ called ‘*kholwa*’ in Natal, who had been educated in missionary schools and were for the most part committed Christians. Similarly, among the Xhosa, an extraordinary chain of prophets arose, beginning in the second decade of the century with Nxele, whose anti-colonial and non-Christian message was salted nevertheless with borrowed Christian themes. This clearly showed that religion and politics were seen to be a vehicle for people’s furtherance of their mission without any fear of failure to be supported as these worked well together for the advancement of their struggle.

2.5 The English speaking Churches and racist State

De Gruchy (1986:86) points out that, “ The English-speaking churches all came to South Africa during the upsurge of British imperialism, and they took sides by and large with the British government in the ensuing struggle for power in South Africa. The missionaries who were most critical of the social situation in the nineteenth century belonged to these churches, and were often regarded as the bitter enemies of the Afrikaners. Furthermore, these churches have led the church attack on the apartheid policies of the Afrikaner Nationalist government...the English-speaking churches have been pro-British and anti-Afrikaner for purely cultural and political reason, they have certainly been guilty of denying the Christian faith, and need to recognize this fact.”

The English-speaking hierarchies were ambivalent about this notion the Afrikaner Church had, of accepting segregation and later concocted a biblical legitimation of apartheid. The English - speaking churches were critical of racism and at times vocal in condemning state policy but, in practice they were comparably ensnared within the dominant white culture. Their action resulted in ‘Declarations were seldom followed up by action, courteous relations with the Dutch Reformed Churches remained a central ecumenical concern, and political confrontation with the white state was

avoided. For the first three decades of this century, individual members of the hierarchy complained and periodically a synod grumbled, always ineffectively.'(Walshe, 1995:25).

Although objections were raised, among other things, to the Natives Land Act, migrant labour and its destruction of family life, the abolition of the Cape common voters roll in 1936, and General Hertzog's 'civilized labour policy', there was not enough commitment from these churches. This so-called 'civilized labour policy' was meant for the tightening of the colour-bar during the 1920's and 1930's, segregating people further and further, intensifying the exploitation of black labour as well as entrenching itself in white political power. These nominally non-racial churches became fully absorbed into the structures of segregation and capitalism with no on-going critical analyses of the very foundations of white domination and privilege.

Walshe (1995:25) points out that:

Rather the essentials of the established economic system were tolerated; that is, the neglect of African agriculture and the provision of cheap black labour for white farms, the mines and industry. Likewise the culture of Empire went unquestioned with its arrogant assertion of white trusteeship. The urban areas Act (1923) and later the Group Areas Act (1950) perpetuated segregated parishes, church schools and hospitals – circumstances that were accepted by white-dominated hierarchies. On the other hand, the hopes and radical criticisms of black political leaders – even those clergy and laity arguing for non-racialism from the basis of their Christian commitments-were largely ignored. As a result, the states were periodically criticized but, in the end, left unembarrassed and very much to its own devices in moulding a capitalist, industrializing South Africa in which white interests were paramount.

Shortly after the Natives Land Act came into effect, the 1915 Synod of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (Anglican), politically, the most vociferous of the English-speaking denominations, stated that it should be repealed with immediate effect until such a time as more generous and comprehensive legislation would be forthcoming. Walshe uses the Anglican Church to give a clear example of these ambiguities by pointing out that the Church provides for what should be done and yet

it cannot do. Walshe continues to point out that, “the Church continued to raise issues of justice, to call for consultation with black leaders and for improved education, housing and urban facilities for Africans. Committees appointed to report back, often did not.

In 1924 the Synod asserted ‘the Brotherhood of all in Christ, the equality of all before God, and the unity of the Body...our desire for the inclusion of all races in the one Church of Christ. We believe that the rights to full citizenship in any country are not dependent on race or colour, ‘the Bishops declared in 1930, ‘but on men’s fitness to discharge the responsibilities which such citizenship involves” (Walshe, 1995:26).

Walshe (ibid:26.) observed that the political attitudes of white parishioners were not challenged by their white clergy and African political organizations were kept at arm’s length. Good works continued to be done: segregated parishes were served, mission schools and urban hostels supported, and health-care provided. Charity was the focus, and public service within the structures of injustice. There was even an element of humility in some Anglican quarters about this state of affairs. When the Provincial Conference met in 1933 to evaluate the past twenty five years, it confessed to being “strangely ineffective and barren of practical results: time and again pious resolutions have been passed and forgotten, subjects have been discussed which would have been more profitably dealt with locally, and committees have been appointed which never met.”

When, “Analysing the attitudes and policies of the Church of the Province and South Africa’s Methodists over the first thirty years of this century, James Cochrane found that their colours were firmly nailed to the mast of capitalism and bourgeois ideology. There was little concern for the harsh alienation of the workplace, for the special needs of the growing black proletariat and no sustained critique of the country’s unjust economic structures. What Cochrane found in ecclesial circles was: “a preoccupation with the life and sustenance of the Church itself, a constant emphasis on the narrowly religious in thought and activity, a fundamental separation from the existence and material life of dominated groups notwithstanding a frequently expressed concern for them, and an ideological blindness to the historical conditions and conflicts prevalent in the South African context throughout the period.” Walshe, 1995:27.

And, “When it came to asking why the English-speaking churches remained theologically captive to the white culture of the ruling economic and political elites and so failed to generate their own prophetic or “unique voice,” Cochrane’s research pointed to the generally comfortable relationship between white members of the hierarchies, government officials and leading capitalists as well as to a strong sense of European cultural superiority. There was also the reality of financial support from Britain. These factors conditioned the internal life of the churches: “They were white-dominated - and whites in the Church at all levels kept themselves at a considerable distance from blacks. Thus despite its large black membership, its sometimes liberal clergy, and a handful of educated blacks who were respected, the church did not have within itself structures suitable for hearing, let alone understanding, the multiple voices of the oppressed”(Walshe, 1995:27).

That the English-speaking churches in South Africa were so heavily conditioned by these captivities is not surprising. As Baum (cited in Walshe, 1995:27) maintains that religion is itself ambiguous, ‘the bearer of diverse and sometimes contradictory trends; it is both the creator of ideologies and the bearer of utopias.’ So it is that churches tend to legitimate the status quo even as they contain within themselves the potential for counter activity, for building on the concepts of human solidarity and so ‘transforming the existing historical reality.’

Walshe(1995:27-28) points out that, “While the vision of non-racial, more egalitarian South Africa motivated a minority of clergy – particularly those nurtured by the Christian socialism present within Anglicanism and British Methodism, - this strain of consciousness had not as yet coalesced into an effective, activist Christian witness. It was only in later decades as the resistance of the poor developed into a resilient mass movement which seriously threatened the status quo that such a response was to be generated. Until that time, most bishops and white clergy as well as a considerable proportion of black clergy remained passive, in practice the exponents of the values and attitudes of a white culture which constrained, distorted and all but obliterated the biblical call to human equality.”

The English-speaking churches were unwilling to confront the state and that was seen in the phenomenon of Bantu-European Conferences which met approximately every three years from 1923 – 1936. These gatherings involved the mainline denominations including representatives from the Dutch Reformed Churches, South

Africa's Joint Councils (discussions group of white liberals and African intellectuals) and African political leaders. Conference discussions invariably gave rise to resolutions, pamphlets and moral appeals to the state to alleviate the harsh conditions facing Africans. The very structures of injustice, however, were not seriously analysed and challenged, white politicians and business interests were not confronted or embarrassed: the maldistribution of land, segregation, the racist functioning of the capitalist system and white parliamentary privilege endured unscathed (Walshe, 1995:28).

The hopes of African participants were each time raised when there were these gatherings which accomplished very little if nothing at all, in part because the Dutch Reformed Churches were much more concerned with the mounting problem of Afrikaner poverty – unskilled poor whites that were drifting into the urban areas where they faced economic competition from Africans. Although in serious disagreement over the principles of “native policy, the Protestant English-speaking churches were less than resolute, being reluctant to confront the Afrikaner churches to the point of endangering these fragile ecumenical contacts. In addition, white clergy were not prepared to move ahead of their white congregations; nor were they willing to endanger their working relationships with government departments by shifting from polite protests and requests for additional resources to defiance of official policies (Walshe, 1995:28).

De Gruchy (1979:93) points out that:

A major dilemma of the English-speaking churches is the chasm that exists between the prophetic utterances of the church courts and the attitudes and actions of local congregations and members... How are we to explain this credibility gap? A major failure of the leaders of the churches has been their overconfidence in the power of resolution. There has been a tendency to believe that if the right word is uttered, the task is achieved. There has been a plethora of pronouncement, but a lack of grass-roots teaching and paucity of deeds.

De Gruchy (1979:94) remarks,”

...the English-speaking churches have become more aware of these gaps between resolutions and resolve, between word and deed, and have sought

ways of overcoming the inherent problems .But it remains true that white members are usually opposed to change or else apathetic.

De Gruchy (1979:93) points out that Hinchcliff remarked that:

It is probably true to say that when members of the government accuse the bishops and clergy of the Province of interfering in politics, many of the laity silently agree with the accusation and wish that their own consciences and the secular authorities might both be allowed to rest in peace.”

In 1936, the plight of the black majority led to the formation of the Christian Council of South Africa, the Cape and Transvaal Synods of the Dutch Reformed Church were actively involved. By 1940, as tension continued over “native policy”, South Africa’s support of British in World War II and the Council’s reliance on English as the medium for discussion, led to the withdrawal of these Synods. This was followed by the formation of an alternative Dutch Reformed Federal Missionary Council which was prepared to support “Christian race separation” and “separate vertical development. In a mild response to this emphatic support for segregation, the Christian Council sponsored the Reconstruction Conference of 1942 which recognized its vital important task as assisting to bridge the gulf between the racial groups within the Church by deepening in each, knowledge of the other, and by increasing the store of sympathy and good will.

The Council also dispatched a delegation to Prime Minister Smuts to argue, unsuccessfully, for African representation in parliament and for the recognition of African trade unions. While a break with the Dutch Reformed Churches had occurred, it was still not a situation where the Council was about to move beyond a polite deputation, take a politically active stand, encourage black protest or envisages the possibility of passive resistance. Moreover, if the Council had taken such a stand, its remaining members – the English-speaking churches – would not have responded. As Cochrane points out, while the Christian Council was committed to alleviating the social conditions of Africans, “the task it undertook was seldom integrated into Church life as a whole. The transformation of individual men and women continued to be central to the gospel preached in South Africa, but the transformation of the world which so deeply shaped these same men and women remained at best an addendum to the task of the churches.” (Walshe, 1995:29).

In the aftermath of the 1948 election and the victory of the Afrikaner National Party, the Council called a conference in reaction to the new apartheid government under the theme, "The Christian Citizen in a Multiracial Society." One hundred representatives from twenty-five churches, missions and other organizations agreed that, God has created all men in his image. Consequently beyond all differences remain the essential unity and as for South Africa what it needed was "not apartheid but 'eendrag' (unity). Following up on the Conference, the Council appointed a Commission to investigate the teaching of the Bible on race questions. "Spiritual unity in the Church," the Commission concluded, "cannot remain spiritual. "Practical fellowship between Christians in matters of race, social status and sex ought to lead to action in pursuit of the common good: To the Church there is committed the task of extending its pattern of unity to the world and this must include the effort to relate the message of unity in Christ to concrete social and political situations "(Walshe, 1995:29).

Walshe observed that:

Just how difficult it was to be anything other than belatedly and ineffectively reactive in fulfilling this charge, was revealed when the African National Congress and its allies launched the Defiance Campaign in 1952. At this moment, the Presbyterians turned to the Council for advice. The first instinct of several members was to walk away from the issue: the Council's task, they argued, was to coordinate, not to lead the churches. Others on the Council, including Albert Luthuli, thought differently. The eventual compromise was a weak public statement merely calling for consultation between the government and leaders of the Defiance Campaign. Neither the Council nor any of its member churches called for active participation in the struggle" (1995:29).

The Rev. W. Illsley, a past Methodist President, "had been far in advance of the great majority of his white colleagues when, in the debate preceding Mokitimi's election, he reminded them that Europeans would increasingly be called to serve and not to dominate, to learn as well as to teach, to receive as well as to give." It was to take the white Methodist establishment until the late 1970's, and the shock of confrontation with its black ministers, black consciousness and black theology, before Illsley's insights would be taken seriously. In fact, it was not until 1976 that the

first steps were taken to integrate the segregated Methodist circuits” (Walshe, 1995:30).

Walshe (1995:31). points out that:

White Presbyterian leaders were particularly resolute in resisting change within their own church structure, as they too exhibited the standard pattern of schizophrenia found in all the multi-racial churches. While they committed themselves in principle to eliminating racial discrimination, white Presbyterians did not witness in their own lives to non-racial Christian fellowship. When the General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance met in Frankfurt in 1964, approximately two-thirds of the South African delegates voted for a resolution calling members “to witness to justice and equality in race relations by identifying with, and accepting responsibility alongside, those who suffer”

It is important at this point to note that, “The Church was to undertake a serious study of the Scriptures and of politics to help its members face responsibly such hard problems as civil disobedience or violent action under the guidance of Jesus Christ. Yet, after the Frankfurt meeting, the official Presbyterian journal in South Africa moved in a different direction. Apartheid, it suggested, was not always blasphemy: ‘people cannot live with others. Some national groups cannot live with others.’ ”*Baaskap*” had to be replaced by ‘white leadership’; but the issue was to avoid hardening white opinion, and the solution was partition. Although the official voice of the Presbyterian Church was to overcome this flirtation with apartheid and condemn government policies, the only bold initiative was an inter-racial parish formed in East London in 1960. Starting out with twenty Africans, fifty coloureds and thirty-five whites, this solitary experiment struggled bravely against the barriers of the Group Areas Act until the parish disintegrated in 1970” (Walshe, 1995:29).

It was not until 1939 that the Vicar Apostolic of Cape Town, Bishop F. Hennemann, spoke out against racial discrimination. His message, directed at his white flock, was nevertheless pointed and clear. Any legislation, for example restricting property rights or employment, “based purely on race or colour must be opposed and condemned as unjust.” Likewise, any statute attaching a stigma of inferiority or implying that one group of people despises another,” offended against charity.

Walshe maintained that Bishop Hennemann had in principle attacked the moral basis of most South African statutes, and yet there was no significant response from the pews. After the 1948 election, he condemned apartheid as a “false doctrine” which linked “White Civilization with Christian Civilization.” Bishop Hennemann argued to say that “there is no such thing as ‘White Civilization,’ and there never was; and if (a civilization) is Christian, it is not ‘White.’ By 1952, as the Roman Catholic Church sported four white South African-born Archbishops (there were another fifteen expatriate members of the hierarchy) and as the Defiance Campaign was being launched, the first collective Bishops’ pastoral was issued. (1995:32).

By 1957, however, as the apartheid regime tightened its grip on the country, the tone had changed. Apartheid, “the preservation of what is called white civilization,” that is “white supremacy, which means the enjoyment by white men only of full political, social and economic rights, “was condemned in ringing terms. Under apartheid, the white man presented himself as “the agent of God’s will-determining the bounds of non-white development.” (Walshe, 1995:32).

Three years later, in another assertive but essentially ineffective pastoral delivered as black political opposition was being crushed, the Bishops again rejected apartheid’s ethnic fragmentation of South Africa. The country was “one community,” a variety of peoples brought together by the Providence of God working in history. Within this community, the value and dignity of each person had to be fully respected. This meant ending the system of migratory labour, maintaining stable family life, initiating a colour-blind franchise and repealing statutes like the Mixed Marriages Act and the Group Areas Act. These laws, it was argued, destroyed free association and the growth of human fellowship. (Walshe, 1995:33).

Unfortunately, the Roman Catholic Church was far from living up to these ideals. Like the other English-speaking churches, it had not supported the Defiance Campaign against laws which the church clearly agreed were unjust. Moreover, the Bishops’ own congregations had drifted with the racist culture and structures of South Africa into what, in retrospect, appeared to be a shocking state of disorder. Roman Catholic seminaries were still segregated in 1960 and it was thirteen years before the hierarchy began to integrate them.

Yet, Catholics, he went on, “had done very little” about this state of affairs – they had not moved “from the realm of principle to the realm of application.” In effect, South African-born Denis Hurley had to preach a variant of this sermon for the next half century and, in his bleakest moments, was reduced very nearly to despair. There was, in his judgment, a persistent tendency in the parishes – black and white – to turn the Church into a mental abstraction, “pure and perfect, apart from the sinful world of men...This Church, this ‘perfect society,’ idealized beyond recognition, was not thought of as something at the service of mankind, but rather as something to whose transcendent claims men should bow. In this way of thinking, the Church was the end and men were the means, instead of the other way around.”Walshe, 1995:34

Hurley was to be reassured, consoled and inspired by Vatican II, a gathering to which he contributed a great deal. However, he had inherited a largely expatriate clergy and a Catholic culture that envisaged the Church as separate from the world, dedicated to spiritual as opposed to earthly values, to the supernatural rather than the incarnational. Called by Vatican II to reject this mind-set, to live in the world, to read the signs of the times and to work for society’s transformation, Hurley recognized that most of his priests were confused: “They cannot see how the kind of church they were brought up in, with its other-worldliness, its rigid legalistic structures, its clear-cut dogmatic formulas can ever be relevant to the battling and confused human world they are supposed to love and cherish.”

Walshe (1995:35-36) points out that:

” It was to take twenty years for the Roman Catholic seminaries to come to terms with this problem, and even longer for Catholic parish life to focus on issues of social justice. Looking back in the mid-seventies at the efforts of the Justice and Reconciliation Department of the Bishops’ Conference to expose the inhumanity of apartheid, Fr.Finbar Synott, O.P. asked in some desperation: “How can Christians impose such a system? How can they sit quiet and by inaction assent to it? One repeats the litany of injustice, tries to drive it home, and sees the “switch off” mechanism of the whites take over. It is not even conscious. It is just that they are too comfortable; too busy with their own affairs...After all, Christians before now had slaves, and saw no incongruity in it.Our duty is somehow, somewhere, to break through this crust

of insensibility. This attempt to raise awareness was directed at whites. They, it was argued, held power and were responsible for making the first moves which could shift the country away from racism and into a process of peaceful change. This was a judgment of some naiveté in terms of the white power structure; it was also oblivious of, or chose to ignore, the long, non-violent history of black protests against segregation and apartheid. In fact, only a minute proportion of white Roman Catholics responded to the Justice and Reconciliation initiatives, a handful of diocesan and parish groups in the major cities. Given this experience, it is worth asking why these early Justice and Reconciliation efforts were not extended to black parishes-to individuals who desperately needed a sense of empowerment, of renewed hope as the apartheid police-state tightened its grip on black communities and banned their political organizations. The answer lies in the white domination of the Church, its ecclesial power - structure and finances. It lies too, in the absence of a confident, prophetic, socially critical tradition within South African Catholicism. The reality was paternalism within the hierarchy and white clergy which dared not envision, let alone nurture, the growth of an assertive, demanding black liberation movement that would challenge racism within the state and might also do so within the Church. Albert Luthuli's 1960 warning that time was running out for passive Christian denominations that would not vigorously challenge the injustices of apartheid was a timely one for Roman Catholics too “

There is no doubt that the above quotation clearly points out that the state and the churches, in particular the Dutch Reformed Churches were in a deep relationship with the Afrikaner state such that they even interpreted some verses to back the situation and condition they found themselves in which therefore tells that religion and politics were working together against the poor black majority. Though English-speaking Churches voiced their opinion on such behaviour, they were not courageous enough to challenge the situation, always not willing to put the relationship they had with the state in jeopardy.

2.6 The Ethiopian Church Movement and the racist State

Daneel (1987:38) The Ethiopian-type churches originated largely as a reaction against White and White-dominated mission churches. Political development and the knowledge that a colonial power had been successfully resisted in East Africa for the first time bred awareness that God concerns himself with Africa in a special way. Such texts as Psalm 68:31, which says that Ethiopia hastens to stretch out her hands to God, are interpreted as a sign that the oppressed Black people have a specially appointed place in God's plan of salvation. This text is linked to the conversion of the Ethiopian chamberlain and it is claimed that Africa responded to Christ's message of salvation long before the European peoples did. This led to the rise of a sort of "Ethiopian" ideology with a marked psychological sense of self-esteem and responsibility for spreading God's kingdom in Africa."

The name Ethiopia, with its mystical connotations, was interpreted to refer to all black Africa and a longing to plant authentic, indigenous churches across the entire continent. By 1902, the year the Britons and Boers concluded the treaty of Vereeniging which legalized the colour bar; Ethiopianism came to refer to the entire indigenous African Church Movement.

The Ethiopian Church derived its name from the biblical importance of Ethiopia and the prophecy of African redemption in Psalm 68:31 which says: "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." Ethiopianism has become a generic term to describe a whole range of African efforts to improve their religious, educational, social, economic and political status in society.

Motsekga, M. (2009:5). *Wars of Resistance and the Birth of the Union of South Africa*. ANC Archives, Johannesburg indicates that, "At the turn of the century Ethiopianism was influential, not only among African rulers, such as the chiefs and headmen but also among the growing African bourgeoisie and wealthy peasantry. Ethiopian sentiments spread too among the thousands of African workers on the Witwatersrand and took root among laity and pastors of various Churches. This means that Ethiopianism was rooted among the people."

The Ethiopian Movement, which was defined as a confluence of several streams, began as a revolt of the African members within the Missionary Churches where the African Clergy found out that there were colour bars in the Missionary Churches; that

they were treated as children; that the Missionaries refused to ordain Africans as priests and that in cases where Africans were ordained they were always put in positions where they had to take orders from white superiors.

The African clergy sought to free themselves from the fetters of the missionaries by establishing African Independent Churches that came to be known as Ethiopian Churches. The leaders and products of these churches were among the founders of the various Native Congresses, which were formed during the first decade of the twentieth century. These Congresses culminated in the formation of the South African National Native Congress in 1923. It is in this sense that Nelson Mandela traces the seeds of the formation of the ANC to the Ethiopian Movement. The founders of the Congress Movement also received spiritual support and guidance from Zionists and Apostolic churches founded during the beginning of the twentieth century.

Motsekga, M. (2009:5). *Wars of Resistance and the Birth of the Union of South Africa*. ANC Archives, Johannesburg, indicates that in the early 19th century when the Africans became thoroughly acquainted with the Bible and with theological dogmas and creeds they realized that white missionaries were divided into many different sects and that these sects differed one from another on what were supposed to be important points of doctrine; and that the African Clergy were just as capable of having their own views on theological matters as white missionaries. The Ethiopian or African Christians felt that the establishment of autonomous Churches would provide a platform where they could develop their own ideas and express their own personalities without having to suffer the racist interference of white missionaries who claimed superior knowledge and understanding.

Although Ethiopian Christian Churches consistently claimed to be apolitical leaders, they did become involved in revolutionary politics, particularly in the ANC, founded in 1912. In attesting to this, Elphick and Davenport (as cited in Walshe 1997:383), on a prophetic voice within divided churches points out that: "The struggle against apartheid in South Africa was theological, as well as political. When prophetic Christianity confronted segregation and the apartheid state, challenging the passivity of the diverse denominations and their defacto acceptance of the status quo, the Christian church itself became a site of political struggle"

Sgqibo Dwane(1989:96), in responding to the question he posed to himself about what things Ethiopianism emphasized, points out the following: Ethiopianism is a reaction to conquest. The African must have his human dignity restored, meaning that his cultural and religious heritage has to be reinstated and given full franchise. Africans must not compromise on this, as they must be accepted in the body of Christ on their own terms and on those of the gospel alone. In fact, Ethiopianism was regarded by both the Missionary Churches and their government as a threat to Christianity and their majesty's empire. This new concept, Ethiopianism, brought the fear that it was going to destroy the tenets of Western civilization and lead the masses of the oppressed Africans to their emancipation. One of the significant manifestations was the birth of the Christian communities that existed independently of the missionary establishment.

The Ethiopian Movement has been one of the little corners in which blacks have been able to attempt to be themselves, away from the pressures to conform to rigid Western norms and values. And that little corner, maintains Dwane, has to be expanded so as to give more elbow room for further self-discovery and self-expression. The gospel means surely freedom to be God's children, each in his own particular way. He continues to say that Ethiopianism takes the theme 'decolonization' seriously.

A colonized mind is one that has accepted dependency as a way of life. Dependency is self-devaluation, a scaling down of one's worth, one's ability, and of the value of black enterprise. A colonized mind is one so utterly dependent upon the white man's approval that it even echoes his basic assumption that 'white knows best'. When the white man tells black people that they are too poor and must therefore not worry about giving in a costly way to God; that takes root in the colonized dependent, and bears its fruit in the form of self-pity and lack of any form of enterprise.

The leaders of the Ethiopian Movement saw this danger very clearly, and spoke against it. In a letter written by JG Xaba, Mangena and others, this is what is said: "...it was the wish of the first heroes who came to us and who were our benefactors that the natives were not always to be supported by the societies in Europe, but should learn to stand on their own feet. What we are now doing, is nothing more than an answer to the request of the missionaries of the churches and friends here and yonder." (Dwane, 1989:97)

The Ethiopian Christian leaders did not see their work as directed to political ends, although they did seek answers to the question of liberation within the Christian faith, and they did foster consciousness of African dignity, self-help and self-reliance. The Ethiopian Church Movement was also political in the sense that it complemented the activities of the African political elite by raising, in the Church sphere, issues of African equality and human rights. The Ethiopian Church leaders could distance themselves from mainline Churches, but African political leaders, if they wished to be effective could not stand aloof from white politics. The formation of the union of South Africa in 1910 practically re-enacted the Treaty of Vereeniging (1902) as indicated in the previous paragraphs which literally made South Africa a white man's country.

The increasing alienation of African land, culminating in the Native Land Act of 1913, and the general decline in the status of Africans led to the formation of at least seven political organizations in which Ethiopians were prominent. This means that during the nineteenth century (19th century), religion and politics were not separated, hence the possibility that the ANC could have been established with the notion that it should be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all.

Having mentioned some names of the leading personalities in this attempt to show the relationship and solidarity of the Church and the African National Congress, the fact that the ANC was established with a notion that God had intended it to be His vehicle to set people free from all bondages so that they could enjoy a better life as human beings, and thereby indicating the close connection between religion and politics which already have been mentioned.

The Missionary Christian Churches and the Colonial authorities did not regard black people as human beings with adequate intellectual capacities to take decisions on all issues concerning their lives. This as well led to the rise of Ethiopianism which therefore became a challenge to the status quo and affected the ruling classes and their missionary agents. It is important thus to say little more about these courageous pioneers, as to how they came to be known and what circumstances propelled them to move away from where they were, playing the critical role of bringing about the transformation God's people were so yearning for.

2.6.1 Rev. Nehemiah Tile:

Rev. Tile was an African nationalist whose home was in Tembuland. A Methodist minister with definite ideas about where he thought the church should be going. Tile clashed with his superintendent, who accused him of taking part in political matters and stirring up feelings of hostility against the magistrates in Tembuland. Siggibo Dwane maintains that one would have thought that the magistrates were perfectly capable of looking after themselves. The second complaint was this matter of addressing meetings on Sundays, presumably, meetings of political nature, and thirdly, was the donation of a beast to Chief Ngangelizwe for the circumcision of Prince Dalindybo, heir to the paramountcy of the Tembus for a circumcision feast. Circumcision was one of the Xhosa customs which were frowned upon by missionaries, and that to them in the 19th and 20th century missionaries would have been the red rag to a bull. Therefore in doing this, Tile was defying the church's ruling, and making a claim for the legitimacy of his own culture. In the face of all these challenges, Tile felt unable to continue, and left the Methodist Church and founded his own Tembu National Church in 1884 (Dwane, 1989:84-85).

Bishop Siggibo Dwane(1989:85-86). points out that Stormont, a white missionary at Lovedale, observed that one of the tenets of this church was that it was inappropriate for African Christians to be praying for the Queen of England, when no-one was asked to pray for their leaders. I have already spoken about him elsewhere in this work and would like to acknowledge him for the observance.

2.6.2 Rev. Mangena Mokone:

In 1892 in the Transvaal, maintains Bishop Siggibo Dwane (1989:86), that Rev. Mokone started the Ethiopian Movement. Like Rev Tile, Mokone had been a minister in the Methodist Church, serving under a white minister. Apparently he was a very fiery preacher whose style of preaching did not endear him to certain concerned whites. When they complained to his superintendent, he was duly transferred to another circuit. Mokone resented this interference, naturally. But more was to come a little later. In the same year of 1892 at a missionary conference in Pretoria, things came to a head. Blacks were excluded from positions on the board, and were not allowed to attend certain sessions opened only to whites.

This was the last straw as Rev. Mokone and Rev. Napo who had seceded from the Anglican Church and others withdrew from this conference, and held their own meeting. They resigned from the Methodist Church, and on the following Sunday he and 20 others founded the Ethiopian Church. This wasn't precipitated action, but the boiling point had been reached after several years of simmering anger and resentment. (Dwane, 1989:86)

As founders of the Ethiopian Movement, they defined the movement as a confluence of several streams, that of the religious and cultural dimensions, in search for an authentic African expression of Christianity. Before it was one week old, the Transvaal Ethiopian church whose leader was Mangena Mokone had a banner on which the words from Psalm 68 were printed: 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.' Mokone's idea was that Ethiopians would attempt to set themselves free 'from the imported Christianity of the European people.

2.6.3 Rev. James Matta Dwane:

Dwane was a Methodist minister who left the church to join the newspaper known as *Imvo Zabantsundu* in King William's Town, and while he was there, there was a movement afoot in the Ethiopian Church which would cause him to leave his job at *Imvo Zabantsundu*, and later absorb all his energies. Bishop Siggibo Dwane points out that the Ethiopian Church had heard about the American Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) through Charlotte Manye, a student at Wilberforce. Rev. JM Dwane was invited to a National Conference of the Ethiopians to be held in Marabastad, Pretoria during March 1896. He went and, together with Rev. Marcus Gcabashe, also a Methodist minister; they were received into the fellowship of the Ethiopian Church. This Conference resolved that if possible, the Ethiopians should seek union with the AME which was formed by Richard Allen and Absalom Jones in 1816. (Dwane, 1989:92)

Bishop Siggibo Dwane maintains that there is the nationalist element in the Ethiopian Movement which has social and political expression as Black Christians were experiencing the encounter with white people in church and state as something that bruises and brutalizes. White domination was sometimes subtle and disguised, but at other times it became more overt hence Rev. Mokone and Rev. James Matta Dwane decided to leave the Methodist Church as the odds were heavily stacked against

black people. The Nationalist element comes out very clearly as we shall later observe. (Dwane, 1989:84-85)

It was at this National Conference when the Ethiopian Church of South Africa decided to send its founder Rev. Mangena Mokone, Rev. James Dwane and Rev. JG Xaba to the US to negotiate the link with the AME and formalize ties with the AME Church. Mokone and Xaba, due to financial constraints, were not able to go and consequently James Dwane managed to go alone. Bishop Siggibo Dwane points out that he was very warmly received by the AME dignitaries, and remained in America for three months, returning home with news of successful visit.

The Ethiopian Church of South Africa became the fourteenth (14th) District of the AME Church) where Rev. James Dwane was appointed the Superintendent General of the District upon his return to South Africa in 1897. Siggibo Dwane maintains, while James Dwane was there, he observed and was much impressed by the high standard of education of leading black Americans, and it re-kindled his old dream of an all-African college of education (Dwane, 1989:92).

In the same year, 1897, Charlotte Makgomo Manye-Maxeke facilitated the affiliation of the Ethiopian Church of South Africa to the AME Church in the United States of America. Bishop Siggibo Dwane in his book titled, *'Issues in the South African Theological Debate'*, points out that: "The Americans saw in this approach by the Ethiopians, an opportunity to begin new work in Africa, and Dwane on the other hand was able to put forward his idea of a college of education for black advancement. It would appear that the American Church agreed to support this venture." (Dwane, 1989: 92-93).

Elphick maintained that long before Christians became an overwhelming majority, Christian ideas and institutions were prominent in the political history of the region. The 19th century Christians fanned out into the southern African interior, injecting themselves into the power politics of the region and that they were often opposed, occasionally supported, by whites as well as blacks. In the 20th century, Elphick maintained that South Africans have used Christian doctrine both to justify and oppose doctrines of racial segregation, most notably apartheid. Christian leadership provided much of the impetus for the founding, in 1912, of the African National Congress, the most influential black opposition to white rule, and now the dominant

political party in South Africa. And in the accelerating struggle between white rule and black liberation in the 1970's and 1980's, Christian affirmations, symbols, and rituals were prominent among militants on both sides, and among the would-be conciliation in the middle. (1997:1-15)

In 1898, the AME Church sent Bishop HM Turner to South Africa. In his extensive tours through Cape Colony, Bishop Turner won thousands of adherents and ordained sixty five (65) ministers. In 1900 Sylvester Henry Williams, Secretary of the Pan African Association and Bishop Walters of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Zion were the ones that convened the first Pan African Congress in London which was opened by WEB Du Bois, an Ethiopian scholar and disciple of Prince Hall, founder of the African Masonic Lodges. In his opening keynote address, Du Bois predicted that racism would be the biggest problem of the twentieth (20th) century. William and Peregrino took the message of Pan African Pride and political consciousness into the interior of South Africa and beyond.

The Conference had been attended by people of African descent from three (3) continents. The delegates to this Conference made strong attacks on the desire of the English Capitalists to re-enslave the black man, especially in South Africa and on Boer atrocities against Africans in the so-called Anglo-Boer War which broke out in 1899 and raged on until 1902. Other secessions followed such that in 1905 fifteen (15) Ethiopian Churches existed and their number kept on growing. Bishop Turner was a self-professed Ethiopianist and Pan Africanist.

This Conference also condemned the atrocities committed against black people on both sides of the war. Blacks had joined the war hoping that in the event of victory they would regain their civil and political rights. At the end of the Pan African Congress, some delegates including Rev. Henry Sylvester Williams and Ghanaian lawyer, Peregrine, came to settle and work in Cape Town. They were joined in 1901 by Bishop Coppin who arrived in Cape Town and assumed leadership of the fourteenth district of the AME Church in South Africa. The Bishop came to South Africa determined to replace missionaries whose aim was to keep Africans backward. At the end of the war in 1902, the prediction of Rev. WEB Du Bois was confirmed when the Dutch and the British concluded the Treaty of Vereeniging which legalized the colour bar.

In 1900, Rev. James Dwane seceded from the Ethiopian Church to form the order of Ethiopia within the Anglican Church. Earlier in this work, we have pointed out that Sgqibo Dwane maintains that the Ethiopian Movement had a nationalist element, and the Anglicans were to find it a hot potato to handle now that James Dwane had become an Anglican. The Presbyterian Missionary Conference in 1904 said it placed much emphasis upon colour, and so intensified the distrust existing between blacks and whites. The Selbourne Review in 1907 concluded that it's (the Ethiopian Movement) rapid spread was causing anxiety, and a sense of insecurity among white people. (Dwane, 1989:94-95).

Ethiopianism was the first National Movement that linked Africans in the coastal colonies and the interior republics, even before South Africa was united by British conquest. The Ethiopian Movement promoted the Pan African National and worker consciousness through the AME Church links in the United States of America. White employers became worried about the effect of Ethiopianism on the labour market after the Anglo-Boer War, as employment was expanding and wages were considered too high by employers. Ethiopianism had a unique and important ministry to black people as its founders laid the foundation of solidarity among black people as its aim, and according to JG Xaba, was to further Christianity and union in the whole continent of Africa.

The Ethiopian Christians maintained that the country, the farms and mines were theirs and that they should work them for themselves and for their benefit, instead of working them for the white people and giving them all the benefit. Thus Ethiopianism became a black threat or peril (*Swartgevaar*) to the white colonial establishment. As Ethiopianism became a black threat or peril, it produced white reaction which increased racial discrimination against educated Africans as the whites feared the black peril (*Swartgevaar*) of a Pan African uprising against white rule and saw Ethiopianist preachers as dangerous agitators. By 1902, the year the Britons and Boers concluded the Treaty of Vereeniging which legalized the colour bar; Ethiopianism came to refer to the entire indigenous African Church Movement. White settlers feared that the Ethiopian Movement would lead to a universal African uprising as several native congresses were formed in South Africa. The congresses were predicted by the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and the African People's Organization (APO) founded by Abdurrahman and Sol Plaatjie, respectively.

In coincident with the arrival of Bishop Coppin in South Africa, the Wilberforce University contingent returned home renewed and invigorated to take action from their experiences in the United States of America. The response of whites to Ethiopianism contained in the Selbourne Memorandum of 1907 urged political union among the South African colonies, influenced by disturbing activities among Africans, including the rapid spread of Ethiopianism which caused much anxiety among whites, particularly in Natal and the Transvaal.

In 1903, Charlotte got married to her South African Wilberforce University class mate Marshall Maxeke. They worked together as missionaries for the AME Church in now called Limpopo province and later in the Eastern Cape Province. With the support of Enoch Mamba, a Traditional Leader, the couple established an industrial school and in 1908, under the auspices of the AME Church they established Wilberforce Institute, now known as Wilberforce Community College, in Evaton, outside Johannesburg.

Many of the African political leaders who swelled the ranks of the four native congresses were members of the Ethiopian Church and later the AME Church in South Africa. These black political leaders drawn from the Ethiopian or Independent African Churches confronted the racial problems in South Africa differently than earlier nationalist leaders who were steeped in the traditions of Cape liberalism, which often appealed to British justice and spoke of what the black man might become. The threat of white mob violence (white peril) over the Swartgevaar stimulated the growth of African Vigilance Committees in Cape Town, the Transkei and Transvaal, around 1903 -1904.

2.7 The African National Congress and Religion

The South African Native Congress, founded in 1902, re-named itself the Cape Native Congress when other Congresses were formed in Natal, Transvaal and Orange River colony. These Congresses gave evidence to Lag den's Native Affairs Commission appointed by Lord Milner, the British High Commissioner, to enquire into the Native (now national) Question in South Africa. In the Transvaal, the local Congress had united with the Vigilance Committee and a Basotho Committee which was representing migrant workers to give evidence to the Commission. The

Congress members were also Ethiopian Christians. For instance, in the Orange Free State, the Native Congress was more or less governed by the AME Church rules. The name Ethiopia, with its mystical connotations, was interpreted to refer to all black African and a longing to plant authentic, indigenous Churches across the entire continent.

Peter Walshe (1995:12) maintains that:

The struggle against apartheid in South Africa, as many have argued, has been theological as well as political. This is so, in the words of Professor Ben Marais because 'Apartheid erodes the very basis of humanity.' It is also because the great majority of South Africans have some Christian identity and church affiliation, yet their faith commitments, theologies and politics are heavily conditioned by class interests and particular ideologies. Consequently, when prophetic Christianity set out to relate biblical values to the analysis of society and the search for justice, it not only confronted racism, segregation and the apartheid state. It also challenged the various denominations and their passivity, their *de facto* acceptance of the *status quo*. As this happened, Christian community were divided – the church itself became a site of struggle as its internal fault-lines of race, class and ideology were exposed.

Walshe (1995:13) again points out that:

The first signs of prophetic Christianity are to be found in South Africa's black political culture which has long been open to the social gospel. Signs of prophetic Christianity emerged in the early twentieth century (20th) as South Africa's black political culture began to articulate a vision of a just, non-racial society. Among African political leaders there was a strongly reactive response to racist measures such as the colour-bar clause of the South Africa Act (1909), and the territorial segregation of the Native Land Act (1913) and the continuing flow of discriminatory legislation from the white parliament in Cape Town.

Cochrane (1987:117) then points out that:

The Act of union and the effective exclusion of blacks from formal political activity in national affairs soon provided the key impetus to the forming of the South African National Native Congress (SANNAC) in 1912. The SANNAC was as a result of a proposal by Pixley ka Isaka Seme to form a 'Native Union' in

symbolic and political opposition to the Union of South Africa. The renaming of (SANNAC) to be known as the African National Congress (ANC), founded in 1923, offered an alternative to this racially based system of oppression.”

It is my strongest belief that the ANC was established with the notion to be God's vehicle to liberate His people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all and not just the white minority that sought to benefit when the union of South Africa was formed, but also the black majority. A major early strategy involved sending delegations and making appeals to Britain and other foreign powers, but Britain in particular would not allow 'the alliance between Afrikaner landowners and British investors, mine owners and industrialists' to be weakened.

Cochrane(1987:117).maintains that, for long the SANNAC proved to be a momentous movement of considerable importance but without real teeth, a reflection of its predominantly 'middle class' leadership whose primary concern was often that of upward mobility within the prevailing political economy. Yet it represented a crucial part of the social equation in the period under consideration, to be overshadowed later only by black workers' movements was to become increasingly potent)

Cochrane (ibid: 118), points out that: “Yet the political activity of the ANC, a body heavily influenced by Christianity through its leadership (and many prominent members), gained relatively little attention or sympathy from the churches. Many of its arguments were based on well-developed appeals of Christian morality. Its tone was for long rather moderate. Influenced by Booker T Washington and WEB Du Bois (and only later by Marcus Garvey), the ANC first sought the gradual extension of civil liberties enjoyed by whites to those qualified, and equal economic opportunity for those of sufficient prowess”.

Motsekga (2009:6) indicates that the role of Christians in the ANC was increasing, and no wonder that, in 1912 a number of secular and religious leaders banded together to establish the (SANNAC), renamed the (ANC) in 1923. Many Ethiopian Christians rose to prominence in the ANC. John Langalibalele Dube, a self-confessed Ethiopianist and disciple of Booker T. Washington, became the founding President of the ANC, the first national political organization of Africans. Other Ethiopian Christians who rose to prominence in the ANC include Revd Dr.EJ

Mqoboli, the first Chaplain General of the ANC who was assisted by Rev. Henry Reed Ngcayiya and, who reconstructed the Ethiopian Church in 1919.

Charlotte Makgomo Many-Maxeke was an active AME Church Lay Preacher, who established the Bantu Women's League, forerunner of the ANC Women's League in 1918. She became the first African woman to obtain a Bachelor of Science degree, was one of the most accomplished and celebrated African women of her days. She toured North America as a Chorister in the 1890's and helped introduce the influential AME Church into South Africa. She was a key leader in the march against passes in Bloemfontein in 1913. Dr. AB Xuma; an ANC President was also a member of the AME Church while RW Msimang, drafter of the ANC Constitution, was a leader in his father's Independent Methodist Church. In 1918, as a leader of the Bantu Women's League, Charlotte led a delegation to meet with Prime Minister Louis Botha, and urged him not to include women in the enforcement of new night pass regulations in the Transvaal. In March 1919, she also led the anti-pass campaign in the Witwatersrand and also participated in the formation of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) in the same year.

By 1935 under her marriage name, Charlotte Maxeke was introduced at a meeting of the All African Convention as the mother of African Freedom in South Africa and as a result a nursery school in Tanzania was named after her. She died in 1939 and left her legacy that there is no Chinese wall between nationalist, religious and worker's politics. In other words, she saw the inter-relatedness, and inter-connectedness that we cannot wish away as nationalist, religious and political persons as these are interlinked and interwoven. "Then, in the Defiance Campaign of the 1950's, after the 1948 election to power of the Afrikaner National Party, the ANC and its allies offered passive resistance to apartheid's racist legislative programme. Black political organizations also strove against the economic interests that undergirded white racism, rejecting migratory labour and the colour bar on the mines and in industry, and calling for recognition of black trade unions, adequate housing, improved educational, medical, and welfare services, workman's compensation, and pensions." (Elphick and Davenport, 1997:383)

When, confronting the new apartheid regime, the ANC moved towards mass protest, it was with the co-operation of the African Ministers' Federation that the national "Days of Prayer" were called in 1949 and 1950. On these occasions the ministers

reminded their people that, in the legitimate struggle for political and social justice, they “should not forget Christ who is the Champion of Freedom.” The threat of a resurgent disillusionment was, however, never far below the surface. Once segregation and economic exploitation had been further refined under the policies of apartheid, and the mounting political opposition of the 1940’s and 1950’s crushed without any resolute, sustained opposition from the churches, Albert Luthuli, a devout Congregationalist and President of the ANC during the Defiance Campaign, offered a warning.

Luthuli (as cited in Elphick and Davenport, *ibid*: 383) pointed out that shortly after the Sharpeville massacre and the banning of the ANC and other anti-apartheid organizations in 1960, he wrote:

The Churches have simply submitted to the secular state for far too long; some have even supported apartheid. While it is not too late for white Christians to look at the Gospels and redefine their allegiance, I warn those who care for Christianity, who care to go to the entire world and preach the Gospel, that in South Africa the opportunity is three hundred years old. It will not last forever. The time is running out.

This clearly attests to the fact that the ANC was established with the notion that it should be God’s vehicle to liberate God’s people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all. Leaders of various churches converged in the ANC and rallied around it to advocate non racialism and segregation as an evil system that oppressed the majority of the people of God, a system that needed to be fought and phased out by this new force, the ANC, that was established.

Black Christians played a very important role in the establishment of Christianity in Southern Africa, as they did in the rest of Africa. Because much of the history concerning Black pioneers is transmitted orally in an African language, White people everywhere including South Africa, are often not aware of the important contribution Black Christians made. Delius (as cited in Cochrane1987:121).points out the important role played by Black pioneers in the growth of the church among them. Their contribution was so important that King Sekhukhune accused one of them in these words: ‘Jacob, it is actually your fault that all my people believe. You brought

belief here from the old colony (the Cape Colony).The missionaries are nowhere near as responsible as you'. It is for this reason that I also discuss the contribution of the three Black pioneers who have contributed to the establishment of Christianity in South Africa of which they have also contributed to the reason why the ANC was established.

That the ANC was established to be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life is true because, according to Barbier as mentioned in chapter one (ibid.opcit), " it is necessary and important for religion and politics to remain united in working together because religion is the foundation of state and society, and that religion as part of politics can provide unity, harmony and social stability for society as well as the fact that religion is vital for politics as religion drives people to obedience, making them familiar with laws and how to live in a peaceful society."

The ANC achieved this involvement of faith communities by establishing the ANC Commission on Religious Affairs in 1995 and charged it with the responsibility to facilitate interaction between religious and political organization (ANC). This establishment has been mentioned in the first chapter of this study. In tracing the history of religion and politics in South Africa with an attempt to show the relationship and solidarity of the Church and the African National Congress (ANC) thereby indicating the close connection between religion and politics, Walshe maintains that the first signs of prophetic Christianity are to be found in South Africa's black political culture which has long been open to the social gospel.

Indeed, it was common place during the first sixty years of the twentieth century for African political leaders to espouse what might be termed a nascent liberation or contextual theology. As the twentieth century progressed, the political culture was formed by a wide range of factors. There was a strongly reactive process against racist legislation for example the colour-bar clauses of the South Africa Act (1909), the territorial segregation of the Natives Land Act (1913) and the continuing flow of discriminatory legislation from the white parliament in Cape Town.(Walshe, 1995:13)

After its formation in 1912, as alluded in this work, the African National Congress offered an alternative vision of a non-racial system of government. Later, the All

African Convention, a united front organization, was put together to protest the destruction of the Cape common voters roll in 1936. Following the election of the Afrikaner National Party in 1948 with its slogan "Apartheid" and ever more comprehensive racist legislation, the ANC and its allies responded with passive resistance in the Defiance Campaign of the nineteen fifties. Black political power was also formed by the industrial revolution that inexorably transformed South Africa. In spite of the devices of segregation and apartheid, the various population groups were economically integrated, a reality which was accepted by the small African middle class and the rapidly expanding black proletariat.

Conditioned in part by the harsh processes of urbanization, black political organizations were provoked to oppose the structures of white racism which worked remorselessly against their economic interests. They rejected migratory labour, the colour-bar on the mines and in industry; they called for the recognition of black trade unions, for adequate housing, schooling and welfare services-for example medical attention, workman's compensation and pensions. Several ideological influences converged to support this evolving political culture. African traditions among the Bantu-speaking peoples emphasized communal and egalitarian values, hence a saying that a human being is a human being because of others.

An equitable distribution of land usage rights and political participation were deeply rooted expectations which fuelled a sense of moral outrage at the economically exploitative and politically exclusive structures that were introduced in the interests of white power. The element of non-racial governance that was present in the Cape Colony also gained the approval of black political leaders, who were appalled when this was whittled away by the Union of South Africa's colour-bar constitution and then destroyed when Africans were removed from the Cape's common voters roll in 1936 by the Representation of Natives Act.

At the back of these grievances was the growing feeling of the African National Consciousness and revolt against white settlers in both religious and political matters. Ethiopianism "was not a religious movement but a battle for independence. The church was the only sphere in which the African could hope to realise his desire for freedom, and his struggles seemed justified since the white missionaries had taught the native Christians that an autonomous church was the aim of missionary work."

The researcher is convinced that the church was the only sphere where Africans could hope to realize their desire for freedom in the sense that they neither saw the church becoming victorious without this movement nor the movement without the church hence the ANC established with the notion that it becomes God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all.

The founding president of the ANC, Dr. John Langalibalele Dube was a priest and self-confessed Ethiopian Christian. Rev. Dr. EJ Mqoboli of the ANC was appointed as its first Chaplain General assisted by Rev. Henry Ngcayiya, and Charlotte Maxeke, a Lay Preacher in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, were among the founders of the ANC. We must also note that in 1906 Sefako M, Makgatho, who became the president in 1917, founded the United Native Congress Church. When agreement was reached to form the ANC in 1912, the founders sang "Lizalise idinga lakho Thixo Nkosi yenyano" which translate "God of truth fulfil your promise"

The ANC National Anthem, composed by Rev. Tiyo Soga of the Presbyterian Church, which is shared by other countries in Southern Africa, was offered as a prayer. The historical association of the ANC and the Church can therefore not be doubted. The ANC practically derived its moral vision from the Church. This also is an affirmation that the ANC was established to be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all.

The proclivity to counter racism with non-racial values was further enhanced by contacts with black Americans and the sense that the struggle for civil rights in the USA was comparable to the struggle for justice in South Africa. Young African attended black colleges in the United States from the late nineteenth century and several who returned played key roles in launching the ANC. Frederick Douglas, Booker T Washington and W.E.B Du Bois were revered names in South Africa's black political circles.

Peter Walshe (as cited in Elphick and Davenport, 1997:384).on:' Christianity and the Anti-Apartheid Struggle: The Prophetic Voice within Divided Churches' wrote and pointed out that, "Generations of political leaders, particularly within the ANC, also drew on Christian values for the building of a broader political community. There was,

they believed, an ethical imperative to move beyond narrow identities of family, clan, ethnicity, and race. For instance, the Rev. Zacchaeus Mahabane, a Methodist minister, leader of the Cape Congress and President of the ANC in the late twenties and thirties, often repeated his theme that “the universal acknowledgement of Christ as common Lord and King (would) breakdown the social, spiritual and intellectual barriers between the races.”

It is within this broader context that Christianity’s contribution to black political attitudes and the struggle for democracy should be understood. For many leaders who were members of one or other of the churches, Christian egalitarian values and non-racial values made political sense, confirming the communal expectations of traditional societies, reassuring individuals of their inherent dignity amidst the traumas of an industrial revolution and sustaining their instinctive aversion to white arrogance, racism, enforced segregation and later apartheid. Christian values, it appeared, were also coincident with the Cape liberal tradition and the hopes of black leaders in America. Furthermore, the introduction of class-analysis, while contributing to the non-racial expectations of black political culture, eventually challenged Christians to undertake a more penetrating social analysis, not least of capitalism’s structural injustices.

The ANC has always maintained that it has a long history of association with the Church because its founders were church men and women and that throughout its years that link has never been broken. Faith and politics are like sides of a coin and the transformation of South Africa needs the greatest possible cooperation between religions and political bodies that will from time to time critically and wisely serve the people of God together. It is Nelson Mandela who once pointed out that, “Neither political nor religious objectives can be achieved in isolation. They are held in a creative tension with common commitments. We are partners in the building of our society.” (Mayson, 1995:1)

It is President Thabo Mbeki who pointed out that, ‘The new South Africa, born out of a broken and battered society, disfigured by the evil and corrupt apartheid system, cries out for hard political and socio-economic transformation which must be achieved if our country is to save itself from destruction. But it cries out also for spiritual power and resources to heal, to reconcile, to rebuild, and to restore its humanity. South Africa is crying out for its soul’ (Mayson, 1995:1)

These utterances by the Presidents of the ANC, Oliver Reginald Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki attest to the fact that the ANC was established with the notion that it should be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all. The social and political exclusion of African people from the Union on the ground of race compelled them to build alliances across lines of ethnicity and to make racial justice their rallying cry as they were being pressed to the limits of endurance. This new crop of African political leaders became stringent in their rebukes of white supremacist union of South Africa in 1910 that brought together the two Boer Republics and the two British Colonies into one British Colony.

In response, this handful of mission-educated African elites, whom all of them were lawyers called for an inaugural convention to establish a political organization charged with the responsibility to advocate for the rights of African people. The organisers of the convention included Pixley Ka Isaka Seme, Alfred Mangena, Richard Msimang and George Montshioa. Seme had previously met Rev. Mangena in London at the South African Natives Convention, which was monitoring British Parliamentary discussion of the South African act in 1909.

Seme was a principal organiser of the inaugural conference to discuss the establishment of an organisation in Africa to oppose the whites' only Union of South Africa. The four lawyers met at Maphikela house in Mangaung Township in Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State, to discuss the African Inaugural Conference. On the 8th January 1912, the four lawyers and 100 delegates met in Waaihoek Wesleyan Church to establish the South African National Native Congress (SANNAC) which brought the four native congresses and other organizations together.

The Inaugural Congress was attended by many African clergies including Rubusana, Rev. Henry Reed Ngcayiya, who were principal actors in the formation of the SANNAC. These actors included Traditional Leaders such as Moshoeshoe, Sekhukhune, Dalindyebo, Dinizulu and Lewanika of Barotse land. Thus intellectuals, religious and traditional leaders were motive forces in the founding of the SANNAC which was renamed the ANC in 1923. It is in this sense that Nelson Mandela traces the seeds of the formation of the ANC to the Ethiopian Movement. It is also in this sense that the ANC was established with the notion that it should be God's vehicle to

liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all.

The impact of religion on the ANC was exposed soon after the agreement was reached to form this Pan African Organization. In 1906, Sefako Mapogo Makgatho, who became the second President of the ANC in 1917 founded the United Native Congress Church and was a student of Rev. Mangena Maake Mokone, the founder of the Ethiopian Church of South Africa. Makgatho was also profoundly influenced by Ethiopianism which questioned the religious and political institutions of the time.

The researcher in this chapter examined the historical background of religion and politics in South Africa with the main and secondary questions of this research being raised as follows: Was the ANC established with the notion that it should be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all? In this, the researcher saw the connection of religion and politics which undergirded the ANC's thinking and work which was the research claim. The secondary questions of this research were raised as follows: If indeed the ANC has been used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondage of apartheid and colonialism, how was this established in the ANC Chaplaincy? Another question of relevance raised was: Does the ANC still have the same views about religion and politics in its new dispensation as the ruling party in South Africa? The researcher was convinced that the interviewees as shown also in chapter five responded well to these questions as they first of all agreed with the notion that the ANC was established by God as His vehicle to liberate His people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa as they cited the scriptures according to Matthew 18:18 which speaks of God binding and loosening on earth and in heaven as the confirmation that God was on the side of the ANC as His vehicle for liberation, and that it was His will to allow this plan to unfold as He planned it.

The peaceful engagement in the liberation struggle was an indication that it was God Himself who was involved in the struggle as He was committed to it as it was His struggle and not the ANC's struggle. The interviewees made an emphasis that all was God's plan and it had to unfold the way it did, some in exile and others were languishing in prison for so many years. But in the end they came back to where God had placed them originally. The interviewees admit that politics are dynamic, and

therefore there were aspects that were impacted either positively or negatively, but the all bottom line was that the ANC's founding principles have not changed at all as they, even in this current phase, still pursuing the building of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa. That the leadership style of the leaders differs from one to the other does not mean the core values and principles have been changed, so confidently maintained that it's original mission has changed. Infact, one interviewee from the youth league confidently pointed out that as long as the stubborn challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality existed, the ANC's original mission has not changed.

In the next chapter the researcher will be investigating the historical background of the ANC struggle against colonialism and apartheid for liberation, freedom and democracy in the three epochs of our South African history, namely: The first being the period between *1912 and 1976*; the second being the period between *1976 and 1990* and the third period being the period between *1990 and 2017*. In doing so the researcher will be making an attempt to find out what was happening during these epochs and to obtain what exactly was the Christian's contribution serving on the ANC in the attainment of liberation, freedom and democracy. Secondly, look at the Presidential Administrations of Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma as well as explore the questionnaires used for interviews in order to solicit information for the provision of answers to the research study.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ANC AND THREE EPOCHS OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGION AND POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the historical background of the ANC struggle against colonialism and apartheid for liberation, freedom and democracy in the three epochs of our South African history. The first being the period between 1912 and 1976 which marks a 64 year period; the second being the period between 1976 and 1990 which marks a 14 year period and the third period being the period between 1990 and 2017 which marks a 27 year period, looking at the 105 years of the ANC struggle against apartheid. The task is to ascertain what exactly Christian influence on the ANC was. Secondly, we will look at the role played by the Presidential Administrations of Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma to ascertain their contribution as Christian members in the ANC.

And thirdly, we will look at the findings of the research study presented by exploring the integrated fifteen (15) questions from Appendices A and B, extracting and consolidating the responses of the interviewees from both questionnaires as the researcher provides answers that will contribute to the main question of the research: Was the ANC established with the notion that it should be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all? The analysis of the research will be done in Chapter five.

Chapter one of this research indicated the general aims of this study to:

- (i) Trace the history of Religion and Politics in South Africa with an attempt to show the relationship and solidarity of the Church and the African National Congress (ANC) thereby indicating the close connection between religion and politics. This relationship was started in the 1870's when some missionaries collaborated with the colonial powers that forcibly dispossessed Africans of their land and its natural resources with their sons who became magistrates who administered oppressive and racially discriminatory laws, in dispossessing us of our land and this solidarity was deepened as the struggle for liberation from colonialism and apartheid

intensified over 300 years and 46 years ago, respectively. This therefore led to the establishment of the Ethiopian Church Movement.

The leaders and products of the Ethiopian Church Movement were among the founders of the various Native Congresses which were formed during the first decade of the twentieth century. These congresses culminated in the formation of the South African Native Congress (SANNAC) on the 8th January 1912 which was renamed the African National Congress (ANC) in 1923. It is in this sense that Nelson Mandela traces the seeds of the formation of the ANC to the Ethiopian Movement.

The founders of the Congress Movement also received spiritual support and guidance from Zionists and Apostolic Churches founded during the beginning of the twentieth century. The founding President of the ANC, Dr. J.L. Dube was a priest and self-confessed Ethiopian Christian who was profoundly influenced by the African American leader known as Booker T. Washington. Dr. Dube even established the Ohlange Institute modelled after the Tuskegee of Booker T. Washington.

- (ii) Trace the direct association that the ANC has with the Churches in South Africa over the years. For example, the President of the ANC, Oliver Reginald Tambo on the 4th – 5th May 1987 in Lusaka, Zambia told the World Council of Churches (WCC) on Liberation Dialogue, that: "The African Congress has a long history of association with the church. Our founders were Churchmen and women. Throughout our 75 years that link has never been broken." (Mayson, 1995:1).

From the earliest beginnings, the ANC had a strong religious motivation. Religious conviction strengthened the commitment of millions, and underlined the principles of the Freedom Charter. Religious people and institutions fired the struggle here at home, in South Africa, and in exile. This is attested by the fact that the ANC Religious Committees functioned in Lusaka and London to mention just a few countries. Its vision for the community and the country derived great strength from belief in God's rule of justice and fulfilment. Its mission is to embody God's liberating presence in every human situation as it does not take place in a vacuum but always is concerned with specific people in specific situations searching to discover the meaning of Good News in each context and in each period in history. I therefore align myself with the notion which spells out clearly what the ANC was established to

be, so that as God's vehicle or tool could liberate God's people from all forms of struggle and oppression in our country, South Africa, in order to experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all .

The mission of the ANC's participation in God's liberating activity in South Africa, was the agenda set by God hence Saayman (1991:7)'maintains that "...participating in God's liberating activity in the world therefore sets the agenda, so that no church or any group of Christians can ever be the author or subject of their own mission." The mission of the ANC's participation in God's liberating activity in South Africa maintains Saayman (1991), was to do with "human liberation in the light of the Jubilee. In fact, mission can be characterized as humanization, the restoration of the genuine humanity of the new human being, Jesus Christ, in all human and environmental relationship (for the year of the Jubilee dealt also with the restoration of the earth)...mission cannot be anything but contextual...mission leads us to a new understanding of the Good News of Jesus of Nazareth."

In this chapter, the researcher aims to show the association, interconnectedness and working together of ANC and religion throughout these periods in the history of the ANC with the hope to trace the history of Religion and Politics in South Africa with an attempt to show the relationship and solidarity of the Church and the African National Congress (ANC) thereby indicating the close connection between religion and politics. This will help address the research problem indicated in chapter two in the form of a coined primary and secondary research questions, following respectively:

- Was the ANC established with the notion that it should be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all?

Religious communities have played a critical role in the liberation struggle, peace process in the run-up to the 1994 elections and subsequent elections. The NEC Lekgotla programme of action during the Manifesto Review Workshop held on the 8 September 2008, when in discussion about the Revolutionary Morality for Sustainable Development, pointed out that religious participation is one of the best models for transformation in pursuit of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR).

This means that faith communities are an important motive force in the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) and therefore important that religious bodies understand the strategic objectives of the ANC and its revolutionary moral content to enable them to make meaningful contribution in the creation of a caring society which is free, democratic, prosperous for individuals and a collective to live a better life.

In addressing the research objectives indicated in the previous chapters, one would agree with the notion that the ANC should be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all because its objectives, the reason for the ANC to be established were:

- (iii) Create a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society. The Strategy and Tactics of the ANC deals with the nature of the desired National Democratic Society which input deals with critical aspects of the document relating to faith communities. The moral vision of the early religious and political leaders notably, John Langalibalele Dube, Pixley Isaka Ka Seme, Mangena Maake Mokone, Charlotte Makgomo Manyana – Maxeke, Henry Reed Ngcayiya, Makgatho, ZR Mahabane, Chief Albert Luthuli, Oliver Reginald Tambo and Nelson Mandela etc. has become the core value of the National Democratic Society.

Since it began over a century ago, and at every stage of the struggle for liberation, the ANC has been motivated by strong ethical convictions, especially the moral value of justice for all, and respect and care for other people. In contrast, the systems imposed by colonial rule departed from morality. As apartheid began to develop its systems of social engineering, it was revealed as fundamentally unjust and unethical.

These revolutionary moral values of united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society are fundamental corner stones of the NDR. The racially – discriminatory practices in both state and religious institutions and the institutionalization of racism could easily have made the anti-Apartheid colonial struggle one against the white community. But it rose above racial considerations to embrace the principle of non-racialism

which holds that humanity is one and cultural diversity is a source of strength.

South African communities, both the oppressor and oppressed, evinced patriarchal relations of power, which did not recognise the full humanity and potential of women. On the contrary, the struggle evolved to appreciate the humanity and potential role of women and that their liberation from patriarchy was and should be an integral part of the new democracy. This appreciation evolved the principle of non-sexism.

- (iv) Unite the African people and spearhead the struggle for fundamental political, social and economic change, meaning the liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general, from political and economic bondages.

According to the Strategy and Tactics document on Revolutionary Morality for Sustainable Development (2008:8) dated the 8th September 2008, the Manifesto Review Workshop had this to say:” The main content of the NDR is the liberation of Africans in particular and Blacks in general from political and socio-economic bondage. This means uplifting the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor, the majority of whom are African and female.

At the same time it has the effect of liberating from false ideology of racial superiority and the insecurity attached to oppressing others. The hierarchy of disadvantage suffered under apartheid will naturally inform the magnitude of impact of the programmes of change and the attainment paid particularly to those who occupied the lowest rungs on the Apartheid social ladder.”

The historical records of the ANC Chaplaincy do not reflect the different religions of that time except for one religion, Christianity. Though political congresses of Indian people are mentioned, their religious traditions are not brought forth hence it is assumed that the only religion most practiced at the time was that of Christian people probably because it was purported as part of the state and vigorously propagated hence a huge following. This therefore does not mean that there were no other religions.

Elphick (1997:10) maintains that, "The interaction between Christianity and African worldviews in South Africa has been fluid and led to many novel syntheses. This is less true of Christianity's interaction with the three other world religions – Islam, Judaism, and Hinduism – which, though small in numbers, have been influential in particular South African cities, regions, and social classes. Islam took root in South Africa as a result of both immigration and conversion of non-Muslims at the Cape and of Indian immigration to Natal. Judaism was brought by immigrants from Europe, Hinduism by immigrants from India. Apart from all small growth of Islam among Africans, the three world religions have each remained confined chiefly to their base communities."

It would be true to say then that the Chaplaincy established and dominated by Christians mainly because throughout its history the ANC alludes to having its leadership being influenced by Christianity and to a certain extent, the African Traditional Religion. To be able to talk about the ANC Chaplaincy, one has to go through the historical background that was addressed in the previous chapter. To go through it once again it would not cause any harm, because one cannot divorce this chapter from the previous one as it does not exist on its own but connected to each other.

The years 1860 -1912 marks the origins of the ANC and the beginning of a long road to freedom and democracy. In this long road there were important milestones that brought about a meaningful contribution to the struggle for liberation and transformation. The history of Christianity in South Africa dates back to 1652 when whites first settled in the Cape of Good Hope. During 1652 and 1795, the public expression of Christianity was with minor exceptions monopolised by the Dutch Reformed Church which was closely overseen by the ruling Dutch East India Company. Long before Christians became an overwhelming majority, Christian ideas and institutions were prominent in the political history of the region as Christians injected themselves into the power politics of the region.

In 1890, Charlotte joined the Virgin Jubilee singers who were touring South Africa and returned to the USA with them. During a tour with these singers Charlotte met with Bishop WB Derrick of the AME Church. He along with Bishop Benjamin Arnett and Pastor Revelry Ransom assisted her in gaining admission to Wilberforce University believing she was a good candidate for mission work. The Wilberforce

University was affiliated with the AME Church. Charlotte used her position as a student and relationships with the African American clergy to arrange for James Tantsi, Charles Dube, Henry Msikinya, Edward Tolityi Magaga and Marshall Maxeke, who later married Charlotte, to attend Wilberforce University.

In 1892, Rev. Mangena Maake Mokone broke away from the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Pretoria because of racially discriminatory practices and formed the Ethiopian Church of South Africa in collaboration with Rev. Napo who has seceded from the Anglican Church for similar reasons. In 1896 Rev. Mokone was joined by Rev. James Dwane who had also seceded from the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the Eastern Cape. These African clergy seceded from the missionary Churches to establish Ethiopian Independent African Churches to teach the gospel unobstructed by what they viewed as paternalist and detached white missionaries.

The Ethiopian Church derived its name from the biblical importance of Ethiopia and the prophecy of African redemption in Psalm 68:31 which says: "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." The founding President of the ANC Women's League, formerly known as Bantu Women's League, Charlotte Makgomo Manye was a member and lay preacher in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church which also had seceded from the Methodist Church in America because of racially discriminatory practices by the missionaries.

At Wilberforce University, Charlotte and other South African students studied under WEB Du Bois, a pioneer of the Pan African Movement and anti-colonial activist. In 1894, Charlotte wrote a letter to her sister Kate praising her experience at Wilberforce University and describing the AME Church in the USA. Kate read the letter to Rev. Mokone, founder of the Ethiopian Church of South Africa, who then wrote to Bishop Henry McNeal Turner enquiring about tuition at the University for More South African Students to come there. He also enquired about the possibility of affiliating the Ethiopian Church of South Africa with the AME Church.

In 1896, Rev. James Dwane travelled to the USA to seek this affiliation with the AME Church. Bishop Turner obligated Rev. Dwane as a minister in the AME Church in South Africa with the authority to re-obligate the other ministers of the Ethiopian Church. In the same year, the Ethiopian Church Movement was reinforced by the victory of Ethiopia over Italy fascist forces led by Mussolini. It was in the same year,

1896, that Rev. AJ Mzimba broke away from the Scottish Presbyterian Church because of the same challenge faced by others, racially and discriminatory practices and established an Independent African Presbyterian Church. In 1898, Bishop Turner visited South Africa and ordained pastors who were sent into all the provinces to spread Ethiopian Christianity and the Pan African ideal.

Hinchliff (1963:201) maintained that, "Africans, finding themselves under considerable political and social disabilities, receiving the benefits of education but deprived of a full and responsible position, felt themselves to be under the same kind of disabilities within the Christian Churches also. The natural nationalism which resulted made them resent the fact that most of the Churches were 'white' and were governed by white officials. The Ethiopian movement, which has produced literally thousands of purely African splinter sects, was the consequence of this resentment."

President Thabo Mbeki (ANC: RDP of the Soul 1994: 97) points out, that: "For several hundred years, the colonial forces which invaded Africa were supported by a variety of religions. Finding no priests, temples, scriptures, Religious Institutions or Schools of Theology, they assumed that Africans were not spiritual people, and had nothing to teach the West. They were totally wrong to limit spiritual fortitude to institutional religion. The colonial religions began missionary work to win African converts to western institutions, which today are led largely by African people. Few realized that in the process we were being co-opted into western civilization and a corrupted version of the Gospel, which undermined the essentials of spiritual humanity proclaimed by the great spiritual leaders of the past. None of these were products of western civilization: not Hindus, Confucius, Isaiah, Amos, the Buddha, Jesus, or Mohammed, Colonial religion was often sincerely wrong."

Rev. Nehemiah Tile supported by King Dalindyembo of Abathembu clan, as they broke away from the Wesleyan Methodist Church, they then formed the Thembu National Church. Rev. Tile seceded on the grounds that the Missionaries rebuked him for opposing the colonial legislation and the Magistrate who enforced it, secondly that the Missionaries opposed African culture and in particular condemned him for supporting the initiation ceremonies led by the king. Rev. Tile also questioned why Abathembu could not have National Church under their king in the same manner the English people established the Anglican Church under the king.

By 1903, the position had become so serious that all four colonial governments co-operated in appointing a commission to investigate the movement. The government officials suspected that the movement was politically dangerous, but the report of the commission maintained that these dangers had been exaggerated, that there had been no incitement to secede, and that there should be no state suppression of the sects. But the commission also held that some of the leaders of the new religious bodies were not very desirable people and that they might cause racial and political unrest (Hinchliff, *ibid*: 201).

3.2 Exploration of the Historical Epochs of the ANC:

The different epochs of the history and work of the ANC Chaplaincy are reflected in order for us to see which presidents were in charge in certain periods, what contribution was made and the work which actually happened during these times. The researcher believes that as he investigates these epochs of history it would shed light on the research question: Was the ANC established by God to liberate His people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa, so that they can experience and sustain freedom, democracy and a better life for all? As well, an attempt to respond to the secondary question, If indeed the ANC has been used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondage of apartheid and colonialism, how was this established in the ANC Chaplaincy? The periods are meant to reflect the important transitions in the history of South Africa, whereby the researcher wishes to investigate and evaluate what was exactly happening in these periods and attempt to give response to the research questions as indicated above.

3.2.1 The Period between 1910 and 1976:

In 1910, the four colonies or provinces of South Africa united under the white government of General Louis Botha to become the Union of South Africa. South Africans have used Christian doctrine both to justify and oppose directions of racial segregation, most notably apartheid. Sechaba (1979) points out that, "British capitalist expansionism led to the Anglo Boer War (1899 -1902), which essentially was about control over the mineral wealth of the Boer Republics. In 1910 Boer and Briton entered into a social contract in which the British undertook to help ease the Boer out of the Dark Ages while promising to respect his traditions. For his part, the

Boer pledged not to resist the advance and domination of British capital. Between them, Boer and Briton agreed that they would share political power and, finally, that the indigenous African population would not be party to this contract but would be kept under the domination and at the disposal of the signatories, to be used by them in whatever manner they saw fit." This arrangement came to be known as colonialism of a special type.

The ANC National General Council Reference Documents Vol.2 (2015:21) points out that, "The Act of Union marks the political watershed in the history of our country. Through its colour bar clauses it entrenched our status as a colonized and conquered people, drawing a sharp line of demarcation through the South African population. All whites, including the subordinate classes among them, were defined as members of an exclusive community, possessing certain prerogatives at the expense of the blacks. It is this institutional subordination of the blacks that stands at the core of colonialism of a special type. Colonialism of a special type was therefore used by the liberation movement to describe the unique situation where both the colonizers and the colonized shared one country."

The period between 1912 and 1976 marks the anti-apartheid struggle for liberation which saw the emergence of an alternative power in South Africa. The Presidents who served during these periods are in their chronological order, as follows:

1. JL Dube:1912-1917;
2. SM Makgatho:1917-1924;
3. ZR Mahabane:1924-1927;
4. JT Gumede:1927-1930;
5. P I Seme:1930-1936;
6. ZR Mahabane:1937-1940;
7. AB Xuma:1940-1949;
8. JS Moroka:1949-1952;
9. A Luthuli:1952-1967;
10. OR Tambo:1967-1991.

In 1912, the formation of the SANNAC came into being as a result of the formation of the Union of South Africa. The Christian leadership provided much of the impetus for the founding of the ANC, the most influential black opposition to white rule, and now the dominant political organization in South Africa. And in accelerating the struggle between white rule and black liberation in the 1970's and 1980's, Christian affirmations, symbols and rituals were prominent among militants on both sides and among the would-be conciliators in the middle.

Walshe (1995:165) points out that, "South Africa's ecumenical phenomenon of prophetic Christianity had generated by the 1980's a proclivity for sustained social analysis, a band of charismatic spokespersons and a strong enough organizational base so as to be capable of contributing in a significant way to the destruction of apartheid. As the state relied increasingly on its power of repression, church structures – particularly ecumenical organizations – came to function as a matrix of contacts and support for the hard-pressed but mounting liberation movement."

The prophetic voice, as mentioned in the previous chapters, was first heard in the assertions of African leaders following the formation of the South African state in 1910. Walshe (1995:164) points out that, "These thwarted hopes were rooted in what was perceived to be a Christian imperative, namely respect the dignity of every person. This in turn demanded the building of a wider and wider human community that would transcend the barriers of ethnicity and class...South Africa's black political culture was conditioned by these biblically-rooted value judgments, and of course by other factors too: dialectical opposition to white racism, an acceptance of economic independence in an industrializing society, expectations generated by the Cape tradition, and acknowledgement of the black struggle for civil rights in the United States. The South African Communist Party, with its emphasis on class analysis, also contributed to the powerful current of non-racialism that was to become a hallmark of the liberation movement."

A prophetic voice within South Africa's churches took longer to emerge than the isolated protests of individual clerics. The Dutch Reformed Churches turned with increasing determination to defend the apartheid state while the English-speaking churches continued with their ineffectual responses to the intensifying brutalities of racism. It was after the Defiance Campaign of the 1950's and the 1960 Sharpeville massacre that the Christian Institute interacted with the Black Consciousness

Movement where South Africa generated an indigenous strain of liberation theology and became associated with political activism. The obscenities of apartheid could not be endured by the increasing number of ecumenically minded church leaders. The basic tenets of liberation theology which has discomfited church hierarchies and inspired the struggle for justice in many parts of the world. These tenets also characterize South Africa's strain of liberation or contextual theology as on-going response to the country's particular and changing historical circumstances and they have been succinctly defined as follows:

1. "People's loving response to God and to their neighbours in community, is impeded by oppressive economic, political and social conditions.
2. Where the institutions in place create such conditions, Christians have a duty to reform or abolish them.
3. Inherent in oppressive institutions is a class struggle (heavily skewed in the South African case by racism) between the beneficiaries and the victims of those institutions. The institutions cast the beneficiaries, like it or not, in the role of oppressors of the victims.
4. Abolition or reform of the institutions in question liberates the beneficiaries from their role as oppressors, just as it liberates the victim from their role as persons oppressed.

The historical association of the ANC and the Church cannot be doubted and so are the roots of the ANC moral vision in the Church. The movement from the onset was based on a culture of high social and personal values, rooted in Ubuntu, which were articulated repeatedly through the years of its growth. It is maintained that the period between 1913 and 1949 marks the period for petitions for change in which the first ANC President JL Dube championed. Rev. Dube was a Congregational minister and first President of the ANC, and a self-confessed Ethiopianist priest and a student of Rev. Mangena Mokone who was a founder of the United Native Congress Church. Dube strongly propagated humanism (Ubuntu/Botho) that is inherent in every human being and maintained that it is inalienable. These principles were first articulated by him in 1892, as he delivered his public lecture titled: "*Upon my native land.*" Rev. Dube foresaw a free, spiritual, humane and prosperous Africa. Like the generations

of political leadership within the ANC; he drew on Christian values in the belief that these values required the building of a broader political community. (Walshe, 1995:15)

As the ANC was launched in 1912 in opposition to the tyrannical nature of the racist legislated enacted at the formation of the Union two years previous, the ANC was not a popular movement at that time, but did carry the eloquent voice of educated black leaders in the community. The ANC expressed the political demands for participatory rights by blacks in the country of their birth and reflected a growing tide of the nationalist feelings in black South African society.

The researcher strongly believes that God's loving nature saw it fit to ensure that His vehicle, the ANC, is established so that He could through it assure the oppressed and downtrodden that He created all humankind equally and therefore neither of His people can be superior over the other because of the colour of their skin, class, creed and etc. and therefore to correct the wrong that was prevailing enabling us to be free from any bondage through those that He had called, His servants to lead the movement even beyond the attainment of freedom and democracy.

The ANC document on *Ethical Transformation: ANC Statement on the Moral Renewal of the Nation*, points out that the ANC has consistently struggled for a culture of human rights which would accord respect and equality to all people irrespective of race, age, sex, colour or creed. It is Nelson Mandela who wrote that: "No one is born hating another person because of the colour of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite." (1998: 2)

The battle to overcome oppression has a long history and encompassed many strategies of non-violent and armed struggle. The deep ethical content and spirit of the Freedom Charter, signed at Kliptown in 1955, made it not only a rallying cry for our own struggle, but a guide to many throughout the world hence the ANC President, Chief Albert Luthuli received the Nobel Peace Prize for that same commitment.

In the document, *Ethical Transformation: ANC Statement on the Moral Renewal of the Nation*, it is maintained (ibid: 2) that "The changes the ANC sought were not

based upon racial, religious or economic prejudice or preference but upon a concern for the common good of all the people of South Africa. In its work at home and throughout its years underground and in exile, it has sought to overcome apartheid which the international community declared was a crime against humanity. The ANC welcomed the rejection of apartheid by most religious communities, and the declaration of the international Reformed Church community that apartheid was a sin, and its theological and moral justification was heresy.”

In 1913, by the end of the 19th century, diamonds and gold had been discovered. To assist mine owners, the government began to pass many laws relating to taxes and ownership of land. The harshest of these was the 1913 Land Act which forced African peasant farmers off the land to become workers in the gold mines. The Act set aside about 8% of the land for African occupation. It was only in these reserves that Africans were allowed to own land.

President Sefako Mapogo Makgatho who when elected to serve as the first president, in 1912, declined and strongly motivated for Rev. Dube in absentia to be the one to take the responsibility to lead the ANC as he was not yet ready to do so at the time. President Makgatho succeeded Rev. Dube and served the ANC between the years of 1917 and 1924. It is maintained that the period between 1913 and 1949 marks the period for petitions for change in which the second ANC President SM Makgatho was expected to serve in. He was a student of Rev. Mokone and a lay preacher who founded the United Native Congress Church.

In 1923, as the reserves became overcrowded, more and more Africans began to move to the cities to look for work. The white government feared that the cities would be swamped by the growing black population, and so they began to apply laws that separated blacks and whites. These laws included the Urban Areas Act of 1923 in which locations on the edge of towns were set aside for African occupation. African men were required to carry passes that allowed them to be in the urban areas. Laws were also passed to ensure that skilled labour was reserved for whites only.

He rejected the principle of racial segregation that was introduced by the advent of the Union of South Africa and pressed for inclusion in a common civil society. This clearly indicates that during his tenure as President of the ANC, he propagated freedom from all forms of struggles and oppression and attainment of that freedom,

democracy and a life that provided better opportunities not only for the white minority but also for the black majority.

While Christianity continued to play an important role in forming the political culture of black South Africans, white hypocrisy and the failure of the churches to confront racism in any effective way had produced an under-current of disillusionment and even cynicism by the 1920's. In the aftermath of the racist constitution, the grotesque injustices of the Native Land Act and amidst the early stages of the industrial revolution, the experience of white power, inhumanity and greed provided a counterpoint to the vision of human equality which Christianity proclaimed –but could not implement.

President Rev. Zacharias Richard Mahabane succeeded President Makgatho and served between the years of 1924 and 1927 and again between the years of 1937 and 1940 after President Gumede and President Pixley Ka Isaka Seme. It is maintained that the period between 1913 and 1949 marks the period for petitions for change in which the following ANC President ZR Mahabane served in Rev. ZR Mahabane, a Methodist minister, president of the Cape Congress and president of the ANC, was recruited by Charlotte Manyá-Maxeke. The ANC moral vision and the concept of human and people's rights do not come from outside Africa but from the Hermetic philosophy of ancient Egypt and Ethiopia. The humanism (Ubuntu/Botho) that Rev. ZR Mahabane appealed to in his speech titled, *"We are not political children"*, is inherent in every human being and it is inalienable.

In 1943, the ANC adopted the African Claims, a Bill of Rights drawn up in response to the racially discriminatory Atlantic Charter promulgated by Roosevelt and Churchill during World War II. Both the 1923 and 1943 ANC Bill of Rights were informed by the moral vision developed by religious leaders who were also political leaders. There can be no doubt therefore that the ANC derived its moral value system from religion and culture'. Rev. Mahabane (Walshe, 1995:384) maintained in 1925 that, "the universal acknowledgement of Christ as common Lord and King [would] break down the social, spiritual and intellectual barriers between the races."

Rev. ZR Mahabane argued that the racist rulers of South Africa had denied Africans their basic human right to self-determination. Like Pixley Ka Isaka Seme, he maintained that any advance in human rights in the South African context had to start

with the affirmation of African humanity. In the dysfunctional household of colonial South Africa, in which South African adults were relegated to the status of children, the advance of human rights depended upon asserting and establishing the full humanity of all South Africans.

Rev. Mahabane here, expounded on the principle of non-racialism long before the ANC was open to other races ,in anticipation of future developments, in claiming socio-economic rights within the ANC the human rights tradition , as emphasized by Rev. Mahabane, that all South Africans, black and white, were working together for the development of the country. However, under the racist colonial regimes, black South Africans had been denied political rights being rendered vote less and voiceless, with the consequence that people had been reduced to hopelessness, powerlessness, helplessness, defencelessness, homelessness and landlessness, a condition of deepest humiliation and absolute dependency.

Under these dehumanizing conditions, the ANC, as Rev. ZR Mahabane argued, could only be committed to recovering African humanity. Thus at its 1923 National Conference, the ANC, was the first to call for the adoption of a Bill of Rights in South Africa. The main themes for the Bill of Rights were the following:

- Human rights should be universal;
- All South Africans had an inalienable right to ownership of land;
- There should be equality before the law and equal political rights ;and finally
- All should participate in the government of their country.

Although this Bill of Rights formed only part of the resolutions of the ANC National Conference in May 1923, its provisions stood out as a substantial statement of human rights which claimed the African humanity in its opening paragraph. By 1924 in South Africa the colonial government had banned strikes and trade unions among African workers. The principle of humanity (Ubuntu / Botho) and its inherent values of freedom, equality and justice for all irrespective of race and gender or social status contained in the 1923 and 1943 Bill of Rights informed the formation of the Congress of Alliance. This Alliance led to the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the one and only genuine Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955. Thus the human rights culture found a definite and emphatic expression in the Freedom Charter.

Elphick and Davenport, (1997:384) points out that, “In 1925, Clements Kadalie, founder of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) in 1919, engaged in a public correspondence with Bishop Carey of Bloemfontein in 1927 when he had an opening exchange of letters with the Bishop. Carey had asked Kadalie to control the ICU’s provocative speakers and to recognize that the church was pledged to seek redress for the very real grievances Africans suffered. Kadalie retorted that throughout history and in every denomination the church had strayed from Christ’s teaching, siding with the rich against the poor, and opposing every effort towards social and economic freedom for the masses.”

Though the ICU was crushed by 1930, some members of the ICU joined the Communist Party of Southern Africa (CPSA) founded in 1921 African workers such as Moses Kotane and JB Marks, became leaders in the CPSA from the 1930’s onwards. These were also prominent leaders of the ANC. Thus the no compartments between the ANC, African Nationalism, Communism and Religion hence the idea of the ANC as a broad Church started long ago.

Elphick and Davenport, (1997:384).point out that, “Generations of political leaders, particularly within the ANC, also drew on Christian values for the building of a broader political community. There was, they believed, an ethical imperative to move beyond narrow identities of family, clan, ethnicity, and race. Rev.Zaccheus Mahabane, a Methodist minister, leader of the Cape Congress and President of the ANC in the late twenties and thirties, often repeated his theme that “the universal acknowledgement of Christ as common Lord and King (would) breakdown the social, spiritual and intellectual barriers between the races.”

President Josiah Tshangana Gumede succeeded Rev. Mahabane, served between the years of 1927 and 1930. It is maintained that the period of 1913 and 1949 marks the period for petitions for change in which the ANC President JT Gumede served. History points out that after World War I, the slogan of Africa for the Africans proclaimed by Marcus Garvey attracted considerable interest amongst Africans. Garvey was the African Jamaican founder of the universal Negro Improvement Association. Many were inspired by accounts of Marcus Garvey’s First International Convention of Negro Peoples of the World held in New York in August 1920, at which Garvey had predicted an impending World War, possibly World War II that would provide Africans the opportunity to fight for African redemption.

In South Africa, Garvey's message was often received in ways that fused political liberation and religious salvation into a single promise of African redemption increasingly to mean toward the end of the 1920's, the African Nationalism of Marcus Garvey was interpreted to mean liberation from white domination in South Africa. Marcus Garvey, like Du Bois and Booker T Washington were disciples of Prince Hall.

Motsekga, (2009:4-5) in his paper on: "*The Evolution of a Value-Centred Society and Interfaith Movement in South Africa*" points out that, "The impact of religion on politics received its impetus from Garveynism in the 1920's and 1930s. Marcus Garvey preached Jahism or Karaism, that is, the religion of light, rooted in the ancient African spiritual traditions of Ethiopia and Egypt." Garvey organized and led the first genuine mass black movement in the United States, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), founded in Jamaica in 1914. Its aims were the following:

- The repatriation of Africans in the United States of America to Africa;
- The creation of Independent African States; and
- The engendering of African identity and pride.

James Thaele, a leader of the ANC, drew out the political and religious implications of Marcus Garvey principle of Africa for the Africans at home and formed abroad. This formed the bedrock for a Pan African ideology that incorporated the African Diaspora. This was not a racist ideology; it was informed by the reality that continents happened to be inhabited by specific human families, e.g. Europe for Europeans, America for Americans and Asia for Asians.

In the political sphere Thaele argued, Africans had to work out their own liberation, just as in the religious sphere they had to seek their own salvation in Churches independent of white control. Other political leaders merged religion, politics and economics in a single promise of redemption. For instance, during the 1920's, the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) under the leadership of Clements Kadalie drew heavily on the inspiration of Marcus Garvey.

Motsekga, (2009:4-5) maintains that Marcus Garvey, like Dube and Seme was inspired by the richness of Africa's history and the achievements of African

civilization. Garvey was born out of the despair of never-ending injustice and discrimination in white society. Garvey was by no means the first to call for repatriation, or to try to focus the attention of black people and the world on the great cultural wealth and achievements of Africa. Nor was he the first to speak of a black God, the God of Ethiopia to counter the colonial image of God as a white. For Garvey, it was not a question of rejecting the Universal Nature of God, but seeing God and interpreting God's will from an African perspective.

Thus Garvey was the father of Ethiopian and indigenous African Theology which he expressed as follows: "We Negroes believe in everlasting God that is the God in whom we believe but we shall worship Him through the spectacles of Ethiopia" (Motsekga, 2009:4). This endeavour to relate to God in an African way led to the founding in 1912 of, the African Orthodox Church, which set about destroying the conventional association of white with God and black with the devil. Marcus also inspired the rise of the Rastafarian movement. The aim of the Rastafarian movement is to restore African dignity and pride and to recreate the African way of being and living.

President Pixley ka Isaka Seme who succeeded President Gumede served between the years of 1930 and 1936. It is maintained that the period 1913-1949 marks the period for petitions for change in which the following ANC President Pixley Seme served in. In 1905, Pixley Ka - Isaka Seme argued that the racist rulers of South Africa had denied Africans their basic human right to self-determination. He maintained that any advance in human rights in the South African context had to start with the affirmation of African humanity. In the dysfunctional household of colonial South Africa, in which South African adults were relegated to the status of children, the advance of human rights depended upon asserting and establishing the full humanity of all South Africans. Pixley ka-Isaka Seme also maintained that any advance in human rights in the South African context had to start with the affirmation of African humanity.

In the tradition of Seme and Mahabane, this Bill of Rights begins by affirming the indisputable and inviolable integrity of African humanity. Article 1 of the Bill of Rights states that Africans, as human beings have the right to be in South Africa. The Bill of Rights further states that the right to be a fully human being in this country includes the right to ownership of land, the right to equality under the law, equal citizenship

without discrimination on the basis of race, class or creed, and the right to full and equitable participation in the economic growth and development of the country.

President Dr. Alfred Bitini Xuma succeeded President Mahabane who served also for the second term between 1937 and 1940. President Xuma served between the years of 1940 and 1949. It is maintained that 1913-1949 marks the period for petitions for change in which the ANC President AB Xuma served in. Dr. A.B. Xuma became the President of the ANC from 1940 to 1949 and he was a medical practitioner who trained in the United States, Hungary and Scotland.

He was at pains to point out that “the liberation movement is not anti-white in seeking full scope for African progress; rather, it was working for the good of all South Africans, working to promote the ideals of Christianity, human decency and democracy.” (Walshe, 1997:384). At the unveiling of the tombstone for S.K.E. Mqhayi, he spoke of the Xhosa poet as “our African Shakespeare, our Poet Laureate,” a great Christian who was able to look ahead to a future where there must be neither white nor non-white, but a common citizenship, a united South African nation (Walshe, opcit).

By the time of World War II, African nationalism in Africa had become so strong that some European colonialist powers were forced to take more serious notice of it. For instance, Britain and France began to make promises to end colonial rule. Anyway Nkomo of the ANC Youth League had said that Africans are not a sub-human race and that they too desire the right of self-determination. During World War II, Nkrumah had declared that after the War Africans will demand nothing less than the right to freedom and independence.

At the end of the War, in 1945, a Pan African Congress was held by African students in Manchester, England. Among the people at the Congress were Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana, Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya and Hastings Banda from Malawi. The Congress demanded freedom for Africa, and called on Africans to work for independence and African socialism. The 5th Pan African Conference encouraged African Nationalist to form Political parties, and in 1948, hardly three years after the fifth Pan African Conference, had the Nationalist Party ascended to power on the platform of Apartheid and racially discriminatory policies which negated the principle

of humanity (Ubuntu / Botho) and its values of freedom, equality and justice embedded in the 1923 ANC Bill of Rights

In 1944, there had been some resistance against the policies of the government, but these had been largely ineffective. A turning point in the history of the ANC was the formation of the ANC Youth League. Anton Muziwakhe Lembede, its first president. Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu formed this organization. The ANC Youth League spearheaded the development of the 1943 Bill of Rights, like its 1923 counterpart, was inspired by the ANC moral vision and values rooted in the Christian and African spiritual traditions. These Youth Leaguers also led to the development of the Programme of Action which provided the framework of the defiance campaigns of the 1950s and the adoption of the 1954 Women's Charter and the 1955 Freedom Charter.

Garveyism exercised a profound influence on the founders of the ANCYL in 1944, especially its founding President Anton Muziwakhe Lembede. The ANCYL led by, inter-alia, Nelson Mandela, Oliver Reginald Tambo, Walter Sisulu, David Bopape, John Nkadameng played a key role in the development of the African claims, the second ANC Bill of Rights, modelled after the Atlantic Charter of 1941. In 1945 is an important turning point in South African history. Between 1948 and 1953, the government passed a series of 'apartheid laws' that ensured the separation of races. Under these laws, all people of South Africa were required to be classified according to a particular racial group. Blacks were not allowed to use the same public facilities as whites. Education was separate and unequal with African education being inferior to white education. An entire framework of laws as indicated above and racial practices gave colonialism of a special type a palpable form, and were consolidated when the National Party came to power in 1948. This included amongst others:

- The South African Natives Commission which proposed territorial segregation by which the country would be divided into black and white areas. These proposals lay behind the 1913 and 1926 Land Acts;
- The Population Registration Act (1950) which allocated all South Africans to a particular racial group, from which flowed differential privileges and prohibitions;

- The Group Areas Act (1950) and subsequent amendments which gave the government power to proclaim residential and business areas for the sole use of particular race groups, which together with forced removals, which together with forced removals constituted one of the most blatant violations of the property rights of black people since the early years of colonial domination;
- The Separate Amenities Act (1953) which wrote into law the principle that members of different races might not enjoy the same public amenities;
- The Bantu Education Act (1953) which redefined the content and purpose of African schooling and vested its direct control in the Department of Native (later Bantu) Affairs, as well as laws on Coloured and Indian Education on tertiary institutions (ANC – NGC: Reference Documents, Volume 2:22).

Other early apartheid legislation introduced sharp new curbs over the urban residential rights and rights as urban workers of the African population:

- The Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act (1953) excluded African workers from the formal system of industrial relations;
- The Native Building Workers Act (1951) and
- Industrial Conciliation Act (1956) extended the operation of job colors, and passes to women.

The national question therefore, expressing the contradiction between the black colonized and the white colonial state, became the dominant contradiction in South Africa. The national character of the NDR was and is therefore about the resolution of the antagonistic contradictions between the oppressed majority and their oppressors; as well as the resolution of the national grievance arising from colonial relations.

In 1949, Albert Luthuli spoke at a conference which drew up the first ecumenical theological statement against the policy of apartheid. The conference said that:

...when individuals have moved from a primitive social structure to one which is more advanced this change should be given recognition. The conference also recommended a franchise vote while recognizing that at present many such persons are not ready for this responsibility.

As Anglican canon James Calata, General Secretary of the ANC from 1939 to 1949, stated in his concluding address to the Cape Congress in 1938: "Our poet, Mr. Mqhayi, has told us that the handle that turns the wheels of the universe is in the hand of God, and a new world is about to be begotten". The meeting then sang the movement's great hymn and anthem of hope, Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika (God Bless Africa). That history was full of contradictions, that Britain had betrayed black South Africans in agreeing to the colour-bar clauses of the 1909 South Africa Act, and that the "new world" was not going to be achieved without agony, was also clear to Mqhayi.

The refusal of the state to countenance an alternative non-racial approach for the governance of the country, whether dominated by white English – speaking South Africans or Afrikaners, had been made clear when Dr. Xuma, as President of the ANC, wrote to Prime Minister Smuts. Encouraged by Roosevelt's and Churchill's signing of the Atlantic Charter in 1941, with its statement that people should be free to determine the type of government under which they lived, Xuma set up a committee to explore the Charter's implications for South Africa. The result was a broad statement of political faith, the ANC policy document, African Claims.

This called for dismantling of segregation, for equality before the law and the full participation of Africans in parliament. Africans participated in World War II, hoping that in the event of victory, civil and political rights would be extended to them. But in 1941, Churchill and Roosevelt promulgated the Atlantic Charter that extended right to self-determination and other human rights to Europeans only. In response, the ANC adopted the African Claims, which asserted the rights of black South Africans to self-determination and human rights, making the ANC, the first National Liberation Movement to develop a home-grown human rights culture ahead of the international community.

President JS Moroka 1949 - 1952 succeeded President Xuma and served between the years of 1949 and 1952. It is maintained that 1913-1949 marks the period for petitions for change in which the following ANC President JS Moroka served under and 1950-1961 marks the period of peaceful protest in which Presidents JS Moroka and A Luthuli served under. In 1950, people began to protest against these laws and this ruthless policy of apartheid. It was during this time that Mandela went underground together with few disciplined members of the SACP, banned already in

1950, and formed Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) which was to become the ANC's armed wing .

After the National Party came into power and implemented apartheid, the Youth League adopted a Programme of Action in 1949 in which they called for greater action against the government in the form of non-violent confrontation. As a result of this call by the Youth League, in the 1950s the ANC changed its tactics to those of non-violent confrontation. At this point, the ANC elected a new president, Albert Luthuli, who supported the ideas of the Youth League. In 1952, the ANC launched the Defiance Campaign, where people deliberately broke the unjust laws of apartheid.

President Albert Luthuli succeeded President Moroka and served between the years of 1952 and 1967. It is maintained that the years 1913 -1949 and 1950-1961 mark the periods for petitions for change and of peaceful protest respectively, during which Presidents JS Moroka and A Luthuli served in. It is also maintained that the period during 1952-1990 marks the period of armed resistance and mass mobilization in which Presidents Albert Luthuli and Oliver Reginald Tambo served in. It was during this time of 1952 when the ANC launched the Defiance Campaign, and where people were encouraged to deliberately break the unjust laws of apartheid.

In 1955, the ANC working together with other anti-apartheid organizations including white liberal and radical organizations held the Congress of the People at Kliptown. Here the famous Freedom Charter was launched. As alluded in the body of this work, the principle of humanity (Ubuntu / Botho) and its inherent values of freedom, equality and justice for all irrespective of race and gender or social status contained in the 1923 and 1943 Bill of Rights informed the formation of the Congress of Alliance. This Alliance led to the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the one and only genuine Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955. Thus the human rights culture found a definite and emphatic expression in the Freedom Charter.

In 1956, when the government decided to extend the passes to African women, 20,000 women marched to the Union Building in Pretoria to protest. The government responded to these non- violent protests with violence and increased repression.

In 1957, a major success story was made, where the infamous Church clause or Verwoerd clause, clause 29c of the Native Laws Amendment Bill curtailing inter-

racial worship, was proposed by the government of the day and opposed by the Christian Council of South Africa (CCSA) and its member Churches. The Churches were not only vociferous in their condemnation of the bill, but also stated that they would not obey it if it ever became law.

The representatives of the alternative political culture rarely met those of Afrikanerdom, but one such event occurred in 1958. Some three hundred Afrikaner – leading academics, professional people, diplomats and students – gathered under the auspices of the Pretoria Political Study Group to hear Albert Luthuli. The President of the ANC, leader of the Congress Alliance and of the Defiance Campaign, Luthuli was being introduced to the gathering when thirty young whites burst into the hall. Addressing the meeting in the name of Afrikanerdom, their leader declared they would not allow white people to be addressed by a kaffir. They then stormed the platform. Luthuli was knocked from his chair and kicked on the head and body with blood still trickling from his brow, addressed the Afrikaner elite.

The ANC President, Albert Luthuli was invited to speak by a JHP Serfontein and had himself been roughed-up, but explained the black demands and his vision of a non-racial South Africa, and he emphasized the Christian principle of justice and neighbourly love, with whites not to be driven into the sea. It was for the first time Afrikaans Pretoria saw a man totally different from the ogre usually presented in the Government press. President Luthuli's recipe was non-violence and peaceful. For the next thirty years – throughout the sixties, seventies and eighties – the gap between these two political cultures was to widen still further as the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), led by members of the *broederbond* (Brotherhood), remained in lockstep with the policies of the apartheid state.

In 1959, some members of the ANC left to form the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) because they objected to the role of whites in the struggle. They believed that only black people should lead the fight against apartheid. In 1960, the PAC organized a peaceful protest against the pass law at Sharpeville. The police responded violently killing 69 people and wounding 400. Sharpeville was a significant turning point in the struggle against apartheid. The government responded to this protest by banning the ANC and the PAC. In 1963, both the ANC and PAC decided to change tactics and take up arms against the white South African regime. The armed struggle was

launched. The ANC set up a military wing called Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK for short), the “Spear of the Nation.”

The PAC established its military wing called Poqo which means “standing alone”. After Sharpeville Oliver Tambo, went into exile to continue the struggle abroad. Many others like Thabo Mbeki also left the country and became part of the ANC in exile. Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the ANC were arrested. In 1964, during the Rivonia Trial of 1963/4, the government charged Mandela and his comrades with trying to overthrow the state. They were sentenced to life in prison, and went to Robben Island. As a result of the imprisonment of the ANC and PAC leadership, and the banning of organizations, black protest in the 1960s had been silenced and though banished, Albert Luthuli was recognized. In 1969, the black consciousness movement led by Steve Biko began to take hold. He said that blacks should develop pride in being black and that they should lead the struggle against apartheid. In summing up this period, it taught us that religion and politics cannot be separated but can work together and that blacks should appreciate their blackness and be proud of who they were and by so doing they will be restoring their dignity that was taken away from them by the evil apartheid system.

3.2.2 The Period between 1976 and 1990:

The years 1952-1990 mark the period of armed resistance and mass mobilization in as well as the new phase of the anti-apartheid struggle for liberation by students that brought a profound change in the socio-political landscape in South Africa. In which Presidents Albert Luthuli: and Oliver Reginald Tambo served during 1952 – 1967 and 1967 – 1991, respectively. After being banned in 1960, the ANC was reluctant to use force and set up offices in exile and worked hard to gain the support of the international support.

The period between 1976 and 1990 marks the official start of the process of ending apartheid as the youth of South Africa in June 16, 1976 banned organizations were unbanned to usher freedom and democracy, a phase where the transformation struggle for better life for all was embarked upon. This breakdown has been done so that the researcher can investigate what happened during those periods and whether those periods have played a role that led us to where we are today.

In 1976, the students black consciousness began to appeal to black youth who were against the poor quality of the education available to them. The year 1976 became a major turning point in the lives of South Africa when the government attempted to force African students learn some of their subjects in Afrikaans. This decision sparked off the Soweto uprising of 1976. These young people were encouraged to do so on account of the fact that they were gathering the support and admiration of the ANC as it sets itself to confront apartheid's military and police.

The Roman Catholic Bishop Mandlenkosi Zwane observed that after the slaughter of black school children in 1976 and the beginning of the Black Consciousness Movement in 1977, the church found it difficult to work with political activists and to take the struggle for justice seriously as an integral part of its mission, and find this not helpful because of his conviction that God is present everywhere, even in such a situation, He is there with all of His people. This point attests to the fact that God established His vehicle, the ANC, because He was seized with the vision to create a moral, just and humane people.

Hence Zwane (Walshe: 1995; 19 - 20) points out that,

“While the ANC in exile was to maintain its long-standing commitment to a non-racial understanding of justice, an idealism which was to survive and reassert itself as the major current within South Africa's black political culture, the relevance of phlegmatic, apolitical churches was to be increasingly questioned during the harsh repression of the sixties, seventies and eighties. In this context, the churches were to be discomfited and eventually shocked by the emergence of a new strain of prophetic faith, the product of these brutal decades. It was this activist faith which was committed to working with the liberation movement to end apartheid, this ‘miracle’ in Bishop Zwane's terms, that was to make a significant contribution to the further evolution of a political culture which earlier generations of African political leaders had moulded, many of them through their lively Christian commitment to building a more just, non-racial society. This struggle against apartheid was to be protracted and increasingly bitter; it also produced deep divisions within the churches.”

In 1977, as the uprisings spread from Soweto to the rest of the country, the government clamped down on opposition leaders. In this year, Steve Biko was

arrested and, after being severely tortured in prison, died at the hands of the Security Police. South Africa had lost a great leader. After this crush young recruits fled the country. And the ANC gradually reasserted its position as the pre-eminent vehicle of resistance, slowly building its network of cadres within the country where the African National Congress was widely respected within the black political culture because of its long history of dignified protest.

It has been recorded that between the years of 1976 and 1981, 112 guerrilla incidents took place and Walshe (1995:86) points out that, "by the mid - 1980s the number of *uMkhonto we Sizwe* attacks had risen to 200 per year and the courts were regularly sentencing its combatants to be hung." This indeed attests to the fact that the defiant, sacrificial stand of young heroes of freedom fighters played an important symbolic role within black communities and that the ANC was established to be God's tool to free His people from the bondage of colonialism and apartheid by fellow being.

In 1983, the government tried to appease sections of the population by creating a tri-cameral parliament, which gave Indians and Coloureds some representation in parliament. However Africans were still excluded and Oliver Tambo called on the people inside South Africa to form organizations and fight for their freedom. Many anti-apartheid groups and trade unions came together to form the United Democratic Front (UDF). In the 1980's the UDF organized strikes, marches and boycotts. It worked with a wide range of anti-apartheid leaders who were Patrons included Rev. Allan Boesak, who was now President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, and General Secretary of the SACC and soon to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize and elected Bishop of Johannesburg. Rev. Beyers Naude, who was still under a banning order, and Rev. Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, General Secretary of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and also under a banning order.

The government declared a state of emergency and troops were sent into the townships to restore order. It is Dr. Frederick van Zyl Slabbert who cautioned the white populace of South Africa as he (1995:87) argued that, "to make war on the ANC as the government was doing, was to make war on the people of South Africa. In this context, the Freedom Charter of 1955 which remained the basic policy document in exile became the rallying point for the ANC and its growing number of allies, including prominent leaders from Black Consciousness generation. While

Oliver Tambo was respected within the movement and international circles as the humane and uncorrupted ANC President in exile, Nelson Mandela grew in stature with each passing year of imprisonment on Robben Island.”

In 1987, President OR Tambo addressed the World Council of Churches (WCC) on the Liberation Dialogue held in Lusaka in 1985, Zambia on the 4th and 5th May 1987 the same year. He told the WCC that: “The ANC has a long history of association with the church. Our founders were church men and women. Throughout 75 years that link has never been broken.” Tambo appealed to the WCC gathering which included delegates from the South African Council of Churches (SACC) to take sides and work with the ANC to remove the Apartheid regime which offended the very principles on which the Church itself was founded. In 1987, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) was banned and the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) launched making it the largest youth organization in South African history, an affiliate of the UDF and subscriber to the Freedom Charter.

In 1989, the government realized that it could no longer ignore the demands of blacks for political rights and began to release political prisoners. In 1990, Nelson Mandela was released from prison, the ANC, PAC and SACP were unbanned and apartheid laws were abolished. To indicate what happened year after year is to me to show that no human effort could have been successfully done in these trying times for it has a limitation but clearly the hand of God is displayed attesting to the notion that indeed the ANC was established by God so that through it could set His people free from bondage.

3.2.3 The Period between 1990 and 2017:

The period from 1990 to 2017 marks the negotiations and governance in which Presidents OR Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and JG Zuma served and is serving. He maintained that, “the ANC has a long history of association with the church. Our founders were church men and women. Throughout our years that link has never been broken. No wonder that OR Tambo established religious committees in London and Lusaka to provide spiritual support for ANC members in exile. During the struggle for freedom some religious leaders played a role in various terrain of the struggle. After the unbanning of political organizations they participated in peace

structures, which were established to create conducive conditions for free and fair elections.”

In 1990, Nelson Mandela was released from prison, the ANC, PAC and SACP were unbanned and apartheid laws were abolished. In 1991, negotiations for the new South Africa began at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). Agreement had to be reached on a constitution, and when the first democratic elections would be held. During negotiations South Africa went through a period of intense violence. It was during this period that Chris Hani, the leader of the SACP, was assassinated. Despite the terrible violence in 1994, the process of negotiations continued. On 27 April 1994, the first democratic elections in South Africa were held, and Nelson Mandela became the country's first democratically elected leader.

In 1995, President Mandela elevated the ANC Religious Committee to a Commission on Religious Affairs (CRA) which serves as a mechanism for interaction between the ANC government and faith committees. The CRA facilitated a meeting between President Nelson Mandela and religious leaders on 24 June 1997. In his address titled: *“From Liberation to Transformation”*, President Mandela recalled that major sections of the religious community were deeply involved in the struggle which brought us political liberation. He pointed out that this sense of communal solidarity is as important today as it ever was during the struggle for liberation as we are now faced with what is in reality an even greater challenge to bring social transformation the reconstruction and development of our country.

In 1997, President Nelson Mandela told the Conference of the Ethiopian Episcopal Church of Southern Africa that the ANC traces its seeds to the Ethiopian Church Movement. In deepening our understanding of the solidarity of the Church and the ANC, one would point out that the relationship that exists between the Church and the ANC started in the 1870's when some Missionaries collaborated with the colonial powers that forcibly dispossessed Africans of their Land and Natural Resources and their sons made magistrates who in turn administered oppressive and racially discriminatory laws. Mandela pointed out that the Ethiopian Church is the only surviving institution that is still in the hands of the African people. He gave credit to the leaders of this Church throughout the difficult years of the final dispossession of

African people who were not only dispossessed of their land and cattle but also their pride, their dignity and their institutions.

Mandela recalled that the links between the Ethiopian Church and the ANC and the struggle for national liberation in general go back to the 1870's when the products of missionary education observed and recorded that colonialism only benefited white. They also observed that the sons of the missionaries were then filling the various magistracies that were arising as a result of the rapid land dispossession from the 1880's onwards. Mandela pointed out that the role that the missionaries played in the accelerated African dispossession of the late nineteenth century called for a response from the African people in general and African religious leaders in particular. The response took a political form on the one hand and a theological form on the other. On the political form various provincial African political associations and newspapers mushroomed in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. On the theological front African clergymen sought to free themselves from the fetters of white missionaries by establishing autonomous African Churches. This development came to be known as the Ethiopian Church Movement.

According to Mandela, the Ethiopian Church Movement was more than a religious movement, though its fundamental basis was the African interpretation of the scripture, it went well beyond the Churches it had helped produce. The fundamental tenets of Ethiopianism that Mandela identified are self-worth, self-reliance and freedom. For Mandela these tenets drew the Ethiopian Christians, like a magnet, to the growing political movement that culminated in the formation of the ANC in 1912. It is in this sense that, said Mandela, that in the ANC we trace the seeds of the formation of our organization to the Ethiopian Church Movement of the 1890's. Mandela did not confine the unity of Faith Based Communities to the Ethiopian Church Movement.

On the 11 July 1997, Mandela gave a lecture titled *"Renewal and Renaissance: towards a New World Order at the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies."* In his lecture, he cited the protection that Muslims received from the African Christian King Negus of Abyssinia as a good example of tolerance and a pointer to the role that religion can play, and the spiritual leadership it can provide in bringing about the social renewal on the African Continent and the World.

Motsekga in his paper titled, *Wars of Resistance and the Birth of the Union of South Africa* (2008:11) points out that “Furthermore, Mandela observed that Africa’s history has been profoundly shaped also by the interplay between Islam, Christianity and African religion. He felt that the way in which these three great religions of Africa interact and co-operate with one another could have a profound bearing on the social space we create for the rebirth of our continent. He observed that the relationship of Islam and Christianity to one another and of those two to African religion is pertinent aspects of this process. In this lecture, Mandela highlighted the critical importance of interfaith dialogue. More specifically, he observed that the way in which Islam (and Christianity, for that matter) relates to African religion presents a particular challenge to its followers all over Africa. It should harness the more inclusive strands in its own theological heritage in order to contribute to a more humane Africa, acknowledging the humanity of those traditions that are unique to the African continent.” (Motsekga, 2008:11)

Mandela made the strongest appeal for religious tolerance and the recognition of African religion and its potential contribution to the New World Order. “As with other aspects of its heritage, African traditional religion is increasingly recognized for its contribution to the World. It is no longer seen as despised superstition which had to be superseded by superior forms of belief; today its enrichment of humanity’s spiritual heritage is acknowledged. The spirit of Ubuntu – that profound African sense that we are human only through the humanity of other human beings...has added globally to our common search for a better world.”(ibid.opcit)

Mandela concluded with a reference to the strength of inter-religious solidarity in action against Apartheid, rather than mere harmony or co-existence, which was critical in bringing that evil system to an end. In conclusion, Mandela expressed the hope that the inter-religious approach, rather than verbally competing claim, enabled each tradition to bring its best forward and place it at the service of all. He expressed the hope that the religions of the continent will walk a similar path in the reconstruction and renewal of the African Continent. Mandela’s interfaith vision gave birth to both the National Religious Leaders Forum (NRLF) and the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM).

President Mandela convened several Moral summits which brought religious leaders together to consider the collapse of acceptable levels of morality in South African

society, manifesting itself in the elevation of the self, at the expense of others and, in particular, the materialist culture which leads to heinous crimes. These workshops resulted in the formation of two important organizations – the National Religious Leaders Forum and the Moral Regeneration Movement. Both the organizations are brain children of the ANC.

Both the organizations support the Liberation Theology, which served as a moral basis for the national liberation struggle. The principles on which all religions represented in the NRLF are based, enriched the strategic objectives of the national liberation struggle, the project of social transformation and the total emancipation of the people, because the basic ethos of all religions is the construction of a society where every human being is recognized first and foremost, as a spiritual being which becomes the centre of the universe. This message is so universal that even Karl Marx made an observation that religion is: “the Sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, the soul of the soul-less condition.” (Motsekga, 2008:12)

It is maintained that the period between 1990 and 2017 marks the negotiations and governance in which Presidents OR Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki served in and President JG Zuma who is still serving under. President Thabo Mbeki succeeded President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela and served between the years of 1997- 2007. It is maintained that the period between 1990 and 2017 marks the negotiations and governance in which Presidents O.R. Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma served in. Thabo Mbeki embraced the spirit of Ubuntu and condemned the worship of material wealth. He fought to transform the African continent. It is for this reason that he maintains (Sunday World 17 September 2017:11) that, “As Africans, we need to share common recognition that all of us stand to lose if we fail to transform our continent”

The NRLF and its provincial and local structures facilitated partnership and cooperation between the faith communities and local authorities, provincial and national governments for the realization of the ideals embodied in the preamble of the Constitution. The faith communities were to commit themselves to heal the divisions of the past, contribute to the creation of a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights and further commit themselves to the improvements of the quality of life of all citizens and to free the full potential of every individual.

During the Presidency of Thabo Mbeki, the NRLF gradually became dormant and only met with the President and/or his Director-General, Rev. Frank Chikane for informal discussions. It was on the 3 April 2001, when the NRLF met with President Mbeki for two hours discussing in particular four areas in which the President hoped government could count on the support of the religious sector, namely, actions of alleviating poverty, reduction of racial prejudice, interaction with the process of moral regeneration in which it was hoped that religious leaders will be able to take lead, and building relations with other African countries to promote the African development agenda. The ineffectiveness and inefficiency of the NRLF to address the four key areas identified for the religious leaders to help in play a role had therefore led to the establishment of the National Interfaith Leaders Council in South Africa (NILCSA) which later came to be known as National Interfaith Leaders Council (NILC) that became operative during the period under President Jacob Zuma.

President JG Zuma succeeded President Thabo Mbeki and served between the years of 1997- 2017. It is maintained that the period between 1990 and 2017 marks the negotiations and governance in which Presidents OR Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki served in and in which President JG Zuma is currently serving. In his keynote Address at the National Religious Summit held on the 27 November 2008, President Jacob Zuma reaffirmed the ANC moral vision and progressive values which he lives by and embodies as an exemplary leader of the ANC. He invited the delegates to the 2009 Election Manifesto Development Conference to be held on 29 – 30 November 2009.

The President, at this Conference, pointed out that nation building and achievement of social cohesion are some of the most important responsibilities of the ruling party and central to these tasks is the need to reaffirm and recommit to the moral vision and value system of our nation as outlined in various historical documents and the Constitution of our land. He also pointed out that the ANC has always valued the interaction between with faith communities because its history and moral vision are rooted in the religious sector.

In attesting to this Motsekga (2008:14), points out in the CRA: *The Evolution of a value-centred society and Interfaith movement in South Africa* document which maintains that, "The President traced back the ANC moral vision and values to Reverend ZR Mahabane who in 1923 called for the recovery of the African humanity

(Ubuntu/Botho) as a prerequisite for the restoration of the dignity to the spiritual philosophy of Ubuntu. Although the 1996 Constitution dropped this concept, it rooted its values in human dignity and its inherent values of equality, freedom and justice for all. This Constitution embodies the values of a just and caring society that the ANC seeks to build.”

The President has endorsed the values of a caring society in the following terms, “The ANC seeks to build a caring society based on Ubuntu values and principles. Our value system based on Ubuntu promotes social cohesion and nation building by transcending our cultural, religious, racial, gender and class differences. This is because right to be treated with dignity is not something that you earn, but is basic to all human beings. It requires us to understand and embrace one another and to value our cultural differences rather than be afraid of them.”

By speaking in this manner, the President in this summit, reiterated the ANC’s resolve to create a truly united, democratic and prosperous South Africa in which the value of all citizens is measured by their humanity (Ubuntu/Botho) without regard to gender, race, and social status, directing all of us to working together among all our people in a structured way in all the provinces by establishing the provincial interfaith forums. These forums should play a pivotal role in promoting moral regeneration and values thereof to help build a caring society we so envisage, and the role of religious bodies to play a role in providing social education and help build a caring society.

There is a need for religious institutions to be revived so that they go back and play both roles they used to play, that of spiritual and development. We would recall that in the past, a parish priest would have a house of worship, a library, a Community hall, Community gardens, Workshop for creative industries, Health clinic and a School. The President urged faith communities to partner with the ANC and its government to achieve moral regeneration for sustainable development.

In conclusion, it can be established by the provision of the information thus far that, indeed, the ANC was established by God to be His tool to liberate both the oppressed and oppressor. The various epochs of the history and work of the ANC clearly indicate that God had sent the ANC so that it could champion the cause of liberating His people and restoring their dignity as the ANC implemented on their objectives to free His people.

The mission of the ANC's participation in God's liberating activity in South Africa was the agenda set by God for, on its own, it could not have been able to convince the Pharaoh's of their time and could not have been able to have the courage and commitment to pursue the struggle for liberation even when it meant death to its members. In other words their mission was that of God who needed a tool to use for the betterment of the oppressed and colonized so that they too could be the beneficiaries of His grace.

3.3 Exploration of the Presidential Administrations:

In presenting the research findings, the researcher would now undertake to trace the contributions made by the presidential administrations of Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma from 1994 to 2018 in order to validate the research claim that religion and politics can work best together, affirm the notion that the ANC was established by God as His tool to liberate the people of South Africa from colonialism and apartheid to freedom, democracy and a better life for all, and ensure that the ANC as a ruling party currently kept the same views of 1912 about religion and politics in its new dispensation in South Africa because its mission has not yet been accomplished, and secondly by exploring the questions raised in the study as the researcher extracted the information provided through interviews and questionnaires. The actual data collected was based on the fifty-five (55) questions raised in Appendices A and B where fifty (50) participants from the ANC's provincial mother body, the provincial leagues and an association together with the regional executive structures were interviewed.

The research resulted in finding out that the ANC has been mandated by God as a vehicle to champion the liberation struggle of South Africa and had since combined religion and politics to enable religious people to get themselves involved in politics so that together they can free themselves from all forms of struggles and oppression that were taking place in South Africa and set themselves to experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all; Indeed the ANC had been used by God as His special tool to liberate His people from the bondage of apartheid and colonialism and deliver them to a place of 'milk and honey'; and that the ANC currently, still have the same views of 1912 about religion and politics in its new dispensation as the ruling

party in South Africa because its mission as assigned by God had not come to pass, for as long as there were struggles of poverty, inequality and unemployment so the struggle to transform these conditions and situations was on-going until all are poverty-free, equal and employed to mention but these few pressing challenges.

The researcher probed into these questions as shown in the previous chapters since they were very critical and relevant in South Africa today and we were led to understand further the debate of associating religion and politics. In probing these questions, the researcher found that the ANC as God's vehicle was not only established to liberate but also to unite the African people in particular and black people in general so that the quality of life of all the oppressed especially the poor were uplifted and a united front lodged so that from time to time were able to deal with the evil and dehumanising systems that may rear their ugly heads and take the nation back to the world of shackles, dehumanisation and real sufferings.

The newly elected leadership of the African National Congress emerged out of its national Conference in 2017 having realized and acknowledged the deepening moral degeneration within its ranks and society as a whole and therefore undertook to reclaim and reconnect with the values of the founders of the movement who were deeply spiritual and religious people. Also, their National Executive Committee (NEC) had recently reaffirmed its commitment to the values and principles to which so many of its legends dedicated their lives.

Chapter two (2), Section one (1), Sub-sections (a; b; c and d) on founding provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, clearly state the values upon which our country has been founded. This therefore clearly indicates that religion and politics in our country cannot be separated as they have a role to play together. This is attested by the preamble to the Constitution, Act 108 of 1996, which maintains: "We the people of South Africa... May God protect our people."

This point is further attested by the inscription made on the 2011 one rand South African coin where our government had consciously engraved the wording, "*Soli Deo Gloria*", which means to 'God be the glory', acknowledging that it is God alone who deserves honour and glory as He is the one who appoints governments and leaders. This also validates the research claim that religion and politics can be and work together. The notion that the ANC was established by God to be His vehicle to

liberate those that were oppressed becomes a reality and finds affirmation as and when Paul in his letter to the Romans 11:36 stated that, “For from Him [all things originate] and through Him [all things live and exist] and to Him are all things [directed]. To Him be glory and honour forever! Amen.”

The advent of freedom and democracy brought along pronouncements which among others, are the freedom of religion, belief and opinion through the Bill of Rights which is part and parcel of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 as mentioned in the previous paragraphs. Chapter two (2), Section 7, sub-sections 1 of the Constitution deals with the Bill of Rights where it is referred to as “This Bill of Rights is a cornerstone of democracy in South Africa as it enshrines the rights of all people in South Africa and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom” and also in Section 7, sub-sections 2 it is pointed out that “The state must respect, protect, promote and fulfil the rights in the Bill of Rights.”

The Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities (CRL) has been established for these regards, namely:

1. To promote respect for the rights of cultural, religious and linguistic communities;
2. To promote and develop peace, friendship, humanity, tolerance and national unity among cultural, religious and linguistic communities, on the basis of equality, non-discrimination and free association; and
3. To recommend the establishment or recognition, in accordance with national legislation, of a cultural or other council or councils for a community or communities in South Africa (Act 108 of 1996: Chapter 9, Section 185, Sub-sections 1(a, b and c).

The researcher has therefore deemed it important to appeal to the CRL Commission and religious institutions to start and pursue some dialogues to address matters of faith that abuse and assault the humanity and spirituality of the desperate and vulnerable youth, women and the poorest of the poor so that they can be protected against those who practice perverted religion. The commercialisation of religion and the practice of foreign tendencies in the religious sector and other crises which have brought about the misreading, misunderstanding and misinterpretation of Chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, especially Section fifteen (15) of

the Bill of Rights which is about the freedom of religion, belief and opinion which talks of everyone having the right to freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief and opinion as well as Sub-sections 1 & 2 of Section 7 on Rights as mentioned in the previous paragraph. The researcher is convinced that working together as religious and government institutions can validate the fact that religion and politics can work best together, as such is intended by God.

The Freedom of Religion South Africa and the South African Council for the Protection and Promotion of Religious Rights and Freedoms (Report on the 'Commercialisation' of Religion: 2017:3) which is a non-profit organization that serves to protect and preserve the constitutional right to freedom of religion, belief and opinion (section 15 of the Constitution) in South Africa maintains that:

“representing a large number (including many of the major) churches, denominations and faith groups in South Africa who have endorsed this Submission, recognize that there are isolated incidents of excess and abuse taking place in the name of faith, and share the CRL’s concerns in this regard. We commend the CRL Rights Commission (“CRL”) for what we believe to be a *bona fide* effort to prevent and combat the “commercialization” of religion and abuse of people’s belief systems. The (FOR SA) and the (“the Council”), on the commercialization” of religion, it submits that while one may (justifiably) feel a sense of moral outrage at “charlatans” and “con-artists” who exploit the poor and vulnerable in society, unless such “commercialization” also amounts to harmful or unlawful activity, there is no legal justification for intervention.” (2017:3)

The researcher is of the view that commercialisation amounts to harmful and unlawful activity especially when in the name of making money, ordinary people are made to drink petrol, eat grass and snakes to mention but a few; when in the name of being made prosperous, you are made to hold your keys for the new car you so much in need of on air. This is pure robbery in the house of the Lord and therefore the law has to take its cause. The researcher supports the stand of the Freedom of Religion South Africa (FOR) SA and the South African Council for the Protection and Promotion of Religious Rights and Freedoms (“the Council”) as they have carefully studied:

“The CRL Rights Commission’s Preliminary Report of the Hearings on Commercialization of Religion and Abuse of People’s Belief Systems first published on its website on 25 October 2016, and a revised Report immediately thereafter on 26 October 2016 (“the Report”); as well as various news articles and media interviews (also with the CRL) with regard to this issue. At the outset, we want to make it very clear that we recognize that there are isolated incidents of excess and abuse taking place in the name of faith. Moreover, as (representatives of) religious communities in South Africa, we share the CRL’s concerns in this regard, and reconcile ourselves with the stated objective of the CRL to “*create a positive and safe environment for the exercise of religious freedom*” In fact, while our position herein is to ensure that freedom of religion and the autonomy of religious institutions to govern their own affairs remain protected, we want to make it very clear that persons committing harmful and/or unlawful acts in the name of religion, cannot do so in the name of “religious freedom” and are indeed enemies to religious freedom. We have further been requested by the Christian churches and denominations represented herein, to explicitly state that they do not in any way associate with (and should not be lumped together with) these “charlatan” preachers and “con-artists”, whose reported actions are completely contrary to Biblical teaching and practice. While the Bible teaches that the Lord Jesus Christ healed people of all manner of diseases and ailments during His earthly ministry, He always did so in a way that protected their dignity as human beings made in the image of God. On no occasion did He act in a way that caused physical harm to people or further endangered their health. In this regard, we refer to the “Joint Statement Repudiating Unlawful Acts Carried Out in the Name of Religion” issued by 101 (including many of the major) churches, denominations and faith groups on 25 November 2016 (and copied to the CRL). In the Statement, religious leaders unanimously and publicly condemned the claims and actions of “the Prophet of Doom”, and called upon the victims of these (and similar) acts to withdraw their support from those whose practices and teachings in no way reflect true Biblical Christianity. Against the above background, we really do appreciate the CRL’s efforts in investigating this issue and commend the CRL for what we believe to be a

bona fide effort to prevent and combat the “commercialization” of religion and abuse of people’s belief systems. In considering the appropriate action to be taken, we believe that the extent of such abuses, amongst other things, should be taken into account. (2017:9 - 11)

The discussions on commercialization of religion and abuse of people’s belief systems were held in 2015 in Mbombela, Ehlanzeni region where representatives from the four regions including that from the CRL Commission, the Moral Regeneration Movement and the SACC Mpumalanga chapters attended. The CRL Commission representative outlined their scope of work and clarified the hard pressing issue of summoning the religious leaders to come and account to the Commission on their activities which were seen to be violating the rights of people, including church members as contained in chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Such discussions were meant to continue into the future covering regions of Gert Sibande, Bohlabela and Nkangala which were not in attendance in their numbers on that day to deepen democracy for more understanding on the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom to be gained.

The commercialization of religion in South Africa in this day and age can be likened to prosperity cult more so because people involved in it have nothing to do with God but prosperity, if it had to do with God, they were supposed to understand the scriptures which state, “But first and most importantly seek (aim at ,strive after) His kingdom and His righteousness(His way of doing and being right – the attitude and character of God), and all these things will be given to you also”(Matthew 6:33). Unfortunately the way this comes across very often is a distortion of what Jesus taught, placing the emphasis upon material possessions as an end in themselves, whereas they are not an end in themselves, but merely by-products.

The research question on religion and politics or church and state and the issue of commercialisation appeals to both the church and state to play their role if they were to work together and make some impact as they monitor one another whether, in their activities they do not trample on people’s rights and abuse them in the name of religion, yearning for a better life for all. The church and state should work together to restore the human dignity of the people and ensure that they are respected and protected irrespective of their social origin, gender, status, race and class.

The researcher has traced the contributions made by the presidential administrations of Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma from 1994 to 2018 in order to validate the research claim that religion and politics can work best together , affirm the notion that the ANC was established by God as His tool to liberate the people of South Africa from colonialism and apartheid to freedom, democracy and a better life for all, and ensure that the ANC as a ruling party currently kept the same views of 1912 about religion and politics in its new dispensation in South Africa because its mission has not yet been accomplished.

3.3.1 Nelson Mandela's Presidential Administration (1994 – 1999)

The ANC's foundation is built on Godly values because its mission has always been to restore the dignity and morality of the people as it delivers a better life for all ensuring that religious and political activists continue to work together critically and wisely in the service of God's people. Since its inception, the ANC has always associated politics and religion in order to enable the religious people to be involved in politics. The research establishes that the ANC saw itself as the one mandated by God to be the champion of the liberation struggle, hence the main question of this research: Was the ANC established with the notion that it should be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all?

In this, we saw the connection of religion and politics which undergirded the ANC's thinking and work as God's tool to liberate His people from the bondage of apartheid and colonialism.

It is therefore believed that by allowing religion and politics to work together as they belong together will encourage religious people to be actively involved in politics. It was important to prove this in South Africa today as we referred to the partnership envisaged by President Mandela when he addressed the religious leaders in June 1997 where he said:" The transformation of our country requires the greatest possible co-operation between Religious and Political bodies critically and wisely serving our people together. Neither Political nor Religious objectives can be achieved in isolation. They are held in a creative tension with common commitments. We are Partners in building our Society."(Mehana, V. 2012(1.3):1).

President Mandela in this address showed the importance of religion and politics to cooperate and work together in serving all the people of God especially the poorest of the poor and thereby encouraging religious and political activists to be involved in activities aimed at improving the lives of the people. In line with President Mandela, Bishop Tutu in 1993 declared: "I have never doubted that faith is a highly political thing. We believe in the incarnation – the participation of God in the affairs of the world. However, the political dimension of our faith varies according to the requirements of each different context" (Tutu, 1993:6).

Bishop Tutu's attestation confirmed that indeed religion and politics work best together in most instances though the involvement of religion depends on what was needed at the time and in that particular area but both play a pivotal role in the affairs of the people of God especially the marginalised, down-trodden, needy, widowed, orphaned and the poorest of the poor. And this was the reason amongst other reasons that Mandela sought after the partnership of both religious and political leaders in transforming the South African society.

President Mandela's contribution to religion and politics before and during his administration bore witness to the fact that indeed the ANC has been God's vehicle to liberate God's people from the bondages of colonialism and apartheid ushering them into a better life for all. When invited by the Free Ethiopian Church in Southern Africa, this became clear as he made a challenge to the church as he delivered a speech on the centenary celebrations in Potchefstroom on December 14, 1992. In this speech at this centenary celebration, Mandela spoke about the historical links between the ANC and the Ethiopian Churches and also took the opportunity to outline the role of the church in South Africa then and probably today as he saw it.

President Nelson Mandela (as cited in the Challenge: Politics and Religion, 1993:20) lamented that, "The centenary of the Ethiopian Church should have been celebrated throughout the length and breadth of our country because it touches all the African people irrespective of their denomination or political outlook. The Free Ethiopian Church of Southern Africa is one of the few surviving institutions from the previous century that is in the hands of the African people. This is remarkable feat for which we have to give credit to the leaders of this church throughout the difficult years of the final dispossession of our people. Indeed our people were not only dispossessed of their land and cattle but also of their pride, their dignity and their institutions. In

celebrating this century you have, my brothers and, sisters disproved the lie that the African people cannot run their own institutions.”

As shown in the previous chapters, the links between the Ethiopian Church and the ANC and the struggle for national liberation in general goes back to the 1870's when the products of missionary education observed and recorded that colonialism was a one teated cow that only fed the whites. On the political front various provincial African political associations and newspapers mushroomed in the last thirty years of the nineteenth (19th) century.

On the theological front African clergymen sought to free themselves from the fetters of white missionaries by establishing African Independent churches. One of the most celebrated breakaways was that of Nehemiah Tile who founded the Tembu Church in the Transkei in 1884. The fundamental tenets of the Ethiopian Movement were self-worth, self-reliance and freedom. These tenets drew the advocates of Ethiopianism like a magnet, to the growing political movement. The political movement was to culminate in the formation of the ANC in 1912. It is in this sense that in the ANC the seeds of the formation of this political movement were traced back to the Ethiopian Movement of the 1890's.

The contribution of the Ethiopian Church and the broad Ecumenical Movement in South Africa and internationally to the struggle against the heresy of Apartheid was unparalleled. The researcher had to look at leaders such as Archbishop Tutu, Rev. Frank Chikane, Ds. Beyers Naude and many more to measure the role of the Church. Some have argued that after February 2, 1990, when the political parties were unbanned, the church took a little lonely walk in search of an identity and a role. This obviously referred to the institutional church because individual Christians have been the backbone of the campaigns for accelerated and thorough going transformation in South Africa.

We therefore must, however, attempt to answer the question of the role of the church as an institution in the transition and beyond. President Mandela (Ibid.21) maintained that: “One thing that we must say unequivocally is that the church in South Africa cannot afford a retreat to the cosiness of the sanctuary tempting as it may be in these confusing and challenging times. The church in our country has no option but to join other agents of change and transformation in the difficult task of acting as a

midwife to the birth of our democracy and acting as one of the institutions that will nurture and entrench it in our society.”

These challenges have been put by President Mandela as a contribution in front of the church during this transitional phase in our history not in a prescriptive spirit but in great humility, granting the church both the freedom of religion and the its independence, so that the church can help address them. President Mandela pointed out (Ibid.opcit.) that, “I am convinced that, unless we as a society make full use of the potential our churches have, the democratization of our society is going to be slow and distorted in some instances. I would not, however, support a situation in which the church is subordinated, in any way, to the government of the day or any other societal institution. In the ANC we guarantee both the freedom of religion and the independence of the church.”

This is a clear indication that the ANC was still having the same views about religion and politics even in its new dispensation as the ruling party in South Africa and therefore there was no chance that the ANC could turn its back on the church because they knew the role the church played in the fight against evil and unjust apartheid system for the people of the land to experience freedom, democracy and the better life for all. Both the church and the ANC acknowledge that by working together, more could be achieved and the transformation and development agenda accelerated.

The words contained in that speech were not only directed to the Free Ethiopian Church of Southern Africa as he spoke there as their guest, but to all the churches in South Africa. Hence, as shown in the previous paragraph, his lamentation that the celebration could have been the South African business where all South Africans came together and celebrated, and not just the members of the Free Ethiopian Church only. Mandela also took the opportunity to outline the role of the church today as he saw it. These challenges put by President Mandela before the leadership and all adherents of the Free Ethiopian Church and beyond, were challenges the church was confronted with in the period of transition to democracy, period of transformation and beyond. Mandela was full of confidence that the Free Ethiopian Church was yet to make a major factor in our society as it entered its second century. In conclusion of his speech, Mandela said, “...brothers and sisters, I pray that God may give you strength and vision not only to survive another hundred years but to become a

beacon of hope that all South Africans can look up to whenever difficulties arrive.”(Ibid.opcit)

By uttering in this way, President Mandela confirmed the notion that the ANC was a vehicle established by God to liberate His people from colonialism and oppression to freedom and democracy so that they can experience a better life for all. To him religion and politics worked well together and that it could not be separated. This was clearly demonstrated by Mandela as he addressed the Free Ethiopian Church’s centenary celebrations in 1992, as well as in 1997 when he made a clarion call to the religious leaders to meet with him as shown in the previous chapters. Mandela was convinced that the church has a role to play in South Africa today, and on that role he unfolded and suggested a number of specific tasks that the church needed to execute, namely:

- To warn its adherents against the dangers of superficial changes that may leave power and privilege in the hands of whites and a sprinkling of affluent blacks;
- To keep in public focus the legacy of Apartheid and help design strategies for addressing it;
- To act as the conscience of the present and future society. This is what is sometimes called the ministry of values;
- To take an active part in the mobilization of our society for democracy including education for democracy aimed at creating a culture of tolerance and at enhancing the moral fibre of our society. As part of this process of education, the church can also gear itself towards democratic practices;
- To help our people in the difficult task of national reconciliation that is underpinned by confession and restitution. The church will also help in the reconciliation process through a clear and unambiguous rejection of false reconciliation as it did throughout the years of its fight against the Apartheid heresy;
- To put a lot of energy into the war on violence. The church must help our society identify the root cause of the violence so that the scourge can be

eradicated totally from our midst. Many of the victims of violence look up to the church for spiritual and, sometimes, physical healing; and

- To take an active part in the building of a new nation in South Africa. National social reconstruction is a massive and difficult process that will among many other things, entail the reconstruction of the family and the community, the thorough democratization of political institutions in practice rather than merely in the constitution, and the democratization of the economy(1993:21).

The appeal made by President Mandela when he tabled these specific tasks was that the Church should address these to enable the democratization of our society to be speeded up and not distorted in some instances. The problem was that although religious institutions were aware of the agreement on the principles of spiritual values and integrity for the whole human community, many are too busy running their inherited separate activities to work out united strategies of transformation. They were only able to produce statements but not strategies.

Professor Pillay in his article *The Church as a Transformation and Change Agent*, (2017:1) attests to what Mandela had said, as he pointed out that:

This article traces the historical impact of the church in transforming, developing and changing society. It looks at how the church in selected periods in history, mainly in the reformation era, worked towards the transformation of society and communities. Extracting from these the author attempts to show how this can be applied to the church in the South African context. Further, the author explores the changing dynamics and characteristics of being church today and establishes that it is not so much about what the church believes, but in what it does that matters most in this day and age. The author, with the latter thought in mind, expresses that community transformation has to be an integral part of the ministry of the church today.”

Mandela had confidence in the church hence he came out publicly to say that as a church in South Africa we have no option but to join other agents of change and transformation as we gave birth to our democracy and should act as one of the institutions that will nurture and entrench democracy in our society. Here, Mandela displayed the close link that was and will always be there between religion and politics. It is clear that the solutions of the crises that apartheid had created cannot

be left to the state or church alone, but there has to be the working together of church and state or religion and politics. The church will have to take some of the burden of bettering the lives of our people including our children for the challenges of many centuries to come.

Prof. Pillay also points out (2017:9) that:

The early missionaries, especially in the 19th century, are to be commended for sowing the seed from which the black churches of the 20th century grew. They did extensive evangelistic work and built churches, schools and hospitals. Not only were these important aspects of their ministries at that time, but were also foundations for subsequent developments. The church has been involved in the establishment of society, though its contributions were not at all times positive. In South Africa the Dutch Reformed Church, in particular, used its economic and political power to secure the rights of the white minority, seriously impoverishing the majority black people in South Africa, and even providing theological justification for such economic and political policies by misinterpreting Calvin's theology. This was evident in the policy of separate development which led to the rich white getting richer and the poor black getting poorer. Calvin and Luther showed a particular interest in the poor. Luther's distinction between Law and Gospel pointed out that humans are set free from sin by God's grace. This freedom enables humans to do good to fellow human beings. This encouraged the church to reform its actions towards the poor and oppressed."

Here, we see how religion and politics in working together subjugated the rights of the poor and oppressed. The researcher believed that even in the current South Africa if religion and politics can work together and a pivotal role could be played in uplifting the poor and oppressed, and in affirming and strengthening of the weak and vulnerable from the squalor conditions and abject poverty they find themselves faced with and living in, day in and day out to that of a better life for all.

Bishop Tutu(1993:6), addressing the 5th General Assembly of the All Africa Council of Churches (AACC) in Togo in 1987, summing up his thinking about the task of the church in South Africa and anywhere else in the world, said:

The church must align itself with the powerless, the marginalized and the voiceless. It must strive to become the voice of the voiceless to ensure that the cries of the poor are heard. It has the enormous responsibility of telling the truth, of identifying evil wherever it may be found and of insisting that the government, any government, must be honest. The lies in which South Africa is wallowing must also end. We must never again tolerate a situation where a General can simply inform a Commission of Inquiry that he had lied – and get away with it. There can be no justice and no peace where government and security force officials can tell lies with impunity.

Looking back into the previous chapters, one can clearly see that the church in South Africa had always been involved in the transformation of society and community, from the early, medieval and current church. Prof. Pillay (2017:9) maintains that in “essence, living under apartheid the (ecumenical) church had no real choice but to fight for the majority of people who were poor and oppressed. In living out the gospel it attempted to transform society and enhance the quality of life of the poor and oppressed. In this sense the church has a history of being a transformation and change agent in South Africa.”

Prof. Pillay (2017:9-10) also maintains, that:

“In 1949, the Christian Council of South Africa (CCSA) started to protest against the apartheid laws imposed by the Nationalist Government in South Africa. In October 1954 a circular was sent to heads of churches and superintendents of missions to investigate their attitude towards the Bantu Education Act. The Committee believed that the Act would violate certain principles of education. This greatly stirred the Sharpeville incident in 1960, and the subsequent banning of black organizations. The result was the Cottesloe Consultation, led mainly by dissatisfied Reformed Christians reacting to racism, in December 1960 which attempted to address ‘Christian race relations and social problems in South Africa’. Clearly, one can see from this that the CCSA was working towards the transformation of the human person and community, free from discrimination, racism, exploitation and oppression. Assisted by the World Council of Churches, a Department of Inter-Church Aid was started in 1962, to collect and distribute funds for disaster relief and community development projects. In 1968 the CCSA

became known as 'The South African Council of Churches' (SACC). The SACC became more and more a place where the Churches could witness together on the problems which faced them in South Africa – above all, the social and political problems produced by the government's apartheid policy. They sought to address these as they witnessed to the Lordship of Jesus Christ in South Africa.”

Thus in all of the above, the researcher could see how politics became a part and parcel to the church's ministry in South Africa as it substantiated the interconnectedness and clearly showed the link that has been there between religion and politics. Some of the challenges raised by President Mandela have been there long before the dawn of freedom and democracy, which must be addressed so that they do not bring negative effect in our democracy. Mandela challenged all South Africans to guard against superficial changes, but seek for genuine transformation that will enhance the lives of the people and advance the people's democracy so that the legacy of apartheid can be defeated and buried. As we do this, let us do so in clear conscience for natural reconciliation and human dignity to be restored and a new nation built.

The 1997 National Religious Leaders Summit convened by President Mandela to consider collaboration with the government where he urged religious and political organizations to venture into partnership with one another and government than acting separately if they were to achieve their objectives. He then made a call to the religious sector to establish structures that are rooted among communities so that they could enter into partnership with government for development. This initiative led to the formation of the National Religious Leaders Forum (NRLF). President Mandela and the NRLF convened the 1999 Moral Regeneration Summit which culminated in the formation of the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM) in 2002. Both the NRLF and MRM made significant contributions as the NRLF developed a Code of Conduct for Persons in Positions of Responsibility or Authority and the Bill of Responsibilities which was endorsed by all political parties, while the MRM developed the Charter of Positive Values (CPV) in 2008.

The President appealed to interfaith forums to play a leading role in promoting moral regeneration and the positive values contained in the Charter in order to help build a caring society which was so much envisaged, where together can fight against the

triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality and provide social education playing critical roles of spiritual support and development, and “Most importantly, we urge the faith communities to partner with us to achieve moral regeneration for sustainable development. Together with faith-based organizations, we engaged in the struggle to eradicate racialism, sexism, gender, and inequality and class oppression.” (2008:4).

This shows that religion and politics in working together could bring about transformation speedily for the people to experience development socially, economically, etc. This has to be done with a sense of urgency because the ANC believes that religion and politics are two sides of the same coin, each side complimenting the other, that is, religion complimenting politics and politics complementing religion. This also has been the reason why the notion that God established the ANC to be the vehicle He chose and used to liberate the oppressed and the poor so that they experienced a better life for all, where poverty shall have been eradicated; unemployment alleviated, and where inequality shall have been done away with.

3.3.2 The Thabo Mbeki Administration: 2000-2009

In the RDP of the Soul (2000: 96), it is pointed out that the liberation of our country has brought us a packet of problems. The lack of experience to run a government, a parliament, a legislature, ministerial departments and a civil service contributed to the fact that the liberation has brought us a packet of problems. We were at the deep end with the previous apartheid regime and carried over to the democratically elected government some serious financial crisis to mention but a few of the problems we inherited.

The research had brought us to notice that the continued fight waged to overcome spiritual and social as well as political and economic challenges needed all of us as a nation to confront and conquer together hence Mandela’s call to both religious and political leaders, religion and politics to work together as partners in the building of a new South Africa.

It is for this reason that President Mbeki in the 2007 Strategy and Tactics document of National Conference (Section 9:95), had said: “The question must therefore arise- for those of us who believe that we represent the good – what must we do to

succeed in our purpose? We must strive to understand the social conditions that would help to determine whether we succeed or fail. What I have said relates directly to what needs to be done to achieve the objective that Nelson Mandela set the nation, to accomplish the RDP of the Soul.”

The researcher concurs with Bishop Tutu (1993:6) when addressing religious leaders in Togo in 1987, reminded them that, “We must never forget that people, all people even the most respected leaders, are mere mortals. Anyone of us is capable of falling for temptation, especially the temptation of power. Today’s oppressed could become tomorrow’s oppressor because sin is an ever-present possibility. There is no need to become disillusioned or cynical about it. We must simply strive to ensure that, with God’s grace, the good which is within all people triumphs over the evil which is also in them.”

Bishop Tutu attests to this (ibid.opcit.) as he pointed out that: “He wanted now to get out of the limelight and to leave the overtly political work to the newly released and unbanned politicians, but found himself thrown back into the rough and tumble of the political arena because he soon discovered that the politicians were not making headway, the poor were still suffering and the country was engulfed in violence. The church must insist that our people experience a qualitative difference between life under apartheid and life under democratic government.”

The research problem stated in Chapter one is that the ANC had always associated politics and religion in order to enable the religious people to be involved in politics, and that this research was intended to find out whether the ANC saw itself as the one mandated by God to be the champion of the liberation struggle, hence the main question of this research: Was the ANC established with the notion that it should be God’s vehicle to liberate God’s people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all?

In this, the researcher saw the connection of religion and politics which undergirds the ANC’s thinking and work. We have seen that the ANC was indeed being used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondage of apartheid and colonialism and that this was established in the ANC Chaplaincy by the very fact that it was composed of Christian religious leaders and laity who were appointed by God to lead

the ANC and its members who periodically voted for them in convened conferences even during those dark and trying days.

President Mbeki (2000:96) maintains that the Strategy and Tactics document for the 2007 National Conference required the state to “place the needs of the poor at the top of the agenda. Whether such common social decency is achievable under a market-based system in a globalized world is an issue on which society should continually engage its mind. The economic problem of the poor is the spiritual problem of the rich. To move from the greed of the rich to the need of the poor we must change the system. We need a new spirit – an RDP of the soul.”

The ANC Conferences have expressed concern for the emergence of corruption not only in business, civil society and government, but in some ANC personnel themselves. Many in society today openly and avowedly promote self-centred, political and economic policies which worship anti-human greed, promote their own profit, and side line the needs of the poor and the survival of humanity.

Mbeki continues to point out that a major barrier to the transformation of our society has been criminal activity caused by the need, greed or violence. Section 11 of the South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) states that everyone has the right to life. In hard fact the economic structure of South Africa condemns half our population to very limited life. An economy which ensures that most people lack the means to provide enough food, housing, clothing, and health care to sustain life, is clearly unconstitutional.

Mbeki maintains that this economic system does not justify those who steal to live but it does demands the justice of an Ubuntu society. Whilst we recognize our social and personal responsibility to afford everyone the right to life, many turn to crime from need. Mbeki (The RDP of the Soul: 2000:96) points out that: “Crimes of greed are directly related to the worship of money and possessions which has become the ruling motif of the unequal western society, although ‘this value system within society that encourages greed, crass materialism and conspicuous consumption’ denounced by all religions and ethicists.”

Here again, Mbeki demonstrated the fact that religion and politics were there to work together and assist each other as they develop humanity, bringing change for the better in the lives of the poor, weak, vulnerable and marginalised. The researcher

concur with Mbeki as he points out that crimes of need, crimes of greed, and crimes of violence are produced by the deliberate promotion of a community without moral integrity. It is a promotion of false inhuman values for which many sectors of society must accept responsibility, including the religious sector. Because the main focus of much religion has moved to financial support for institutions and individualistic concern for after life, many have excluded themselves from its theological, ethical and social emphasis, with a consequent collapse of value systems. Crime is the result of spiritual failure, and the ethical product of the media and advertising industries also needs close analysis and transformation. The transformation of our country can be inhibited by the negative attitudes, news items, editing, illustrations and advertisements in the media.

The researcher maintains that he has seen so many issues under the administration of President Mbeki unfolding such as the RDP of the soul, the lack of experience, corruption, crime, media and now have to attempt to see what role did religion play from the colonial and apartheid era to the freedom and democratic era, looking closely to one of the secondary research question: Does the ANC still have the same views about religion and politics in its new dispensation as the ruling party in South Africa?

President Thabo Mbeki (ibid.96) has the following to say: "Human fulfilment consists of more than 'access to modern and effective services like electricity, water, telecommunications, transport, health. Education and training for our people...As distinct from other species of the animal world, human beings also have spiritual needs. Thus all of us, and not merely the religious leaders, speak of the intangible element that is immanent in all human beings – the soul. "

Mbeki (2000:97) maintains that the colonial misuse of religion has been there, and " for several hundred years the colonial forces which invaded Africa were supported by a variety of religions. As mentioned in the previous Chapters, finding no priests, temples, scriptures, religious institutions or Schools of Theology, the colonizers assumed that Africans were not spiritual people, and had nothing to teach the people of the West. They were totally wrong to limit spiritual fortitude to institutional religion. The colonial religions began missionary work to win African converts to western situations, which today are led largely by African people. The few of the African people realized that in the process we were being co-opted into western civilization

and a corrupted version of the Gospel, which undermined the essentials of spiritual humanity proclaimed by the great spiritual leaders of the past. None of these were products of western civilization: not Hindus, Confucius, Isaiah, Amos, the Buddha, Jesus or Mohammed. Colonial religion was often sincerely wrong.”

The ANC CRA in the RDP of the Soul document contributed on the liberation religion and maintains (2000:97) that: “At the height of the Liberation Struggle in South Africa sections from all religions worked together, reflecting the ecumenical and interfaith movements developing in the world at large. This was seen in Liberation Theology, in the 1991 Interfaith ‘Declaration of Religious Rights and Responsibilities’, in the Religious freedom enshrined in the new 1996 Constitution, and in the establishment of the National Religious Leaders Forum (NRLF) to work with one another and with the government to transform South Africa. But little happened.”

In the previous Chapter, the researcher discussed NRLF extensively, tracing its formation, its objectives, the reasons that led to its failure even if there was a plan and its ultimate collapse. Similar structures were formed after President Mbeki was ousted in government and in the ruling party by Zuma as this also was discussed in the previous Chapter. The RDP document speaks of a relapse (ibid), when it mentioned that, “Many religious leaders (some of whose predecessors were criticized in history for killing the prophets, and preferring tradition to truth) continued the old colonial practices of religious apartheid. Many modern Christians sincerely consider themselves too special to meet on a common ground with other Christians, let alone Muslims, Hindus, Jews, or ‘traditional’ Africans. The separate development of Religious institutions is as strongly entrenched as it was in the apartheid era.”

The RDP document (2000:97-98) remarked that, “The ‘Church Theology’ criticized in the 1998 Kairos Document is still rampant. Many religious communities recuse themselves from involvement in the programmes of national, provincial or local government ‘because you must not mix religion and politics’ (a totally un-Godly anti-human colonial doctrine). Many still pursue the attitudes of the Crusades, Medieval Religious Wars, the battles of Reformation, or the attitudes which rejected recent scientific developments. Such religions are barriers to transformation, not the means of it. There is a clear contrast between religious leaders (at all levels) who wish to

present a united front for the better progress of humanity, and those who see no further than keeping their local religions going. Many pulpits refuse to explore the spiritual unity in religious diversity which is written into our Constitution: they go backwards not forwards. So people have left religion: millions of them.”

Prof. Pillay’s contribution (2017:10) which the researcher fully concurs with, brought clarity to what the ANC in its Strategy and Tactics Document for 2007 National Conference spoke about – the Kairos Document which surfaced the contrast that was believed to be there between religious leaders at all levels as mentioned in the paragraph above, and pointed out that:

“The Kairos Document is a Christian, biblical and theological commentary on the political crisis in the country that took seriously the experiences of black people. The document spoke of the crisis in the church, which was born out of the divisions in the church. Consequently three trends developed from these divisions, that is, state, church and prophetic theology. The document challenged the state on its ideologies and condemned apartheid as a heresy. More particularly it challenged church theology in three interrelated ways (Nurnberg & Tooke 1988:16–18). Firstly, it pointed out that church theology lacked social analysis and that the analysis of apartheid that underpins its theology is simply inadequate. Secondly, this theology lacked an adequate understanding of politics and political strategy. Changing the structures of a society is fundamentally a matter of politics. It requires a political strategy based upon a clear social or political analysis. The Church has to address itself to these strategies and to the analyses upon which they are based. It is into this political situation that the Church has to bring the gospel. Hence there is no way of bypassing politics and political strategies. Thirdly, it challenged the type of faith and spirituality that has dominated church life for centuries. Spirituality has tended to be an other-world affair that has very little, if anything at all, to do with the affairs of this world. Social and political matters were seen as worldly affairs that have nothing to do with the spiritual concerns of the church. The Kairos Document rejected this notion. It asserted that the Bible does not separate the human person from the world, in which he or she lives; it does not separate the individual from the social, or one’s private life from one’s public life. God redeems the whole person as part of God’s whole

creation. Hence a truly biblical spirituality would penetrate into every aspect of human existence and would exclude nothing from God's redemptive will. We see in this document a new theological orientation in South Africa that directed itself to a radical social involvement. The document did not give a blueprint for an alternative political future, but challenged the church to side with God by deliberately supporting the oppressed and poor. The challenge of the Kairos Document led to the 'Concerned Evangelicals' and other people drafting documents like the 'Pentecostal Witness in South Africa' (Anon:1986) and 'A Relevant Pentecostal Witness' (Anon 1988). These two documents were mentioned by Hofmeyer & Pillay (1994:288). The ecumenical movement in South Africa identified itself with the poor as it joined forces with the exploited working class. Embracing liberation theology, it insisted that God is on the side of the poor and it therefore joined with the poor to fight for justice and human rights. In seeking the liberation of the oppressed it radically opposed the structures that dehumanized the masses. It encouraged the participation of the poor in the processes of enabling them to become more human and took up the struggle for justice."

The Kairos Document (1986) as a Christian, biblical and theological commentary on the political crisis in the country took seriously the experiences of black people indicating clearly that religion and politics could work best together. The Christians always understood their religion as that which is involved in the practical life of the poor and marginalized, the suffering and oppressed the religion that sides with the poor bringing hope that could effect change for the better. The document is a response to a situation which was born out of the divisions in the church, the White church and the Black church which resulted in the development of three trends, namely: the state, church and prophetic theology as pointed out previously.

The document (ibid.) challenged the state on its ideologies and condemned apartheid as a heresy criticizing its so called state theology which was nothing else but a justification of the status quo with its racism, capitalism and totalitarianism and blessing injustice, canonizing the will of the powerful and reducing the poor to passivity, obedience and apathy. This was done deliberately by misusing theological concepts and biblical texts for its own political purposes, for example Romans 13:1-7 to give an absolute and so called divine authority to the state, using the idea of the so

called law and order to determine and control what the people may be allowed to regard as just and unjust, the use of the word communist to brand any person who rejects the so called state theology and the use in vain of the name of God.

The document (Ibid) was a critique of the so called state theology having been the product of the following: the analysis of the statements that were made from time to time by the so called English-speaking Churches; the speeches and press statements about the apartheid regime and the present crises made and uttered by Church leaders and what they found running in all these pronouncements was a series of interrelated theological assumptions which they chose to call state theology, a theology that neither were official opinions of the Churches or expressed the faith of the majority of Christians in South Africa who formed the greater part of most of the Churches.

The document (Ibid) called for a response, a call to action from Christians that was biblical, spiritual, pastoral and prophetic solidly grounded in the Bible as the Kairos of the time impelled Christians to return to the Bible and to search the Word of God for a message relevant to what was experienced in South Africa. The prophetic response and prophetic theology included a reading of the signs of the times knowing what was happening, provided for social analysis of what was happening and then interpreted what was happening in the light of the gospel. This clearly indicated that religion and politics are interrelated working together to provide a solution that could bring about change for the better.

The ANC(The RDP of the Soul: 2008:98) had identified a gap in that the malaise affecting all main line churches of the world, for a major sociological fact of the 20th and 21st centuries has been the falling away of congregations. Believers have crossed to unbelief, often unhappily, often reluctantly, but definitely. A century ago, most of the word was religious and today it is not. Many believers have come to recognize the need of spiritual strength in a world beset by poverty and violence, hunger, disease and ignorance, oppression and environmental destruction, but they have written off hope that religion can save the world. They reject its divine claims. A gap has been formed between a world needing a new spirit or transformation and the failure of religions to provide it.

President Mbeki maintains (Ibid) that “Earth does not like a vacuum, and others have rushed to close the gap. It has produced the international phenomena of agnosticism on the one hand, and on the other, the massive growth of the right-wing fundamentalist movement, and now agnosticism rules. The fastest growing religion in the world today including Africa is the right-wing fundamentalism. It began when people thought the discoveries of science would subvert the teachings of the church, and amongst people who sought more emotional satisfaction than that offered by the cerebral assertions of mainline churches. Pentecostalism emerged, and then right-wing fundamentalism took the gap.”

Now (2000:98), “faith is replaced by superstition; theology shrinks to a few ‘proof texts’; salvation of the world is replaced by the salvation of individuals; health and wealth will be provided in response to the faith shown in supporting the church through donations; concern for goodness in this life is eclipsed by concern for life after death; the world will shortly end when Christ will come again to gather his followers into a rapturous after life, and destroy his enemies, Jesus of Nazareth is replaced by a hideous Christo-caricature and the Prophet Muhammad by a suicidal fanatic. Fundamentalists breed extremists in all religion (including the contending groups in the Middle East whose twisted thinking degrades the same deity). Strong support comes from pseudo-Christian groups in the US which are committed to spreading their influence throughout Africa. It goes hand in hand with the current US policy of promoting propaganda about Islamic terrorism to justify the spread of a US military presence.”

In the past years (ibid. opcit), the President of the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), Revd. Yansako-ni-Nku, who served with Reverend Mvume Dandala as General Secretary then had warned about fundamentalist groups which he called (2000:98) “hawks and charlatans who are not so much for God’s glory but for themselves’ ‘In a very short time, the preacher who promises prosperity for everyone gets richer and the congregation gets poorer’. He attributes the growth of these churches to the fact that they exploit the ignorance, the emotions, and the poverty of the vulnerable class who have been abandoned on the fringes of society with no one to give them any direction. Fundamentalism is a major problem preventing transformation.”

The dialogues which were started during Mandela's administration continued quite intentionally with former President Mbeki when he succeeded President Mandela who initiated this network. Pillay (2017:3) maintains:

“Unfortunately, these meetings with President Mbeki turned out to be more of the government seeking approval and support for its policies rather than hard engagement on issues in South Africa, even issues threatening democracy. Some of these issues identified by the SACC in 2008 were: political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe, the plight of the poor, crisis of governance in some state institutions, the break out of violence directed to foreign nationals, unacceptable levels of violent crime, leadership vacuum and lack of accountability, violence against women, increasing competition for finite resources, and environmental degradation and climate change. There came a time when NRLF was able to express its concern about the setting of the agenda and the participation of religious leaders in the meeting with the president. President Mbeki heeded to the call and voice of the religious leaders and agreed on the setting of the agenda together and equal participation in the meetings, which took place at least two times a year. The meetings thus became more acceptable though not fully what was desired.”

The initiative by President Mandela to call both the religious and political leaders to collaborate with government for development is a clear indication that religion and politics have a link that was there since the inception of the ANC., which link must not be broken but maintained so that the people of South Africa can be developed fully for the better.

3 3.3 The Jacob Zuma Administration: 2009-2018

The NRLF which was formed by President Mandela declined from 2004 to 2007 creating a gap which other faith based organizations identified and established an alternative organization such as the National Interfaith Council of South Africa (NICSA). Motsekga (NICSA Document 2011:1) maintains: “On the 5th September 2011 the two organizations met and resolved to form a single National Interfaith Organization, the National Interfaith Council of South Africa (NICSA). After extensive provincial consultations, the Commission for Religious and Traditional Affairs

(CRATA) convened a Presidential Summit which was addressed by President Zuma on the 27 November 2008.

Since 1994 the SACC leadership was generally favourable to the Mbeki administration in South Africa and thus questioned events that led to Mbeki's resignation and departure as President of the Republic of South Africa. The SACC did not kept quiet about these Polokwane events but publicly questioned and opposed the appointment of JG Zuma as

TM Mbeki's successor on the grounds of morality and corruption which it felt did not qualify him for such a high office in the land. It is the researcher's earnest belief that the ecumenical fragmentation had started by then, and particularly in the SACC which was now starting to lose the favour it enjoyed during Mbeki's administration. So, the church suffered the ecumenical fragmentation and the seed of division that was sown caused the church to be divided (2017:3).

Prof.Pillay (2017:4) points out that:

The SACC was always respected for its role in campaigning against apartheid, and the other ecumenical movements in South Africa duly acknowledge this with appreciation. However, the biggest threat to the ecumenical unity in South Africa was to emerge with the change of the Mbeki administration in South Africa. Jacob Zuma became the next President of South Africa and it became fairly apparent that the SACC was soon to be side-lined from the Presidency. The words of the SACC, in a public statement issued on 10th March 2010 titled *Telling the truth from a position of weakness, we are perfected by our Lord*, clearly indicates this perception: We have also observed unwillingness from the Presidency to engage with the SACC ”

Since then, the South African Council of Churches and other organized Christian formations in the province and in the land, it was pointed out that the SACC cannot continue to monopolize or claim sole ownership and responsibility for the contribution of the religious sector in the liberation struggle and therefore the only prophetic voice that must speak and receive support attention from government. Hence, President Zuma and his government promoted effective involvement of the religious sector in matters of governance, development, nation building, and service delivery in a more practical way. While many social, economic and political gains have been made

since 1994, it is beyond dispute the fact that South Africa still remains a society in transition faced with so many glaring and stubborn challenges such as unemployment, poverty and inequality. Hence, Fanie du Toit (2003:2) maintains that, "Transitional societies need to regain some measure of healed, integrated memory, making the past bearable and offering itself across divisions as common ground for deeper understanding of each other."

During Zuma's nation address on the occasion of the joint sitting of parliament on 17 June 2014, emphasized the need to prioritize healing and nation building more than ever before. This followed a similar call he had made during his address on the occasion of his inauguration as the fifth (5th) President of the Republic of South Africa on the 24 May 2014 where he said (Department of Social Development: National Interfaith Thanksgiving Ceremony Concept Document 2014:3), "...government will promote nation building programmes to rebuild the soul of our nation. Many South Africans still bear the emotional scars arising from decades of apartheid divisions and hatred. Therefore, the national healing and reconciliation process has to continue. We will work together to promote unity, understanding and tolerance across race and colour lines, as we build a South Africa that truly belongs to all."

The Department of Social Development celebrating twenty(20) years of freedom hosted the National Interfaith Thanksgiving Ceremony where in its Concept Document (Ibid.) pointed out that, "The president's call for prioritization of healing and nation building resonates well with the growing consensus on policy makers that some of the socio-economic challenges the country is faced with may, to a certain extent, be directly linked to the untreated wounds and memories, vicious marginalization, family displacements, material and personal losses of the past injustices and brutal assaults caused by the past colonial and apartheid system on the masses of this country."

One may reckon that these are some of the untreated wounds that the preamble of the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa recognizes when it enjoins us to help heal the divisions of the past. The National Development Plan (NDP) also seemed to acknowledge these untreated wounds when it argued that social scourges such as violence against women and children and people with disabilities are not simply security matters but have deep social and economic roots and consequences. It is for this reason that it therefore correctly proposed that an effective and efficient

response to such scourges as mentioned earlier required a holistic approach to community safety that takes the causes of crime into consideration and responds to specific causal factors.

The Institute for Ecumenical Foundation of Southern Africa (EFSA), an Institute for Theological and Interdisciplinary Research founded in 1990 was involved in the 2014 thanksgiving ceremony that sought to give thanks to God for the achievements the government had made in its 20 years of freedom and democracy in our country where so much development had taken place as it exists to contribute from a theological perspective towards the building of a just, peaceful and democratic society in South Africa.

It is characterised by its interdisciplinary approach, incorporating fields such as economy, sociology, law, theology, politics, etc. to the key problems of our society by its inter-university cooperation, which includes universities of Cape Town, Western Cape and Stellenbosch, by its ecumenical nature, where the Western Province Council of Churches played an important role and finally by its focus on societal problems. The incorporation of various disciplines is a clear indication that all disciplines are interlinked proving the fact that indeed religion and politics can work best together as they are inextricably bound. The involvement of EFSA in this ceremony was due to the fact that it focused on societal problems and concerned about development which is human beings and their problems in order to better their lives and restore their dignity.

President JG Zuma maintained that the interfaith community as a sector that is better placed to deal with matters relating to personal and communal healing, has a challenge to champion efforts to assist the country in going back through a journey down painful lane so that the country is assisted to come to terms with and heal the most innate and hidden personal and communal wounds and scars inflicted by many years of brutal oppression. There is no doubt that South Africans are still a wounded country to this day. Its 'woundedness' should be viewed positively because as it serves to remind us as a nation to always appreciate and value the great strides this nation has made and caused us to celebrate with great thanksgiving in our lives that we are a majority that is truly free from the shackles of the past domination and oppression by the minority in the land of our ancestors.

During the National Conference held in Polokwane on the 16-20 December 2007, President Zuma traced the spiritual philosophy, Ubuntu to the moral vision of the ANC, evolved by religious leaders who were also ANC leaders such as Rev. John Dube, Rev. Z Mahabane and others. In particular President Jacob Zuma linked this moral vision to the 1923 and the 1943 Bill of Rights as well as the 1955 Freedom Charter. Ubuntu, an African product, is an indigenous African philosophy, an African way of life. It was not imported from Eastern or Western Europe. It is something out of Africa and conveys a message: I am because you are, and because you are therefore I am, emphasising the fact that we need each other because we are what we are because of each other, there is no you without me and me without you.

The evolution of the ANC's human rights culture rooted in the spiritual philosophy of Ubuntu found its way into the ANC Strategy and Tactics adopted by the National Conference held in Polokwane, 16-20 December 2007. In its opening paragraph, the Strategy and Tactics document (2007:1) said: "The dark night of white minority political domination is receding into a distant memory, yet we are only at the beginning of a long journey to a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa in which the value of all citizens is measured by their humanity (Ubuntu/Botho), regardless of race, gender and social status"

The document of the ANC Religion and Politics in South Africa issued by the ANC Commission on Religious Affairs, talks of a spiritual philosophy of Ubuntu/Botho that has become the core value of our national moral and social fibre which provided a sound foundation for the building of a caring society. South Africa, because it is one of the places in the African continent where the African people have faced the white threat in the recent past, is the place where the debate has developed more heat and emotion. The ANC has always valued the interaction with faith communities because its history and moral vision are rooted in the religious sector. President Zuma in his address to the ANC Presidential Religious Summit in Esselen Park in Kempton Park, Johannesburg (2008:1), pointed out that: "...nation building and achieving social cohesion are some of the most important responsibilities of the ruling party. Central to the two tasks is the need to re-affirm and recommit to the moral vision and the value system of our nation as outlined in various historical documents and the Constitution of our land."

Rev. ZR Mahabane, third President of the ANC, articulated in 1912 what became the ANC moral vision in his speech titled: *"We are not political children"*. Here, he observed that the African people were landless, vote-less, voiceless, homeless and hopeless as they have been deprived of their humanity and the right to decide their future. He maintained that in such situations the ANC, as God's vehicle to liberate His people from the fetters of the oppressor had to strive to restore the dignity and humanity (Ubuntu/Botho) of the people of this country as a whole. The 1923 and 1943 ANC Bill of Rights were informed by the moral vision developed by religious leaders who were also political leaders.

There can be no doubt therefore that the ANC derived its moral value system from the church. The moral vision of the ANC found its final definition in the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter was adopted under the stewardship of its President Chief Albert Luthuli, a preacher in the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (UCCSA). The 1993 interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa traced its moral values directly to the spiritual philosophy of Ubuntu. The 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA), though it dropped the concept of moral values tracing it to the spiritual philosophy of Ubuntu, it rooted its values in human dignity (Ubuntu/Botho) and its inherent values of equality, freedom and justice for all. And these shared values are captured in both the preamble and founding provisions of the 1996 Constitution of the RSA. This therefore, made our Constitution of the Republic of South Africa the value-based supreme law of the land.

Its supremacy, the Constitution of the RSA, means that any law or conduct inconsistent with it is invalid, and the obligations imposed by it must be fulfilled. This Constitution of RSA embodies the values of a just, tolerant, caring and moral society for the common good that the ANC seeks to build. The society which the ANC seeks to build is based on Ubuntu values and principles. The ANC value system based on Ubuntu, which is the way of life that contributes positively towards sustaining the well-being of a people, community or society, promotes social cohesion and nation building by transcending our cultural, religious, racial, gender and class differences.

The Constitution of the RSA requires us to understand and embrace one another and to value our cultural differences rather than be afraid of them. It ensures that everyone deserves to be treated with respect from the poorest of the poor to the most powerful people in our society. The right to be treated with respect and dignity

is something that one does not earn, but a basic right to all human beings. Amongst the resolutions of the 52nd ANC National Conference held in Polokwane in 2007, there is one that calls for the ANC led-government to integrate Ubuntu principles into public policy.

The purpose of doing this was to comprehensively correct the distortions and imbalances not only in our heritage landscape but also in our social, economic and industrial relations. The ANC 2007 Strategy and Tactics document also underlined the central role of Ubuntu principles into public policy. The challenge is how then the church and government inculcate these values in our society, starting with our children as a future of the nation. This can be achieved if we commit to use education as a tool to cultivate moral and social values among the youth and encourage them to lead healthy lifestyles and respect other people on the basis of their humanity which is not based on their status in life. The researcher believes that these areas identified for collaboration can when left unattended deepen and exacerbate the wounds of the past and reverse the liberation gains with disastrous consequences for the future, so we have to effectively and urgently attend to them. The church and government can work together in rolling out the Charter of Positive Values in schools as well instilling human values such as respect, democracy, equality etc.

This was possible to do because the ruling party, the ANC in its 2017 resolutions, particularly resolution 2.16 of the 54th National Conference's Social Transformation Sub-Committee Report of the NEC (2017:67) paragraph, reflected the following: "The Charter of Positive Values must be included in the curriculum of Life Orientation in schools. The revitalization of Provincial Chapters of the Moral Regeneration Movement should take place in all provinces, driven by the Premiers and relevant MEC's to ensure greater coherence with the national programme. Part of this work includes the revival of the ANC's Commission for Religious Affairs to coordinate the efforts of the ANC with the religious sector, as well as the ANC's programme of action on moral regeneration."

Here we see clearly how religion and politics can work together as reflected in the following resolutions of the 2017 Resolutions of the Social Transformation Sub-Committee of the ANC NEC, 1.12, 2.19 and 2.26, "The Social Cohesion Advocates should be allocated across the provinces to support the Premiers in driving the moral

regeneration and social cohesion initiatives; Abuse of religion for sexual predation by some religious leaders must be combatted; Policy is required to regulate mushrooming unethical churches and traditional practices”, respectively.

President Zuma (2008:3) pointed out that, “Already our curriculum strives to ensure that the entire education system promotes human values. In 2002 the Department of Education produced a document titled Manifesto on values, education and democracy. The education manifesto highlights ten values from the Constitution”.

The values included democracy; social justice; equality; non-racialism and non-sexism; an open society; responsibility and accountability; respect; the rule of law; and reconciliation.

These human values are transversal meaning that they are found in and amongst all our people. If they can be found in and amongst all people, they therefore can make an impact on religious bodies and government which are constituted by the very people that these values are found amongst by advocating and deepening democracy encouraging people that as they live:

- They must be conscious of the fact that they don't exist on their own or for themselves but exist with other human beings and should therefore be able to co-exist;
- Cooperate and partner with one another as they are in the majority;
- Promote and implement social justice for people to live in peace and harmony with one another;
- Respect others and their rights as human beings;
- Lobby for equality before the rule of law and promote non-racialism as there is no better race than the other, non-sexism as we are all created in the image of the Trinitarian God who views us as neither male nor female; and the
- Creation of a democratic, free, open, respectful, and a reconciled, responsible and accountable society.

The SACC once described as a stronger organization was now being seen to be weak.

The faith based organizations were concerned about how it would regain its prophetic voice and continue to engage with government without compromising its prophetic responsibilities; how would the SACC be able to challenge the ANC led government on issues of justice and the realities in South Africa which realities were related to landlessness, economic policies, illegal mining, poverty, HIV and AIDS, unemployment, freedom fighters, corruption, state capture, human trafficking, femicide and crime among others, as it was no longer prophetic as it used to be, and had turned to be more in solidarity with the ANC ruled government rather than being critical, and continued to ask questions such as how can it maintain a critical distance without being seen as an extension of the ANC; how will it maintain a balance between attending and listening to the aspirations of grassroots communities and that of the high profile government defined-agenda. These were the various reasons advanced to show how concerned the faith based organisations were about the state of the SACC. The concerns raised by the faith based organisation were a clear indication that religion and politics can work best together in addressing any issues that concern people.

The SACC was further diluted and weakened by the emergence of other bodies, even from within the SACC, such as the National Initiative for Reformation in South Africa (NIRSA), the Southern African Christian Leadership Assembly (SACLA), an initiative of African Enterprise (AE) and The Evangelical Alliance of South Africa (TEASA). The National Religious Leaders Forum (NRLF) emerged as a network from the former President Mandela's request for all religious bodies to establish a forum where government could speak to all of the religious leaders assembled together and dialogue with government on pressing national issues and be able to participate in the building of a democratic South Africa.(2017:3).

Though the SACC welcomed the interfaith cooperation in South Africa, it did so expressing its disappointment that in the beginning it seemed the forum was taking on the form of an organization and not a platform ,because when the National Religious Association for Social Development (NRASD) was formed, it was now made to operate under the wing of the NRLF and this did not augur well with the SACC hence its Secretary was mandated to formally raise this and other concerns with the chairperson of the NRLF.

The Constitution of the ANC as amended and adopted by the 54th National Conference in Nasrec, Johannesburg in 2017 states the following in Rule 4.1 and 4.16, respectively that: “Membership of the ANC shall be open to all South Africans above the age of 18 years, irrespective of race, colour and creed, who accept its principles, policies and programmes and who are prepared to abide by its Constitution and rules; On being accepted in the ANC, a new member shall, in a language prefers and knows well, make the following solemn declaration to the body or person designated to administer such oaths:

“I, [...], solemnly declare that I will abide by the aims and objectives of the African National Congress as set out in the Constitution, the Freedom Charter and other duly adopted policy positions, that I am joining the Organization voluntarily and without motives of material advantage or personal gain, that I agree to respect the Constitution and the structures and to work as a loyal member of the Organization, that I will place my energies and skills at the disposal of the Organization and carry out tasks given to me, that I will work towards making the ANC an even more effective instrument of liberation in the hands of the people, and that I will defend the unity and integrity of the Organization and its principles, and combat any tendency towards disruption and factionalism.”

This oath is an indication that the members who joined the ANC did so voluntarily and are members who commit to abide by its rules, procedures and policies and encouraged to be in good standing meaning that their membership were to be renewed timeously before it lapsed and that they were not under suspension and their subscription was not showing any arrears for a certain period (ANC Constitution, Rule 4.16: 2017:19 – 20).

3.4 Exploration of the Integrated Questions:

Having established the connection between religion and politics in the work of the ANC during specific periods, we now turn to explore the current views about this relationship.

The research study was presented by exploring the integrated fifteen (15) questions from Appendices A and B, extracting and consolidating the responses of the

interviewees per provincial, regional structures and members based on the field research in both qualitative and quantitative research questionnaires for the provision of the answers.

The researcher has already mentioned in the above paragraphs that the interviews were conducted in Mpumalanga. This involved visiting the ANC structures and interviewed its identified or sampled members and their leadership, administering questionnaires and sitting in meetings observing what takes place. In visiting the ANC structures and members, the researcher had used both the qualitative research interview questionnaire (Appendix A) and quantitative research interview questionnaire (Appendix B).

The qualitative research interview questionnaire (Appendix A) was used for the identified Provincial Secretary of the ANC Provincial Executive Committee, the mother body; the Chairpersons of the four (4) Regional Executive Committees and Chairpersons of the three (3) ANC Provincial Women's League, ANC Youth League, ANC Provincial uMkhonto weSizwe Military Veteran's League; one (1) ANC Provincial uMkhonto weSizwe Veteran's Association and one (1) Provincial member of the Chaplaincy. This therefore means that ten (10) leaders were visited and interviewed on questions based on Appendix A, which is a qualitative research method questionnaire.

The quantitative research interview was conducted through the distribution of questionnaire (Appendix B) to the four (4) identified members from the ANC Provincial Executive Committee (PEC); four (4) members from each of the Regional Executive Committees, four members from each of the ANC Leagues and Association and four (4) Regional members of the Chaplaincy. In this regard forty (40) interviewees were visited and interviewed successfully.

Deskwork as one of those research processes was done soon after the collection of material from the sampled leaders and members were obtained as mentioned in the above mentioned paragraph. These included the administration, collection and analysis of surveys, analysis of data collected by others, literature researches in the library, research using the internet and, of course, writing this work. The following questions were put to the interviewees to ascertain their views about religion and politics. The interviewees openly served the ANC in different capacities as

chairpersons, deputy chairpersons, secretaries, deputy secretaries, treasurers, conveners of provincial sub-committees and ordinary members of the REC's and PEC's of the motherbody, leagues and association since the unbanning of the ANC, PEC and SACP in 1990 and the release of Mandela from prison. In response to the questions posed let's hear the voice of the respondents:

3.5 Responses from the Questionnaire

3.55.1 Where are you from and how would you describe yourself and the role you play in the ANC?

Respondent 1: "I am the ANC secretary for the provincial executive committee (PEC) from the Bohlabela region elected to serve in the Committee as Secretary for the tenure of four (4) years. I have served more than three (3) years and left with few months to finish the term. My overall role as secretary is that of the chief administrative officer of the ANC in the province. I am a Christian who is political because I cannot separate my belief and my responsibility on what I am supposed to do in ordering the society so that we can live all together in harmony creating a better life for all. I became an activist of the ANC in the period of 1976 and 1990. I used to read materials forbidden in the country then and this made me a member without affiliation but by volunteering." (08 May 2018:Bohlabela).

Respondent 2: "I was a youth league chairperson from Bohlabela Region. I started to participate in the liberation struggle at a tender age of fourteen (14) years, serving in the underground structures of the movement under the banner of the UDF. I later became the secretary of the Maviljan Youth Congress (MAVICO) in Bushbuckridge when I was first arrested in 1990 for the role I played in the liberation struggle and again got arrested on 1 May 1996. I was shot at some point by the old regime police system. Currently I am a loyal ordinary member of the ANC who served as a branch chairperson and secretary for fifteen (15) years." (08 May 2018:Bohlabela).

Respondent 3: "I am chairperson of Ehlanzeni region who served in different structures of the organisation and the role I play now is leading the region and my third tenure in serving will come to an end by 2019." (08 May 2018:Bohlabela)

Respondent 4: “I am a chairperson of Nkangala region who served in different structures of the organisation and the role I play now is leading the region and my first tenure in serving will come to an end by 2020.” (08 May 2018:Bohlabela)

Respondent 5: “I am a chairperson of Gert Sibande region who served in different structures of the organisation and the role I play now is leading the region and my second tenure in serving will come to an end by 2021.” (08 May 2018:Bohlabela)

Respondent 6: “I am a chairperson of the youth league who served in branch structure of the organisation and the role I play now is leading the province and my second tenure in serving will come to an end by 2020.” (08 May 2018:Bohlabela)

Respondent 7: “I am an acting chairperson of women’s League who served in different structures of the organisation and the role I play now is leading the province and this is my first tenure in serving will come to an end by 2019.” (08 May 2018:Bohlabela)

Respondent 8: I am a chairperson of the uMkhonto weSizwe Military Veterans League who served in different structures of the organisation and the role I play now is leading the province and my second tenure in serving will come to an end by 2021.” (08 May 2018:Bohlabela)

Respondent 9: “I am a chairperson of uMkhonto weSizwe Veteran’s Association who served in different structures of the organisation and the role I play now is leading the province and my second tenure in serving will come to an end by 2021.” (22 May 2018: Gert Sibande)

Respondent 10: “I am a chairperson of the Chaplaincy who served in different structures of the organisation, sub-committees and the role I play now is leading the province and my second tenure in serving will come to an end by 2021.” (08 May 2018:Bohlabela)

3.5.2 Can religion and politics work together or separately?

Respondent 1: “I am a religious person who does not live in the sky but in this space coexisting with other human beings like me who in most cases are in need because of their poor background. I therefore chose to be political so that I can order the society in favour of the poorest of the poor to be looked properly after. My religious

life compels me to better the conditions of the less privileged and do what is good to others. I became a member of the ANC during 1976 and 1990 and witnessed the 1976 protestations where children fought for their right to be taught in the language of their choice. I never looked back since then, and can boldly say that religion and politics work best together.” ((08 May 2018:Bohlabela).

Respondent 2: “I find it difficult to separate religion and politics because the two complement each other. Religion is about ordering our spiritual being to act ethically and respectfully whereas politics is about ordering the affairs of the society so that those in governance should know how God wants them to govern and those outside government should give respect to government. So, the research claim that religion and politics can best work together in bettering the lives of the people is valid“(08 May 2018: Bohlabela).

Respondent 3: “I can boldly declare that I am a religious member first and then political member as I believe in God and always acknowledged His presence in my daily struggles for the attainment of a better life for myself and for all of God’s people. It is my view that the ANC was able to win the liberation struggle because of God being on their side. I belong to both political and religious organizations, the ANC and the Church, which are in existence in every community; serving the communities they found themselves without any contradictions whatsoever.” (08 May 2018:Bohlabela)

Respondent 4: “I am a member of the ANC and have served in several capacities for years. I am religious and political person who joined the ANC during the period of 1976. It dawned to me for the first time that the model of working together of religion and politics can promote co-existence, cooperation, togetherness, solidarity, social cohesion, community building and unity in diversity within my and neighbouring communities.” (08 May 2018:Bohlabela)

Respondent 5: “My view is confirmed by the fact that the ANC has a ministry called, the spiritual development which acknowledges the ongoing presence of God in and during the struggle. Indeed religion and politics can best work together and not separately as these are important social forces that existed within the same community that constituted the foundation of society. I am both religious and political serving the people with dignity and respect.” (08 May 2018:Bohlabela)

Respondent 6: “I am a Christian activist as well as political one who is very committed to both because without the other there can be little progress or development that can take place as we are in the phase of transformation. The apartheid government used both religion and politics and were able to take our possessions land, cattle and our wives and daughters as their slave mates.” (08 May 2018:Bohlabela)

Respondent 7: “I am a traditional religious as well as traditional politicians who firmly believes that where we are we are in the space of a supernatural being who deserves to be worshiped and acknowledge as the supreme being just like the elderly who deserves to be respected and his presence be acknowledged and felt so that the immoral and the evil should not be practices in his presence.” (08 May 2018:Bohlabela).

Respondent 8:” I am an apostolic church Christian who loves God and the people he created in his image or likeness. I see my role as that of maintaining peace and stability in the environment. God has put me in so that we respect religious and political times.” (08 May 2018:Bohlabela).

Respondent 9: “I am a Christian who fully agrees that religion just like my Christianity and politics just like the ANC can best work together if they only cooperate and respect each other for all these are concerned with us people and need to take good care of us so that we can support them on-goingly.” (08 May 2018:Bohlabela)

Respondent 10: “I am a believer in God and all that He has created hence I find it easy to belong to a political party of my choice which is the ANC in this instance. Religion to me as a believer is created by God Himself just like politics which also comes from Him. The ANC’s teachings on religious issues are similar to those preached by religious leaders as the ANC is geared to build the nation and not to destruct it, yes it’s true that individual leaders and members do commit serious blunders” such that members of the community conclude to say the ANC is corrupt does not follow God’s teachings just by one corrupt evil member, so it is important for me especially as a believer to know when to separate individual ANC members ill behaviour and conduct from the ANC as an organisation.” (08 May 2018:Bohlabela)

3.5.3 What role has religion played in shaping South African politics?

Respondent 1: “Religion has made political; parties open their hands to welcome religious leaders and people who wish to serve their country by ordering society working closely with politicians or in political parties.” (22 May 2018: Gert Sibande).

Respondent 2:“ In political school, I was also taught the history of the ANC, it is said that the ANC has been working with all the Churches including its Chaplaincy.”(22 May 2018: Gert Sibande).

Respondent 3: “Religion among other things, promote a good political environment. It also collaborated with all other religious leaders and bodies from outside before, during and after the banning of the ANC and all political parties and organizations.”(22 May 2018: Gert Sibande).

Respondent 4: “Religion has shaped South African politics by allowing God to be part of their efforts as they better the lives of God’s people, so God Himself becomes part of the bettering the lives of His people through politics.”(22 May 2018: Gert Sibande)

Respondent 5: “Religion has shaped South African politics because during the struggle for liberation, political leaders were either in prison or in exile, the available leadership was religious leaders who served leaderless nation hence religio-politico was what was offered to our people allowing God to be involved and Himself lead the masses.”(22 May 2018: Gert Sibande)

Respondent 6: “Religion has shaped South African politics because the leadership has been vocal and challenging the undemocratic regime in South Africa. Religion was also used as a tool to confront tribalism, gender and colour divisions that characterised the evils of apartheid.” (22 May 2018: Gert Sibande)

Respondent 7: “Religion has shaped South African politics as the church was firm to point out that all men were created by God, and therefore should be treated equally before the law. All this was done to shape the South African politics to be led by all who live in this country.” (22 May 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 8: “Religion has shaped South African politics in ensuring that values are recovered and retrenched for leaders to lead ethically in their behaviour and conduct.” (22 May 2018: Gert Sibande)

Respondent 9: “Religion has shaped South African politics by ensuring that peace and stability, respect and tolerance, acceptance of defeat and ethical free, fair and credible elections are conducted.”(22 May 2018: Gert Sibande)

Respondent 10: “The South African Constitution contains a section on the Bill of Rights in Chapter 2 because the founding fathers of the ANC believed in creating a state where all religious formation will be practised without any challenges, and thus shaping South African politics.” (22 May 2018: Gert Sibande)

3.5.4 What would your opinion be to the notion that the ANC was established to be God’s vehicle to liberate God’s people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa?

Respondent 1: “It is true. Given the fact that the freedom Charter derives its existence from the Bible which is believed to be carrying the Word of God.” (29 May 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 2:“The Bible says whatever you do on earth will be done in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth is loosed in heaven(Matt.18:18)This verse confirms that God was on the side of the ANC as a vehicle to liberate his people from the apartheid regime.” (29 May 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 3: “It is true that it was God’s will because if we read the holy book, God can use any person or object in this case the ANC was selected by God.” (29 May 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 4: “My opinion is that this is not far from the truth as I indicated in the previous question that the ANC was formed by religious leaders which I want to believe it was God’s mandate and the organisation was formed in one of the churches in Bloemfontein.” (29 May 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 5:“The ANC’s establishment was a vision of religious leaders. It was also established in a church (Methodist Church).Most of the delegates of the ANC’s founding Congress were clergy and members of the faith-based organisations.” (29 May 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 6: “The first President of the ANC WAS Langalibalele Dube and he was a minister of religion. This was an indication that everything happened in the

presence of God's divine Spirit. It was like resembling the biblical story of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan."(29 May 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 7: "The founding group was led by the fact that they were religious people who should at all-time be in touch with God as they established a Chaplaincy that would lead in prayers through all the programmes of the movement." (29 May 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 8: "God always used either human beings or objects and any other creatures to perform whatever assignment He might have for them. And this validated that the ANC was mandated and used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondage of apartheid." (29 May 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 9: "God chose the ANC for us to be liberated .He could have chosen any other organisation but the ANC and had since called the ANC to great sanctity and heroic virtue. The ANC did it on behalf of us all. With God's grace, the ANC rose to the occasion to liberate us against the powerful deadly apartheid evil and heretic system." (29 May 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 10: "I relate this to the ANC as a Moses of the time. They resembled the biblical narrative of the Israelites moving from Egypt to Canaan, and asserting the notion that the ANC indeed was used by God for such a huge task to restore people's dignity and that this notion has some fundamental truth in." (29 May 2018: Mbombela)

3.5.5 What evidence do you have that if indeed the ANC was used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondage of colonialism and apartheid?

Respondent 1: "The ANC was built on unity, non-racialism, non-sexist and democracy. Its leadership was prepared to speak the truth against apartheid even if it meant imprisonment or death. They knew that the day would come for all South Africans to get equality in the land of their birth." (19 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 2:"The sustainability of the ANC throughout the years was solemnly relied on prayers by religious leaders who prayed for all the leaders of the ANC who were incacerated for many years in prison. " (19 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 3: “The founding leaders of the ANC included amongst them were men of the cloth. The founding principle of the ANC was a peaceful engagement with the authorities. This is in line with the biblical principle. God will always use a human being or object or any other creature to perform any assignment, therefore the ANC was mandated or sends by God to liberate His people like Moses who was sent by God.” (19 June 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 4: “It is not a mistake that the organisation that was formed by Pastors and some of its leaders were imprisoned ended-up liberating its people. Therefore this notion or assertion has got some truth in it that the ANC was God’s tool to liberate the South Africans (Afrikaners in particular). ”(19 June 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 5: “From the earliest beginnings, the ANC had a strong religious motivation. Religious conviction strengthened the commitment of millions and underlined the principles of the Freedom Charter. Religious people and institutions fired the struggle here at home, in South Africa, and in exile.” (19 June 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 6: “The ANC was the only organisation committed to the people of South Africa’s freedom, democracy and a better life for all, because its vision for the community and the country derived great strength from belief in God’s liberating presence in every human situation as it does not take place in a vacuum but always is concerned with specific situation searching to discover the meaning of Good News in each context and in each period in history.” (19 June 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 7: “The historical records of the ANC Chaplaincy do not reflect the different religions of that time except for one religion, Christianity. Though political congresses of Indian people are mentioned, their religious traditions are not brought forth hence it is assumed that the only religion most practiced at the time was that of Christian people probably because it was purported as part of the state and vigorously propagated hence a huge following. This therefore does not mean that there were no other religions.” (19 June 2018:Mbombela).

Respondent 8: “The original mission of the ANC as a national liberation has not been changed, it remained and enhanced since it started with the objectives of creating a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic prosperous society.” (19 June 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 9: “Though the period between 1912 and 1976 marked the anti-apartheid struggle for liberation which saw the emergence of an alternative power in South Africa, the character of the ANC has not changed at all; and its vision and mission remain the same, meaning therefore that the ANC still have the same views of 1912 about religion and politics.” (19 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 10: “This is attested by the fact that the ANC Religious Committees functioned in Lusaka and London to mention just a few countries. The ANC’s vision for the community and the country derived great strength from the belief in God’s rule of justice fulfilment.” (19 June 2018: Mbombela).

3.5.6 Why, out of so many other organizations, was the ANC the one committed to the people of South Africa’s freedom, democracy and a better life for all?

Respondent 1: “It is so because the ANC committed to the people of South Africa such that it sacrificed itself and its cadres to lay down their lives in order for them to be freed for democracy and attainment of a better life for all.”(19 June 2018:Mbombela).

Respondent 2:“The country derived its strength from the ANC’s belief that God’s rule of justice will be someday be fulfilled as they are liberated by God from oppression and suffering.“ (19 June 2018:Mbombela).

Respondent 3: “”The ANC’s mission was the one embodying the liberation that was to come from God as He avails Himself to be part and parcel of humankind in the situation he find himself in.” (19 June 2018:Mbombela).

Respondent 4: “Even though they believed that there were other political parties who also later joined this cause, parties such as the African People’s Organisation (APO), Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the South African Communist Party, as well as religious and traditional institutions at the time, the ANC was the one they collaborated” (19 June 2018:Mbombela).

Respondent 5 “.The ANC believed that God was in their midst who always encouraged them to continue resisting the evil systems which rendered them as African people useless, hopeless, vote-less, voiceless, landless and homeless.” (19 June 2018:Mbombela).

Respondent 6: “God showed them how to do things as He directed, assured, encouraged them and worked with and through them as He was part of their struggle which actually was not their struggle but God’s struggle.” (19 June 2018:Mbombela).

Respondent 7: “The ANC was committed to achieving the people’s goal of attaining freedom, democracy and a better life for all black and white people, the oppressor and the oppressed where together can live in a harmonious, united, non-sexist, non- racial, democratic and prosperous South Africa which accommodated all types of races among its ranks.” (19 June 2018:Mbombela).

Respondent 8: “The ANC was prepared to work with other democratic forces in the world .It was the ANC alone that was able to mobilized the masses of the South African populace through the Mass Democratic Movements (MDM)” (19 June 2018:Mbombela).

Respondent 9: “The ANC was God incarnate and as God dwelt in the ANC, the ANC had to commit to God’s mission knowing fully well that they were not very strong but have kept God’s commandment and never disowned God’s name as they were the people that God loved and commissioned to liberate His oppressed. “(19 June 2018:Mbombela).

Respondent 10: “They knew that He who loves them will keep them safe in the times of trial and hardship. The ANC was God’s tool to liberate those who had been oppressed because it heard and responded to His call when He needed persons to carry out the responsibility He had for them as ANC individual members and leaders as well as a collective organisation.” (19 June 2018: Mbombela).

3.5.7 What could have led the founder group when the ANC was formed to establish a Chaplaincy within their organization?

Respondent 1: “The founder group was led because its moral vision of the early religious and political leaders notably, John Langalibalele Dube, Pixley Isaka Ka Seme, Mangena Maake Mokone, Charlotte Makgomo Manya – Maxeke, Henry Reed Ngcayiya, Makgatho, ZR Mahabane, Chief Albert Luthuli, Oliver Reginald Tambo and Nelson Mandela etc. has become the core value of the National Democratic Society”. “(19 June 2018: Mbombela).

Respondent 2:“ Since it began over a century ago, and at every stage of the struggle for liberation, the ANC has been motivated by strong ethical convictions, especially the moral value of justice for all, and respect and care for other people.” (26 June 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 3: “Because of contrast, the systems imposed by colonial rule departed from morality. As apartheid began to develop its systems of social engineering, it was revealed as fundamentally unjust and unethical.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 4:” The historical records of the ANC Chaplaincy do not reflect the different religions of that time except for one religion, Christianity. “(26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 5: “Though political congresses of Indian people are mentioned, their religious traditions are not brought forth hence it is assumed that the only religion most practiced at the time was that of Christian people.”(26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 6: “Christianity was dominating probably because it was purported as part of the state and vigorously propagated hence a huge following. This therefore does not mean that there were no other religions.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 7: “According to my understanding was that the ANC is a Godly organisation which sought to liberate the people of South Africa.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 8:”As I said above that most of the leadership of the ANC where Pastors it was who will lead in prayer through all the programmes of the movement, and it was also easy for the structure of the MDM in particular the UDF to work in collaboration with the South African Council of Churches, hence the participation of the men of the cloth like Bishop Tutu, Chikane and many more in the liberation struggle of the people of the RSA“. (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 9: “It was led mostly by religious leaders and ministers of religion. The ANC realised that the cornerstone of its foundation was the church. Its principles were based on the teachings of the Bible.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 10: “It is always to give religious guidance all the time as the ANC turned to be a liberation movement even when it became the ruling party.”(26 June 2018: Mbombela)

3.5.8 Has the ANC's original mission changed, remained the same or enhanced by religious and political persuasions within it?

Respondent 1: “The original mission of the ANC as a national liberation movement has not been changed, it remained and enhanced since it started with the objectives of creating a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic prosperous society.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 2: “The original mission of the ANC as a national liberation movement has not been changed, it remained of uniting the African people and spearheaded the struggle for fundamental political, social and economic change, meaning the liberation of Africans in general and black people in particular, from political and economic bondages.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 3: “This also meant uplifting the quality of life of all the oppressed, especially the poor people in South Africa and it saw religion as a vital instrument in obtaining these objectives.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 4: “These objectives are prevalent in the ANC even now that the ANC has political power.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 5: “It has been enhanced by the religious inclusion.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 6: “It has remained the same but is being influenced by religions and political persuasions within it. The constitution of the country (RSA) can provide evidence to that.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 7: “The ANC has changed as it was fighting for freedom and now is a governing party. There are few concepts which remained unchanged,” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 8: “Politics are dynamic therefore there are aspects that will impact both negatively and positively to the founding principle has not changed.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 9: “From building a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist, prosperous South Africa as mentioned above there are circumstances that might under the ANC to achieve the strategic objective, this might relate to the leadership style or

behaviour that might not enable or create a conducive environment to achieve the organisational mission statement.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 10: “The original mission of the ANC as a national liberation movement has not been changed meaning therefore that the ANC still have the same views of 1912 about religion and politics hence the working association and relationship that was still there between the church and politics. Even to this day, the ANC has maintained its religious work which was coordinated by its Chaplains over the years through various structures such as religious desks, religious departments and Chaplaincy in exile and now in the country during the time of freedom and democratic.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

3.5.9 Does the ANC still have the same views as they had in 1912 about religion and politics in its new dispensation as a ruling party in South Africa?

Respondent 1: “There has been no change despite the fact that policies have been formulated, programmes and strategies devised out of the same views of 1912. The policies, programmes and strategies may change now and then in the sense that they are enhanced or developed further as conferences and congresses meet periodically to stay relevant to the changing environment for it to remain in touch with the challenges of the people it serves.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 2: “Even to this day, ANC has maintained that its religious work which was coordinated by its Chaplains over the years through various religious desks, religious departments and Chaplaincy in exile and now in the country.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 3: “The character of the ANC has not changed and its vision remains the same to unite South Africans and to build non-racial, non-sexist and democratic equitable country where all are prospering. So, hence the chaplaincy and moral regeneration structure was also formed is still relevant.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 4: “Its policies still contains or rather reserve the fact that religion is a central part of the ANC, but practical due to other motive force who are competing for the space and the lack of morally sound leadership, some of them they do undermine religion.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 5: “This, to undermine, is just human behaviour and not policy of the organisation. In most of its platform the ANC will use the services of the church or rather religion as a cornerstone of our democracy, where the moral regeneration structure with government is located.”(26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 6: “Much as it has a different purpose due to the current situation in South Africa today, it still has the views informed by the current motive forces.”(26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 7: “The ANC came to realize that if they were to attain their goal as an organisation, they were to remind themselves that their spirituality were to be developed to the realisation and acknowledgement of the on-going presence of God in their lives as they struggled for liberation.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 8: “The spiritual development of the founder’s group had been the cause of the establishment of the Chaplaincy in the ANC because acknowledging God’s presence wherever they were was one of the ministry that kept the organisation going for decades and decades of years.” Acknowledging God incarnate was as good as declaring that the Church was the site of the struggle where God was fighting on behalf of the weak and oppressed and always being aware of such truth, the presence of God in and during the struggle” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 9: “They came to acknowledge God in their midst and knew that the ANC’s cornerstone was the Church and therefore had to declare the Church as the site of the struggle.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 10: “They came to realise that without God being present in what they were set to do was just a futile exercise hence the Chaplaincy’s establishment to serve as a reminder that they are not on their own but with God in their efforts as He is the one who had commissioned them for the mission to liberate those in bondage and set them free for a better life for all.”(26 June 2018: Mbombela).

3.5.10 What would your opinion be of the people who maintain that the ANC’s foundation is built on Godly values?

Respondent 1: “God’s loving nature saw it fit to ensure that His vehicle, the ANC, is established so that He could through it assure the oppressed and downtrodden that He created all humankind equally and therefore neither of His people can be superior

over the other because of the colour of their skin, class, creed, etc.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela).

Respondent 2: “It is true conferences like National Conference held every five (5) years are always guided by God to avoid the fact that bad leadership would result in losing National Elections.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela).

Respondent 3: “It is true because in God we are all equal therefore building a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa is informed by the founding values enshrined in the Bible and other religious values that strive for unity in diversity.”

Respondent 4: “I agree with them since the basis for the foundation of the ANC, are found from the Bible. God speaks about unity, equality and peace. The ANC also believes on the above. It also speaks about better life for all and the respect of human rights for all the people.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 5: “Since 1994, South Africa has moved from being a Christian state to that of a secular state where all religions are seen and treated equal and have their freedoms of religion, worship, choice, and conscience and so forth to celebrate and contribute to the building of a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous nation.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 6: “It is important to point out that in its new dispensation, the ANC as a ruling party in government, had passed legislations that are contrary to most if not all religions, for example, the termination of pregnancy, the right of a twelve year old to engage in matters of sex or not, same sex marriage and other pieces of immoral legislation, which are in contrast with programmes that promoted morality, ethics, goodness and the religion that it has for decades been so supportive of, and professed the working together of religion and politics.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela).

Respondent 7: “The ANC believes in responsibilities that each of the persons should have so that when confronted by situations, just like the one cited here on pieces of immoral legislation that the ANC had passed since 1994, should be guided by their consciences, whether to do or not to do even if the legislation was or against morality.” (26 June 2018: Mbombela).

Respondent 8: "The formation of the Chaplaincy within the ANC was to tell the world that the ANC was incomplete without religion hence the Chaplaincy to ensure themselves that God was part of their programme of the struggle for freedom and democracy." (26 June 2018: Mbombela).

Respondent 10: ". Their decision to form the Chaplaincy was for them to truly acknowledge God as their source of being as they knew that it is God alone who could turn things to their favour and no one else, hence the sole dependence to God, hence their tradition to commit as part of their system to pray to God before any of their business could be done." (26 June 2018: Mbombela).

3.5.11 What role do you think was played by the Chaplaincy during and in the struggle for freedom and democracy?

Respondent 1: "The formation of the Chaplaincy within the ANC was to tell the world that the ANC was incomplete without religion hence the Chaplaincy to ensure themselves that God was part of their programme of the struggle for freedom and democracy." (24 July 2018: eMalahleni)

Respondent 2: ". Their decision to form the Chaplaincy was for them to truly acknowledge God as their source of being as they knew that it is God alone who could turn things to their favour and no one else, hence the sole dependence to God, hence their tradition to commit as part of their system to pray to God before any of their business could be done." (24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

Respondent 3: "The Chaplaincy since then and throughout the following decades up until the banning of the ANC in 1960 there has always been spiritual guidance and pastoral ministry championed by the religious leaders who, some of them, were members and supporters of the struggle for a just and free society." (24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

Respondent 4: "The ANC and Religious Leaders among others, both kept the vast numbers of many social forces together through its ministry called "Revolutionary Morality" that ensured that the struggle was conducted with discipline and integrity." (24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

Respondent 5 “When many ANC cadres were in exile under the leadership of President OR Tambo, a religious desk was established to provide, amongst other things, spiritual guidance.” (24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

Respondent 6: “Within the country during the time of apartheid, many faith based organisation, ecumenical bodies provided spiritual support, spiritual guidance and pastoral work in support for the liberation of the people of South Africa.” (24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

Respondent 7: “At the beginning of 1994, the Religious Desk was established alongside with the Welfare Desk. In 1995, the ANC Religious Desk in pursuit of involving the faith based organizations in the process of democratizing the country, established the ANC Religious Committee on interfaith basis and charged it with the responsibility to facilitate interaction between religious and political organizations.” (24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

Respondent 8: “The 1997 Congress indeed amended the Constitution which, since the inception of the ANC, always referred to a Chaplain General as an individual who became the custodian of spiritual guidance.”(24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

Respondent 9: “This amendment led to the establishment of the “National Chaplaincy” which was to be a religious service on an interfaith basis, Rule 12.2.18:36.” (24 July 2018: eMalahleni)

Respondent 10: “They lobbied the international support for the ANC. The Chaplaincy also made sure that family of political prisoners and exiles had accommodation, food and education as funds were raised to make that provision. They also assisted the South African to have a negotiated peace settlement to prevent civil war.” (24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

4.5.12 What can you say in so far as the importance of religion and politics co-operating and working together going forward even in the secular South Africa?

Respondent 1: “Politics and religion cannot be separated and the importance of religion and politics was first seen when we became aware that politics has to do with the ordering of the society whereas religion was about the ordering of the spiritual being of a person so that the person can live a Godly life.” (24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

Respondent 2:“Cooperation and working together of religious and political leaders going forward was of paramount importance because both religious and political leaders have the same constituency and therefore whatever they have to perform that had to be done together for bigger impact and faster service delivery to God’s people.” (24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

Respondent 3: “Working and cooperating together as religion and politics has spin-offs of unity, tolerance co-existence, respect and embracing selves.” (24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

Respondent 4: “Religion and Politics cannot be separated. The two are intertwined. Religion plays a role in the people’s identity, and therefore also plays a role in politics. Some church leaders do play a role in political institutions. The church play a role in certain public political ceremonies e.g. inauguration of Presidents.” (24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

Respondent 5: “I think it will be a very good idea to have religious leaders participating in politics so that they give perspective on how God wants the country must be led and to have leaders that fear God that will minimise corruption.” (24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

Respondent 6:”This two cannot be separated because if we read the bible, there were politics during those times. We need to have social and political matured leaders who will understand that the founding fathers of the ANC strived to build this movement that was referred to as a broad church that accommodated different formations without any contradictions for more than a decade.” (24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

Respondent 7: “The cooperation of religion and politics have been very important because in politics there are normally people who are ready to kill, die, and even destruct other people’s buildings .With the presence of religious leaders there will always be a religious way of dealing with some situations without any loss of God’s creatures.” (24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

Respondent 8: “Politics and religion cannot be separated and the importance of religion and politics was first seen when we became aware that politics has to do with the ordering of the society whereas religion was about the ordering of the spiritual being of a person so that the person can live a Godly life.” (24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

Respondent 9: “The religious leaders were the centre of hope for us people where we were cared for pastorally, and spiritually encouraged to pin their hopes in difficult and sad times to the One who made them to be, who had given knowledge and wisdom to impart to His masses they were given the opportunity to lead and guide on what God was saying and directing through His spirit and showing them which steps were to be taken so as to advance the struggle for liberation, ensuring the masses that the God of history marches with them as the struggle was not theirs but His. The Chaplaincy because of its open-mindedness was able to hear the voice of the Spirit as it read the signs of the times.” (24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

Respondent 10: “Cooperation between religion and politics ensures that questions such as the following are responded to: What was the Spirit saying to the Churches – when the powers of evil were running wild in our country; when the powers of darkness had descended upon our country like a thick, dark cloud; when the fathers of all lies reigns supreme with more and more heresies and injustices.” (24 July 2018:eMalahleni)

3.5.13 Is there any connection that you can recollect in your experience that points out between religion and politics that undergirds the ANC’s thinking and work?

Respondent 1: “The ANC was established with the notion that it should be God’s vehicle to liberate God’s people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all.” (16 August 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 2:“ In this, I see the connection of religion and politics which undergirds the ANC’s thinking and work which is the research claim.” (16 August 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 3: “The ANC as a ‘broad church’ has always has seen itself as the one mandated by God to be the champion of the liberation struggle.” (16 August 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 4: “The ANC believed in its continuous fight against poverty, inequality, unemployment and the spread of diseases which clearly indicate that people matter most hence the on-going strife to enable people to access health facilities, living

under socially improved conditions for the better life for all.” (16 August 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 5: “The ANC believes in religious freedom, in democratic principles, for example, equality of all His people before the law and before God, preaching that anyone of us has a right to life and its privileges, encouraging the moral practice for good morals and values to emulate and begin to do good to others as you would like people to do to you.” (16 August 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 6: “When the ANC was in exile, there has been an idea that says there is a need to come back and fight for their freedom and the liberation of all South Africans through guns in a war. With the presence and deliverance of the religious desk in the ANC, it became impossible to continue with the war but opted for a negotiated South Africa.” (16 August 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 7: “We were led by Pastors in most cases when our communities were protesting. When I was arrested it was Pastors who negotiated for our release and paid for our bail. The church or religion has a role to play towards building a prosperous country.” (16 August 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 8: “The ANC has always been described as a broad church that is open to all. It also believes in religious freedom. The ANC also believes in democratic principles e.g. Equity before the Eyes of the Law. It preaches that anyone has a right to life.” (16 August 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 9: “. The ANC preaches the practice of good morals and values. The ANC has also committed to fight poverty, unemployment and the spread of diseases like T.B.; HIV and AIDS, etc.” (16 August 2018: Mbombela)

Respondent 10: “The call by Mandela to religious and political leaders to partnership between the church and government in 1997 undergirds the ANC’s thinking and work as it recollects its originality and a sense of purpose.” (16 August 2018:Mbombela)

3.5.14 What would you say, if you were to analyse the past Presidential Administrations of Mandela and Mbeki with the current Administration of President Zuma and the ANC Chaplaincy?

Respondent 1: “Mandela introduced reconciliation and forgiveness, the Truth Commission and the healing of memories, unity in diversity, a rainbow nation and the RDP of the Soul.” (16 August 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 2: “Mbeki followed into Mandela’s footsteps in his first term in office but later changed his way of doing things as consultations with his party, the ANC became a thing of the past and began to think and developed a tendency not to consult anymore and saw his decisions as final. He is regarded as an intellectual that pronounced himself as an African, promoting the African Renaissance where he challenged Africans to define themselves and their continent Africa.” (16 August 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 3: “Zuma was promoting the moral regeneration programme especially when he was the Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa but seemed to have lost it when he became president.” (16 August 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 4: “Zuma’s Administration was characterized by challenges such as the corruption scandals, his misconduct and misbehaviour in general, challenges that had put both the state and the ANC as a ruling party in government in a bad light, degeneration of his morality such that the stealing of money earmarked for development became a norm.”

(16 August 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 5: “During Zuma’s administration, the NRLF merged with NILC to form NICSA a new structure formed during his term.” (16 August 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 6: “Both Mbeki and Zuma could no longer consult with the ANC when taking and implementing important decisions that had a potential to build or destroy the country.” (16 August 2018:Mbombela).

Respondent 7: “I don’t believe that they believed that all affairs of the world are God’s for He is the creator and through these affairs He is forever communicating with His people especially if the affairs have to do with His people” (16 August 2018:Mbombela).

Respondent 8:” Both Mandela and Mbeki’s Administrations, took the issue of moral and the building of a democratic society very seriously unlike the Zuma ‘s Administration which allowed the degeneration of what was achieved by both Mandela and Mbeki, his challenges with the courts and his behaviour in general, creating a lot of challenges for the ANC, and the Chaplaincy was also compromised on how to deal with the statesman who was not respected by the masses any longer.” (16 August 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 9: “During Mandela’s era as president it was the phase of liberation where most black people were experiencing for the first time to lead government and during Mbeki’s era, improvement were seen in terms of service delivery and the Moral Regeneration was established to co-exist within the ANC.”(16 August 2018:Mbombela)

Respondent 10: “Mandela has dealt with the perception related to the segregation among all. He left a legacy of reconciliation and tolerance in the country. As for Mbeki he has dealt with the issue of transforming the government parastatals from being led by former oppressors to either merge with one another or privatise others leaving a legacy of accountable and transformed South Africa. Former President Zuma made sure that he spend time thanking the people who put him in power. He even became generous to the Gupta family which took advantage of his educational ignorance. He left a legacy of a corrupt South Africa and free to the rich.” (16 August 2018:Mbombela)

4.5.15 What can you recommend to the ANC for the ministry to do when it is formed? When do you think is opportune time to embark upon such a process, and who should be tasked to lead this process, the religious sector or the ANC Chaplaincy or both, why and how?

Respondent 1: “When the ministry has been formed and maintained, as members of the ANC one thing was clear to us was that indeed the ANC was established by God to liberate the people of South Africa and that the ANC would be eased and greatly assisted as the ministry would aggressively be promoting the original mission of the ANC so that the South Africans knew what the commitment of the ANC as a ruling party in government was, now in order to rally around it as a nation and together pursue its mission of 1912. (4 September 2018:Nkangala)

Respondent 2:“ The ministry would embark on a discovering campaign where potential leaders, would be identified and their talent nurtured, as they produce and groom ethical, moral and value-driven leaders whose duty would be that of restoring the dignity of the Church and that of the state as it sweeps away the corruption that may be there from time to time as well as combatting the mushrooming of the perverted and unethical Churches and their leaders as these contributed to the erosion of the dignity of the religious sector.” (4 September 2018:Nkangala)

Respondent 3: “When the ministry is formed should involve both the ANC Veterans who do know and seen them all in the ANC and the religious leaders who know how God would like us to live on earth and conduct ourselves.”(4 September 2018:Nkangala)

Respondent 4: “To assist in building the non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa. To assist in making sure that we have leaders who are moral sound. To restore the dignity of the State and the Church; and deal with this mushrooming tendency that seeks to undermine the work of the Kingdom of heaven.” (4 September 2018: Nkangala)

Respondent 5: “The ministry would thoroughly and rigorously scrutinise leadership in succession regardless of their political parties and ideologies helping to bring to the fore, well cultivated and nurtured leaders who are above the fog in their conduct and behaviour for a moral, ethical clean, Godly and good governance. (4 September 2018:Nkangala)

Respondent 6: “This is the ministry that would strive to bring about moral regeneration - change in conduct and behaviour, the religious and political leaders to cooperate which is what is needed most in the country, and the working together of the nation to create moral and value based religious sector and leadership. (4 September 2018:Nkangala)

Respondent 7: “I recommend that the process should be rolled out during the new incoming administration so that it be seized with the building on the foundations which were laid already, by President Mandela in the first administration of the democratic free South Africa, by President Mbeki and President Zuma Administrations, of the RDP of the soul, reconciliation, forgiveness, tolerance, truths, etc. (4 September 2018: Nkangala)

Respondent 8:” I believe that I will restore the dignity of the people that already had been eroded by the defunct apartheid regime in order to save the decaying moral fibre of the nation as well as combat the perverted unethical religious leaders that were practicing unethically. (4 September 2018:Nkangala)

Respondent 9: “The ministry ought to be seen as inclusive and holistic as it should take on board all other social sectors and forces such as the youth, women and traditional leaders in running the affairs of government.” (4 September 2018:Nkangala)

Respondent 10: “I challenge the government to consider the same approach it applied previously when institutionalising similar structures and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. All religions are seen, taken as the same and accorded the same respect in secular South Africa which the researcher believes; it is God’s expectations because all religions are about Him and for Him alone.” (4 September 2018: Nkangala)

The researcher maintains that the ANC Chaplaincy, ANC Commission for Religious Affairs and the Moral Regeneration Movement should lead the process and be responsible for inviting the other faith based organizations and bodies such as the National Religious Association for Social Development (NRASD) ,SACBC, SACC, NICSA, SAIC etc. together with other bodies of religions such as Islam, Hindu, African Traditional Religion, Baha’i, Buddhism, Judaism to work together with the intention to formalise, recognize and institutionalise the ministry so that it plays this pivotal role. These were to lead because they already work with the faith –based structures and bodies as mentioned in the previous paragraphs and would find it easy for all of them to work together to advocate and lobby for the formal recognition and institutionalization of their role as religions in matters of governance.

This concretises the notion that all religions are the same and equal before the eyes of God for He created us to worship and serve Him as we serve our fellow human beings. This is true also to say that religion and politics are not meant to function separately but together for God is incarnate, very much involved in the affairs of His people. I have not come across any religious policy of government other than individual policies of churches, organizations and ecumenical bodies. There is a

need for all the religions in the country to have an umbrella policy that is in place where all religions could draw from if we were to curb challenges that we are faced with today such as the mushrooming of churches, unqualified pastors and in most cases pastors who have not experienced God's call and to regulate what the researcher calls "the do as you please sector" which is without some control measures as well as churches who lack where they could give account of what they do, bodies or hierarchical structures to hold them accountable and responsible.

The pronounced by President Mandela in 1997 which resulted in the establishment of the NRLF, and now the SAIC, a similar body which the researcher recommends to serve as a regulating body which shall be composed of the religions that are represented but work with all the members of the religious sector. The ANC Chaplaincy and the ANC Commission for Religious Affairs will promote the link that has been there for years between religion and politics as they remain intertwined because the ANC without the Church is like a tree cut off its roots with no life to give to its remainder and no fruits to yield and life to sustain. The church is the ANC foundation and it has been so for years such that it is believed that the ANC has been formed by God and is God's tool to bring a better life for all now that it has liberated His people.

The researcher maintains that the main tasks of the proposed ministry would be to promote, internalize and live out the nine (9) values contained in the Moral Regeneration Movement's Charter of Positive Values. However, the researcher urged all South Africans to pay attention to what the researcher deemed core central positive values, namely:

1. Improve Material Well-being and Economic Justice: The socio-economic rights (Chapter 2 of Act 108 of 1996) that are part of the Constitution of our country must be seen as more than inspirational rights. The formulated policy and programmes crafted need to provide the poor with opportunities to achieve human dignity and material well-being. The government of the people and the people of the land must commit to overcome the entrenched economic and material inequalities of the past, present and future if still not addressed, and to promote opportunities for everyone to share the resources of the our land.

2. Enhance Sound Family and Community Values: As it is known by most people, the family and community are core socializing units that inspire and create the moral and ethical values in society, which therefore call us as people of God to make it a point that we promote family values, fidelity, responsibility, respect for parents and elders, nurturing of children, support for the elderly, and the development and maintenance of the household.

The other task of the proposed ministry amongst others, would be to (NRASD, Church Leaders engage with the National Development Plan:2012:1) “ address social issues as we believe that we not only need good economic policies but also social policies that will restore human dignity, moral fabric, work ethic and discipline in our country.” We are also called as God’s people to fight against domestic violence and the neglect of family responsibilities, whether due to substance abuse, gender discrimination and cultural belief.

The ministry should be able to inspire everybody to participate in the establishment of the social policies that will help create a cohesive society and that will boost the local economy that will better their lives as they exercise their socio-economic rights. It is a matter of must that the haves should help give the haves not, bridging the gap that exists between the rich and poor in order for the poor to improve their welfare and being. The formulated policy and programmes need to take into consideration the poor, disadvantaged, vulnerable and marginalized of this country as they create opportunities for these people to restore their human dignity and material well-being as they share in the resources of the land.

The National Religious Association for Social Development (NRASD) at the Church Leaders Consultation held in Kempton Park from the 15 – 16 October 2012 engaged with the National Development Plan which was an opportunity to deal with the wounds and the healing of our country as they addressed many concerns and needs related to religion and its input into addressing and making a difference in matters of education, health, welfare, economics and the implementation of the NDP.As they dealt with these issues, they became deeply aware of the woundedness of our nation and the cry of our beloved country and this made them believe that the unity of believers in South Africa can create an enormous opportunity and become a beacon of hope(NRASD,2012:1).

The researcher emphasised that it is not only the unity of believers in South Africa that can create opportunities and become beacons of hope but the unity of all people including political people, because as Mandela appealed to both religious and political leaders to work together in this transformational phase of our history as South Africans, and thus ensuring that religion and politics could work well together in bringing the change we all aspire to see and attain. The wounds of colonialism, dispossession of the land, apartheid, union of South Africa, discrimination, racism, poverty, inequality, unemployment, distrust, and the degeneration of morality are in the process of healing and can be healed by embracing one another and accept that ' your pain is my pain ,caring for one another 'as South Africans regardless of colour, creed, status, etc.

The researcher in the above paragraph has expressed the interviewees' integrated voices as they responded to the explored questions, and in summary of what they have said, that the many voices but one the researcher had heard during the interviews was that indeed the ANC was established by God to liberate the people of South Africa from oppression; that the ANC was the organisation that depended on God for their mission to be accomplished successfully; that the ANC does not separate religion from politics as these cannot work separately but together; that it not a sin to do politics; and that its original mission has not changed and will not change for as long as there is poverty, unemployment and inequality.

The respondents became members of the ANC during the period of 1976, 1986 protestation and never looked back as most of them became underground operatives. They understood the non-separation of religion and politics because most of their leaders too were such hence they maintain that religion has indeed shaped the politics of South Africa. They all agree that the ANC was established by God for the purpose of liberating the oppressed of this country as most of the ANC leaders were deep religious and spiritual people. The respondents noticed that the majority of South African believers are in the ANC or are supportive of the ANC as there's no sin they are committing instead they are involved in the affairs of this world trying to bring a better life for all. This better life they are seized with will bring about social renewal; social cohesion and nation build where inequality, poverty, unemployment are no more.

The researcher has tried to bring the understanding that God is involved in the affairs of men such that He established the ANC to act as His tool to accomplish His mission for all to live a better life. To order and better is God's heart for in His creation there are no superior and inferior human beings and that doing politics is not a sin for politics and religion must work together to better their spirituality and social conditions of the people.

In this chapter the researcher investigated the historical background of the ANC struggle against colonialism and apartheid, and the three epochs of our South African history. The first being the period between *1912 and 1976*; the second being the period between *1976 and 1990* and the third period being the period between *1990 and 2017*. In doing so the researcher attempted to find out what was really happening during these epochs and to obtain exactly the Christian's contribution serving on the ANC in the attainment of liberation. Secondly, the researcher looked at the Presidential Administrations of Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma as well as explores the questionnaires used for interviews in order to solicit information for the provision of answers to the study.

Let us now turn to Chapter four, which deals with the mission and the three ministries of the ANC Chaplaincy, namely, (i) The ministry of spiritual development which acknowledged the on-going presence of God in and during the struggle, (ii) The ministry that ensures that all the Cadres of the movement conducted themselves within the context of revolutionary morality, and (iii) The ministry that provide pastoral care at all times to all Cadres and their families.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MISSION AND THE THREE MINISTRIES OF THE ANC CHAPLAINCY

4.1 Introduction:

The previous chapter dealt with the historical background of the ANC struggle against colonialism and apartheid for liberation, freedom and democracy in the three epochs of South African history being the period between 1912 and 1976; the period between 1976 and 1990; and the period between 1990 and 2017. We looked at 105 years of the ANC struggle against colonialism and apartheid for liberation, freedom and democracy.

The researcher now turns to Chapter 4 where an attempt will be made to look at the mission and the three ministries of the ANC Chaplaincy focusing on the contribution that has been made in these regards. The three ANC Chaplaincy ministries are the following: (i) The ministry of spiritual development which acknowledges the on-going presence of God in and during the struggle, (ii) The ministry that ensures that all the Cadres of the movement conducted themselves within the context of revolutionary morality, and (iii) The ministry that provides pastoral care at all times to all ANC Cadres and their families. The mission of the ANC was to work alongside its Chaplaincy in its huge task of liberating God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all.

In this chapter we attempt to look at the mission and the three ministries of the ANC Chaplaincy focusing on the contribution that has been made in these regards. The three ANC Chaplaincy ministries are the following: (i) The ministry of spiritual development which acknowledges the on-going presence of God in and during the struggle, (ii) The ministry that ensures that all the Cadres of the movement conducted themselves within the context of revolutionary morality, and (iii) The ministry that provides pastoral care at all times to all ANC Cadres and their families. The mission of the ANC was to work alongside its Chaplaincy in its huge task of liberating God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all.

The researcher, in this chapter aims to show the religious role played by the ANC as it formed its Chaplaincy which was established first as a religious desk, then an

interreligious or interfaith desk, and the role played by Chaplaincy throughout its inception as it engaged with its ministries. The researcher believes that as the mission and ministries of the Chaplaincy are unpacked the research problem and research objectives as set out in this study are certainly addressed.

4.2 Background:

The research problem as cited in the first chapter of this study is the tendency by some people to separate religion and politics whereas many people view this as inseparable and that religion and politics definitely have something to do with each other. However, those who do not agree with this notion of religion and politics being inseparable find themselves disassociating themselves from politics. The reason they provide for their disassociation is that politics is part and parcel of the 'world' whose prince is the devil. As indicated in the previous chapters already, they conclude that religion and politics cannot work and should not be together.

The general aims of the study are to trace the history of Religion and Politics in South Africa with an attempt to show the relationship and solidarity of the Church and the African National Congress (ANC) thereby indicating the close connection between religion and politics; trace the direct association that the ANC had with the Churches in South Africa over the years; and to show how the ministries of the Chaplaincy formed part of the programme of the struggle for freedom and democracy, in order to advocate that indeed religion and politics could best work together and are inseparable.

The mission of the ANC as a national liberation movement started with the objectives of creating a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society; and of uniting the African people and spearheading the struggle for fundamental political, social and economic change, meaning the liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general, from political, social and economic bondage. This also means uplifting the quality of life of all the oppressed, especially the poor people in South Africa seeing religion as a vital instrument in obtaining these objectives. The research also questions critically if such objectives are prevalent in the ANC now that they have political power, a question that will be responded to in detail in the next chapter.

The topic which one is grappling with now is: Religion and Politics in South Africa: A special focus on the History and Work of the ANC Chaplaincy. Though, we referred to this topic in the previous chapters of this study we now have to discuss it further since we have to focus on the latter part of the topic, the history and work of the ANC Chaplaincy. It is necessary for the researcher to unpack this history and work of the ANC Chaplaincy so that the role of the ANC in relation to religion is understood clearly. In other words, we need to understand the role the ANC played in the lives of the oppressed people as it worked closely and together with them for they understood that the struggle for liberation was not theirs but God's and that they were only God's vehicle to deliver freedom and democracy to all the people of South Africa, the oppressed and oppressor.

Elphick and Davenport in their book titled: *Christianity in South Africa* (1997:394) maintains that, "By the mid - 1980's, the ANC had established a department of religion. Articles on liberation theology were appearing in its monthly publication *Sechaba*. At the World Council of Churches conference in Harare and Lusaka, ANC leaders affirmed their respect for and in some case their personal commitment to liberation theology. Church leaders, in turn, pledged themselves to non-violent action while recognizing the many individuals, in good conscience, had reluctantly turned to the use of force."

Spong and Mayson in their book titled: *Come Celebrate* (1993:14), point out that: "As the ANC was launched in 1912 in opposition to the tyrannical nature of the racist legislation enacted at the formation of the Union two years previous. The ANC was not a popular mass movement at that time, but did carry the eloquent voice of educated black leaders in the community. The ANC expressed the political demands for participatory rights by blacks in the country of their birth. It reflected a growing tide of nationalist feelings in black South African society. The ANC was taken seriously by some of the General Missionary Conference such that they gave ANC the credit for its work in addressing some of the same social issues as the Missionary Conference itself. One of its adopted resolutions, the Missionary Conference, described the ANC as a moral, spiritual and social force."

Despite this acceptance of the ANC as a moral, spiritual and social force, and despite the fact that a number of the first ANC officials were Churchmen, for example, the Rev. John Langalibalele Dube was the first President of the ANC, the General Missionary Conference had little, if any, formal connection with the ANC. The General Missionary Conference remained a white, expatriate, clerical, missionary dominated structure. This led to it and its members being criticized by leading blacks for its lack of support for the black nationalist movement. The Church and its Missionary Conference was viewed as part and parcel of the colonial power.

Religion and Politics have been combined right from the onset in the African National Congress (ANC). The question of religion and politics evokes more heated and frustrating perennial debate and indicates its continual relevance, hence de Gruchy (1979:217) pointed out that: "The story of the church in South Africa demonstrates that religion is directly and intimately related to the socio-political history of the country. One may ask whether or not the church should have been involved in politics in the ways it has been and still is, but nothing can alter the fact that in South Africa, politics and the church have been, and remain, bound together in one historical drama, one persistent struggle."

One may ask a question as to why is it so, and be as well able to provide an answer that it is so because nothing is exempt from politics which is the art of keeping society functioning properly. The word politics is derived from the word 'polis' which means the city, that is the arena of human social transactions affecting the common life of the community in all its dimensions. De Gruchy (1979:219) points out that: "Everything from family life to education, from daily bread to economic policies, is included. Cabinet portfolios touch on every aspect of existence, and some aspects are at their mercy. The church itself does not escape, nor can it, for it too falls within the 'polis'. And insofar as the church is a vitally interested partner in the life of people, there must inevitably be some kind of relationship between church and state. This means that the church is involved in politics, whether it wants to be or not. The important consideration is the nature of that relationship."

If indeed the ANC has been used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondage of apartheid and colonialism, how was this established in the ANC Chaplaincy? The ANC formation has its seeds in the Ethiopian Church Movement of the 1880's. The history of the ANC and the Church in South Africa is inseparable

attesting to the fact that it was established by God to do His mission as the ANC derived its moral vision and values from the Church and other spiritual sources. The interactions amongst political activists, church and cultural leaders gave birth to the ANC and its moral vision as alluded in the previous chapters.

As a result of this interaction, the ANC mission and objectives of the first NEC were revived and gave birth to the ministries which helped the struggle to be intensified. What the researcher intends to do now is to look at the ministries that were established by the ANC NEC decision of 1912 and see whether they are still relevant today to form part of the ANC programme of the current transformation struggle given the fact that the struggle continues and the many social forces who became part of the liberation struggle for freedom and democracy are still in existence.

The following ministries were established in order to ensure that the ANC objectives believed to be ethical and Godly-based are embraced by all (i) The ministry of spiritual development which acknowledged the on-going presence of God in and during the struggle, (ii) The ministry that ensures that all the Cadres of the movement conducted themselves within the context of revolutionary morality, and (iii) The ministry that provide pastoral care at all times to all Cadres and their families.

We shall now attempt to show the religious role played by the ANC as it formed its Chaplaincy which was established as a religious desk and an interreligious or interfaith desk, the role played by the Chaplaincy throughout its inception as it engaged with its ministries.

4.3 The Establishment, Structure and Tasks of the ANC Chaplaincy:

4.3.1 The Establishment of the ANC Chaplaincy

The ANC Chaplaincy was re - established by the ANC at the Mafikeng Conference as part of the Commission for Religious Affairs (CRA) to do the tasks of the Chaplaincy which include the following:

- Opening National and Provincial Congresses or Conferences of the ANC and its various formations;
- Providing counselling services to those in need;

- Conducting funerals and weddings as requested;
- Participating in ANC or Government forums discussing Chaplaincy issues, or spiritual advancement;
- Discharging these and other relevant responsibilities within the organization as they arise.

4.3.2 The Structure and Tasks of the ANC Chaplaincy

The ANC Chaplaincy is structured as follows:

- The National Executive Committee (NEC) appoints a National Chaplaincy Secretary, and persons to be Chaplains from the various faith groups, upon recommendation of the Commission for Religious Affairs(CRA).The faiths that are actively participating in the religious issues of the province are that of Christian, Baha'i, Hindu, Islam, Rastafarian and the African Traditional faith;
- The Provincial Executive Committee (PEC) of the ANC is then requested to work with the CRA and the National Chaplaincy to appoint Provincial Chaplaincies upon the same lines, seeking to expand such Chaplaincy services to reach every region, branch and members of the ANC. This therefore means that each faith and league has its Chaplain and the PEC appoints a Chaplain General of the province to play an oversight on these Chaplaincies as there is an overall Chaplain General of the ANC nationally, appointed by the NEC; and
- The CRA shall establish a network with ANC structures to support the Chaplaincy. The duplication of the CRA structures in all the provinces cascading down to districts and local municipality's wards are the network structures to be put in place so that communication easily filter through ensuring that the structures are well informed about the issues at hand.

4.4 The Terms of Reference for the ANC Chaplaincy:

Mehana (2013:3) on the document titled: *African National Congress: National Chaplaincy: Approved Terms of Reference*, states the terms of reference of the ANC Chaplaincy as approved by the ANC NEC on the 11th January 2013 wherein the work of the Commission for Religious Affairs will be integrated to the work of the ANC Chaplaincy. The ANC NEC maintains that the terms of reference must take into

consideration this historic background of ministries, but most importantly they are to advance the current real needs of Social Renewal, Social Cohesion and Nation Building of our country under the leadership of the ANC. The Terms of Reference for the ANC Chaplaincy are as follows:

- To obtain, study, understand and familiarize with the Constitution, policies, usages, practices, strategic direction and major areas of focus with regard to priorities and programmes for Social Renewal, Social Cohesion and Nation Building, priorities that include the National Development Plan, inequality, poverty, unemployment plus all other five (5) identified priorities;
- To mobilize the Religious Sector and all Faith Based Organizations on such priorities and programmes from time to time for the purpose of critical engagement and coming up with programmes and strategies for implementation;
- To formulate Religious Policies that will foster good relationship between the ANC and the Religious Communities for a conducive environment and effective engagement;
- To be the advocacy service to the Provincial Executive Committee(PEC) / Regional Executive Committee(REC) when it deals with contemporary policies that will affect matters that could be of interest to the Religious Sector and Faith Based Organizations;
- To promote good relations between the government, International and National Religious and Faith Based Organizations or Bodies for a peaceful and healthy interactions;
- To conduct Research on matters of different Theologies, Doctrines of Religious and Spiritual formations on Interfaith basis, so that the ANC can always be relevantly informed on its Social Cohesion Policies;
- To foster a healthy interaction between the ANC Chaplaincy and state appointed Chaplaincies and all ANC led Government relevant Formations, Policies and Programmes to ensure that the ANC policies are properly implemented;

- To provide Spiritual guidance throughout all ANC levels and structures, including opening of all Provincial/Regional/ Sub – Regional/ Zonal and Branch gatherings (Provincial / Regional/Sub-Regional/Zonal and Branch Congresses, Councils, Rallies etc.) with Interfaith Prayers;
- To provide Pastoral Care to all ANC Cadres and Families;
- To ensure that the Provincial, Regional, Sub-Regional/ Zonal and Branch Chaplaincies are properly constituted especially on Interfaith and Ecumenical basis. Also to ensure that each PEC/REC appoints a Provincial/Regional/Sub-Regional/Zonal and Branch Chaplain and an Interfaith Provincial, Regional, Sub-Regional, Zonal and Branch Chaplaincy in accordance with the ANC Constitution (Mehana,2013:5 - 7).

This clearly shows us that the ruling government of the ANC and religion are intertwined together as the Chaplaincy cuts across the national, provincial, regional, sub-regional, zonal, and branch levels. This means that national information can be accessed throughout as information cascades and filter down ensuring that all the people where they are, are well aware of the information provided either from top-down levels or bottom-up levels.

4.5 The ANC Religious Desk:

The ANC Chaplaincy was established as a religious desk at first and then as an interreligious or interfaith desk in exile and here at home during the apartheid days and throughout its inception. From the earliest beginnings, the ANC had a strong religious motivation. Religious conviction strengthened the commitment of millions, and underlined the principles of the Freedom Charter.

Religious people and institutions fired the struggle here at home, in South Africa, and in exile. This is attested by the fact that the ANC Religious Committees functioned in Lusaka and London to mention just a few countries. Its vision for the community and the country derived great strength from belief in God's rule of justice and fulfilment. Its mission is to embody God's liberating presence in every human situation as it does not take place in a vacuum but always is concerned with specific people in specific situations searching to discover the meaning of Good News in each context and in each period in history.

The researcher therefore aligns himself with the notion which spells out clearly what the ANC was established to be, so that as God's vehicle or tool could liberate God's people from all forms of struggle and oppression in our country, South Africa, in order to experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all in their various national, provincial, regional, sub-regional, zonal and branch levels they found themselves in.

Ncube (2004:26) in the ANC Phakamani Magazine on her article titled, *The Role of the Faith Community*, pointed out, that "The founding Fathers of the ANC heeded the prophetic mission, the Social-Gospel dimension of the mission given to the faith community, and have been fully represented from the inception and establishment of the ANC. Several ministers of religion like John Dube, Rev. EJ Mqoboli, Rev. HR Ngcayiya, Rev. Walter Rabusana and Rev. L Dlepu have been right there at the beginning, pursuing the objectives of the Social-Gospel. Let us carry on their work and vision."

President Zuma (2008:2) in his address to the ANC Presidential Religious Summit points out that the mission of the ANC as, observed by Rev. ZR Mahabane was to liberate God's people from the bondage of colonialism and apartheid which rendered the majority "African people, landless, voteless, homeless, hopeless and deprived of their humanity and the right to decide on their future."

Motsekga (2009:1) in his paper on, *Religion and Politics in South Africa*, points out the strategic role of the National Interfaith Leaders Forum in promoting the ANC's vision and accelerating the implementation of government priorities:

"People from all communities' faith belong to the ANC. It is a broad church open to all. Followers of African traditional spirituality, Hindu, Jewish, Christianity, Islam, and many other groups find their political home in the ANC. Our Constitution refuses to force any religion on the people. It ensures religious freedom. Religious institutions hold wide spread agreement on moral goals. They share the same values. The quest for justice and peace, honesty and truth, love and freedom in the community brings out the best of humanity in us all. All the bad influences in the world cannot defeat this call to goodness. The ANC knows that people in all parts of society can follow high ideals and moral values even at the cost of self-sacrifice. Solving the problems of

poverty and greed, violence and corruption, is a deeply spiritual challenge. If political and economic practices are to serve the nation, they must be based on justice not charity, honesty not deceit, transparency not corruption. Lively religion is not a watch-dog barking round the boundary fences, but a full participant on the factory floor of building a new nation. Every neighbourhood in our country has religious, political, commercial, educational and social communities who are concerned to build a just and peaceful nation. The ANC believes we must seek ways to do this together at the local level. That is why the ANC believes in a transformed society, with a revolutionary morality. It is a matter of faith.”

This clearly shows that in the ANC, religion and politics has always been together and that the spiritual guidance and pastoral ministry was championed by the Religious Leaders who, some of them, were members and supporters of the struggle for a just and free society. The ANC and Religious Leaders among others, both kept the vast numbers of many social forces together through its ministry called "Revolutionary Morality" that ensured that the struggle was conducted with discipline and integrity. The Religious Leaders that the researcher has in mind, among others, are the Rev. EJ Mqoboli, Rev. Henry Ngcayiya, Rev. John Langalibalele Dube, Rev. Mangena Maake Mokone and Rev. ZR Mahabane.

During the time when many ANC cadres were in exile under the leadership of President OR Tambo, a Religious Desk was established to provide, amongst other things, spiritual guidance and pastoral care. Within the country during the time of apartheid, many Faith Based Organizations (FBO's) and ecumenical bodies such as the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and South African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC) provided spiritual guidance, pastoral work and spiritual support for the liberation of the people of South Africa. As the struggle for freedom advanced, some religious leaders played a role in various terrains of the struggle.

After the unbanning of the Political Organizations in 1990, such Faith Based Organizations and ecumenical bodies participated in peace structures. These structures were established to create conducive conditions for free and fair elections. For example, the 1994 democratic elections was a breakthrough that opened the space for faith communities to participate in the democratization of the country.

The untimely death of the ANC's former Treasurer General, Mr. Nkobi in the early 1990's, with his funeral being undeclared official state funeral is the reason why President Mandela was of the idea to explore possibilities of re-establishing the Religious Desk at Shell House. Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, as ANC Secretary General at the time was charged with the responsibility to establish the Religious Desk at the ANC Head Quarters, and indeed the Religious Desk alongside with the Welfare Desk was established at the beginning of 1994.

In 1995, the ANC Religious Desk in pursuit of involving the Faith Based Organizations in the process of democratizing the country, established the ANC Religious Committee on interfaith basis and charged it with the responsibility to facilitate interaction between religious and political organizations. This Committee was also charged with the responsibility to prepare an input to the 1997 ANC National Congress in Mafikeng which included an amendment to the ANC Constitution with regard to the Chaplaincy.

The mission of the ANC Chaplaincy is encapsulated within its terms of reference and the ministries to be discussed in the following paragraphs and was meant to compliment the overall mission of the ANC because at the time of the struggle for liberation there were so many social forces at play. The ANC objectives of the first NEC decision of 1912 which appointed Rev. Dr. EJ Mqoboli as the first Chaplain General who together with Henry Reed Ngcayiya worked tirelessly under the guidance of the NEC were among others to ensure that the following below-mentioned ministries formed part of the programme of the struggle given the fact that there were many social forces who became part of this struggle for freedom and democracy actualized in 1994.

The ANC Chaplaincy had since inception achieved the following milestones:

- The establishment of the ANC Commission for Religious Affairs(CRA);
- The establishment of the Moral Regeneration Movement(MRM);
- The establishment of the Charter of Positive Values(CPV); and
- The establishment of the Commission for Cultural, Religious and Linguistics Communities (CRL).

These milestones are indeed a clear indication of the relationship and solidarity that religion and politics have thereby showing the close connection between religion and politics, tracing the direct association that the ANC had with the Churches in South Africa over the years, and showing how the ministries of the ANC Chaplaincy formed part of the programme of the struggle for social renewal, social cohesion and nation building in pursuit of the ANC's moral vision of a free and democratic South Africa. Indeed, the ANC was established by God as His vehicle to liberate His oppressed people in South Africa to enjoy all the freedoms and rights that He had put in place for everyone to experience.

4.6 The Ministries of the ANC Chaplaincy:

4.6.1 The Ministry of Spiritual Development:

This Ministry acknowledged the on-going presence of God in, during and beyond the struggle. To ensure that the ANC of today still pursues this ministry of its cadres and members to acknowledge the presence of God wherever they are, the NEC at its meeting in Durban on January 2013 approved the proposed terms of reference I cited earlier in this work for the ANC Chaplaincy and urged that these terms of reference must take into consideration the historic background of the ANC ministries the researcher made mention of in the above paragraphs, but most importantly they are to advance the current real needs of social renewal, social cohesion and nation building of our country under the leadership of the ANC.

Mayson (2004:3) in his paper titled, *A Manifesto for People of Faith: A Theological comment on the ANC Election Manifesto 2004*, maintained, that "There are many people of faith in the ANC. Those who say the ANC is atheist are simply wrong. Practicing their different rituals, clad in different clothes, citing separate songs and scriptures, ANC supporters may seem divided, but in their struggle for liberation and transformation they share a belief in God and support a common political platform. We are all spiritual people, even though we are not all religious. We recognize a supreme driving force of goodness, success, and hope in the heart of the human community which does liberate and does transform. We have seen it happen."

The ANC Manifesto, which is a contract entered into between the ANC and an ANC led government and the people of South Africa renewable every five years- which is

the term of service, begins on the note of celebration and thanksgiving. Much remains to be done, but we can tackle it in confidence because the Faith and Hope we had in the past has worked.

Mayson (2004:3) speaks of spiritual politics and maintains that, "A Manifesto is a political pronouncement, but this one is full of words which figure in spiritual tracts: together, commitment, compassion, caring, confidence, hope, justice, peace, cooperation, working with, partnerships, volunteerism, healing, the poor and marginalized. Such concepts indicate the deep spiritual awareness that drives ANC policies in promoting a People's Contract to create work and fight poverty in the immediate future... The Manifesto makes a commitment to unite with all people behind this quest. There is nothing in the ANC Manifesto about politics to seek privileges for race, creed, or wealth."

The ANC members have always been criticizing those who have misused religion, and who try to separate faith from politics and economics. Some colonial religions tried to make religion a tool of oppression, or used it as a hiding place from the demands and joys of real life. The ANC believes that Faith and Politics go hand in hand, two sides of the same coin. We believe that the African world view of religion as an inclusive factor of life is accurate: Ubuntu/botho is a holistic view of life in the whole community. It is spiritual politics.

The ANC Manifesto accepts the hard fact that selfishness, hatred, greed and lust exercise a major influence within the human community. The whole societies can become corrupt. The over emphasis on individualism by religions, economics and politics in the past has largely destroyed the sense of community which is basic to successful human life. In this spiritual wasteland all the evils of corruption, exploitation, crime, economic systems which make people poor, and the social roots of criminality, flourish. The Manifesto recognizes this and commits itself to support not simply individual goodness, but a social contract to transform our communities.

The political thrust of the Manifesto recognizes the necessity of a broad social response. The achievement of a better life for all is the only way to a better life. The good life does not happen by retreating to a remote private world, but in a social contract for a morally regenerated community. The transformation of Africa cannot be achieved by saying it must be done by the government or religions or business or the

unions or women or the youth or the men, but needs a contract between all of us to make the good life happen.

The Manifesto picks up the common political threads and social objectives which mark the path of all religious teaching, with practical policies built on the priorities of the prophets. The better life for all means food, housing, water, services and concern for the poor which all the holy teachings commend. Removing discrimination, social grants, combining resources and a quest of a society that truly cares are political statements which turn spiritual calls into practice.

The ANC Phakamani Magazine (2004:4) on an article titled: *A manifesto for people of faith: A Theological Comment on the ANC Election Manifesto 2004*, points out the following that we need to do:

- Put work for all in front of profit for some;
- Practice people power by encouraging everyone to take part in local, provincial and national government;
- Rediscover volunteerism, the spirit of personal commitment which brought us liberation from apartheid and will also bring us the transformation of our society;
- Government will help in every department, expand public works programmes, and the land reform, and review the public services;
- We shall promote Moral Regeneration in all sectors of society; and
- Commit to work towards these progressive developments throughout South Africa.

The Manifesto thus strikes deep chords in the theological community. It raises major questions about human life systems, ownership, and Ubuntu which do not limit faith to saving souls or life after death. It means taking practical steps towards a growing economy, a sustainable livelihood, access to services, comprehensive social security, tackling crime and corruption, and constitutional rights and governance.

The Manifesto also recognizes that we can only achieve our objectives by working in harmony with everyone in our country, continent and the world over. This indeed shows that the ANC was established by God as His tool to liberate His people from

the bondages of colonialism and apartheid so that they should experience freedom and democracy thus enjoy a better life for all. However, the struggle continues and all of these below-mentioned objectives have deep spiritual roots and they are, in other words, positive tasks which religions and politics can work together to achieve, namely:

- The ANC is a parliament of the people, a broad church so to speak, and all groups are represented within it, including all religious groups. Freedom makes room for widespread differences of opinion, and enables a commitment to mediate, to agree the broad thrust of our quest for a better life for all;
- Within the ANC membership and in the relationship between the ANC and religious bodies we respect and celebrate our diversity, and commit ourselves to live in peace and harmony. The points of agreement are far greater than anything else;
- The quest for a community that believes in goodness and the triumph of goodness, in putting need before greed; and
- The quest for a community that enjoys and experiences the freedom of the Constitution (ANC-CRA: Phakamani Magazine, 2004:4).

In his address, in the ANC CRA Magazine-Phakamani, to Religious Leaders in Johannesburg on 24 June 1997 titled: *From Liberation to Transformation*, President Nelson Mandela (2004:3) assured his audience that these aims can be achieved if they can work together as a nation and pointed out that, "The transformation of our country requires the greatest possible cooperation between religious and political bodies, critically and wisely serving our country together. Neither political nor religious objectives can be achieved in isolation. They are held in a creative tension with common commitments. We are partners in building our society."

The ANC Chaplaincy agrees that our people belong to different political parties and religions, and some with strong ethical and moral values have no formal political or religious ties, yet all of us have strong beliefs on points on which we do agree. The ANC Chaplaincy also agrees that there is a form of cooperation between religion and politics which does not compromise independence, but combines forces to the maximum to improve the quality of life of all God's people. Government alone cannot bring about this change hence he urged the religious leaders to work together with

the political leaders as they needed every sector of the society to work together to achieve this goal. President Mandela made this plea as some seemed to be withdrawing into considering only their own affairs including the religious community.

The ANC has a wide support base, and a mandate to empower our people to transform our society. Religions, collectively, have even wider support. They also have a vision and commitment to empower people to transform society. When two groups have common objectives it is sensible to work together. Yet in the area of religion and politics we sometimes discern a distance from both sides. Indeed, some seem to go so far as to nurture antagonism as a political imperative or a divine duty. But there is a deeper understanding.

Professor Martin Prozesky on Spiritual development or growth in the ANC CRA Magazine-Phakamani (2004:13 -14) points out that:

"When these people use the word 'spiritual' they do not mean something dreamy and mystical, far removed from the daily round of life. They mean the human potential to open our lives creatively, bravely and lovingly to the good, the beautiful and the true, wherever it is found. They see the divine spirit in all that touches and moves us deeply, in all that lifts us to greater heights and in whatever makes the circle of our active love bigger and bigger. History shows that this spiritual quality is unevenly distributed. On one hand we have inspiring examples of it in people like Gandhi, the great Muslim mystic Ibn 'Arabi, the Jewish thinker Martin Buber and the famous medical missionary Albert Scheitzer who so admired the ethical message of Christ. But there are others who see things less embracingly and without much appreciation of the things that are sacred to their fellows. This has made some people believe that the religious life is a matter of growth with definite stages, first stage is marked by imagination and the imitation of parents and others, the second stage sees the vivid stories of religion being accepted in a literal way. Some people never leave this stage. The next one is typical of adolescents but many adults have remained there. It is the conformist stage where faith is experienced mainly as obedience. The fourth stage is not reached by all. When it is reached a measure of critical awareness of one's beliefs arises. The fifth stage only comes once there is a sense that life is more complex than it seemed at the previous stage. Instead of thinking on an either/or basis,

they are perhaps like Chinese people who are very puzzled when westerners ask whether they are Confucian, Buddhist or Taoist, because they find it possible to be all three. This stage, says Ruth Barnhouse, is open to the strange truth of others. It is unusual before mid-life. The final stage is very rare. An expert on these matters, James Fowler says that people who reach this level have a truly holistic sense. They don't want there to be any outsiders or outcasts. Instead, their community is universal. He adds that, such persons are ready for fellowship with persons at any of the other stages and from any other faith tradition. Gandhi is mentioned as an example, who wanted the winds of all cultures to blow freely in his face. Barnhouse and Fowler insist that no stage is closer to God than any other. But not all of the stages enable us to be equally close to other people, meaning that at the earlier phases of spiritual growth people cannot understand, respect or love others as fully as is possible in later stages. In that case, we need to be aware that our religions can sometimes get in the way of our love and hide from us the seemingly strange truth of others."

What Prozesky attempts to convey to us is that in each year there are times which are sacred to various religious communities, for example: a time of fasting and prayer for the Muslims called Ramadan, which recalls the revelation of the Holy Quran; a time to observe Passover for the Jewish people, commemorating the deliverance of the Hebrew slaves from Egypt; and at much the same time, Good Friday and Easter for Christians to observe.

While each of these events is unique to the religions concerned, these have also an important resemblance. The Jews, Christians and Muslims alike believe strongly that there is one God who is the centre of reality who graciously has blessed the world by a supreme gift, which gifts are the liberation and divine guidance contained in the Torah (the Law of Moses); the Lord Jesus Christ who is the Saviour of humankind; and the gift of an inspiring Holy Book which was revealed through a noble and faithful prophet, Muhammad. What we have here is openness to truth which many people have come to see as a sign of deep spirituality.

4.6.2 The Ministry of Revolutionary Morality:

This ministry ensures that all the Cadres of the movement conducted themselves within the context of revolutionary morality. The ANC's moral vision found a definite and emphatic expression in Rev.ZR Mahabane's 1912 address titled: " *We are not political children*". After the enactment of the 1913 Land Act which provided for the forcible dispossession of African land, its natural resources and livestock as well as the destruction of our cultural institutions, Rev. Mahabane observed in his 1912 address; African people were landless, vote-less, voiceless, homeless and hopeless as they have been forcibly deprived of their humanity (Ubuntu/Botho) and their right to decide their future.

Rev. Mahabane maintained that in such circumstances, the ANC had to strive to restore the humanity (Ubuntu/Botho) of the African people as a prerequisite for the restoration of the humanity of all South Africans, both black and white. The 1923 African National Congress made the recovery of Africans and their participation in the economic life of the country the cornerstone of its Bill of Rights, the first to be adopted in the African continent. In 1943, the ANC adopted the African Claims, a Bill of Rights drawn up in response to the racially discriminatory Atlantic Charter promulgated by Roosevelt and Churchill during World War II. Both the 1923 and 1943 ANC Bills of Rights were informed by the moral vision developed by religious leaders who were also political leaders. There can be no doubt therefore that the ANC derived its moral value system from religion and culture.

The ANC's moral vision found its final definition in the Freedom Charter which was adopted under the stewardship of its then President Chief Albert Luthuli who was a preacher in the United Congregational Church. Chief Luthuli echoed Seme's sentiments of a unique African civilization comparable to the ancient Egyptian and Chinese civilisations. The moral vision impacted strongly on the post-apartheid Constitution order. The interim Constitution of 1993 traced its moral values directly to the spiritual philosophy of Ubuntu/Botho. The 1996 Constitution also rooted its values of equality, freedom and justice for all in human dignity which is the essential element of our humanity.

Our Constitution embodies the values of a just and caring society including reconciliation and creation of a just society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights; a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and a society in which all citizens are

protected by law; and improvement of the quality of life of all citizens and releasing the potential of each person.

Long before the adoption of the 1996 Constitution, our icon for liberation and freedom, Mandela began to campaign for the recovery of African culture and religion as well as tolerance amongst Christianity, Islam and African religions. In his address to the OAU in Tripoli in 1992, Mandela lamented the destruction of the Africa City of Carthage by the Romans and recalled the African genius that produced the pyramids of ancient Egypt, ancient Ethiopia, Great Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe including the solar temples.

The ANC Statement on the Moral Renewal of the Nation reflected in the document: *Ethical Transformation* (1998:1) points out:

“When President Nelson Mandela asked to meet with the religious leaders of South Africa in June 1997, he spoke of his concern for the spiritual health and vitality of our people. In our striving for political and economic development, the ANC recognizes that social transformation cannot be separated from spiritual transformation. Most people are moral. They are not criminals advocating unethical behaviour. They wish to bring up their children to be honest, with the desire to build a prosperous and peaceful South Africa for all who live in it. The cultures brought together in our nation also had high ethical standards. Traditional African cultures were modelled on morals. Afrikanerdom was prompted by strict adherence to spiritual values. Those who trace their origins to other countries also recognize high concepts of personal and social responsibility. Many of our people are religious. Whether we follow traditional religion, Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity, Baha’i, Rastafarianism, or Islam, the call to personal and communal ethical behaviour is similar. Humanists who are unbelievers accept the same universal moral goals. People prefer to be good. Since it began nearly a century ago, and at every stage of the struggle for liberation, the ANC has been motivated by strong ethical convictions, especially the moral value of justice for all, and respect and care for other people. In contrast, the systems imposed by colonial rule departed from morality. As apartheid began to develop its systems of social engineering, it was revealed as fundamentally unjust and unethical. The democratic changes of 1994 introduced a major change. The apartheid

system was consigned to history. All countries which have passed through a major social change to establish new objectives, structures and modes of behaviour have found this a time of tension. Some seek to inhibit the development, others use it for party political purposes, and blatantly immoral elements come to the surface. Corruption, criminality, tax evasion, fraud, rape, the abuse of women and children, drunkenness, extortion, and family breakdown, much of it touched by violence, are the outward forms of a diseased social climate which affects all of us. The whole country is passing through a period of transition in which we are seeking to establish a new and successful modern society.”

This points out clearly that what was happening in the country and in the ANC was not that ethical society they fantasized about when they embarked on the road to freedom, and what was happening was not the goal they had as they were set to create a different moral society from the one they knew, the apartheid, criminal, sinful and heretic society. When we were supposed to actualize our vision we seemed to have lost it, hence Mandela made the first of several challenges to religious communities to give moral and spiritual leadership to the South African society. And President Thabo Mbeki has repeated that call during his tenure. The problem has been identified as in South Africa’s soul.

The ANC welcomed the Moral Summit process as an opportunity to analyse this situation, and seek a national commitment to overcome it. A statement by the World Conference on Religion and Peace in South Africa responding to President Mandela’s first of several challenges he made some years ago to religious communities to give a moral and spiritual leadership to the South African society (WCRP – SA) points out (2004:11) that:

“The nation is suffering a deep-seated corruption of values and behaviour, crying for its soul to be saved from moral bankruptcy and spiritual decay. Crime, corruption and brutality are not a blot on our society, but a product of our society. We have no collective ethic of responsibility. There is no national solidarity. We lack common purpose. Much thinking in terms of race, culture, or religion still takes precedence over thinking in inclusive terms as children of God who live in South Africa. We have inherited and nurtured an individualistic culture which approves a gross selfishness demanding everything for ‘me’.

Religious communities, together, muster a major spiritual source for rebuilding the moral fibre of a nation but are not realizing this potential. The nation sees little evidence that faith communities are channels through which the divine can enter the human. Religious bodies, once in the forefront of opposition to apartheid, are heard of little. Many do much: but religions are not seen to be acting together as a conscious part of national transformation. Many religious groups seem to have drawn back into their own communities and wait for government to produce the answers. The religious withdrawal from collective action is a major part of the nation's spiritual problem."

This conference noted that in all our religions, whether we speak of the overall drive of Ubuntu/Botho or the specific application of love, honesty, patience, courage or peace-making, spiritual energy resides within our people. It also suggested that religions should undertake initiatives together in every neighbourhood between religions, with municipalities and across civil society in projects that empower people, South Africa will be transformed from bottom up, not by acts of Parliament or religious statements. It demands a collective religious involvement in the local political and civil processes for people of all walks of life to unite in building neighbourhoods where they can enjoy one another, where the problems of the rich and poor are tackled, where people do not steal or buy stolen goods and where the culture of caring overcomes the culture of fear.

As already indicated earlier, Mandela maintained that the transformation of our country requires the greatest possible cooperation between religious and political bodies, critically and wisely serving our people. The drawing back by religious groups into their communities is probably because of the fact that South Africa has now become a secular state. Here Mandela appeals to the citizenry of this country in particular political and religious leader because he had seen that now that political leaders are out of prison and came back from exile, the religious leaders ought not to retreat to their cosy corners but to continue to do what they did best while the political leaders were in jail and exile. The Constitution of our country rightly ensures the separation of Religion and State as it has become the secular state. This therefore means that religions must not control government, and government must not run the religions, and this does not imply antagonism between religion and state.

The ANC does not separate political integrity from spiritual integrity. Morals and truth are indivisible. Politicians have spiritual responsibilities, and religions have political responsibilities – but each is concerned with our society and all who belong to it, attesting to the fact that indeed the ANC was established by God to be His vehicle to liberate His people so that they experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all. This also indicates that religion and politics can best work together in seeing to it that our people experience a qualitative difference between life under apartheid and life under a democratic government.

The South African people belong to different political parties and religions, and some with strong ethical and moral values have no formal political or religious ties. Yet all of them have strong beliefs. Some of these are points of serious contention. There are different views on the death penalty, abortion, sexual orientation and the role of women. Some find it difficult to accept that we are a single nation of diverse groups and many faiths, viewing things only from the point of view of their own group or religion.

Many of our strongest beliefs are points on which we do agree. We all want to address the legacy of our divided and unjust past. We all are concerned for the pursuit of peace and happiness, and troubled by crime and violence. We all seek the recovery of honesty, high moral standards, and the growth of an ethical culture. We desire an economy that enables all people to enjoy sufficient income to provide homes, schools, health care, and a comfortable retirement. We want our people to work their way from historical hostility to reconciliation and harmony, and establish neighbourhood communities to enjoy life together. Without exception, we feel responsible for the recovery and strengthening of a rich family life.

Boesak's (2015:11, IV) inauguration of annual lecture series at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Pietermaritzburg titled: *Seeing Satan Fall like Lightning from Heaven*:

"The Power of the hopeless sizwe points out that," It is time that the prophetic church in South Africa draws some inspiration from the courageous, visionary honesty of Pope Francis as he speaks of our global condition and the ravages caused by neo-liberal capitalism, the worship of money, the idolization of self-serving power, and the disdain for God's creation and God's people that lie at

the heart of it. Speaking of the unfettered power of capital – in other words, deregulation, the ruthless suppression of people's rights in pursuit of profits, the reckless destruction of the Earth, Pope Francis speaks with the truthfulness of a true prophet, his words devoid of the sycophancy our economic and political aristocracies demand and expect: The earth, entire peoples and individual persons are being brutally punished. And behind all this pain, death and destruction there is the stench of what Basil of Caesarea called "the dung of the devil". An unfettered pursuit of money rules, the service of the common good is left behind. Once capital becomes an idol and guides people's decisions; once greed for money presides over the entire socio-economic system, it ruins society, it condemns and enslaves men and women, it destroys human fraternity, it sets people against one another, and as we clearly see, it even puts at risk our common home."

The ANC endorses the repeated statements of its leadership that corruption will not be tolerated in its ranks. Cheating, stealing, dishonesty, nepotism, careerism, opportunism, and the manipulation of money or patronage are not acceptable. Such activity undermines the principles of the ANC which cannot allow its cadres to practice them.

The ANC document titled, *Ethical Transformation* (1998:3) states that:

"The ANC has recognized with regret that, at times, some of its members deviated from its principles, but through good and bad times the moral integrity of its purpose and direction remained clear. Those who were involved in the struggle against apartheid, in the field, in prison, or in exile, experienced a comradeship of very high order. It inspired a high moral tone, and enacted an equality which embraced all South Africans irrespective of race, age, sex, colour or creed. People committed themselves and everything they had to the struggle for a new just and moral community. Self-sacrifice of personal enjoyment, time and money was real: they shared resources and dangers, hopes and fears. Far from being helpless victims of terror, they had an integrity and sense of commitment which brought out the best of humanity within them. They built a self-questioning corporate approach to decision making which gave them a hand on experience of the

principles and policies they professed. That is why the ANC believes that a transformed society with a revolutionary morality can be built in South Africa today. In contrast to this is our heritage of apartheid, a culture of social injustice, dehumanization, and public immorality, rooted in the injustices of colonialism, and justified by the ideology of apartheid. Black people were dispossessed of their land and denied basic respect as human beings. The lie of white superiority was promoted.”

Here, it is shown that the ANC committed to liberate people from the disgraced life of the black majority to a dignified and better life where all are treated equally and with so much respect regardless of the skin colour, creed and status believing that as human beings we deserved to be treated justly and respectfully. Faith being a highly political thing, the ANC as God’s tool for liberation believes in the incarnation, that God is fully participating in the affairs of the world so that He can better it for all to enjoy life at its best.

The ANC Policy Conference in July 2007 addressed the issue of revolutionary morality and a special commission was established by Conference which reports were referred to provinces for further consideration in preparation for the ANC’s 52nd National Conference which was held in Polokwane on the 16th to the 20th December 2007 where all issues related to revolutionary morality were dealt with successfully by the commission on Strategy and Tactics and laid a good foundation for CRA to develop and amplify concrete implementation plans. In its Strategy and Tactics document adopted by its 52nd National Conference, the ANC acknowledged, appreciated and encouraged all sectors to play a meaningful role in promoting human solidarity and a caring society.

4.6.3 The Ministry of Pastoral Care:

This ministry provides pastoral care at all times to all Cadres and their families.

It is not surprising that President OR Tambo established religious committees in Luanda, London and Lusaka to provide spiritual support for ANC members in exile. During the struggle for freedom and democracy, most religious leaders played a role in various terrains of the struggle. After the unbanning of political organizations in

1990, they participated in peace structures, which were established to create conducive conditions for free and fair elections.

The 1994 democratic breakthrough opened space for faith communities to participate in the democratization of the country. The ANC, therefore, seized the opportunity to involve these communities in its own work as it did in 1912 when it was formed. Motsekga points out in his document, *Religion and Politics in South Africa* (2007:4) that Sister Bernard Ncube in her article titled: *The role of the faith communities in our society*, distinguishes between the soul and social gospel tendencies. “The soul gospel focuses on the salvation of souls whilst the social gospel focuses primarily on human beings, men and women especially the destitute and the downtrodden in society.” Ncube traced back the soul gospel to the Apostle James who said: “Pure and undefiled religion before God and the Father is to visit orphans and widows in their trouble and to keep one unspotted in the world.”(James 1:27).

According to the Apostle James, faith that is disengaged from the transformative programmes within communities is dead and unavailing “what does it profit, my brethren, if someone says he has faith but does not have works? Can faith save him? If a brother or sister is naked and destitute of daily food, and one of you says to them, be warned and filled, but do not give them the things which are needed for the body, what does it profit? This faith without works is dead,” (James 14:17). Here the Apostle James makes it absolutely clear that human beings have both spiritual and material needs. Thus service to humanity is a holistic exercise involving the fulfillment of the spiritual and material needs of our people.

Mathole Motsekga (2009:7) points out that, “Soon after ascending the throne as the first President of the democratic South Africa, Nelson Mandela took concrete steps to institutionalize interfaith organizations. This move was important in consolidating and taking forward the work of religious committees which were established during the fight against apartheid in Luanda, London and Lusaka by President Tambo together with Alfred Nzo, Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma and Mandla Msibi who was a Pastor and MK commander.”

4.7 The Commission for Religious Affairs:

In 1995, President Mandela elevated the ANC Religious Committee to a Commission for Religious Affairs (CRA) which serves as a mechanism for interaction between the ANC/Government and faith committees. The Commission for Religious Affairs (CRA) was established by the National Executive Committee (NEC), after several preliminary meetings. Its first plenary session was held in April 1996, and the Coordinator appointed in January 1997. The National CRA has been established by the ANC Conference, and therefore similar structures should be established at Provincial levels. The first NEC Lekgotla after the 52nd Polokwane Conference in 2007 adopted CRA as one of its sub-committees.

The role of the ANC Commission for Religious Affairs (CRA) as contained in the document of the ANC entitled: *The Role and Functions of the Commission for Religious Affairs*(1995:1 – 3) is to; enhance spiritual and political development within the ANC and religious communities for the transformation of South Africa. To be able to fulfil this role, the CRA has the following functions to carry out, namely:

4.7.1 The Spiritual Function, which is to:

- Provide a Chaplaincy and counselling service for the spiritual welfare of the members of the Movement at all levels;
- Encourage the spiritual growth and development of members on an ecumenical and interfaith basis, both individually and collectively;
- Embrace a concern for wider chaplaincies in political, military, Correctional Services, para-statal, local authorities and environmental activities
- Serve those who recognize their spirituality, but who practice no religion.

4.7.2 The Political Function, which is to:

- Provide information and advice to the ANC leadership and structures on policy matters affecting religious concerns, activities, opinions, and ethical dilemmas;
- Build awareness within the ANC of the current concerns of the religious community and clarifying ANC policy positions from a religious point of view;
- Inform the public at large of the ANC spiritual insights on current concerns;
- Work with religious bodies in promoting cooperative campaigns to further the transformation of South Africa.

4.7.3 The Religious Function, which is to:

- Establish positive relations with religious bodies at all levels;
- Promote interfaith and ecumenical consultation between religious and political leaders seeking insights and cooperation on current events. These shall embrace both the pragmatic and the prophetic, and form a meeting place where such issues can be considered and moved into action at national, provincial, regional and local levels;
- Encourage unity in the transformation of South Africa.

4.8 The ANC Chaplaincy:

The 1997 Congress indeed amended the Constitution which, since the inception of the ANC, always referred to a Chaplain General as an individual who became the custodian of spiritual guidance and pastoral care. This amendment led to the establishment of the “National Chaplaincy” which was to be a religious service on an interfaith basis.

This change led to the current Constitutional provisions in Rule 16.9 of the African National Congress Constitution as amended by and adopted at the 50th National Conference of December 1997 which states: “There shall be a National Chaplaincy appointed by the NEC on an interfaith basis to provide spiritual guidance.” and Rule 22 of the African National Congress Constitution as amended by and adopted at the 53rd National Conference of Mangaung 2012 which states: “Provincial Chaplains may be appointed by the PEC on the same basis as the National Chaplaincy, respectively.

The Chaplaincy at both National and Provincial levels was appointed by the NEC of 1998 consisting of representatives from different faiths. This NEC also appointed the first Commission for Religious Affairs (CRA) in accordance with the ANC Constitution, Rule 11.5 read with Rule 12.2(6) of the African National Congress Constitution as amended by and adopted at the 53rd National Conference of Mangaung 2012 which states: “Have the power to elect or appoint any commission or committee and assign specific tasks and duties to such commission or committee”

and “Establish Departments and set up committees, as it considers appropriate”, respectively

4.9 The Birth of the Interfaith Forum in South Africa:

When President Mandela was formally elected and sworn in and became the first President of the democratic Republic of South Africa on 10 May 1994, a nation founded on the fundamental principles of human dignity and equal rights for all was born. On this day, black and white, discarded our tragic past and opted for a future of harmony, peace and stability and made reconciliation one of the nation building tools. This day ensured all South Africans that they have equal claim to their country and warning us that there can be no lasting peace unless all of us learn to coexist and live together as a nation.

President Mandela took concrete steps to institutionalize interfaith organisations when he assumed office, consolidating and taking forward the work of religious committees which were established during the fight against apartheid in Luanda, London and Lusaka by President Tambo together with Alfred Nzo, Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma and Mandla Msibi who was a Pastor and MK commander. In 1995, President Mandela elevated the ANC Religious Committee to a Commission on Religious Affairs (CRA) which serves as a mechanism for interaction between the ANC/government and faith committees. The CRA facilitated a meeting of President Mandela and the religious leaders on the 24 June 1997.

In his address titled, *From Liberation to Transformation*, President Mandela recalled that major sections of the religious community were deeply involved in the struggle which brought us political liberation and therefore this sense of communal solidarity is as important today as it ever was during the struggle for liberation as we are now faced with what is in reality an even greater challenge to bring social transformation, the reconstruction and development of our country.

To be able to build a new nation that is undivided, peaceful, crime and violence free, honest and with high moral standards, a new nation reconciled to itself and living harmoniously, we need to join hands as a nation and together fight all the social ills that we face as a collective for these obstacles are too many to be tackled by a few individuals. We need to do this through co-operative endeavours with each other,

with government and the community participating in the programmes of reconstruction and development as strengthened organized religion nationally, regionally and locally. Mandela reminded us that we need to be spiritually healthy as a nation in pursuit for social transformation.

Mandela understood that the ANC was God's vehicle to liberate God's people from colonialism and apartheid bondage so that they can experience freedom and democracy that will eventually bring a better life for them all hence the need to cooperate to transform the spiritual life of our country. Earlier in the previous paragraphs we noted that the spiritual bankruptcy of our nation was in its soul and it is the soul that needs fixing hence Mandela brought the leadership of all religions together to analyse the cause of the spiritual degeneration and find ways of tackling them.

Mandela maintained that for such an initiative to be effective, it would also require religions to come together with a cooperative approach to solutions and a practical timetable to achieve their goal. And for the religious leaders to be able to achieve the goal set, he then announced that the ANC had established a Commission for Religious Affairs (CRA) to assist religious communities to organise themselves and partner with government.

4.10 The National Religious Leaders Forum:

Subsequent to this, the CRA facilitated the formation of the National Religious Leaders Forum (NRLF) which appointed a working group whose main task was to meet once a month and compile documents on various issues. As part of its success, by May 1998, the NRLF had developed an Ubuntu/Botho pledge which has since been printed in seven of our country's official languages. The NRLF then held several workshops with leaders of all political parties which culminated in the Moral Summit which took place on the 22nd October 1998.

This Summit was attended then by the late President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela and his deputy, Thabo Mbeki, at which all religious and political leaders endorsed the Code of Conduct for Persons in Position of Responsibility. They agreed to find the cause of our moral problems and to seek the answer together. They also agreed that cooperation to build a successful nation would come first.

The NRLF also produced a Code for Electoral Conduct which was published on the 11th March 1999, and presented to political leaders, officials and party supported to observe. The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) was then tasked to monitor compliance with this Code of Conduct. The NRLF's Executive Committee joined to speak out on moral issues such as corruption, the handling of HIV and AIDS programmes then, as well as the promotion of social education in schools and wider society.

During the Presidency of Thabo Mbeki and as part of its failures, the NRLF gradually became dormant and only met with the President and/or his Director-General (DG), Rev. Frank Chikane for informal discussions. On the 3rd April 2001, the NRLF met with President Mbeki for two (2) hours to discuss in particular four (4) areas in which the President hoped government could count on the support of the religious sector, namely, actions of alleviating poverty, reduction of racial prejudice, interaction with the process of moral regeneration in which it was hoped that religious leaders will be able to take lead, and building relations with other African countries to promote the African development agenda.

It was expected that the NRLF would be the backbone of the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM) which was launched at the Waterkloof Airforce Base in 2002 by the then Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, the Honourable JG Zuma who became its patron. Both the NRLF and MRM are the brainchildren of the ANC Chaplaincy. Since 2005, the NRLF has not held a single Annual General Meeting (AGM) and the meetings of its Executive Committee have not had a quorum.

Prof. Pillay points out (2017:3) in his article titled: *Faith and Reality: The role and contributions of the ecumenical church to the realities and development of South Africa since the advent of democracy in 1994*, gives reasons why such meetings could not form a quorum, the NRLF :

“network emerged from former President Nelson Mandela's request for all religious bodies to establish a forum so that the government could speak to all of them together. The NRLF had an audience with President Mandela where faith-based organisations were able to dialogue with government on pressing issues and participate in building a democratic South Africa. These dialogues continued quite intentionally with former President Thabo Mbeki when he

succeeded President Mandela. Unfortunately, these meetings with President Mbeki turned out to become of the government seeking approval and support for its policies rather than hard engagement on issues in South Africa, even issues threatening democracy. Some of the issues identified by the SACC (2008) were the political and economic crises in Zimbabwe, the plight of the poor, crises of governance in some state institutions, the break out of violent crime, leadership vacuum and lack of accountability, violence against women, increasing competition for finite resources, and environmental degradation and climate change. There came a time when the NRLF was able to express its concern about the setting of the agenda and the participation of religious leaders in the meeting with the president. President Mbeki heeded to the call and voice of the religious leaders and agreed on the setting of the agenda together and equal participation in the meetings, which took place at least two times a year. The meeting thus became more acceptable though not fully what was desired .It is in this light that the late Russel Botman (1997) pointed out that the church's engagement with government is usually: on an issue-to-issue basis and the church is more likely to be reactive rather than proactive. Government acts, Christians react after the fact. Political parties, special interest groups make the rules, set the agenda and dictate the nature of the game. (p.78). In response to this, Botman called for a true Christian presence that is comprehensive and sustained in participation in the political community in which the church participates in the full process: setting the agenda, making the rules and critically examining the outcomes.”

The South African Council of Churches (SACC), the South African Catholic Bishops Council (SACBC), the Jewish Board of Deputies and African Religious Leaders have been conspicuous by their absence from participation in these meetings. The ANC NEC Programme of Action mandated CRA to interact with both the NRLF and MRM to urge them to realign and root their structures amongst the people, and meetings held in this regard did not yield the intended results, hence the formation of the National Interfaith Council in South Africa (NICSA).

4.11 The Establishment of the National Interfaith Council in South Africa (NICSA):

4.11.1 Introduction:

The National Interfaith Council of South Africa (NICSA) was born out of the merger between the National Religious Leaders Forum (NRLF) and the National Interfaith Leaders Council (NILC). The two organisations met on the 5th January 2011 and resolved to form a single national interfaith organisation. On the 5th September 2011 the two organisations dissolved and formed the National Interfaith Council of South Africa (NICSA).

4.11.2 Objectives of NICSA:

The National Interfaith Council of South Africa was established to:

- Take up the challenge of moral regeneration for social development and nation building;
- Promote recovery of the humanity (Ubuntu/Botho) and common good of all South Africans, both black and white;
- Mobilise all Faith-Based Organisations and communities to affiliate to/with NICSA;
- Embrace the principle of inclusivity, religious tolerance and cooperation at the National, Provincial, Regional and Local levels;
- Promote social education and development;
- Combat corruption, crime, HIV/AIDS infections, and provide care to orphans, and the aged;
- Partner with government for reconstruction, development and progress.

4.11.3 Background of NICSA:

President Mandela and the NRLF convened a National Religious Leaders Summit to consider collaboration with the government. The President told the Summit that religious and political organisations would not be able to achieve their objectives when acting separately. He called on the religious sector to establish structures that are rooted among communities and to enter into partnership with government for

development. This initiative led to the formation of the National Religious Leaders Forum (NRLF).

President Mandela and the NRLF convened the 1999 Moral Regeneration Summit that culminated in the formation of the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM). Both the NRLF and MRM made significant contributions in developing a Code of Conduct for persons in positions of authority which was endorsed by all political parties and the Bill of Responsibilities, while the MRM developed the Charters of Positive Values and later the Charter of Election Ethics.

The NRLF from 2004 to 2007 declined forcing other Faith Based Organisation (FBO's) to consider the establishment of alternative organisations. After extensive provincial consultations the Commission for Religious and Traditional Affairs (CRATA) convened a Presidential Interfaith Summit on the 27th November 2008 which was addressed by President Jacob Zuma. Zuma in his address recalled that at their inception, religious institutions played a developmental role and consequently appealed on them to organise themselves and relate to government for construction, development and progress.

In response to the call, leaders of the national FBO's that had met on the 27th November 2008 convened a national leadership Summit on the 27th July 2009 to consider unity and cooperation of the national FBO's and partnership with government. The Summit then resolved to form a new organisation called National Interfaith Leaders Council (NILC). At this Summit held on the 27th November 2008 with President JG Zuma, some 1000 religious leaders from grassroots faith communities attended where the President committed the ANC government to reaffirming the historical relationship the party has had with the Church since 1912.

The NILC Secretariat facilitated by Rev. Ray McCauley of the Rhema Bible Church worked on the realisation of the vision articulated by the President in November 2008. The Secretariat consisted of the following members:

- Dr. John Lamola : Head of Secretariat;
- Rev. Bantu Xozwa: Public Affairs Liaison Officer;
- Ms. Nthabiseng Khunou: Parliamentary Affairs Liaison Officer; and
- Pastor Gert Khosa: Rhema Bible Church Chief of Administration.

On the 11th August 2009, some members of the NILC met with President Zuma and introduced the NILC to him who described the formation of NILC as “The holy revolution of the people of God”, against corruption, moral degeneration and the invisibility and marginalisation of the previously disadvantaged people and communities. Essentially, President Zuma called on the NILC to play a developmental role.

Hence in his address to the religious leaders at the Religious Summit in Esselen Park, he convened on 27 November 2008 appealed to them and said: “We also see a critical role for religious bodies in providing social education and to help us build a caring society. From their inception religious institutions played both a spiritual support and developmental roles. A parish would have a house of worship; a library; a community hall; community garden; workshops for creative industries; health clinics and a school. Many church institutions have under-utilised facilities which can be used for social education in partnership with government and the private sector. Social education could address, in particular, moral regeneration and social development” (2008:4)

Some of the religious leaders who had known the SACC to be in solidarity with the African National Congress (ANC) ruled government rather than being critical, came up with questions such as why President Zuma did not work with the SACC or other faiths other than the Christian faith which also was not represented on ecumenical basis?; Why did he support the formation of NILC?, was it because government was using religion?

It is clear that President Zuma could not work with the SACC and other religious bodies other than the NILC structure which was formed during his time as the president of the country to pledge their solidarity and not challenge government. The NILC structure was supposed to be inclusive of other faiths other than the Christian faith and the African Traditional Religion. The researcher believes that the loyalty displayed by the SACC to President Mbeki might be one of the reasons Zuma distanced himself from the SACC.

The other reasons might be when the SACC questioned the Polokwane events that led to Mbeki's departure as President of the Republic of South Africa, and that of SACC “publicly opposed the appointment of Jacob Zuma as Mbeki's successor on

the grounds of morality and corruption which it felt did not qualify him for such a high office in the land” (Pillay, 2017:3).

The researcher agrees with Prof. Pillay (Ibid.3) of his analysis on the relationship the SACC and Jacob Zuma would have as he was to become the next President of South Africa as he maintained:

“... it became fairly apparent that the SACC was soon to be side-lined from the Presidency. The words of the SACC, in a public statement issued on 10th March 2010 titled *Telling the truth from a position of weakness, for in our weakness, we are perfected by our Lord*, clearly indicates this perception: ‘We have also observed unwillingness from the Presidency to engage with the SACC’. The statement made an even greater claim expressed in the following words: Central Committee is appalled by the fragmentation of the ecumenical organisations in this country. This situation is made worse by some of the interventions of the ruling party and its Commission for Religious Affairs which appears to have taken it upon itself to reconfigure the ecumenical space. They have since formed a new entity called the National Interfaith Leadership Council (NILC) which in our view replicates the work of the NRLF. It also creates- perhaps deliberately- a lot of confusion among our members. The same statement called for all Christian ecumenical bodies to unite in witness, it agreed to engage with NILC but stated that it would maintain distance from that body and not become a member. It is interesting to note how NILC came to the government’s defence on the issue of e-tolls and in 2015 when the SACC refused to accept the apology of President Zuma for bringing the South African economy into jeopardy by firing the then Minister of Finance, NILC publicly took a different stance in support of Zuma. ”. (SACC Statement 2010:1)

The President not only gave full support to the formation of the NILC but also noted with approval the appropriation of the interfaith concept which in his view, denoted inclusivity and cooperation of the people of God, and urged the leaders of NILC to ensure that the NILC is representative. More specifically, the President and the NILC agreed on the following, that:

- The NILC should continue to mobilise all faith –based groups and communities to join the NILC at provincial, regional and local levels. The idea of such being to broaden NILC into a viable interfaith movement by cascading it to all facets of the South African society;
- The NILC will embrace the principle of inclusive action in which action rather than words defines our identity, self-understanding and commitment; religious infrastructure should be opened for utilisation, nation building and social cohesion;
- The NILC should be the custodian of moral regeneration programmes, and NILC should work with government to convene a national summit, which would provide joint programmes of action with targets and objectives.
- The NILC and the departments of Labour, Social Development and Rural Development and Land Reform have already established a joint working group to prepare for the summit.

This joint working Committee has already identified some possible areas of cooperation. At the meeting of the Minister of Social Development, Honourable Edna Molewa and the NILC held on the 19th August 2009, additional areas of cooperation were identified, which included the following, namely:

- Youth programmes which will necessitate creation of youth clubs for moral, cultural and social development;
- Anti-drug and alcohol abuse;
- Early childhood development programmes;
- Psycho-social support for children and families;
- Mobilisation of the haves to adopt a child each and pay for their education;
- Victim empowerment programmes for abused women and children;
- Old persons programmes where creation of clubs is one of the essential components to facilitate interaction among the aged and to provide for healthy aging;

- Young mothers programmes where young women who have babies continue to do so without counting the risk; and
- Community development

These areas of cooperation are also in a sense similar to those raised by the SACC in its Statement issued on 25 November 2012 which:

”... was aimed at addressing the ANC as it approached its conference in Mangaung in December 2012, but also addressed those within the broader political and economic spectrum and especially those within the churches and the poor and oppressed in South Africa. It expressed confession of the church for not fully implementing the Rustenburg declaration of 1990 and not standing united against poverty. It reflected on the question: ‘Is there hope for our democracy?’ It called on political leaders to recognise the loss of hope and the growth of cynicism and anger, of which Marikana and De Doorns are massive signals, repent of corruption and self-service, display integrity in politics, listen to the voice and needs of young people in the country, stop the compromising and decay of the education system and to implement the National Development Plan. It called for a new kind of politics that will bring abundant life to all with a healthy democracy in South Africa. In a similar way, it challenged economic leaders and trade unions to address poverty, economic inequalities and unemployment. The Statement concluded by addressing the poor and asserting the commitment to developing the democracy in South Africa. Reflecting on the political culture after 20 years of democracy, the Statement cautioned against romanticising democracy against the very real backdrop of the vast majority of black South Africans still experiencing the pain, suffering and exclusion of being trapped in poverty and inequality. It also called for the upholding of the constitution as the embodiment of the democracy. In this regard, the meeting strongly emphasised the need to defend the Public Protector and her office against the political onslaught they were experiencing in the wake of, among others, the ‘Nkandla-gate’ scandal. The meeting also called for the active involvement of faith networks, civil society and business in the implementation of the National Development Plan. It further expressed serious concern about education, Early Childhood

Development, social and welfare policy, energy and ecology, food security and land redistribution, health care, HIV and AIDS, sexual and gender-based violence. The meeting considered that all of these mentioned issues have to be addressed if we are to build a truly democratic South Africa.”(Pillay, 2017:5)

There came a time when the NRLF was able to express its concern about the setting of the agenda and the participation of religious leaders in the meeting with the president. President Mbeki heeded to the call and voice of the religious leaders and agreed on the setting of the agenda together and equal participation in the meetings, which took place at least two times a year. The meetings thus became more acceptable though not fully what was desired. It is in this light that the late Russel Botman (1997: 78) pointed out that the church’s engagement with government is usually: on an issue-to-issue basis and the church is more likely to be reactive rather than proactive. Government acts, Christians react after the fact. Political parties, special interest groups make the rules, set the agenda and dictate the nature of the game. In response to this, Botman called for a true Christian presence that is comprehensive and sustained in participation in the political community in which the church participates in the full process: setting the agenda, making the rules and critically examining the outcomes.

4.11.4 A New Chapter in the Evolution of Interfaith Movement:

As indicated earlier that the Policy Conference held in July 2007 addressed the issue of revolutionary morality and established a special Commission on Revolutionary Morality. The report from this Commission was deferred to Provinces for further consideration in preparing for the ANC’s 52nd National Conference which was held in Polokwane from the 16th to the 20th December 2007. This Conference brought about a paradigm shift and instructed the CRA to begin a period of renewal of the values, character and organisation practices of the ANC as a leading force for progressive change.

Since his election as ANC President in Polokwane, Zuma called on the youth, women, rural poor, workers, professionals, traditional healers, traditional and religious leaders to work together for the improvement of the quality of life of all South Africans. The social partnerships which emerged from this call saw

unprecedented social mobilisation. This provided faith communities with a platform to interact directly with ANC leadership and government in shaping the socio-economic development policies of this country

This Conference called on members to rededicate themselves to extensive mass mobilisation efforts including, door to door, house and town hall meetings and small and large gatherings. All the activities were aimed at mobilising people to participate in programmes designed to create a better life for all.

The first ANC Lekgotla after the Polokwane Conference which took place early in 2008 adopted CRA as one of its sub-committees and set the following objectives for CRA:

- To implement the Polokwane resolutions;
- To promote religious mobilisation for social transformation;
- To mobilise faith communities for social transformation;
- To communicate policies and programmes of government to ANC and Alliance structures; and
- To promote the values of a caring society.(Motsekga, 2009:11)

In March 2008, CRA held a Lekgotla which further contextualised and amplified this mandate. Having duly considered the report of CRA Lekgotla, the NEC charged CRA with further responsibilities. The responsibilities that the NEC charged the CRA with were the following:

- Interaction with various cultural, religious and linguistic bodies;
- Facilitation of a dynamic mechanism of interaction between the ANC and the broader society;
- Coordination and guidance of various charter processes;
- Facilitation of the realignment and replication of Chaplaincy structures at local levels;
- Strengthening of cooperation with both the MRM and NRLF; and
- Facilitation of the realignment and rooting of MRM and NRLF structures amongst the people.

In April 2008, the NEC directed CRA to visit all nine (9) Provinces on or before the 20th October 2008, consult with all structures of the ANC, Alliance, Mass Democratic Movement as well as Cultural and Religious Communities on:

- The realignment and democratisation of structures in terms of the NEC Programme of Action;
- Coordination of inputs on the 2009 ANC Elections Manifesto development process; and
- Facilitation of discussions on revolutionary morality.

It was at these visits that the CRA pronounced that NILC structures were to be replicated provincially, regionally, locally and at ward levels. The following sub-structures were formed after the Presidential Summit where CRA was given the mandate to do so in order to ensure that these councils played a critical role during the 2009 ANC Elections Campaign.

- Provincial Interfaith Leaders Council;
- Regional Interfaith Leaders Council;
- Local Interfaith Leaders Council; and
- Ward Interfaith Leaders Council.

Before undertaking this task, the CRA also consulted with key interfaith stakeholders such as the SACC, NRLF, the MRM and Chaplaincies within government departments. After undertaking extensive provincial visits where it consulted broadly with all structures, CRA submitted a report to the NEC recommending that a National Religious Summit be convened on the 27th November 2008. In his address to the Summit, President Jacob Zuma reaffirmed the ANC moral vision and progressive values which President Nelson Mandela lives by and embodies as an exemplary leader of the ANC.

These structures held interfaith prayers at election rallies and meetings and were thus very effective in mobilizing faith communities to participate in elections. This time was the first in which South Africa saw a high level of racial and religious tolerance that led to interfaith gatherings including traditional healers and practitioners of African religion. This racial and religious tolerance has also seen the

birth of a partnership between Afrikaner Churches and the ANC Commission for Religious Affairs and the National Interfaith Leaders Council that is rooted among the people.

This forum and its provincial, regional and local structures have put moral regeneration for sustainable development at the centre of its desired partnerships with government for the creation of cohesive, caring and sustainable communities. Hence, the 2009 ANC Elections Manifesto specifically called for partnerships with interfaith structures to promote social education for moral regeneration, religious tolerance, social cohesion and development.

These partnerships became essential for the achievement of President Jacob Zuma's vision of an inclusive society, a South Africa that belongs to all who live in it, a nation united in its diversity, a people working together for the greater good of all. Among the structures that participated during this ANC Manifesto launch on 10 January 2009 after it was adopted by its Manifesto Development Policy Conference held on the 28 – 30 November 2008, was the National Presidential Religious Leaders Summit.

In this Summit, the public at large was invited by the ANC to participate through the "My ANC, My Vision, and My Future" campaign which generated thousands of suggestions from the public which contributed to the Manifesto's identification of the five priority areas for the next five years, namely:

- Creation of decent work and sustainable livelihoods;
- Education;
- Health;
- Rural development, food security and land reform; and
- The fight against crime and corruption.

These priorities were targeted specifically at the needs of the poor, women, youth and people with disabilities. The contribution made by the ANC Presidential Religious Leaders Summit was reflected in the ANC's commitment to enter into partnerships with interfaith organizations for the establishment of cohesive, caring and sustainable communities and to

promote partnerships with interfaith forums to promote social education for moral regeneration, religious tolerance, social cohesion and development.

The Commission for Religious and Traditional Affairs (CRATA) facilitated the interaction of the NRLF, NILC, Civil Society organizations and government's departments with a view to enhancing the developmental role of religious institutions. On the 31st August 2010 the National Heritage Council hosted a national conference on values of a just and caring society which endorsed the developmental role of religious institutions and embraced our common humanity (Ubuntu/Botho) and the common good as the guiding principle.

This collaboration brought the NRLF and NILC closer together and led to Unity talks which were facilitated by CRATA. These talks led to the formation of the National Interfaith Council of South Africa (NICSA). Indeed, a new chapter in the evolution of interfaith movement has dawned and the religious sector is challenged by President Zuma "to join us in building a nation in which no person can be discriminated against because of their gender. Join us in building a society where no woman is subjected to discrimination, fear, abuse or violence. We call on all South Africans of all faiths and convictions to join us in building a nation founded on the principle and practice of Ubuntu. We must build a society in which each of us finds our humanity in the humanity of others, in which each of us bears responsibility for the dignity and wellbeing of each other." (Motsekga, 2009:18)

4.12 . Conclusion:

In conclusion, the researcher clearly points out that the Chaplaincy, the Commission for Religious Affairs (CRA), the Commission for Religious and Traditional Affairs (CRATA), the National Interfaith Leaders Council (NILC) and the National Interfaith Council of South Africa (NICSA) have played a pivotal role in making a meaningful contribution to the research study on: Religion and Politics in South Africa: A special focus on the history and work of the ANC Chaplaincy, such that it has become more clearer that religion and politics cannot make an impactful meaning if they are to be separated and not allowed to work in collaboration.

Also, it has become clearer that the Chaplaincy from its inception in 1912 had played an important role too, as it shaped the lives of the ANC leaders and obviously its members over the years of the existence of the ANC. The three ministries we

discussed in this chapter are a clear indication of the influence it had as these have to do with human beings and God, pointing out the fact that the leadership and membership of the ANC depended on God hence the development of their spirituality that ever acknowledged God's presence in their lives and that of their movement. The interviewees attested to religion having played a role in shaping South African politics as they responded to the questionnaire and maintained that the Church leadership has been vocal and had challenged the undemocratic apartheid regime in South Africa, confronted tribal, gender and colour divisions that characterised the evils of apartheid and emphasised the fact that equality of humankind must always be taken into cognisance as this was the path we all should take.

To this end, the researcher believes that the relationship the ANC had with the churches were initiated and over the years cultivated by God so as to prove to the world that religion and politics can best work together as God's fields that bring along the much needed transformation by individuals and a collective spiritually and socially, inwardly and outwardly, for the better life to all.

We now turn to Chapter five which deals with the research methodology, analysis and recommendations, reflecting on the relationship between religion and politics or church and state.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction:

In Chapter one, the researcher formulated a research problem stating that there are those who have a tendency to separate religion from politics while others maintained that religion and politics cannot be separated because they have something to do with each other. Those with a tendency to separate religion and politics are convinced that politics is worldly with the devil at its centre and therefore disassociate from politics.

Their thinking somehow conveyed the message that all other fields of study other than theology are not approved by God, that Scriptures were against politics or doing politics was something that encouraged people to be judgmental using the Scriptures whereas the Scriptures maintained that God was the only one worthy to judge and not men as they were mere mortals not worthy to judge and condemn.

Smart (as cited in Cassidy. & Verlinden: 1976: 423) attested that religion and politics are inseparable as he maintained that:

Too often those who advise the preacher to confine his attention to the souls of men and to keep his hands off such unspiritual matters as politics, economics and the problems of society are not concerned for the spirituality of religion so much as for their own freedom to do as they please in social, economic and political matters without hearing any restraining or rebuking word from the pulpit."

The disassociation of religion and politics was a problem and has been tackled in this research to show that religion and politics can work together for change in the transformation phase of our history in South Africa. The ANC from the outset has joined with the church because its founders were churchmen and women. Hence the long history of association the ANC has with the Church throughout its years of existence which had established that link that had ever since not been broken (Mayson, 1995:1).

The majority of the people who disassociated themselves with the notion of religion and politics working together seemed not to understand that there is no field of study

that existed on its own, by its own and for its own, since all fields are interrelated, interconnected and intertwined as they all came from one source, God, and purposed by God to better the lives of the people. God used the ANC and the church to fulfil His purpose and mission. Hence Chapter one had attempted to prove that indeed religion and politics had worked well together in the ANC since its inception. This had resulted in the appointment of its first Chaplain General at its first ANC NEC in 1912 to ensure that religion and politics continued to work together and that its leaders and cadres acknowledged God's presence at all times no matter what.

This research sought to undertake this phenomena that are being studied; namely: (1) Was the ANC established with the notion that it should be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all?, (2) If indeed the ANC has been used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondage of apartheid and colonialism, how was this established in the ANC Chaplaincy?, and (3) Does the ANC still have the same views about religion and politics in its new dispensation as the ruling party in South Africa?

The researcher probed into these questions since they were very critical and relevant in South Africa today. In probing these questions, the researcher found that the ANC as God's vehicle was not only established to liberate but also to unite the African people in general and blacks in particular so that the quality of life of all the oppressed especially the poor were uplifted and a united front lodged so that from time to time are able to deal with the evil and dehumanising systems that may rear their ugly head and take us back to the world of shackles, dehumanisation and real sufferings.

The research objectives traced the history of religion and politics in South Africa showing the relationship and solidarity the ANC and the Church had since its establishment and thus indicated the close connection that existed between religion and politics; traced the direct association the ANC had with the Churches in South Africa over the years of its existence showing that the interconnectedness it had with the Churches was not a thing of yesterday but of decades; and the research objectives also showed how the ANC Chaplaincy ministries formed part of the programme of the struggle for freedom and democracy indicating clearly that religion and politics were closely linked in the South African context and in the culture of the

ANC as a moral, spiritual and social force. This clearly showed the necessity and importance of religion and politics working together for the promotion of unity, harmony, social stability and the building of a social cohesive society.

The literature review of the important publications as shown in Chapter One indicated the work that has already been done which gave the researcher the understanding of the work that is still to be done in the related study the researcher had decided to undertake. The researcher had further read other relevant literature including those that maintained different views were used as further material which is reflected in the bibliography of this study so that arguments could be built as various chapters of this study were developed. The research pointed the gap it identified as far as the review of used literature that the literature did not focus on the ANC Chaplaincy. The Chaplaincy literature material accessed were mainly those written in the post-apartheid era and those kept in the ANC Archives which already had such material because it worked with all the religions that were there during and after the apartheid era in the country and in exile.

5.2 Research Methodologies:

The study embarked upon field research method which included quantitative and qualitative methods where the researcher had to go out to collect research data which may be described as original or empirical and which cannot be accessed without the researcher engaging in some kind of expedition as mentioned in Chapters One and Three where the researcher made mention of visiting the ANC structures and members for the conduction of interviews using both the qualitative research interview questionnaire (Appendix A) and quantitative research interview questionnaire (Appendix B).

Thus, the researcher used field research and qualitative research somewhat interchangeably to collect research data and analyse the information and was able to fulfil its research objectives as shown in the previous paragraph and in Chapter One of this study. The research undertook and probed the following questions: Was the ANC established with the notion that it should be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can

experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all?; If indeed the ANC has been used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondage of apartheid and colonialism, how was this established in the ANC Chaplaincy? Another question of relevance posed was: Does the ANC still have the same views about religion and politics in its new dispensation as the ruling party in South Africa?

A rigorous and careful enquiry into these questions provided news of understanding religion and politics in particular through the work of the ANC Chaplaincy. In these questions, we saw the connection of religion and politics which undergirded the ANC's thinking and work as indicated in chapter two. Though the researcher had defined the qualitative and quantitative methods, the researcher engaged more on the qualitative method as he researched the study at hand. The use of questionnaires in this study as a research technique was seen as a quantitative strategy whereas interviews and observations were thought of as qualitative techniques. The interviews were structured and analysed to allow for open-ended responses which led to the in-depth study of individual cases of differences between qualitative and quantitative research.

The researcher focused and limited the research of this magnitude and put in place the scope and parameters in order to give limits that can be manageable. Apart from literary works which came from books, journals, and electronic data, the research was based on interviews, observations and questionnaires conducted within the province of Mpumalanga at the ANC's Che Masilela House in Mbombela which is the headquarters where people and material relevant to the study were found and accessed. Since the researcher was familiar with the South African context, he was going to overcome any hindrances which might have been raised by suspicion and reserved attitudes which might be given to an outsider.

The materials engaged had a classical and current literature on religion and politics. These included the ANC archived materials. Though there can be many works that can be done from this study, the questions this work focused on were the practical realities that are there in the regions and leagues and this was shown by the kind of questions coined for the interviews. The analysis was done by searching for explanation from the data collected and for the understanding of the data collected. In the course of analysis concepts and theories were advanced, considered and developed. Data collection was done by focusing on the analysis of the four main

techniques for data collection identified, namely: documents, interviews, observations and questionnaires.

Sampling as an empirical survey research method depends upon a portion of the whole which is assumed represents a population accurately. Therefore, the techniques by which the sample is chosen are vital to the validity of the research findings. The other method used in this research was quantitative, which used numerical data to bring the study into the framework of comparison. The narrowing of the sampling has been done in Chapter One to enable the research to encompass manageable parameters. In order to have an accurate data collection, the interviews were of religious-political probing type and well-structured questionnaires which brought out information in the said people, structures and regions they resided and came from. This has helped to find out whether the phenomenon under scrutiny and inquiry had its original mission changed, remained the same or enhanced by both religious and political persuasions of the ANC. The impact of the ANC Chaplaincy on the mind-set of the people has been assessed on whether it had religious and political thrust.

In sampling, the researcher participated in the qualitative research where the provincial secretary, chairpersons of leagues, association, regional executive committees and chaplaincy of the identified structures were interviewed based on the qualitative research questionnaire, Appendix A which is composed of 15 questions. Members of the provincial executive committee, regions, leagues and chaplaincy were requested to respond to the quantitative research questionnaire, Appendix B which is composed of 40 questions which were time-lined for conduction of the interviews and the submissions of the returns or questionnaires by the researcher and participants.

The research approach was qualitative as mentioned above, and the researcher understood the conditions, orientations, actions and practices of the African National Congress in establishing its Chaplaincy so as to provide acceptable answers to the research problem or the main and secondary research questions posed. The showcase structure, the ANC Chaplaincy, had been studied. 'It is often not practical or possible to study the entire population, so it is necessary to make general findings based on a study of a subset of that population. A subset of a population is known as a sample' (Melville and Goddard, 2001:34).

The research study was presented by exploring the integrated fifteen (15) questions from Appendices A and B, extracting and consolidating the responses of the interviewees per provincial, regional structures and members based on the field research in both qualitative and quantitative research questionnaires for the provision of the answers.

The qualitative research interview questionnaire (Appendix A) was used for the identified Provincial Secretary of the ANC Provincial Executive Committee, the mother body; the Chairpersons of the four (4) Regional Executive Committees and Chairpersons of the three (3) ANC Provincial Women's League, ANC Youth League, ANC Provincial uMkhonto weSizwe Military Veteran's League; one (1) ANC Provincial uMkhonto weSizwe Veteran's Association and one (1) Provincial member of the Chaplaincy. This therefore means that ten (10) leaders were visited and interviewed on questions based on Appendix A, which is a qualitative research method questionnaire.

The quantitative research interview was conducted through the distribution of questionnaire (Appendix B) to the four (4) identified members from the ANC Provincial Executive Committee (PEC); four (4) members from each of the Regional Executive Committees, four (4) members from each of the ANC Leagues and Association and four (4) Regional members of the Chaplaincy.

Deskwork as one of those research processes was done soon after the collection of material from the sampled leaders and members were obtained as mentioned in the above mentioned paragraph. These included the administration, collection and analysis of postal surveys, analysis of data collected by others, literature searches in the library, research using the Internet and, of course, writing this work.

The research design as shown in Chapter one guided the researcher in collecting, analysing and interpreting observed facts to achieve the research objectives which were flagged in the previous paragraphs and in Chapter one of this study. The researcher attempted to answer two (2) fundamental questions which were related to the focus, the unit of analysis and the time dimensions of the problem of religion and politics working best together or separately. (Bless & Higson-Smith 1988:63-64)

The researcher explored the current state of the subjects of research during the periods: 1912 – 1976; 1976 – 1990; and 1990 – 2016 as shown in the Chapter three.

The researcher explored the category of actions as a focus of this study, where the actions relied on interviews which were an indirect method. The researcher mentioned the periods which were meant to reflect the important transitions in the history of South Africa whereby the researcher investigated and evaluated what exactly happened in the said periods.

The researcher collected data from the South African Council of Churches (SACC), South African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC) and the National Interfaith Council of South Africa (NICSA), etc. as shown in the previous chapter to be able to assess the view that the ANC was the tool used by God to liberate the people of South Africa. The research was carried out beginning with investigation from literary works in order to establish the historical basis of classical work on religion and politics with special focus on the ANC Chaplaincy. The main perspective included assessing and enquiring the separation and non-separation of religion and politics in South Africa. The feasibility framework has also been helpful in the location of the research in the context of the limitations, and had focused on the problem which needed solving.

The professional services of two (2) independent sources were sought to analyse and offer their comments which were integrated with the recommendations that needed implementation going forward. This will not only benefit those in the ANC Chaplaincy but also those that are supporters, friends and loyal members of the ANC as they will know better how the ANC viewed religion and politics as in its context religion and politics are together, what is the ANC's history of religion and politics in South Africa since 1912 to the current years and with the researcher's attempt to show the relationship and solidarity of the Church and the ANC throughout the years of its existence and thereby indicated the close connection between religion and politics.

The questionnaires, Appendices A and B, were given to fifty (50) participants who were interviewed from the ANC leagues, association, regions and the PEC as follows: The ten (10) PEC's provincial secretary and chaplain, chairpersons of regions, leagues, and association interviewed were based on the qualitative research method questionnaire which has fifteen (15) set of questions shown in Appendix A. The forty (40) PEC's provincial members, regional members, leagues and association members and members of the chaplaincy interviewed were based on the

quantitative research method questionnaire, which has forty (40) set of questions shown in Appendix B.

The research was done as indicated previously by conducting interviews based on the two formats of the questionnaires that covered both qualitative and quantitative methods referred to as Appendix A and Appendix B respectively. These were attached to this study together with the letter of consent from the Provincial Secretary allowing the researcher and ANC officials, members, leagues, association identified to cooperate during the interviews.

These participants came from the four (4) regions of Mpumalanga province, namely:Nkangala, Gert Sibande, Ehlanzeni and Bohtabela and have been serving the ANC and the people of South Africa in their different capacities - as chairpersons,deputy chairpersons,secretaries,deputy secretaries,treasurers, conveners and ordinary members since the unbanning of the ANC,PEC and SACP in 1990 when Mandela was released from prison.They have described themselves as both religious and political members who voluntarily joined the ANC in the period between 1976 and 1990.They cited that they were religious people first and then politicians because they acknowledge the presence of God in their midst.Their view on religion and politics was firmly put across in the belief that religion and politics cannot be separated because they play an important role of social cohesion and nation building.They held high the notion that, now that a new struggle for transformation has been waged, they needed religion and politics to be and work together so that this struggle could be won too.

These were of the view that religion and politics can work best together and not separated if we were to enable the struggle for transformation to be successful.Having joined the ANC during the most difficult and trying period where the South African youth declared enough is enough and had escalated their level of protests to greater heights as they had taken themselves to demand the release of its leadership in jails and win the liberation struggle where all were to be free, live in democratic South Africa and experience a better life for all.

Most of these were part of the 1976 protests which started in Soweto and like flames were witnessed in the whole country as they played their role then and continue currently to play various roles in the ANC. ranging from being

Chairpersons, Secretaries, Treasurers to being Deputies of Chairpersons and Secretaries.

5.3 Summary of Chapters

Chapter one: The methods used in this research were qualitative and quantitative, employing questionnaires, interviews, literary works, journals, and engaging the provincial and leadership and structures as indicated in the previous paragraphs. A sampling of the five(5) members from each of the ANC Provincial, Regional, Leagues and Association's Executive Committees was taken .

Chapter two: The historical background of religion and politics in South Africa was examined. Probing questions through questionnaires are in Appendices A and B. All these leadership and structures indicated in the previous paragraphs are in the context of Mpumalanga province, South Africa .The relationship between religion and politics is checked out as whether it has a bearing on impacting the phenomenon under investigation. The analysis of data and interpretation was done in order to find out whether the assumptions that; the ANC was used by God to liberate South Africans, that religion and politics cannot be and work together, are proven true or falsified in the process of investigation.

Chapter three: Addressed the historical background of the ANC struggle against colonialism and apartheid for liberation, freedom and democracy in the three epochs of South African history namely, the period between 1912 and 1976; the period between 1976 and 1990 and that between 1990 and 2016, the researcher aimed to show the association, interconnectedness and the working and being together of the ANC and religion that was there throughout these difficult periods in the history of the ANC. The researcher believed that the unpacking of the different epochs in the history of the ANC would impact significantly on the association of the ANC and religion thereby maintaining that religion and politics can work and be together

Chapter four: When dealing with the mission and the ministries of the ANC Chaplaincy as mentioned in the previous paragraphs, the researcher had aimed to show the religious role played by the ANC as it formed its Chaplaincy in and during

the struggle for the liberation of the poor, weak oppressed and the oppressors themselves. The researcher is of the view that this research study would address and enhance the ANC Chaplaincy's terms of reference and formulate religious policies that would foster good relations between the ANC and the religious communities thereby indicating the political and religious relationship that has been there since its establishment.

Chapter five: The researcher made some analysis of the past democratic presidential administrations of Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma on their contributions that validated the notion that indeed the ANC was God appointed tool to liberate the oppressed thereby showing the solidarity that has been there between religion and politics since its inception. Findings were made and concluded that indeed the ANC in its new dispensation as the ruling party in South Africa, still have the same views about religion and politics. Recommendations have been made about how the Faith Based Organisations (FBO's), government and the ruling party, the ANC would contribute to the research question: Was the ANC established with the notion that it should be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all?

5.4 Analysis of the Extracted Information:

The analysis of the study was done by searching for explanation from the data collected. In the course of analysis concepts and theories were advanced, considered and developed. Collecting data was by focusing on the analysis of the four main techniques for data collection identified as the documents, interviews, observations and questionnaires. The researcher had considered exploring fifty-five (55) questions coined in the study and referred to as Appendices A and B which the researcher has consolidated into fifteen (15) questions from which the researcher extracted and analysed the information provided by participants through the questionnaires and interviews that the researcher had conducted.

The researcher has already mentioned in Chapter three of this study and in the previous paragraph of Chapter five that the interviews were conducted in

Mpumalanga from the persons, structures and regions. Common voices surfaced as respondents gave answers to the structured and unstructured questions that were posed and those that arose during the process of this research study, hence sampled respondents that represented the entire interviewees. The following questions and responses put and discussed in Chapter Three will also be posed in this chapter to the interviewees to ascertain their views about religion and politics as the researcher summarises and analyses the response.

5.4.1 Where are you from and how would you describe yourself and the role you play in the ANC?

Respondents 1-10 confirmed that the study was conducted as planned as all fifty (50) interviewees came from Mpumalanga representing all the four regions. The interviewees were of Christian faith and political activists who cannot separate their beliefs from responsibilities on what they are supposed to do in ordering the society so that all people regardless of their colour, status and creed should live together in harmony. They became activists of the ANC in the period of 1976 and 1990 to create a South African society which is intended by God, a non-racial, non-sexist, equitable, tolerant, caring, democratic and prosperous. Most of them were underground operatives who were trained inside the country as well as freedom fighters who received training outside in various countries which cooperated with the ANC, countries such as Botswana, Russia, Mozambique, Angola, and Cuba to mention but a few. In their camps in Lusaka, Tanzania, London, Angola and wherever they were settled, their spirituality was sustained by the religious desks that kept the fires burning. They currently play different roles from being ordinary loyal members to being office bearers in the branches, regions and province.

5.4.2 Can religion and politics work together or separately?

Respondents 1-10 in summarizing, analysing and ascertaining their views about religion and politics pointed out in Chapter Three that the ANC from the outset have joined with the church because its founders were churchmen and women and the Church has the long history of association with the ANC throughout its years of existence and had established that link that had never been broken. People who

disassociate themselves with the notion of religion and politics working together seemed not to understand that there is no field of study that existed on its own, by its own and for its own, since all fields are interrelated, interconnected and intertwined as they all came from one source, God, and purposed by God to better the lives of the people. Respondent 2 confirmed that God used the ANC and the Church to fulfil His purpose and mission. Chapter one of this study had attempted to prove that indeed religion and politics had worked well together in the ANC since its inception where the relationship and solidarity of the Church and the African National Congress (ANC) started and indicated the close connection between religion and politics.

5.4.3 What would your opinion be of the notion that the ANC was established to be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa?

Respondents 1-10 confirmed that religion has played a role in shaping South African politics as mentioned in Chapter Three where the founders of the Congress Movement also received spiritual support and guidance from Zionists and Apostolic Churches founded during the beginning of the twentieth century. The founding President of the ANC, Dr. J.L. Dube was a priest and self-confessed Ethiopian Christian who was profoundly influenced by the African American leader known as Booker T. Washington. Dr. Dube even established the Ohlange Institute modelled after the Tuskegee of Booker T. Washington.

5.4.4 What would your opinion be to the notion that the ANC was established to be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa?

Respondents 1-10 made their opinion known, referring to Chapter Three that the history of religion and politics in South Africa with an attempt to show the relationship and solidarity of the Church and the African National Congress (ANC) thereby indicating the close connection between religion and politics. This relationship was started in the 1870's when some missionaries collaborated with the colonial powers that forcibly dispossessed Africans of their land and its natural resources with their sons who became magistrates who administered oppressive and racially discriminatory laws, in dispossessing us of our land and this solidarity was deepened

as the struggle for liberation from colonialism and apartheid intensified leading to the establishment of the Ethiopian Church Movement. The mission of the ANC is to embody God's liberating presence in every human situation as it does not take place in a vacuum but always is concerned with specific people in specific situations searching to discover the meaning of Good News in each context and in each period in history. This, therefore makes the researcher to align himself with the notion which spells out clearly what the ANC was established to be, so that as God's vehicle or tool could liberate God's people from all forms of struggle and oppression in our country, South Africa, in order to experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all .

5.4.5. What evidence do you have that if indeed the ANC was used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondage of colonialism and apartheid?

Respondents 1-10 pointed out as mentioned in Chapter Three that from the earliest beginnings, the ANC had a strong religious motivation. Religious conviction strengthened the commitment of millions, and underlined the principles of the Freedom Charter. Religious people and institutions fired the struggle here at home, in South Africa, and in exile. This is attested by the fact that the ANC Religious Committees functioned in Lusaka and London to mention just a few countries. The ANC's vision for the community and the country derived great strength from belief in God's rule of justice and fulfilment.

5.4.6 Why, out of so many other organizations, was the ANC the one committed to the people of South Africa's freedom, democracy and a better life for all?

Respondents 1-10 in Chapter Three maintained that the ANC was the only organization committed to the people of South Africa's freedom, democracy and a better life for all, because its vision for the community and the country derived great strength from belief in God's rule of justice and fulfilment. Its mission embodies God's liberating presence in every human situation as it does not take place in a vacuum but always is concerned with specific people in specific situations searching to discover the meaning of Good News in each context and in each period in history.

5.4.7 What could have led the ANC founder group when it formed to establish a Chaplaincy within their organization?

Respondents 1-10 pointed out as mentioned in Chapter Three that the moral vision of the early religious and political leaders notably, John Langalibalele Dube, Pixley Isaka Ka Seme, Mangena Maake Mokone, Charlotte Makgomo Manya – Maxeke, Henry Reed Ngcayiya, Makgatho, ZR Mahabane, Chief Albert Luthuli, Oliver Reginald Tambo and Nelson Mandela etc. has become the core value of the National Democratic Society.

Since it began over a century ago, and at every stage of the struggle for liberation, the ANC has been motivated by strong ethical convictions, especially the moral value of justice for all, and respect and care for other people. In contrast, the systems imposed by colonial rule departed from morality. As apartheid began to develop its systems of social engineering, it was revealed as fundamentally unjust and unethical.

The historical records of the ANC Chaplaincy do not reflect the different religions of that time except for one religion, Christianity. Though political congresses of Indian people are mentioned, their religious traditions are not brought forth hence it is assumed that the only religion most practiced at the time was that of Christian people probably because it was purported as part of the state and vigorously propagated hence a huge following. This therefore does not mean that there were no other religions.

5.4.8 Has the ANC's original mission changed, remained the same or enhanced by religious and political persuasions within it?

Respondents 1-10 made known in Chapter Three that the original mission of the ANC as a national liberation movement has not been changed, it remained and enhanced since it started with the objectives of creating a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic prosperous society; and of uniting the African people and spearheaded the struggle for fundamental political, social and economic change, meaning the liberation of Africans in general and black people in particular, from political and economic bondages. Interviewees maintained that this also meant uplifting the quality of life of all the oppressed, especially the poor people in South Africa and it saw religion as a vital instrument in obtaining these objectives. These objectives are prevalent in the ANC even now that the ANC has political power.

5.4.9 Does the ANC still have the same views as 1912 about religion and politics in its new dispensation as a ruling party in South Africa?

Respondents 1-10 pointed out as mentioned in Chapter Three, that though the period between 1912 and 1976 marks the anti-apartheid struggle for liberation which saw the emergence of an alternative power in South Africa, the character of the ANC has not changed at all; and its vision and mission remain the same, meaning therefore that the ANC still have the same views of 1912 about religion and politics hence the working association and relationship that is still there between the church and politics. Even to this day, the ANC has maintained its religious work which was coordinated by its Chaplains over the years through various religious desks, religious departments and Chaplaincy in exile and now in the country during the time of freedom and democratic. There has been no change despite the fact that policies have been formulated, programmes and strategies devised out of the same views of 1912. The policies, programmes and strategies may change now and then in the sense that they are enhanced or developed further as conferences and congresses meet periodically to stay relevant to the changing environment for it to remain in touch with the challenges of the people it serves.

5.4.10 What would your opinion be of the people who maintain that the ANC's foundation is built on Godly values?

Respondents 1-10 agreed as mentioned in Chapter Three that indeed that the foundation of the ANC is built on Godly values. The researcher strongly believes that God's loving nature saw it fit to ensure that His vehicle, the ANC, is established so that He could through it assure the oppressed and downtrodden that He created all humankind equally and therefore neither of His people can be superior over the other because of the colour of their skin, class, creed and etc. and therefore to correct the wrong that was prevailing enabling us to be free from any bondage through those that He had called, His servants to lead the movement even beyond the attainment of freedom and democracy.

5.4.11 What role do you think was played by the Chaplaincy during and in the struggle for freedom and democracy?

Respondents 1-10 agreed as mentioned in Chapter Three that the Chaplaincy since then and throughout the following decades up until the banning of the ANC in 1960

there has always been spiritual guidance and pastoral ministry championed by the religious leaders who, some of them, were members and supporters of the struggle for a just and free society. The ANC and Religious Leaders among others, both kept the vast numbers of many social forces together through its ministry called "Revolutionary Morality" that ensured that the struggle was conducted with discipline and integrity.

When many ANC cadres were in exile under the leadership of President OR Tambo, a religious desk was established to provide, amongst other things, spiritual guidance. Within the country during the time of apartheid, many faith based organisation, ecumenical bodies provided spiritual support, spiritual guidance and pastoral work in support for the liberation of the people of South Africa. At the beginning of 1994, the Religious Desk was established alongside with the Welfare Desk. In 1995, the ANC Religious Desk in pursuit of involving the faith based organizations in the process of democratizing the country, established the ANC Religious Committee on interfaith basis and charged it with the responsibility to facilitate interaction between religious and political organizations

The 1997 Congress indeed amended the Constitution which, since the inception of the ANC, always referred to a Chaplain General as an individual who became the custodian of spiritual guidance. This amendment led to the establishment of the "National Chaplaincy" which was to be a religious service on an interfaith basis "Rule 12.2.18:36).

5.4.12 What can you say in as far as the importance of religion and politics cooperating and working together going forward even in the secular South Africa?

Respondents 1-10 pointed out as mentioned in Chapter Three that politics and religion cannot be separated and the importance of religion and politics was first seen when we became aware that politics has to do with the ordering of the society whereas religion was about the ordering of the spiritual being of a person so that the person can live a Godly life.

Cooperation and working together of religious and political leaders going forward was of paramount importance because both religious and political leaders have the same constituency and therefore whatever they have to perform, that had to be done

together for bigger impact and faster service delivery to God's people. Working and cooperating together as religion and politics has spin-offs of unity, tolerance co-existence, respect and embracing selves.

5.4.13 Is there any connection that you can recollect in your experience that points out between religion and politics that undergirds the ANC's thinking and work?

Respondents 1-10 as mentioned in Chapter Three pointed out that the researcher in this chapter examining the historical background of religion and politics in South Africa with the main questions of this research being raised as follows: Was the ANC established with the notion that it should be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all? Yes in this, the researcher saw the connection of religion and politics which undergirded the ANC's thinking and work which was the research claim. The ANC as a 'broad church' has always saw itself as the one mandated by God to be the champion of the liberation struggle, hence the main question of this research: Was the ANC established with the notion that it should be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all? The ANC believed in its continuous fight against poverty, inequality, unemployment and the spread of diseases which clearly indicate that people matter most hence the on-going strife to enable people to access health facilities, living under socially improved conditions for the better life for all. These undergirded the ANC thinking and work at all times.

5.4.14 What would you say, if you were to analyse the past Presidential Administrations of Mandela and Mbeki with the current Administration of President Zuma and the ANC Chaplaincy?

Respondents 1-10 in Chapter Three pointed out that during the Mandela Administration the notion of the ANC's foundation built on Godly values because its mission in South Africa has always been to restore the dignity and morality of the people as it delivers a better life for all ensuring that religious and political activists continue to work together critically and wisely in the service of God's people. Since

its inception, the ANC has always associated politics and religion in order to enable the religious people to be involved in politics thus working closely with them. Mandela's Administration was characterised by nation building, reconciliation and forgiveness, the Truth Commission and the healing of memories, unity in diversity, a rainbow nation and the RDP of the Soul. This promoted the working cooperation and affirmed that religion and politics were best working together, showing what the ANC was about, the working together of religion and politics.

During the Mbeki Administration, the religious leaders were also closely working with him as well. The cooperation and the working together were seen mainly on the moral regeneration programme with its Ubuntu philosophy and the commitment to build a democratic developmental state characterised by a society united, non-sexist, non-racial, democratic and prosperous. Just like his predecessor, Mbeki was characterised with his failure to consult with his organization, the ANC. During the Zuma Administration the moral regeneration programme was also promoted especially when he was the Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa. President. Zuma may have promoted this programme but he never lived morally regenerated life as he persistently committed immoral acts. The ANC Chaplaincy has given birth to structures such as the National Religious Leaders Forum, Moral Regeneration Movement and etc.

5.4.15 What can you recommend as ANC the ministry to do when it is formed? When do you think is opportune time to embark upon such a process, and who should be tasked to lead this process, the religious sector or the ANC Chaplaincy or both, why and how?

Respondents 1-10 pointed out in Chapter Three that when the envisaged inclusive and holistic ministry has been formed, it should take on board all other social sectors and forces such as the youth, women and traditional leaders in running the affairs of government. The ministry should promote the original mission of the ANC so that

South Africans can know what the commitment of the ANC as a ruling party in government is and came from in order to rally around as a nation and together pursue its mission of 1912 The ministry would embark on a discovering campaign where potential leaders, would be identified and their talent nurtured, as they produce and groom ethical, moral and value-driven leaders whose duty would be that of restoring the dignity of the Church and that of the state as it swept away the corruption that may be there from time to time as well as combatting the mushrooming of the perverted and unethical Churches and their leaders as these contributed to the erosion of the dignity of the religious sector.

5.5. Recommendations:

The researcher is of the opinion that the findings will significantly and positively impact on the association of religion and politics in South Africa, strengthening the partnership that President Nelson Mandela appealed for when he encouraged all of us to work together as religious and political leaders in order to transform and develop South Africa for the attainment of a better life for all.

The researcher in pursuant of his claim that religion and politics can work best together and not separately was an attempt to prove that the ANC was used by God as His vehicle or tool to liberate His people from the bondage of colonialism and apartheid so that they can experience a qualitative difference between life under apartheid and life under a democratic government. The researcher believed in the incarnation – which is the participation of God in the affairs of the people hence he concluded that God was part of His tool-the ANC, as He used it to liberate His people from colonialism and apartheid as it was His struggle and not the ANC struggle.

Now, that the researcher has shown the connection between Religion and Politics, suggestions from the research are offered to enhance this relationship or connection it is imperative to ensure that there is continuity in this regard. And if Religion and Politics should have a partnership, then these are some of the suggestions that needed to be taken forward as recommendations to the Faith Based Organisations (FBO's), Government and the ANC as a ruling party so that we can keep the cooperation and working together intact for best results ever.

5.5.1 To the Faith Based Organizations (FBO's):

The divine spark, image or fragment of God within every individual constitutes the fountain head of the worth and dignity of every individual, the human dignity which is Ubuntu. By virtue of this human dignity, every person regardless of sex, creed, tribe, ethnic group or race is entitled to human development and a better life. Each and every human being has the right to determine their destiny in communal and national contexts. It is for this reason that we talk about individual, political and socio-economic rights. Thus there is a common duty between political and faith-based organizations to promote human and socio-economic development. Religious community formations are expected to deal with national and provincial issues which should be above party politics.

The right of individuals and communities to development forms a sound and indestructible basis for partnerships between all three spheres of government and faith-based organisations. Such partnerships are required to address the legitimate expectations of communities including the enjoyment of human and people's rights; safety and security; social security; a better life for all; orphanages and volunteer's corps. The researcher established that the secular state and interfaith-based organizations, politics and religion are obligated to work together to develop every human being by freeing its full potential and respect, and protect the inherent worth and dignity of every human being or personality.

It is important to touch-base with people on the ground because it's where things are happening, so to coin relevant, meaningful and contextual themes and topics to address the realities that are there using a bottom-up approach which is people driven. The right to development can only be realized through an open and accountable government based on the will of the people and sound ethical principles. Having recognized and acknowledged that an open and accountable government requires meaningful popular participation in law-making and administration of public affairs, the FBO's should establish simulation religious parliament.

The religious parliament ought to become a platform through which government and FBO's come together to establish partnerships for cultural and socio-economic development and nation building. The religious parliament should serve as a platform to self-criticise, and consult with developmental bodies which support government in the implementation of local, district, provincial and national programmes. The religious parliament should become a leading advocate for moral renewal, social

cohesion, nation building and development of all communities. Here are a few recommendations the researcher is bringing forth:

1. The FBO's together with government should conduct religious parliament as it was the case in Mpumalanga, Eastern Cape and other provinces where these were held annually. The researcher agrees to the timeframe but strongly recommends that on quarterly basis local and district municipalities can have their religious councils that can culminate into the provincial parliament where the legislature will receive consolidated reports for tabling during the sittings and be able to take implementable resolutions and be monitored from time to time to assess whether the lives of the people are qualitatively improved. Whether they were implemented or not, if not why were they not implemented, if yes how impactful was the implementation so that the lives of the poor are changed for the better. The establishment of a ministry can ensure that the outcome of the discussions, debates or the resolutions of the religious parliament were registered, implemented, monitored and accounted for.
2. The FBO's should be educated by government on how to source donor grants for community development and also assisted to establish legal instruments such as Trusts or Section 21 companies for sourcing grants. It is also imperative that their Board members be multi-skilled and capacitated such that they become able to even access information that can take their initiatives forward.
3. The FBO's should develop the necessary expertise and establish a development agenda complimentary to local, district, provincial and national agendas. There is a need for the establishment of Interfaith Councils and Forums locally, regionally and provincially so that they could develop or source the necessary skills to enable themselves to provide service to government on an agency basis.
4. The Provincial Interfaith Leaders Councils (PILC's) must be established in which the religious parliament, FBO's, Ecumenical Bodies, the district and local Councils will be part of, represented by the members of their executive committees that will lead the process of establishing a department of Interfaith and Moral Regeneration Affairs. The PILC as a leader of the process will be

guided by the terms of reference for the ANC Chaplaincy and the Commission for Religious Affairs of the ruling party, as mentioned in the previous chapters of this study.

5. The person power and infrastructure at the disposal of FBO's are great resources for socio-economic development and moral regeneration, and the exploitation of these resources (person power and infrastructure) should begin by:
 - 5.1 Offering training programmes to equip the pastors, elders and members of the FBO's with a variety of skills to make them development activists;
 - 5.2 Negotiating with the leaders of every house of worship(churches, mosques, synagogues and temples) to become centres of learning and training with libraries and workshops for the production of a variety of goods and services in their attempt to play a developmental role;
 - 5.3 Transforming Sunday school programmes and its curricula to include developmental studies including Spirituality, Human and Natural Sciences;
 - 5.4 Encouraging FBO's and Ecumenical Bodies to establish multi-purpose communal villages including homes for the elderly and persons living with HIV and AIDS; Youth Development Centres; Farming and Crafts Co-operatives; Community Libraries etc.
6. The operations of the PILC must be located in the office of the Premier as the coordination centre for departmental and religious sector coordination in the province. The possibility of exploration of an Interfaith and Moral Regeneration Coordination Directorate within the office of the Premier must be pursued leading to the establishment of the department of Interfaith and Moral Regeneration Affairs.
7. The Provincial Interfaith Leaders Council (PILC) must be established in the offices of the Executive Mayors in all districts and local municipalities in the province.

8. The Religious Leaders and Traditional Leaders must have a formal joint sitting of the Provincial House of Traditional Leaders and Religious Leaders Council as a pilot to discuss matters of common interest and develop joint strategies for the province and the nation.
9. There must be a joint government and religious leader's strategic planning and consultation workshops on annual basis to develop a detailed operational plan to break down the programme into manageable activities and projects.
10. An all-inclusive governing and implementation structure of the PILC be formally established which should be inclusive in character and form. The role of NILC as the overarching Council of the religious sector must be thoroughly discussed and resolved.
11. The PILC shall constitute the governing body of the Religious Parliament and shall be responsible to align and integrate the existing organized faith based structures and Ecumenical Bodies into a Provincial Interfaith Leaders Council with a directly elected Provincial Interfaith Executive Leaders Council.
12. The PILC shall also establish a management structure which will be referred to as Provincial Interfaith Leaders Council's Secretariat (PILCS) which shall be appointed by PILC and be responsible for the day to day management and implementation of programmes.
13. The PILC shall have an effective involvement in the religious sector such that it deals with matters of governance, development, social cohesion, nation building and service delivery in a more practical way translating and cascading PILC to other levels of governance, through the establishment of municipal aligned and all-inclusive faith based Religious Leaders Councils as follows:
 - (a) District Interfaith Leaders Council (DILC);
 - (b) Local Interfaith Leaders Council (LILC);
 - (c) Ward Interfaith Leaders Council (WILC).
14. The PILC will have to spearhead the campaign to set aside and review legislation and national programmes promoting homosexual practices, abortion and evolution theory in schools.

15. The PILC to mandate a Provincial Campaigns Task Team to meet first with the Premier and Executive Committee and relevant MEC/MEC's to establish facts and discuss process with regard to review of the current ungodly and immoral legislation and programmes we talked about in the previous paragraphs.
16. The PILC should request the office of the Premier to effect the recommendation to establish a Religious and Moral Regeneration Affairs directorate in the Premier's office and appoint dedicated persons to consolidate both the management of moral regeneration programme and the religious sector coordination and support.
18. The PILC must recommend to the Provincial Legislature, the establishment of a multi-party religious caucus of the religious parliamentary joint committee where the Members of the Provincial Legislature (MPL's) and Interfaith Leaders interface to discuss matters of religion and politics, and perform an oversight function on the implementation of Religious Parliament resolutions.

This will clearly indicate that indeed religion and politics can do better if they work together and the notion that the ANC was established by God as His tool for the liberation of His people so that they could enjoy freedom and democracy as they experience a better life for all can be validated.

This will also indicate that the partnership that was fostered by Mandela in 1997 between government and religious sector is operationalized for the benefit of all the people of the land. Religion and politics, religious leaders and politicians cannot work well apart, they need to work together to be able to make an impactful difference in bettering the lives of the people. In this transformational phase in the history of South Africa we need to work together to ensure that the backlog of service delivery, caused by the evil divided past, that can restore the dignity of our people is hastened for us all to enjoy the freedom and democracy that was achieved in 1994.

5.5.2 To the Government:

The provincial and local governments on the executive and the legislative arms of council should ensure that the religious parliament does not become a talk shop or a toothless dog. This can be achieved by establishing an organic relationship between the religious parliament and both the executive and legislative branches of provincial, district and local government. The religious parliament must be representative of all

faith-based organization, including the previously marginalized indigenous African faith communities.

The Mpumalanga government took a bold decision of establishing a Religious Parliament for deepening democracy and ensuring community participation and the involvement of the religious sector in bringing about good governance, enhancing service delivery and development in the province. At the centre of this decision were a desperate need and an attempt to provide a Godly and moral perspective on matters of governance and development in running the affairs of the provincial government. The desire to involve religious leaders on governance issues led to the introduction of the Religious Parliament concept as an institutional mechanism to mobilize and provide platform for an effective and organized prophetic voice in the province.

The first Religious Parliament convened was addressed by Dr. Mathole Motsekga in 2001 and subsequently three or so other Religious Parliaments were held and resolutions taken without any clarity whether they were implemented or not. An effective implementation structure and the institutionalization of the role of religious communities needed to be formed so that coordination and monitoring strategy can be in place so that the multi-party religious caucus of the religious parliamentary joint committee the researcher mentioned in the previous paragraphs can play its monitoring role.

1. President Mandela in his clarion call made in 1997 at the meeting he convened for religious and political leaders to work together in partnership and if religion and politics should have a partnership, then these are some of the things that needed to be done, namely:

- (a) Reorganization and structural realignment of the religious sector in the province;
- (b) Proper definition of the role, and position of the religious sector;
- (c) Define institutional and partnership arrangement and relationship between the religious sector and government;
- (d) Review of the current support and funding approach to the religious sector organizations by the provincial government.

The religious sector has noted with disbelief that there was this continuous disregard and undermining of the role of the religious sector as a critical social force in the affairs of governance, nation building, social cohesion and development which continued to be a bone of contention between political leaders, government and religious leaders.

Hence in its NILC Easter Cape Discussion Document (2010:8) on Religious Parliament pointed out the following, that:

“In post-apartheid political discourse, religious communities and leaders have been reduced into voting cattle for elections and providers of government defined prayer items who are occasionally called to parade and recite their interfaith religious prayers at political gatherings and government functions. During the past 15 years of democracy a number of policies and programmes which are ungodly and immoral have been promoted in the name of constitutional democracy and universal human rights, values and standards. The consequence of this is the continuous lowering of standards in various fields of development and governance, increasing levels of corruption, widening income gap between poor and rich, moral decay and political instability. Whilst government has formally recognized and institutionalized the role of certain social sectors and forces such as youth, women and traditional leaders in running the affairs of government, there has been no attempt to consider the same approach to the institution of Religious Affairs”.

2. It is therefore against this background that religious leaders have to advocate for the formal recognition and institutionalization of their role in matters of governance. It is important for Provincial Interfaith Leaders Council (PILC) to convene a meeting with provincial government, the executive (Premier and Cabinet) to present an implementation plan and quantify the support needed from government. This will include:

- (a) Full brief on funding opportunities, process and procedure;
- (b) Update on Moral Regeneration and its implementation;
- (c) Proposed an institutional mechanism and arrangement to interface with the Interfaith (Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Baha'i, Islam and indigenous religion) in the religious sector.

3. Government has a constitutional and political role to play and must ensure that community participation, fostering of unity and the promotion of democratic principles and moral values are part in running the affairs of government.

4. Government and the existing organized FBO's and Ecumenical Bodies have a mutual responsibility to ensure the successful implementation of the Provincial Interfaith Leaders Council (NILC) programmes. It is therefore the political responsibility of government and religious leaders to ensure that the unity of the FBO's and common understanding of its role was properly defined and consolidated.

5. Government must endorse the National Interfaith Leaders Council (NILC) as the overarching coordinating and executive structure through which government (the cabinet and legislature) interface with the religious sector on a defined programme and partnership arrangement. Such programme should be confined on promoting national transformation agenda rather than advancing religion or matters of faith, namely:

(a) Governance and Administration;

(b) Policy Formulation;

(c) Service delivery and Development;

(d) Moral Regeneration ; and

(e) Social Cohesion and Nation Building.

6. Government has to develop and recommend a funding criteria, approach and management that will be inclusive and endorsed by National Interfaith Leaders Council (NILC) in the national level; Provincial Interfaith Leaders Council (PILC) in the province; District Interfaith Leaders Council (DILC); Local Interfaith Leaders Council (LILC) and Ward Interfaith Leaders Council (WILC).

7. Government has to recognize and endorse the Provincial Interfaith Leaders Council (PILC) as a principal partner responsible for the management of the Moral Regeneration programme with the Faith Based Organizations and various individual churches, temples, mosques and synagogues as implementing agents.

8. Government must support the religious pilgrimage of the governing party, the ANC,

and these are some of the things that needed to be done if religion and politics should have a partnership and a role to play together, namely:

- (a) Identifying and honouring the religious leaders who contribute to the struggle for democracy;
- (b) Identifying and developing the heritage sites of the Faith Based Organizations in consultation with their leaders and families of the past leaders;
- (c) Identifying and giving support for the development, spiritual and cultural heritage routes;
- (d) Partnering of the government with Interfaith Forums on moral regeneration and socio-economic programmes;
- (e) Recognizing, protecting and developing the spiritual, sacred and heritage sites; and
- (f) Recognizing and supporting the development of marginalized indigenous African cultures, languages and religions.

5.5.3 The ANC as a Ruling Party:

The 54th ANC National Conference adopted the Social Transformation Report of the 2017 National Policy Conference. The highlights of the rich discussions and debates presented in the Report of the 54th National Conference Social Transformation Resolutions (f), (2017: 63) pointed out that:

“Our Social Transformation agenda has been very clear over the years that we are in fact in the process of building a new society. We are not ‘rebuilding’ as this almost gives the impression that there was a time in our history where universal equity, respect for human rights and dignity existed for all. Colonial oppression, discrimination and violence including violence associated with systemic social and economic exclusion is what we have inherited and we need to build a new society that is peaceful, equal and just as envisioned in our National Development Plan, the UN’s Agenda 2030 and Africa’s Agenda 2063.”

The ANC as a ruling party in government to some degree has a prerogative on certain policy and organizational matters. The ANC Polokwane resolutions on interfaith concept and the birth of the National Interfaith Leaders Council have

influence in determining the attitude of the religious sector. For example, the adoption of this interfaith concept has brought a healthy debate on the concept and its relationship with the global New Age Agenda in South Africa.

It is a well-known factor that the SACC leadership was generally favourable to the Mbeki Administration and thus questioned how things worked out at the Polokwane Conference when Mbeki was recalled and his sudden departure as President of the Republic of South Africa. The SACC further and now in public opposing the appointment of Jacob Zuma as successor to Mbeki on the grounds of morality and corruption which the SACC felt these disqualified him for such a high office in the land.

When Jacob Zuma became the next President it became clear that the SACC was soon going to be side-lined from the Presidency since it stood for the truth of speaking out his immorality and corruption. The Presidency was unwilling to engage with the SACC. Prof. Pillay in his paper titled: *Faith and Reality: The role and contributions of the ecumenical church to the realities and development of South Africa since the advent of democracy in 1994*, (1994:3 - 4) making even greater claim about the unwillingness he observed states: "Central Committee is appalled by the fragmentation of the ecumenical organizations in this country. This situation is made worse by some of the interventions of the ruling party and its Commission for Religious Affairs which appears to have taken it upon itself to reconfigure the ecumenical space. They have since formed a new entity called the National Interfaith Leadership Council (NILC) which in our view replicates the work of the NRLF. It creates-perhaps deliberately - a lot of confusion among our members."

This is a clear indication that NILC was formed to defend the President whenever he flawed hence NILC came to the government's defence on the issues of e-tolls, the bringing of the South African economy into jeopardy by firing Minister Nene of the Finance Ministry. Even in this issue, NILC came to his defence as it took a different stance in support of President Zuma. The SACC has since learnt a lesson that all is well and good when it gives support for government but not so well and good when it decides to be critical of the Presidency, and this caused the SACC to remain at a distance in its relationship with government so that it focused on the poor and marginalized and practiced the prophetic engagements on behalf of God, the poor and marginalized.

The researcher finds the words of Archbishop Tutu (Ibid, 6) true and aligned with the decision of the SACC when he said: "The church must align itself with the powerless, the marginalised and the voiceless to ensure that the cries of the poor are heard. It has an enormous responsibility of telling the truth, of identifying evil wherever it may be found and of insisting that the government, any government, must be honest."

Equally, the ANC is expecting religious communities to contribute to the proposals it has made as the ANC has respect and high regard for the critical historic and future role of the Church as an ever-present helper of government that independently provide moral and spiritual source to the nation and its government. The South African Council of Churches and other organized Christian formations in the province cannot continue to monopolize or claim sole ownership and responsibility for the contribution of the religious sector in the liberation struggle and therefore the only prophetic voice that must speak and receive support attention from government.

This was the view of the Presidency during the Zuma Administration so that he could side-line the SACC which challenged the wrong he did and made way with NILC which defended and supported Zuma regardless of his obvious costly mistakes shown in previous paragraphs. This, the researcher believes, will not be the case in the new Administration of President Ramaphosa.

Currently, the religious community and its leadership has serious and urgent standing moral issues and policy matters that needed to be addressed with government to regain its dignity and position as moral and prophetic voice in the nation and most importantly to create a conducive environment for defining its partnership with government without fear and risk of further compromise which has alienated its constituent base, betrayed the mission of the Church and its moral standing.

In relation to Social Cohesion, Nation Building and the Development of Society, the researcher has arrived at embracing the ANC Conference resolutions with an intention to make them recommendations that, not only the government but the religious and all other sectors of society were to embrace and implement if they were to contribute to the building of the envisioned society by the ruling party.

The Charter of Positive Values must be included in the curriculum of Life Orientation in schools. This resolution therefore becomes a recommendation to government that

it has to seriously infuse the Charter of Positive Values in the curriculum of the Life orientation and Life skills so that these values could be inculcated to learners for their internalization to live out the positive values enlisted in the charter.

The Chaplains for schools have to be appointed to assist so that the culture of learning and teaching is made possible as these will focus on the betterment of teachers, learners and parents spiritually and morally by offering prayers during the morning assemblies and conducting counselling for teachers and parents (SGB's) using the Mandela's 67 minutes for the creation of a teaching and learning environment which is conducive to all, and contributing to the Quality Learning and Teaching Curriculum (QLTC).

The revitalization of Provincial Chapters of the Moral Regeneration Movement should take place in all provinces, driven by the Premiers and relevant MEC's to ensure greater coherence with the national programme. Reorganizing and broadening of moral regeneration movement is what needs to be done so that all MRM structures from ward level up to the district and provincial levels are inclusively established and /or revitalized to effectively and rigorously function to make a positive impact that will contribute and make a difference in the lives of those who still yearn for a better life for themselves and others.

Part of this work includes the revival of the ANC's Commission for Religious Affairs to coordinate the efforts of the ANC with the religious sector. The ANC as a ruling party in government to some degree has a prerogative on certain policy and organizational matters. At its Polokwane Conference, its resolution on interfaith concept and the birth of the NRLF had influence in determining the attitude of the religious sector. For instance, the adoption of this concept has brought a healthy debate on the concept and its relationship with the global New Age Agenda in South Africa.

Abuse of religion for sexual predation by some religious leaders must be combatted. This has been seen in the recent past months when a foreign pastor who abused the congregants, especially the youth where he serves in the name of giving them blessings for their prosperity. We have seen the law taking its course for the culprit to be put behind bars sending a strong message that there is no one who is above the law.

Policy is required to regulate mushrooming unethical churches and traditional practices hence the religious community and leadership has been in serious and urgent standing moral issues and policy matters that it needed to address with government without fear and risk of further compromise which has alienated its constituent base, betrayed the mission of the church and its moral standing.

The Social Advocates should be allowed across the provinces to support the Premiers in driving the moral regeneration and social cohesion initiatives. Social cohesion and Nation building are interrelated. Social cohesion is therefore generally community-based and thus located at micro-social level while nation building is nationally oriented and located at macro-social level. This allows community members and citizens to be active participants, working together for the attainment of shared goals, designed and agreed upon to improve the living conditions for all people.

10. These recommendations are indicative of the fact that the ANC was established by God as His tool to heal the wounds that had been inflicted on our people by colonial conquest by liberating them from colonial and apartheid fetters to freedom and democracy. As an organization that belongs to the people of South Africa, it is imperative that the ANC safeguards and nurtures itself. These people who were liberated by God through His vehicle, the ANC, must therefore commit to remain faithful and diligent custodians of this glorious movement of the people.

5.6. Conclusion:

The primary question of this study is the basis of this research as it made an enquiry on the notion that the ANC should have been God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all in search for the truth and the validation that indeed it was established and placed at its centre, the Chaplaincy, that would serve as a reminder that though the ANC is a political movement it also is a religious, moral and social movement because religion and politics in the ANC are two sides of the same coin as it believed that these cannot be separated and work best meaning that these are best if kept working together. The ANC understood this special relationship and arrangement it had with God hence at its inception

committed itself to be the voice of the voiceless and the protector of the poor and weak, the marginalised and oppressed.

The researcher in this study on: *The ANC Chaplaincy: A religio-political perspective* showed that the notion that the ANC should be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all is true because at its inception as a movement it also saw fit to establish the Chaplaincy that undergirded its thinking and work. The ANC has always been defined or referred to as a broad church which is inclusive of all God's people, aligning itself with the powerless, the marginalised and the voiceless as it worked for a better life for them all and committed to do justice, serving and uplifting these from slavery and oppression as it continued to fight against poverty, inequality, unemployment and the spread of diseases for the attainment of healthy and socially improved conditions of living for all.

From its inception, as mentioned previously, the ANC was largely influenced by Christian religion which in turn produced the majority of its leadership and members who always acknowledged the presence of God during their establishment as a movement and during the struggle for liberation and beyond. Their struggle was that of the Christian people whose role as Christians in the ANC was increasing day by day and led to the banding together of a number of secular and religious leaders in 1912 to establish the SANNAC which later in 1923 was renamed the ANC. The formation of its Chaplaincy in 1912 is a clear indication that the ANC saw a connection between Religion and Politics because God had allowed it to be, with an aim of using it as His tool to liberate His people from the yokes of colonialism and apartheid and lead them to the land of freedom and democracy where they would experience a better life for all.

The ANC leadership was greatly influenced by Christianity and this to me clearly attests to the notion that indeed the ANC was God's vehicle to liberate His people. The research, as already mentioned in the previous paragraphs of this work, was intended to convince those people who had a tendency to separate religion and politics whereas these were inseparable as they have something to do with each other, to trace the history of religion and politics in South Africa dating back to 1652; to make a follow up on the history and work of the ANC and its Chaplaincy; to

show proof that indeed the notion was true that the ANC was God's vehicle to liberate the oppressed from the yoke of colonialism and apartheid to freedom and democracy so that they could experience a better life for all.

The researcher, as he pointed out already in the previous paragraphs, was also able to investigate the different epochs of history in search of the role the ANC had played; to use both the qualitative and quantitative research methods to be able to respond to the main frame question of the research; to investigate the role played by Churches and individuals during the struggle for liberation; to find out the ministries of the ANC Chaplaincy of 1912 which served as pillars that had sustained the ANC over the years of its existence; to analyse and evaluate the Presidential Administrations searching for their contribution that they had made in religion and politics during their tenure; to ensure whether the views and principles of the 1912 ANC NEC have changed or not; to propose that the recommendations offered by this research study to the FBO's, Government, and the ANC be accepted, agreed upon and implemented. These the researcher has done in proving his research claim that religion and politics are not water and oil but inseparable as he was also able to validate the notion that indeed the ANC was used by God to work as His tool to liberate the oppressed to be free to experience a better life for all. This was made possible by the all -powerful God who derived His power from Himself because He is who He is, who came from above.

The ANC Chaplaincy: A religio-political perspective has been answered through the research questions, responses, discussions held and interviews conducted on whether the research problem: religion and politics can work or cannot work together. It was proved that these can work together as politics is no sin, and doing it is not against the Scriptures and that it is not part of the devil's agenda. Instead, the association of religion and politics was seen as enabling religious people to be involved in politics.

The ANC saw itself as mandated by God to be the champion of the liberation struggle. Hence the main following research question was posed: Was the ANC established with the notion that it should be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa so that they can experience freedom, democracy and a better life for all. In this, we see the connection of religion and politics which undergirded the ANC's thinking and work.

The secondary research question to the main question one is: If indeed the ANC has been used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondages of apartheid and colonialism, how was this established in the ANC Chaplaincy. Another research question of relevance that followed: Does the ANC still have the same views about religion and politics in its new dispensation as the ruling party in South Africa. The probing into these questions by the research is a huge attempt since they are very critical and relevant in South Africa today, and to debate the association of religion and politics has helped us understand further debates of such nature.

The three objectives of the research study as mentioned in chapter one had been responded to convincingly. The ANC mission of 1912 as shown in chapter one was not changed, or enhanced but remained as it has not fully happened. The research methodology has been clearly interpreted adhered to and implemented. The targeted identified persons and structures were met, interviewed and the data collected was analysed and captured for the written work.

The research topic: *The ANC Chaplaincy: A religio-political perspective* was responded to and exploration of the presidential administrations was done; the mission and three ministries of the ANC Chaplaincy were explored satisfactorily; analysis of extracted information during the interviews was done as well as the recommendations to the government, faith based organisation, the ruling party and the conclusion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ANC, 53rd National Conference. (2012). *Constitution (Amended)*. Mangaung, Bloemfontein.
- ANC, Commission for Religious Affairs. (1995). *Religion and Politics in South Africa*. Marshalltown, Johannesburg.
- ANC, National General Council. (2015). *Reference Documents: Volume 2*. Marshalltown, Johannesburg.
- Bible, (2016). *The Amplified Study Bible*. Zondervan, Grand Rapids, Michigan.
- Bless, C. & Higson-Smith, C. (1995). *Fundamentals of Social Research Methods-An African Perspective*. Juta and Co, Ltd.
- Boesak, A. (2005). *The Tenderness of Conscience: A Renaissance and the Spirituality of Politics*. Sun Press, Stellenbosch, South Africa.
- Cairns, E.E. (1981). *Christianity through the Centuries: A history of the Christian Church*. Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, MI, USA.
- Cassidy, M. & Verlinden, L. (1976). *Facing the new Challenges*. Nairobi, PACLA.
- Challenge Magazine. (1993). *Politics & Religion: Article on Mandela's Challenge to the Church*. Braamfontein.
- Cochrane, J.R. (1987). *Servants of Power: The Role of English-speaking Churches in South Africa: 1903 – 1930*. Ravan Press (Pty) Ltd, Braamfontein, South Africa.
- Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. (1996). *Bill of Rights. Act 108 of 1996*. Interpark Books, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.
- De Gruchy, J. W. (1979). *The Church Struggle in South Africa*. Wm.B, Eerdmans Publishing Company, USA.
- Dezin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (1998). *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. Sage, Thousand Oak, CA, USA.
- Dwane, S. (1989). *Issues in the South African Theological Debate: Essays and Addresses in Honour of the late James Matta Dwane*. Skotaville Publishers, Braamfontein.

Eisenach, E.J. (1981). *Two worlds of liberalism: religion and politics* in Hobbes, Locke & Mill.

Elphick, R. & Davenport, R. (1997). *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social & Cultural History*. David Philip Publishers (Pty) Ltd, Claremont, South Africa.

Erik, J. Hamadi & Redissi, R.A. (2009) *Religion and politics: Islam and Muslim civilization*.

Edgecombe, R. (1982). *Bringing forth light: Five tracts on Bishop Colenso's Zulu mission*. University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.

Hallencreutz, F.C., & Palmberg, M. (1991). *Religion and politics in Southern Africa*.

Halliday, F. (1995). *Islam and the myth of confrontation: religion and politics in the Middle East*.

Harris, L.S. (1970). *The Humanist Tradition in World Literature: An Anthology of Masterpieces from Gilgamesh to the Divine Comedy*. Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, Columbus, OH, USA.

Hinchliff, P. (1963). *The Anglican Church in South Africa: An account of the history and development of the Church of the Province of South Africa*. Darton, Longman & Todd, London.

Jelen, G., & Wilcox, C. (2002). *Religion and politics in comparative perspective: the one, the few and the many*.

Lune, H. , Pumar, S.E. & Koppel, R. (2006). *Perspective in Social Research Methods and Analysis: A Reader for Sociology*. Sage, London, UK.

Macmillan, W. M. 1959. *The road to self-rule. A study in colonial evolution*. New York: Books for Libraries Press. Mentioned in Saayman, W. (1991). *Christian Mission in South Africa*. ABC Printers, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Mayson, C. (1998). *The ANC and Religion*. ANC Department of Information and Publicity, Land Printers.

Mayson, C. (2004). *The World Conference on Religion and Peace: Spirituality and Nationhood in the ANC*: CRA Magazine-Phakamani. Salty Print, Salt River, Cape Town.

Mbeki, T.M. (2002). *Africa-Define yourself*. Mafube Publishing (Pty) Ltd.

- Mehana, V. (2012). *Towards Enhancing the ANC National Chaplaincy: A Policy Proposal*. Luthuli House, Johannesburg.
- Mehana, V. (2013). *African National Congress: Approved Terms of Reference*. National Chaplaincy, Luthuli House, Johannesburg.
- Merkel, P.H., & Smart, N. (1983). *Religion and politics in the modern world*.
- Moral Regeneration Movement. (2002). *The Charter of Positive Values*. Braamfontein, Johannesburg.
- Motsekga, M. (2001). *A Religious Parliament in a Secular State: Challenge facing Faith-Based Organisations*. ANC Archives, Luthuli House, Johannesburg.
- Motsekga, M. (2008). *Wars of Resistance and the Birth of the Union of South Africa*. ANC Archives, Luthuli House, Johannesburg.
- Motsekga, M. (2009). *ANC: The Evolution of a value-centred society and Interfaith Movement in South Africa*. ANC Archives, Luthuli House, Johannesburg.
- Motsekga, M. (2012). *Religion and Politics in South Africa: The Strategic Role of the National Interfaith Leadership Forum in promoting the ANC's Vision and Accelerating the Implementation of Government Priorities*. ANC Archives, Luthuli House, Johannesburg.
- Munthali, R. (2014). *Transformation and Development of Human society: A Homiletical Pastoral Perspective*. USA: Xlibrispublishing.co.uk.
- National Interfaith Thanksgiving Ceremony. (2014). *Concept Document on 20 Years of Freedom*. Department of Social Development, Soweto, Johannesburg.
- National Religious Association for Social Development (NRASD), (2012). *Church Leaders engage with the National Development Plan; An opportunity to deal with the wounds and the healing of our country*. Kempton Park, Johannesburg.
- National Summit. (2012). *Social Cohesion*. Department of Arts and Culture, Johannesburg.
- Ncube, B. (2004). *The role of the faith community in our society in the ANC: CRA Magazine-Phakamani*. Salty Print, Salt River, Cape Town.
- Phillip, K. (2006). *American Theocracy: the peril and politics of radical religion, oil, and borrowed money*. Viking; Penguin Books. New York

Pillay, J., (2017), '*Faith and reality: The role and contributions of the ecumenical church to the realities and development of South Africa since the advent of democracy in 1994*', HTS Teologiese Studies/ Theological Studies 73(4), 4519. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v73i4.4519>

Pillay, J., (2017), '*The church as a transformation and change agent*', HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies 73(3), 4352. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v73i3.4352>

Prozesky M.H. (2004) *Spiritual development or growth in the ANC*; CRA Magazine-Phakamani. Salty Print, Salt River, Cape Town.

Religious Parliament Steering Committee (2010). *NILC Programme: Discussion Document*. Port Elizabeth, Eastern Cape.

Ross, A. (1986). *John Phillip Africa (1775 – 1851). Missions, race, and politics in South Africa*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.

Rubin, A. & Babbie, E. (1993). *Research Methods for Social Work* (2nd edn.). Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, Pacific Grove, CA, USA.

Saayman, W. (1991). *Christian Mission in South Africa*. ABC Printers, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Saunders, C.C. (1970). *Tile and the Thembu Church: politics and independency on the Cape eastern frontier in the late nineteenth century*. Journal of African History. XI:4.

Sharma, R. (2012). *Should Politics and Religion be Kept Separate?*. E-International Relations Publishing.

South African Council of Churches (SACC). (1988). *National Conference: Church Action in the South African crisis*. SACC Communication Division, Johannesburg, RSA.

Spong, B. & Mayson, C. (1993). *Come Celebrate*. Communications Department of the South African Council of Churches, Khotso House, Johannesburg.

Swinton, J., & Mowat, H. (2006). *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*. SCM Press, London.

Tutu, D.M. (1993). *Challenge: Outspoken Criticism*. Johannesburg, South Africa.

Van der Merwe, W.J. (1936). *The development of missionary attitudes in the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa*. Nasionale Pers, Cape Town.

Verschuren, P. & Doorewaard, H. (1999). *Designing a research project*. LEMMA, Utrecht.

Walshe, P. (1995.). *Prophetic Christianity and the Liberation Movement in South Africa*. Cluster Publications, Pietermaritzburg.

Xozwa, B.(2009). *Chaplaincy Religious History*. ANC Archives, Luthuli House, Johannesburg.

Zuma, J.G. (2014). *Inauguration Speech as fifth President of the Republic of South Africa*, Social Development Department, Pretoria.

Zuma, J.G. (2014). *Nation Address: Joint Sitting of Parliament*. Social Development Department, Cape Town.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Questionnaire

1. Where are you from and how would you describe yourself and the role you play in the ANC?
2. Can religion and politics work best together or separately?
3. What role has religion played in shaping South African politics?
4. What would your opinion be to the notion that the ANC was established to be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa?
5. What evidence do you have that if indeed the ANC was used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondage of colonialism and apartheid?
6. Why, out of so many other organizations, was the ANC the one committed to the people of South Africa's freedom, democracy and a better life for all?
7. What could have led the founder group when the ANC was formed to establish a Chaplaincy within their organisation?
8. Has the ANC's original mission changed, remained the same or enhanced by religious and political persuasions within it?
9. Does the ANC still have the same views of 1912 about religion and politics in its new dispensation as a ruling party in South Africa?
10. What would your opinion be to the people who maintain that the ANC's foundation is built on Godly values?
11. What role do you think was played by the Chaplaincy during and in the struggle for freedom and democracy?
12. What can you say in as far as the importance of religion and politics cooperating and working together going forward even in the secular South Africa?
13. Is there any connection that you can recollect in your experience that points out between religion and politics that undergirds the ANC's thinking and work?

14. What would you say, if you were to analyse the past Presidential Administrations of Mandela and Mbeki with the current Administration of President Zuma and the Chaplaincy?

15. The ANC as what can you recommend the ministry to do when it is formed? When do you think is opportune time to embark upon such a process?, and who should be tasked to lead this process, the religious sector or the ANC Chaplaincy or both, why and how?

Appendix B: Questionnaire

| <p>QUESTIONS</p> | <p>COMMENTS</p> <p>(Please tick where necessary)</p> | <p>REGION</p> <p>(Please tick where necessary)</p> |
|---|--|---|
| <p>1. Are you a member of the ANC and from which region?</p> | <p>Yes / No</p> | <p>Ehlanzeni</p> <p>Gert Sibande</p> <p>Bohlabela</p> <p>Nkangala</p> |
| <p>2. How would you define yourself?</p> | <p>Religious and Political</p> <p>Religious</p> <p>Politics</p> | |
| <p>3. In which period did you become an ANC member?</p> | <p>Period: 1912 - 1976</p> <p>Period: 1976 - 1990</p> <p>Period: 1990 - 2017</p> | |
| <p>4. Can religion and politics work best together or separately?</p> | <p>Together: Yes / No</p> <p>Separately: Yes / No</p> | |
| <p>5. Has religion played a role in shaping South African politics?</p> | <p>True / False</p> | |
| <p>6. Was the ANC</p> | <p>True / False</p> | |

| | | |
|--|--------------|--|
| established with the notion that it should be God's vehicle to liberate God's people from all forms of struggles and oppression in South Africa? | | |
| 7. Was the ANC the only organization committed to the people of South Africa's freedom, democracy and a better life for all? | True / False | |
| 8. Was the ANC established amongst others by the religious leaders? | True / False | |
| 9. Is there any connection that we can point out between religion and politics that undergirds the ANC's thinking and work? | True / False | |
| 10. Indeed the ANC was used by God as His tool to liberate His people from the bondage of colonialism and apartheid | True / False | |
| 11. Did the founding fathers and mothers of the ANC and its Chaplaincy believed that it was God | Yes / No | |

| | | |
|--|----------|--|
| Himself who worked amongst them and through them to establish such? | | |
| 12.Has the ANC 's original mission changed, remained the same or enhanced by religious and political persuasions within it? | Yes / No | |
| 13. Is politics and doing politics a sin and against the Scriptures? | Yes / No | |
| 14.Does the ANC still have the same views of 1912 about religion and politics in its new dispensation as a ruling party in South Africa? | Yes / No | |
| 15.Can you agree with the notion that the ANC was mandated by God to champion the liberation and current transformation struggle? | Yes / No | |
| 16.Do you agree with the people who maintain that the ANC's foundation is built on Godly values? | Yes / No | |

| | | |
|---|--------------|--|
| 17. The ANC Chaplaincy developed the spirituality of its cadre's inside the country and in exile during the liberation struggle? | True / False | |
| 18. Is it possible for religious people today to reach consensus on whether they can play a role or not in politics? | Yes / No | |
| 19. Was the ANC Chaplaincy? formed to carry its original mission of mobilizing the religious sector to be in solidarity with other sectors during the struggle for liberation | True / False | |
| 20. People nowadays find it difficult as religious people to associate themselves with politics and let alone political parties? | True / False | |
| 21. It is important for religious and political leaders to cooperate and work together in serving God's people. | True / False | |
| 22. Are religious people judgmental such that they | Yes / No | |

| | | |
|--|--------------|--|
| find it difficult to cooperate with others especially from other sectors? | | |
| 23. Do the Scriptures encourage people to be judgmental? | Yes / No | |
| 24. Do some fields of study other than theology not approved by God? | Yes / No | |
| 25. Are religious people supposed to be on the forefront of every struggle as light of the world and salt of the earth? | Yes / No | |
| 26. Do you believe that God can participate in the affairs of the world? | Y / No | |
| 27. The ANC Chaplaincy has three ministries namely: The Spiritual Development which acknowledge the on-going presence of God in, during and beyond the struggle; the ministry that ensures that all the Cadres conducted themselves within the context of Revolutionary Morality; and the provision of | True / False | |

| | | |
|--|--------------|--|
| pastoral care at all times to all Cadres and their families. | | |
| 28. Were all religions represented from the onset when the ANC Chaplaincy was formed? | True / False | |
| 29. Can you recommend in as far as the importance of religion and politics cooperating and working together going forward? | Yes / No | |
| 30. Is a secular state ungodly and therefore cannot be supported and work together with religious people? | True / False | |
| 31. Can the pronouncement made by President Mandela be taken seriously that both religious and political leaders work and serve God's people critically and wise together? | Yes / No | |
| 32. Does treating all religions the same in a secular state in line with what God expects of religions? | Yes / No | |

| | | |
|--|---------------------|--|
| <p>33. Do you know of a Religious Policy that is in place currently and if not, is there a need to formulate such?</p> | <p>Yes / No</p> | |
| <p>34. If you were to analyse the past Presidential Administrations with the current Administration of President Zuma, you would recommend what to be done and how to do it?</p> | <p>True / False</p> | |
| <p>35. Does the relationship need enhancement between the current Presidential Administration and the ANC Chaplaincy, which is the interfaith structure, in order to deliver on its responsibilities and objectives.</p> | <p>Yes / No</p> | |
| <p>36. Would you recommend that a religious ministry be established and that it be informed by the ANC Chaplaincy?</p> | <p>Yes / No</p> | |
| <p>37. Is it important for the religious sector to have this ministry established?</p> | <p>Yes / No</p> | |

| | | |
|--|-----------------|--|
| <p>38. Will the establishment of the ministry help enhance Social Renewal, Social Cohesion and Nation Building as well as the national priorities that include National Development Plan, Inequality, Poverty, Unemployment plus all other five (5) identified priorities?</p> | <p>Yes / No</p> | |
| <p>39. Do you think it's time now to embark upon such a process, and identify either the religious sector or the ANC Chaplaincy or both even to lead the process forward?</p> | <p>Yes / No</p> | |
| <p>40. Will the ANC Chaplaincy and the ANC Commission for Religious Affairs promote the link that has been there for years between religion and politics?</p> | <p>Yes / No</p> | |

Appendix C: Letter of consent from the ANC Provincial Secretary

1

African National Congress

January "Che" Masilela House
Cnr Brenda & Nel Streets
Box 1862, Nespruit
1200



Tel. [013] 752 5672
Fax. [013] 752 6160
Fax. 0865305450
e-mail. mpupa@anc.org.za

Mpumalanga Province Provincial Secretary's Office

To : All Regions

Att : All Regional Secretaries

From : The Provincial Secretary

Date : 13th December 2016

Subject: INTERVIEWS TO BE CONDUCTED TO ALL REGIONS

Dear Comrades


Revolutionary greetings.

Please assist the Provincial Chaplain, Rev. M. Nthali by cooperating and allowing him to conduct some interviews with your structures and individuals he deems fit in your region.

He intends to research on the following title of study : **Religion and Politics in South Africa: A special focus on the History and Work of the ANC Chaplaincy.**

Thanking you in advance for your positive response.

Yours Comradely


**MANDLA NDLOVU
PROVINCIAL SECRETARY**

1

"Working Together We Can Do More"

