**CHAPTER 5:   LEADERSHIP MODELS OF THREE SOUTHERN AFRICAN
CHRISTIAN LEADERS**

5.1   Introduction

As chapters 4 and 5 are so closely aligned, the logical progression of the first three chapters will not be reiterated here but chapter 4 will be briefly commented on, for the benefit of the reader.   In chapter 4 the thesis looked at the separate models of three political leaders. Their innate ability to serve as strategically transcultural leaders lay within each one's philosophical outlook or belief system expressed in and through their models of leadership. Their leadership models are analysed in chapter 4 in terms of their values, styles and structures, their ability to cross socio-political boundaries and their belief system used in their model of leadership. These political leadership models have a historical bearing on firstly the interpretation of the three Christian leadership models analysed here and secondly in synthesizing a multicultural leadership model relevant to Southern African cities for today.

Chapter 5 similarly looks at the leadership models of three $20^{th}/21^{st}$ century Christian leaders.   As in chapter 4 the Christian convictions/belief systems of Mutendi's, Cassidy's and Tutu's, and the basis to the varying transcultural abilities of these leaders are examined. This thesis postulates that as was the case with chapter 4's political leaders, the ability to cross barriers was specifically motivated by an innate ability and understanding outside of mainstream thinking of their times.   The chapter progresses as follows:

1.   A brief commentary on the life and rise to leadership of the three Christian leaders including their various organisations and any relevant historical details – each in turn.
2.   The model(s) of leadership employed by the three Christian leaders assessed in terms of their values, styles and structures used – each in turn.
3.   The Christian beliefs/philosophies of each of the three models. Attention is given to Mutendi's belief system and the immediate transition of this after his death. Present leadership styles/structures employed are briefly reviewed – as this example of an African Initiated Church (AIC) provides the basis of *Antithesis* to this thesis.
4.   The ability of each to traverse societal and racial boundaries – assessed individually.
5.   The way each leader inspired national philosophical shifts, and/or tribal changes.
6.   A tabulated framework of comparison of the three models, including a brief analysis, noting the historical contexts and initial implications of all six models of leadership (three political and three Christian) for a Southern African multicultural model relevant to today's Christian organisations within the cities of Southern African.

The thesis will further analyse the lives of the three transformational Christian leaders from the 20th century and the early 21st century in terms of the prophetic/visionary/strategic stances that each employed in bringing change to society at large.   In looking at their leadership models consecutively, it is hoped that an understanding of continuity and discontinuity between each model will be evident. This analysis will contribute greatly to the *synthesis* stage in defining what a multicultural model of leadership should comprise of. The validity of the thesis proposal that *successful incarnation of the gospel into a multicultural context requires models of leadership that both enhance multiculturalism and also promote the underlying multiple cultures albeit from the platform of a common – but not exclusive – language and ethos* will be tested through this ongoing synthesis.

5.2 Samuel Mutendi

A brief commentary on Mutendi's life and rise to leadership[8]

Mutendi's birth is estimated to be around 1890. As there are no established records, he could possibly have been born as early as 1888. His son Nehemiah Mutendi, the current Bishop of the Zion Christian Church, of which Samuel Mutendi was the founder, believes that he was between the ages of 23 and 25 when he joined the British South African Police (BSAP - later called the Zimbabwe Republic Police) in 1910 (Mutendi 2005:13). Little is known of his early life before joining the BSAP, but: "He was interested in social activities like traditional music, he was good [on a traditional instrument] and he would lead his group … and he would really perform. He was not known for anything else besides entertaining his people; you would say he was an artist" (Mutendi 2005:13).

It can be presumed that as the people who trained in the police force in those days were tough individuals, Samuel Mutendi, according to Nehemiah, must also have been very strong. Nehemiah relates that in 1913 (Daneel's date of 1919 amended to line up with Nehemiah Mutendi's interview), while working as a policeman in the BSAP, Samuel Mutendi was told by an angel that he would have his own church in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). In fact, according to his son it was one such visitation by a *man* (which has been taken to mean angel) whilst on parade and the ensuing speaking in tongues and swaying that caused his discharge from the police. Subsequent dreams were followed by the overwhelming presence of the Holy Spirit, accompanied by speaking in tongues. These dreams bore a great resemblance in visible expression and conduct to the seizures experienced in traditional *shavi* possession. Daneel himself calls these possessions "syncretic, yet felt to be truly Christian", but beyond even this, the label of "*shavi* possession" could just be a Western inability to discern and separate form from substance, as they were clearly seen by Samuel Mutendi and interpreted by his son Nehemiah Mutendi as being visitations from the Holy Spirit (Daneel 1971:289, 292; Mutendi 2005:13-14).

During one of these dreams an angel appeared to him and told him that the church he had been told about previously was the Zionist Church. Mutendi perceived his calling as being similar to that of Moses or Isaiah. Prior to this clear indication that he was indeed to join the *Zion* church, he had sought help from the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC). His brother was a teacher with the Dutch Reformed. As Samuel sought help both spiritually and practically in learning to read and write, he was told by his brother that he would have to send one of his wives away (he had two at the time) if he was to be acceptable to God. He sent his wife away, but still the DRC did not accept his faith-expression, having asked Rev Malan in two letters as to whether his spirit possessions were acceptable, he never received a reply. Yet the DRC did provide him with a basic understanding of Christianity and indirectly through a brother (Daneel mentions an uncle) who taught for the church provided him with literacy skills (Daneel 1971:292; Daneel 1987:55; Mutendi 2005:13).

Not much is known of the foundations to his early beliefs provided by the DRC, nor of his employment after working as a policeman, except that Samuel Mutendi from Bikita and Andreas Shoko of Chibi are both listed by W.J. van der Merwe in his book, *From Mission Field to Autonomous Church in Zimbabwe* as having been members of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission (DRCM) and serving as assistant teachers in schools on mission station

---

[8] This first section is taken by and large from Inus Daneel's work: Daneel (1971), Daneel (1973) and Daneel (1987). Wherever these works were supplemented or for clarity, the quotations have been clearly referenced.

outposts for the DRCM (Van der Merwe 1981:220). Morgenster Mission of the DRC opened a teachers' training school in 1911, and among other subjects taught Bible and Church History, however, the training was not academic, but was oriented towards character development (Zvobgo 1996:236-237). Thus it is entirely possible that as an assistant teacher, Samuel Mutendi would have received a foundational understanding in the two subjects mentioned above (whether in full or in part; directly or indirectly from the curriculum at Morgenster), even if it was non-academic and highlighted lifestyle issues. Yet it is not likely that Mutendi was ever a full member of the DRCM. As the DRC ministers prepared to baptise him, he rejected baptism by sprinkling and asked for baptism by full immersion in the river, which they refused to do (Mutendi 2005:13).

It would take ten years (from 1913 until 1923) of struggling with his convictions before Samuel Mutendi would gain clarity of direction in his calling. Mutendi and his younger friend, Andreas Shoko, became discontented with the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), sensing that conversion alone was insufficient in addressing the African needs. Mutendi and Shoko originally travelled to South Africa as migrant labourers, but once there, they soon became connected with the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission (ZAFM), which had previously broken away from the Zion Apostolic Church in South Africa (ZAC in SA). The reason for seeking employment in South Africa, and not withstanding his religious convictions, was primarily a desire to obtain cattle. A Shona's wealth, particularly for rural men, is tied up with livestock and more particularly how many cattle he has. Yet even as he went he had a dream in which *the man* or angel, showed him a card on which was written *Zion*, revealing to him that this was the church that he sought (Mutendi 2005:14).

In 1923 the two Shona migrants, Samuel Mutendi and Andreas Shoko, having reached the Transvaal, were baptized into the ZAFM in the *Zionist Jordan*, a river just outside Pretoria. This was done not by the church's founder; a charismatic figure called Edward of Basutoland, but by a leader called Engenas Lekhanyane who baptized them. The fact that Lekhanyane, and not Edward, baptized them proved to be an important consideration as events unfolded. After Mutendi's baptism he sensed the Holy Spirit resting on him and he spoke as one anointed. However, he waited a year before this sense of the Spirit changed from one of resting on him to, "entering into me", as Mutendi himself referred to the change (Daneel 1971:292). Mutendi was appointed as the "Zionist emissary to Rhodesia". Andreas Shoko, having thrown his lot in with Mutendi, told others to vote for him: "You must all vote for Mutendi because he is my senior (*mukuru*) for whom I cooked food during the journey from Rhodesia" (Daneel 1971:293). Apart from Mutendi's seniority in age, he came from a superior Shona tribe, the *vaRosvi*, once a powerful Kingdom whose influence was extensive and Mutendi himself was of Royal lineage (Daneel 1971:291-293).

Two other Zionists, Mtisi and Masuka, who had returned to Zimbabwe some years earlier as part of Mhlangu's church, were found in a *backslidden* state by Mutendi upon his arrival back in that country. They had fallen prone to the pressures coming from three different directions – the Mission churches, the Government Administration and the indigenous chiefs, which had all but cancelled out the initial thrust. Masuka was reinvigorated and accompanied Mutendi on his preaching circuits. Even though they belonged to different factions of the Zionist church, the two leaders at the time also felt that their church was one and the same. Having been encouraged by Edward before leaving to preach on John the Baptist, Mutendi did this by using as his text Luke 3 and as his central theme the work of John the Baptist, which was accompanied by possession of the Spirit (Daneel 1971:294).

Daneel comments on baptism and the possession of the Spirit: "These two typically Zionist characteristics, in addition to faith healing through the laying-on of hands, at that time indicated the new 'Church program' on which this 'man of God' could be expected to elaborate in the future" (Daneel 1971:295).

It would appear that Mutendi at first preached only to his relatives and fellow Rozvi kinsmen in the predominantly Rozvi village and later beyond this to the Rozvi living in the Bikita district. In this initial drive it was mostly his close tribal relatives from his immediate nuclear family and on the maternal side of the extended family, as well as the more distantly related Rozvi from the immediate neighbourhood, who formed his campaigning team. In the next stage of growth it was also his first converts from among his relatives that formed the nucleus of his leadership when the church extended beyond the immediate vicinity of the Bikita district. The church, however, did not grow within one tribe only, for the Rozvi had long since lost their Kingdom and were spread out among various chiefdoms, as were others. Soon the message was spread from the scattered Rozvi within these chiefdoms and it was these chiefdoms whose inhabitants were preached to. Thus in its early stages the work represented tribal churches, with the leader and followers all living within the same chiefdom. However, this phase was soon outgrown as considerable numbers from further afield were added to these tribal churches. Foreigners were appointed in addition to the leader's relatives due to their leadership qualities, and it became truly trans-tribal in its composition (Daneel 1971:295, 457-458).

Beyond the changing composition of his congregation(s), there was later on also a change in direction in campaigning and the movement to and of the sick. In the beginning Mutendi was constantly on the move, campaigning (*rwendo*) and covering a lot of ground just to visit and heal the sick. However, this was superseded by the circumstances surrounding Mutendi's reputation being established as a faith-healer, as Daneel (1970:17) explains in his appraisal of *Zionism and Faith Healing in Zimbabwe*:

> But the throngs of sick people, barren women and later even chiefs, restricted his mobility and forced him to concentrate on the extention [*sic*] of his settlement "Zion City" – also called Moriah or Jerusalem. Now the sick came to him. As the various tasks of Independent Church leaders came to be more clearly demarcated, he could increasingly depend on a number of reliable, resident prophets, while he personally treated the more critical cases. In the course of time Mutendi's prophetic function, when it concerned the diagnoses of illnesses by the Holy Spirit, was transferred to junior delegates. More and more he concentrated on Church organization, the consolidation of an ever-expanding sphere of influence, interviews with church leaders of remote communities and sporadic visits to chiefs affiliated to his Church.

In 1925 Engenas Lekhanyane, who was a prominent leader in the ZAFM broke with Edward's church and persuaded Mutendi to join him in forming the Zion Christian Church (ZCC). Lekhanyane's own breach of the church rules by taking a second wife was the stated reason for leaving, but quite possibly his own leadership ambitions were the primary motivation. Though polygamy was considered a serious offence, subsequently the church became more lenient and later on even argued for it in Zimbabwe. Mutendi was encouraged by Lekhanyane's insight into his dream that he, Mutendi, was the one who

would take the message of the *True God* to Nyasaland (now Malawi). This was the catalyst that caused him to change his loyalty.

Shoko, however, remained loyal to Edward and established the Shona branch of the ZAFM in 1931. But his group, being rent by schism in years to come, achieved nothing like the status of the ZCC under Mutendi, who was attributed as possessing something akin to mystical powers (Van der Merwe 1981:221). Immediately prior to the breach with Edward, Mutendi had been ordained as a minister, which meant he had the same rank as David Masuka. This was to serve him well in the future establishment of his own church, as he was now on equal terms with Masuka, the highest ranking Zionist in Rhodesia at that time.

It was the Zionist Christian Church that grew most rapidly into a national movement with Mutendi using to great advantage his past heritage as a Rozvi of royal lineage and his abilities in rainmaking and healing. These not only attracted ordinary villagers, but soon had the effect of drawing on the loyalty of the paramount chiefs. And like Lekhanyane in the Transvaal – whose church became the largest Zionist church in South Africa and boasting a massive *Zion City* near Polokwane, formerly Pietersburg (Sundkler 1976:66) – so Mutendi extended the ZCC. Mutendi did this in political conditions not entirely favourable and in some instances extremely hostile. The ZCC was changed into a "well-organized movement" comprising an extensive network of churches with its headquarters and centralised administration in *Zion City* (Daneel 1971:287; 1987:55).

During the early years, Mutendi made several trips to South Africa and modelled his church after Lekhanyane's. However, after Engenas Lekhanyane's death in 1948, the early ties were loosened. Several factors contributed to this change: Mutendi was refused permission to attend the funeral by the Rhodesian government; secondly the government applied greater control over the ZCC; and lastly the ties were finally undone when Edward (also known as Eduard) Lekhanyane having succeeded his father, paid Mutendi a visit. By that stage, the church in Zimbabwe had become fully autonomous – assisted unwittingly by the restrictive policies of the Rhodesian administration – and Mutendi himself had become a powerful leader. Thus as one of the original founders of the church he claimed superiority to the junior Lekhanyane and the separation was complete.

Not everything in this new Zimbabwean initiated church was plain sailing, for between 1929 and 1961 the Zion Christian Church of Bishop Samuel Mutendi was to suffer no less than thirteen schisms. However, despite the number of break-aways, Mutendi's church remained solidly in place. The faction leaders failed to gain a significant following, with none exceeding a following of some 200 members. This was largely due to the prominence of Mutendi (Daneel 1971:310). Mutendi was determined to build his *Zion* and established a *hospital* using prayer and faith-healing. He also made use of modern agricultural techniques, and established a school in association with the government.

One of the schisms occurred in 1929 when Manhiwa dissented with two sub-leaders, Jarnos Shuro and Munyengedzwa. The reason for this was mounting tension in the leadership of the ZCC due to Mutendi's stance on schools, which had been met with increasing pressure from both tribal and government authorities. Manhiwa broke with Mutendi after Mutendi unlawfully opened a non-authorised school in the Gutu district Manhiwa herewith attempted to distance himself from Mutendi so as to not jeopardize his own position with the Government authorities and his chances of leadership in general. So in an action that

could be construed as opportunistic, these three cut ties with Mutendi and continued their activities with much smaller groups so as not to attract any undue attention. Yet over the course of time, Manhiwa and Shuro fell back on their African Traditional Religion and Manhiwa became a spirit medium (*svikiro*). Munyengedzwa and the remaining secessionists then joined Masuka, who was originally a leader in Mhlangu's church, the ZAC of SA, but whose own church was now called the Ndaza Zionists.

Mutendi originally established his headquarters in the Bikita district, which became a centre for healing to which people travelled from far and wide, and by the 1960s it comprised some 200 huts just for his hospital. However, due to government intervention the headquarters was moved shortly after the border dispute between Mukangangwi, the Duma chief, and the paramount chief of the Rozvi, Chief Jiri, to the Gokwe district. Mutendi aided Chief Jiri, but to no avail and his appeal to the Supreme Court concerning the border dispute was rejected. Central Intelligence people were monitoring the ongoing situation as the government was worried that his influence was already far too great, and tried to neutralise Mutendi by sending him and Chief Jiri to Gokwe. Even while this was happening, Mutendi provided leadership by doing a reconnaissance of the new Gokwe area that had been provided for Chief Jiri. He also helped in the coordination and financing of the Rozvi exodus from Bikita, for which the government in its dereliction of duty provided no assistance. After some of the Rozvi's original schools had burnt down, they had by 1965, just completed building a new school, which received high praise from the Catholic missionaries. So it was with great sadness that the Rozvi had moved, but on arrival in the Gokwe district, the first thing they did was to erect a new school. In all this relocation, it is doubtful whether such a large scale migration could even have been possible without Mutendi's intervention (Daneel 1987:125-127; Daneel 2005:19; Mutendi 2005:16-17).

The Zionist Christian Church under Mutendi had their own *Zion City* where there was only one religion, Zionism, and the whole village became the church headquarters where Mutendi performed the function of both religious leader and headman. These roles were seen in a far larger and celebrated manner as he gained prominence as the founder of a large and growing African Initiated Church. Communal worship when Mutendi was still alive happened daily and the city acted as a hospital for the sick who visited. The prophets prayed for the sick daily, and the day's work, whether physical or spiritual, were determined by Mutendi and his appointed officials. After 1965, once the Rozvi were resettled in Gokwe and after the inevitable rebuilding of community life both tribally and within the ZCC that this entails, not only did Mutendi re-establish a *hospital* using prayer and faith-healing, but he literally translocated his Zion City to the new district of Gokwe. Thus Zion City was in time reborn with all its facilities, providing in like manner as it had done in Bikita. A change in the white government's attitude towards Mutendi's church later on allowed for a greater leniency towards the ZCC by local government officials. This set the stage for a consolidation of the church and Mutendi's work and gave the space for Mutendi's national stature and the influence of Mutendi's ministry to extend in an ever increasing reach beyond Zimbabwe's borders (Daneel 1971:457; 1987:103-105).

Even as the ministry grew and Mutendi's role changed from one of prophet-healer to more of an administrator, the healing practices did not cease. After there had been fundamental changes in the leadership with younger men performing the prophetic functions at the hospital, Mutendi did not stop all his own activities and those of his ministers (*vafundisi*) beyond the hospital. There were still annual campaigns where the *vafundisi* and evangelists

were sent throughout the nation in their various capacities as prophets and healers. Mutendi himself at times prayed for healing when the three *Pasika* (Passover) Feasts happened at Moriah, which sustained and furthered Mutendi's reputation as faith-healer and the *Man of God*. The campaigns in which the ministers and evangelists were sent out had the twin-strategy of recruiting new members and visiting more remote communities and regions to inform them of the recent happenings at Moriah.

In the 1970s, after a season of being away, Daneel again went to visit Mutendi:

> He was then old and frail, he was not embittered, he had actually grown in stature as a liberator, as a resistance figure in relation to the white administration. So even at that stage still hanging back from total support of *Chimurenga* – the liberation struggle – because in the 60's he was actually having the prophets detect the political cards of ZANU and ZAPU and they had to burn it to retain membership in the church. So it was also that conflict, on the one hand he was a total nationalist and appealed to the past, on the other hand he did not want too much political involvement, but I think he was already leaning a lot towards supporting a *Chimurenga* towards the end there (Daneel 2005:19).

Bishop Samuel Mutendi died in 1976, and after his death his sons Reuben and Nehemiah succeeded their father in running the church. However, at some point they had a quarrel and both left Gokwe, each forming his own church. Reuben moved to Bikita and Nehemiah to Mbungo Estates just outside Masvingo; the latter still maintained Zion City at Gokwe (Mackay & Motsi 1988:361-362). Both claimed authenticity by numerous prophetic visions and supernatural signs (Daneel 1988:280), but what had been the difference according to Nehemiah – though it was true that Reuben was favoured by some of the church leaders – was that his leadership had been firmly established over fifteen years prior to his father's death (Mutendi 2005:17). As an apparent result of this official sanctioning the ZCC under Nehemiah has prospered more than the section of the church under Reuben, mirroring the respective sizes of the two Zionist churches under Engenas' sons, Edward and Joseph (cf. Anderson 2000:71). Nehemiah's has initiated a number of development projects at Mbungo Estates, and though there has been a continuity of Samuel Mutendi's work, Nehemiah's strength is predominantly that of an administrator and pragmatic enabler. He has built on his father's legacy in providing a significant central administrative infrastructure for the church and the physical needs of the members through concerted efforts in development.

There has been significant progress or change in the church's policy towards the government. The ZCC is no longer seen as an institution resisting the harsh conditions laid out by a white government, nor is it seen as somewhat neutral – if at times more supportive in general of the chief's authority than the guerrillas in the liberation war years. The church is now more of a co-worker of the government of Robert Mugabe in the arena of development, though it would be true to say that this is not so much a change of policy but of attitude for even Samuel Mutendi participated with the Rhodesian government in the areas of agriculture and the development of education (Mackay & Motsi 1988:362-364).

Nehemiah has managed to sustain the resistance legacy of his father by maintaining a public pro-ZANU-PF (Zimbabwe African National Council – Patriotic Front) image, but just how this relationship is played out beyond the public face with so many members

experiencing what has become known as the *economic tsunami* of the recent political climate is not known. Beyond development, Nehemiah has slackened the church's position on attendance of government clinics where Western medication is used.   Whereas this practise, along with traditional measures used by *n`angas*, was previously condemned by his father, he has left purification rites (to be administered after going to a clinic), as a matter of individual choice rather than church policy. This stance may in part be because he has not inherited the gift of healing, but it may also be due to a desire to work with government policy on Public Health.

Nehemiah has further rather shrewdly seen his role in the area of synthesising the work of his father, with a greater appreciation for an orthodox position regarding the Gospel. He has thus furthered the church's Christological understanding and significantly reduced his role from the *Man of God* who intercedes with God on behalf of his church (in the mode of an Old Testament prophet), to more one of a denominational head who together with others seek God through Jesus the Son (Mutendi 2005:15; Mackay & Motsi 1988:367-368).

When looking back at the foundations of the ZCC in Zimbabwe, the early exploitation of Samuel Mutendi's Royal Rozvi lineage and his connections to both close and distant relatives of the Rozvi clan is intriguing. In the initial stages this no doubt helped in the early establishment of Zionism as a new religion among the chiefdoms. Later, as his reputation as a *Man of God* with Royal bearing grew, paramount chiefs came to visit, adding prestige and weight to his *faith-healing* and prayers for rain. It is debatable just how far this carried over into mission trips further afield and how much bearing this has on the present leadership of the late Mutendi's son, with tribal roots and royal heritage fast becoming less relevant in today's Zimbabwe. But one thing seems certain: within Shona society, chiefs and villagers alike could come to Zion City during Samuel Mutendi's days and experience great annual festivals, gaining a taste of the kingdom of the past whilst experiencing a foretaste of the Kingdom that is to come.

Structures employed in Mutendi's model of leadership

Mutendi, once he arrived back in Rhodesia,   initially used traditional structures to establish his church. Not only did he seek to preach to and convert his close relatives and his more distant Rozvi kinsmen, but he also used these first converts to form the nucleus of his leadership when the church began to expand beyond the immediate vicinity of his home village, and in its early stages it had the composition of a strictly tribal church. What is striking, however, is that in many African Initiated Churches (AICs – also called African Independent Churches) leadership not only extended along kinship lines, but as the church grew foreigners were added to the leadership as and where they displayed natural leadership ability (Daneel 1971:457-459). In this manner, Mutendi transformed traditional structures of leadership by employing foreigners, while also providing for continuity of the traditional structures in the significant roles that his relatives played.

Beyond these two aspects, Samuel Mutendi even ultimately applied *leadership inversion* by promoting a younger son to take over the helm of the church over and above the second eldest son – Engenas (or Engenasi) favoured by the elders of the church. In this manner, Mutendi used the principle of "inversion of the traditional order" used in AICs (Daneel 1987:157), for his choice of a successor was not his firstborn son of his first house. In such cases of succession, leadership can be chosen on the basis of the relative spirituality of the

son, but in the choice of Nehemiah Mutendi over his older brothers, apart from his obedience to his father (which is seen as significant by Nehemiah), the father obviously chose the son who was more highly educated. Nehemiah was better gifted in administration (he was the superintendent of the school at the time) and was thus better able to lead the church in the times of transition it was facing as part of a developing nation within a modern world (Mutendi 2005:17; Daneel 2005:22).

In the case of Samuel Mutendi, what was more critical at first than his leadership skills and natural leadership charisma, was his initial contact with Lekhanyane and the fact that on his return to Southern Rhodesia he was the most senior ranking Zionist alongside Masuka. Establishing leadership status by substantiating a commissioning by an early prominent leader, whether Lekhanyane or Mhlangu, is often vital in Zionism. Not only is the leader's prominence established that way, but thereby a link is established to "American Zionism" and thus by inference to the "Primitive Christian Church" (cf. Sundkler 1961:202). In contrast to Sundkler's general interpretation however (which could be argued for Mutendi), Daneel (2004:188) mentions that Bishop Mutendi "…traced the roots of African Zionism not through classical or world Pentecostalism but through the Reformed and Catholic traditions, back to what he considered to be the original 'Zion Church.'" In general of the AICs, Daneel (2004:183) states: "Theirs was, and remains, a quest for an authentic African mythical charter establishing original closeness and ecclesial decent directly from Christ and the Bible without reference to the apostolic succession claimed by Western churches."

In addition to this, in AICs among the Shona: "There is no doubt that the dominant pattern of kinship influence in Church membership is that of persons naturally placed in positions of seniority and authority, through blood relationships or marital ties, exerting their influence over those subordinated to them" (Daneel 1974:170). If this had remained the case for Mutendi, the church would not have grown beyond those immediately subordinate to Rozvi leadership. Daneel however goes on to say that there is in fact often a reversal of traditional roles in the Independent Church (IC), and bears this out specifically in the case of the ZCC in table 37, category 6 and 4 of his second volume (Daneel 1974:182). This table indicates that at the time 48% of the people were primarily motivated to join because of healing, as opposed to 22% who joined via close kinship ties. Thus, Mutendi also went beyond the immediate traditional structures after the first phase to institute his church:

> A less obvious but significant trend is the reversal of customary roles. In this kind of situation a subordinated individual with strong religious convictions or leadership capacities becomes the decision-making power who has a determining influence on the religious affiliation of his or her natural seniors. …It is important to take note of this *reversal of roles* in the religious field because it indicates that the *Independent Churches were not merely introduced into Shona society as institutions adapted to the older order but also as communities with designs and codes essentially different from it*. A study of the IC leadership hierarchies, for instance, brings to light that the kinship principle of seniority is not necessarily taken as a guideline for the distribution of ecclesiastic authority in these movements (Daneel 1974:170).

Thus church membership and leadership structures followed kinship and tribal patterns initially and then in subsequent phases in addition also followed patterns that were not traditionally aligned. Beyond these facts however Mutendi's church's growth over and

above all the other Zionist churches, was made possible by its accommodating the various needs of the people such as healing, rain-making and fertility. With the long since collapsed Rozvi kingdom, the establishing of a new tribal focal point and associated tribal restructuring as Daneel (1987:104) alludes to, was key:

> By contrast with the heterogeneous religious affiliation pattern of other rural villages, Mutendi's "village" developed a homogeneous religious pattern under one personality who was both headman and religious leader. In reality the village as a whole was transformed into a church headquarters. This inspired villagers with a strong communal motivation, namely to work together to construct their own "Jerusalem". It seldom happens that an entire community can be united and mobilized for such a long period by means of a common *Leitmotiv*.

In addition to the village transformation to one of church headquarters, which none-the-less operated largely along traditional lines, Mutendi's Zion City also used modern progressive ideas, as reflected in the agricultural methods employed. He further built a school, which was part of the infrastructure of the city and which was run in consultation with the government schools administration.   Not only did Zion City boast a significant infrastructure and a convergence of ideas both old and new to create its own identity, but the regular visits from the paramount chiefs gave it the prestige that only the cult of Matonjeni near Bulawayo enjoyed. The through-traffic was such that Zion City was in daily contact with the happenings of the nation. Mutendi's headquarters therefore had a far more enlightened outward-looking ethos and was well informed on all educational, socio-political and religious changes occurring in the nation (Daneel 1987:56, 105-106).

Visitation, and therefore ongoing contact with the *Man of God* in his *Zion City* happened continuously as many of the ward headmen and chiefs of certain districts would send their messengers (now Zionist delegates) to Mutendi. Mutendi's not only provided a socio-religious centre and alternative to the cult of Matonjeni, but as his reputation grew as the religious head and descendant of Rozvi royalty, he began to represent at the very least a significant political influence. As this happened, he began to receive the gifts from the *vanyai* (messengers) once bound for Matonjeni: "He would then act as 'mediator' by asking the Christian God for rain" (Daneel 1987:231).   As the messengers went out from the tribal areas to Zion City and the prophets and evangelists from Zion City to the tribal areas (especially after the Pasika feasts), Mutendi adapted the old structures that the Matonjeni cult once solely enjoyed. He adapted the religious information network and political structures to create a sphere of influence for himself that paralleled the cult: "In the same way that these messengers constituted a bond between the central religious authority and the tribal areas across the entire country, thus ensuring a perennial politico-religious influence from a central point, so the Zionist advisors enabled Mutendi to exercise a similar influence over a wide area" (Daneel 1987:123).

In Zion City, as stated, one could find a unique blending of old and new, where patients and pilgrims were fed in exchange for their own labour being employed in the fields. A mutual aid system developed where people helped on building projects in exchange for prophetic healing and pastoral counsel (Daneel 1987:105). The leadership structures within the church were largely traditional. Mutendi was assisted on a ministry level by the *vafundisi* (pastor or minister), who were high-ranking church officials and helped oversee the preaching circuits. Under these men were the evangelists, who performed a similar

function to the *vafundisi* but were lower in status. Alongside these men, particularly back at Zion City and as Mutendi's role changed with the passage of time, were junior prophets, left with the prophetic task of discerning of diseases. On first appearance it would seem that Mutendi made use of a very flat pyramid structure unwilling to share any of the limelight at the top. This is especially true when one takes into account the implications of a structure that allows for only the Bishop to celebrate the Eucharistic sacraments. Yet this is not an entirely accurate reflection, for indeed both Nehemiah Mutendi and Inus Daneel state that Mutendi had a *Minister in Charge* or *First Minister* complete with his own staff, who stood between Mutendi and his *vafundisi* in a leadership hierarchy included the offices of deacons and preachers (Mutendi 2005:16; Daneel 1970:17-18, 52).

This *First Minister* was a Rozvi, related through his father's sister and as such, because of the familial connection, was a *sekuru* to Nehemiah, though he was actually slightly younger than Nehemiah. The pyramid is flatter than most traditional church structures, but this may not entirely be a bad thing as contact between the Bishop and the ordinary members is then greater, unrestricted as it is by an elaborate hierarchical structure. Besides his *First Minister*, there were senior advisors to Mutendi, most of whom were Rozvi and some directly related to him. However, particularly outside of the immediate context of Zion City, some of them appear to have been from other tribes. He also complemented his church leadership and court structure by often obtaining advice from his sons and wives, for whom his *vahosi* (lead wife) was the senior advisor on practical matters and *Mia* Solomon the senior advisor for spiritual matters (Mutendi 2005:16; Daneel 2005:23).

Because Mutendi refused to have more than one minister per district, it meant that direct authority for individual ZCC congregations was often vested with the evangelist. A prophet could occupy any of the offices below the *mufundisi* (singular for *vafundisi*), but depending on the seniority he may occupy a position immediately below the *mufundisi* in any one district. Where the church grew or where there was more than one evangelist in a congregation, instead of promoting an evangelist in a district to the office of *mufundisi*, they were ranked by seniority, as first or second evangelist and so on (Daneel 1987:150).

The *vafundisi* in a court setting in Zion City acted as respected councillors, and within their circuit as village headmen. In the church court, these men were assisted by junior officials who acted as messengers, spokesmen and secondary facilitators. Meanwhile Mutendi's sons/sons-in-law conducted the proceedings and Mutendi, in the mode of a chief, would say very little while the court was in session, until such time as he delivered his verdict, which often reflected the will of the people, according to Daneel (1987:141) who states:

> Like the Shona chief, the Independent Church leader is at the head of a trichotomous legal system. The council of each individual congregation corresponds to the village court; the circuit or regional court of the church reminds one of the ward court (court of the *dunhu*); and the supreme church council at headquarters is similar to the chief's court which has jurisdiction over the entire tribal territory. …The court sessions and judicial system at Zion City was particularly reminiscent of those tribal courts.

It was also clear that the oppressive forces of the ancestors were cancelled out by Mutendi's curative powers and on the cerebral level by his theology, such that the prophet as the *Man of God* addressed both the need for societal stability as well as religious leadership. He

adopted some aspects of traditional life such as the chief's court, adapted others such as the village structures, and radically transformed still others such as the religious role which a chief might be expected to fulfil, with the *power of the shades* confronted rather than appeased. But in many ways his role extended way beyond these. He filled a vacuum, both ceremonially as a rain-maker who interceded directly with *Mwari*, and in providing for a greater sense of connectedness and focus in his Zion City. In doing so, Mutendi effectively reversed the roles of chief and *Man of God*, such that movement was primarily from tribal headquarters to the *City of Zion*. This role reversal is also seen in the case of Shembe – an IC leader in Zululand (Sundkler 1961:282; Daneel 1987:127), who filled a power-vacuum as the paramount chief's role declined – but more so in the case of Mutendi, reminding the paramount chiefs of a by-gone kingdom:

> Mutendi, initially regarded with great suspicion, started gaining popularity.   As his reputation as a "rain maker" grew the chiefs increasingly came to rely on him. In 1965 he counted fifteen paramount chiefs among the members of his church – a greater number of high-ranking traditional leaders than belonged to any other independent Church. Mutendi's royal descent from the Rozvi was a major factor in this connection, and the construction of a Zion City with a wide sphere of influence throughout the country made a great impression on tribal leaders who had not forgotten the glory of the once mighty Rozvi dynasty. This church with its impressive headquarters reminded chiefs and headmen of the organized pan-tribal unity which the Rozvi kings had achieved with their co-ordination of vassal states. Although Mutendi seldom referred to his Rozvi lineage, it was remarkable that at the annual church feasts the chiefs publicly honoured him as if he were royalty (Daneel 1987:122).

As the church has experienced the new leadership style of Nehemiah (Samuel Mutendi's son), so too the structures have had to be adapted for the growing urban needs of the church. With the passage of time and a more centralised administration – this had been there from his father's days, but significantly smaller – an elaborate administrative hierarchy that supports the districts in their various capacities of finance, publications, training (spiritual and educational), property management and agriculture was also built up with professionals and semi-professionals holding key administrative positions in management. Such is the infrastructure required for today's urban church and the diverse needs of even its rural communities (Mutendi 2005:16).

In all this expansion of ministry the church has managed to retain its rural focus; yet its urban constituency has grown significantly, such that it would not be remiss to call it a church with two foci. The sermons in the urban setting are orientated towards the urban needs of employment, good employee-employer relations, moral reinforcement against the use of alcohol in beer-halls and the associated vices of sex-workers (Daneel 1987:133). The conditions in the cities, however, changed substantially from the time of Daneel's last published volume on Shona Independent Churches in 1988 – in which he infers that the Shona urban congregations may sometimes be seen as extensions of a predominantly rural movement, using the example of the medium-sized town of Masvingo (Daneel 1988:19) – through to 1997 when Zimbabwe experienced her economic peak. Despite all the negative economic growth in recent years – particularly in the cases of Bulawayo and the twin city of Harare-Chitungweza – the larger cities have grown sufficiently in their urban populace

(less true of the larger towns such as Masvingo) such that the city work of the ZCC can truly be seen to be its own entity with its own city church council (Mutendi 2005:16).

Somewhat surprisingly, in his book *Quest for Belonging*, written a year earlier, Daneel supports the above concept of separate city and rural situations, possibly because the focus is in line with the larger city of Soweto (a more equitable size to the present day cities of Harare-Chitungweza or Bulawayo than is Masvingo). He comments favourably on the analysis of Martin West (1975:195) of the appeal in the city of the Independent Church:

> Apart from estrangement from his family and restrictions on social mobility, there is the great disparity between a rural and an urban community. In the city a heterogeneous mass of people are concentrated in a limited area. The kinship structure that forms the basis of the social order in rural communities is lacking and new criteria for a satisfactory social structure are needed. This is where the Independent Churches make an important contribution; where they emerge as "reorientation centres", and where the nature of their wide ranging activities can best be depicted as a *quest for belonging* (Daneel 1987:134).

The partial breakdown of the extended family due to urban life or alternatively the extended periods of time where spouses are left behind while particularly the husband seeks employment in the city (which has until recently when transport to rural areas has become far more sporadic and expensive proved to be less of an issue in Zimbabwe than was the case pre-1994 in South Africa) has been problematic. The Independent Churches have provided for a means of family, a means of connectedness, and a safe haven in uncertain circumstances. A lack of community has been experienced within new, large, impersonal subsections to high density suburbs where housing units, pre-1997, appeared to spring up over night. In the small intimate groups of the African Initiated Church where members have traditionally cared for each other's wellbeing in a very tangible way, some sense of support is offered. More recently, a greater purpose of church growth has provided for a spiritual sense of relief in an otherwise senseless political environment in which squatter houses are being demolished, and street-vendors' businesses destroyed in times of an exponential rate of inflation (cf Daneel 1987:80, 272; Mutendi 2005:17).

Furthermore, with the Zimbabwean diaspora now living throughout the world – a situation that has affected all the churches including the ZCC with its ranks of present day professionals ranging from nursing aids to chief executive officers – the ZCC has experienced a membership star-burst with members as far afield as New Zealand. There are now established congregations ranging from Messina in South Africa to London in the United Kingdom to Boston in Massachusetts (Mutendi 2005:18). The church has continued to grow considerably, particularly in its urban ministry under Nehemiah and is even in the process of building a new auditorium to accommodate the needs and aspirations of its city dwellers. Yet what has not changed since Samuel Mutendi's day are the small Zionist groups meeting under the shade of large trees in both urban and rural areas.

Styles of leadership used by Mutendi
Mutendi, because of his *mystical powers* alongside his royal heritage and because of the African leadership model, had a large measure of direct control, in which Daneel claims he exercised an autocratic style almost as a bi-product of the chiefly hierarchical leadership

system (Daneel 1987:175). And yet within this system of governance Mutendi, according to interviews with Daneel and Nehemiah, was known to be a gentle and humble man, who hardly ever raised his voice; soft-spoken and yet resolute, and in a decision – once his mind was made up – unflinching (Daneel 2005:21; Mutendi 2005:15-16). Samuel Mutendi held his leadership lightly, was not given to dictatorial leadership, and used comic relief:

> He was much more persuasive than domineering, he did not come across as a domineering figure at all, he seldom raised his voice, but he was very serious. But he also knew when he could see people were getting restless, how to use comic relief – throw in a joke, you know! And he would for example say if something is predictable and bound to happen he would say that is as certain as a man going and taking a pee after sex, for example. That would draw roars of laughter because it would be abrupt and sudden, and one could say in a sense in bad taste, but it is so true to life that I think even the Lord would smile sometimes at some of those things. And then he would, after having brought in a little bit of humour, carry on again, and he could carry on for a long time without raising his voice very much. And then he was a good background figure that he allowed his key figures in the court to talk. He patterned his leadership on the chiefly [model], in other words the chief that does not talk all that much. He is sitting there, allowing the councillors to give their opinion and then he would summarise towards the end and be the wise one, and in doing that endeared himself to his own people (Daneel 2005:21).

He was not a man given to boasting about his own exploits, but rather allowed honour to be given him by his senior leaders, who would recall his exploits particularly at the time of the great Pasika feasts. He was cautious not to cut off his leaders, but allowed them ample time to speak in the *dare* (court or church council meetings) extolling his feats, but also to express their views in any matter under discussion. In talking about important matters, such as his exploits in rain-making, he used a comprehensive approach exploiting every channel available to him: individually with people he persuaded with conviction; in the *dare*; from the pulpit; and using the chiefs as witnesses. In all these ways he exuded the best traits of a quiet, determined, and courageous leader full of charisma; as an overflow of this his prominence grew almost naturally (Daneel 2005:21), but also in relation to his royal heritage, and his image as an early resistance figure as Daneel (1987:55-56) states:

> Of all the Zionist churches Bishop Mutendi's ZCC attracted most attention at a national level. Mutendi gained publicity as a sort of resistance hero who effectively dodged the oppressive measures of the administration. A descendant of the royal house of the Rozvi, he invoked the bygone glory of this dynasty and as a result many more Shona chiefs were baptized in his church than in any of the other Independent Churches in Rhodesia. In Mutendi's "holy city" chiefs and ordinary ZCC members could attend the great feasts …free from white domination and subject only to a venerated authority. Because of Mutendi's fame as a miracle-worker, benefactor and resistance figure his leadership eventually developed overtones of what one could call "Messianism".

His royal claim went beyond some obscure relationship to the Rozvi lineage to a direct claim on the whole genealogy of the Rozvi *Mambos* from Dombo Dhlembewu, one of the best known Rozvi kings, and Chirisamuru to Gumboremvura, Ngweremweze, Mutinhima,

and finally Chief Jiri Zihumbwa (Daneel 2005:20, cf. Daneel 1971:287). This claim was never proven explicitly by Daneel, but it held good for ZCC members and established a proud link with the past. Such was his prominence that "… he had more than 15 Paramount Chiefs in his church and they would roll in the dust at his feet, recognising him as a Rozvi Mambo, so Mutendi was appealing to the dynasty of the Rozvi in earlier centuries and which has a very politically strong unifying effect" (Daneel 2005:19).

He dealt decisively with detractors and those wanting to secede from his leadership. Warnings to secessionists were normally given by equating those who claimed such unfounded leadership to Jeroboam, or Simon the Sorcerer in Acts 8. Sometimes they were simply ignored, if it was judged wiser not to draw attention to an upstart.   One such dissenter was confronted in a meeting, at the end of which Mutendi – the *Man of God* – said God would strike him (the dissenter) with lightening if God was with Mutendi. It rained immediately after the meeting and lightening struck so hard that the dissenter begged Mutendi's intervention, to which he pronounced an "Amen", and at that point the storm calmed. He possessed, it was believed by his followers, mystical powers and in their eyes held the esteem of someone who was equated to a black Messiah (Daneel 1971:310).

Mutendi, as Daneel relates, is referred to by Paramount Chief Samu from Gonakudzingwa as "The man of God" (Daneel 1970:52). Beyond this his First Minister also gives him praise titles, which indicate his Messianic qualities:

> Great One, you who love us with the love with which Christ prayed to his Father when he said: 'I pray not for the world, but for them who have given Thee to me'. Through you, reverend One, we behold God. …All illnesses are cured. Therefore we say *that he* [*Mutendi*] *is a treasured gift to us, Africans*. Your lordship, we are powerless and do not understand all your teachings. We are naked in your presence (Daneel 1970:51-52).

Yet Daneel points out that caution should be used in any talk of *Messianism* which relates Mutendi's role to that of a *black Messiah*.   Sundkler, in reinterpreting Shembe's role toward the Zulus, sees him rather as the living "*eikon* or the mask" of Christ; and Martin in her reinterpretation of the Kimbanguist movement, calls Kimbangu, in a softer approach than she uses previously, the "instrument of Christ", through whom the Son is revealed to the Congolese (Sundkler 1976:193, 310; Martin 1975:64; cf. Daneel 1987:187-188). Samuel Mutendi and "[t]hose who do develop messianic traits are more appropriately characterised as 'iconic leaders' insofar as their leadership positively mirrors and concretizes the person of Christ in the African context for their followers" (Daneel 2004:182). In line with this thinking Nehemiah Mutendi sees his father as the founder and prophetic witness to the one who indeed is the Christ – Jesus, the Son (Mutendi 2005:16).

It would be more accurate to classify Mutendi as possessing the ideal founding leadership model of prototype status, who, because of his royal descent and early resistance to white domination, exhibited the classic chief-type style of leadership. At the same time because of his reputation as a rain-maker and healing-figure with direct access to the divine placed him in the classic prophet-type role to such an extent that Daneel claims that the distinction between the two types made by Sundkler ceases to be relevant (Daneel 1988:10-13; Sundkler 1961:109). In contrast Nehemiah is the classic chief-type leader who fulfils the presidential role of an established independent church. Without doubt links for many from

the poorer sectors of the church with the rural areas have remained sufficiently strong even in the cities such that Nehemiah continues to fulfil a chiefly role. Nehemiah's role as a chiefly but modern leader justifies Daneel's contention with Martin West's critique that the classifications of chiefly and prophetic leaders in the city (with specific reference to Soweto) have fallen away, is unjustified (Daneel 1988:19; West 1975:49).

His father was a shrewd forward planner, as can be seen in the story that Nehemiah relates about how he was chosen to succeed his father. Nehemiah tells how his father's official title was superintendent of the church and then goes on to relate the following:

> So when it came to opening the new school, the Minister of Education wanted to know once they opened it who would be their superintendent of schools? So Nehemiah was given the title, but no-one at the time realised the significance of this! Years later when he called his elders together to choose a successor, and they were focused on Engenas (the number two son), he pointed out that Nehemiah's title was already superintendent and that they were the ones who had agreed to put his name forward a long time back, so they had already agreed as to who should succeed Samuel Mutendi, saying to them: "That's what you have [already] agreed!" This meeting occurred in 1962 and Nehemiah took over the church in 1977, fifteen years later, and in this manner Nehemiah showed how his father was a shrewd leader who could use long term foresight in planning and cunning negotiating to bring about the desired result! (Mutendi 2005:17).

Samuel Mutendi was a leader who would not take any nonsense; he was persuasive and would not mince his words with his leadership figures, telling them exactly what was expected of them. A strong, courageous leader, he insisted on his own authority and did not buckle in the face of united opposition, whether from the *n`angas* or the white Rhodesian administration. Mutendi was a capable and shrewd leader, one who had integrity in his dealings with others, who understood the needs of his people and set out to address these, whether in a gentle, loving and pragmatic manner, which paralleled his softly spoken nature, or by confronting the *n`angas* and taking a stand against witchcraft and alternate gods. He was resolute in the latter; true to his kingly posture and his absolute belief in his own authority and spiritual convictions (Daneel 2005:18-19).

Daneel relates how Mutendi's training largely took place in-service. Mutendi and Lekhanyane were responsible for establishing a specific mode of conduct, in which the leader models and discusses with a group of senior leaders the methodology of their belief system and the biblical interpretation for a particular scenario. In this way the training was highly praxis oriented. Mutendi, was probably mentored by Lekhanyane in the early phase, but very shortly made his own contribution, especially once he had left as a missionary bound for Southern Rhodesia. In many ways he was Lekhanyane's junior, but he was also considered a co-founder of the ZCC and the ZCC in Zimbabwe is still considered a legitimate branch, not an off-shoot, of the ZCC in South Africa. Over the course of time, with the logistical difficulties and changes in Rhodesia's political climate, Mutendi's church gained full independence. However, in the beginning Mutendi's church operated in submission to Engenas Lekhanyane's, with a lot of interaction between the two men. But once Edward Lekhanyane took over, Samuel Mutendi as the co-founder of the ZCC established his rightful and superior claim to Edward's (Daneel 1971:299; 2005:22).

Samuel's sons also received in-service training. Nehemiah would on long weekends often be at home from his teaching and would participate in the *dare*. After that he would have experienced a far more comprehensive and on-going apprenticeship once he was the superintendent of the ZCC schools, especially in the area of administration. Nehemiah by his own admission is an impatient, less compassionate man who does not have his father's humble, less vocal, less demanding style (Nehemiah 2005:17). Yet possibly a second generation leader with a greater degree of control and without the prophetic flare, was what was needed to administer the church beyond the pioneering stages into becoming one of the largest, if not the largest AIC in Zimbabwe. It has an administrative staffing reminiscent of any Zimbabwean denominational church founded by missionaries and now also fully independent. On the other hand, Reuben's training was possibly far more that of an evangelist's or prophet's. Already from his in-service training, when he established churches in the Gutu area, he was a "Bishop in the making", and after his father died he founded his own branch of the ZCC (Daneel 2005:22).

Values of Mutendi's leadership
The value of love:
Nehemiah Mutendi relates how each of the sons and daughters thought that Samuel Mutendi loved them more than the others; even his church elders would relate that he loved each of them as ministers more than he did everyone else. The wives, according to Nehemiah, loved each other like sisters, a clear reflection of how he treated all his wives. Samuel Mutendi was known for his love and his big heart that seemed to love all people equally (Mutendi 2005:17). Daneel also relates the extent of Samuel Mutendi's love:

> But the fact is that he loved his children a great deal and was very caring of them. And because I became adopted into his household myself, I was often invited for breakfast, and then his *vahosi* which is the lead woman, she would bring in the food, and she would do something that African women would never do in a white man's presence, she would sit on his lap for a while and you could see that they were totally in love and it was good to see! It was private but I was allowed to see it. It was not a game, it was something very natural and when some of the other women came in, she would take their feelings into consideration and stand up and stand to the side and allow them to address him. So I would say there was a lot of compassion. I think … I would say compassionate, caring and really loving his family and taking good care of them. Where he lived he had two nice huts built for each of his women, where the one was a cooking hut and the other for her and the children to live. Also the inter-relations were well organised, with a common plan as to who sleeps where and when and so forth (Daneel 2005:22).

The values of unity and reconciliation:
From his love flowed a value for tribal unity: "The chiefs in Gutu or Bikita did not interact, but then they finally came, all of them. 'What is the use of going to Matopos to ask for rain when we can do that here?' They all came together. My brother used to make a joke and say that when you want to practice love, don't behave like chiefs!" (Mutendi 2005:14).

Reconciliation as a concept in the Zionist church goes far beyond the mending of estrangement, enmity and a breach of trust between two individuals, as it is often regarded

in purely Western circles. Once a person has been exposed as a sorcerer or witch (someone who prescribes curses of death, disease and destruction), the Zionist prophetic practice is to accept the convicted party into the life of the church "… as proof of the hope and the grace extended to the socially unacceptable. This practise … contrasts dramatically with the traditional approach, which could go as far as the death penalty" (Daneel 1987:241).

Infact reconciliation with the dead is even envisaged. Taylor points to the role of the descended Christ, who descended to the dead in order to "…show Himself to the living ones" before being raised into the heavens (1 Pt 3:19; Eph 4:8-10 and Rm 10:7), in support of this vital concept for African Initiated Churches (Taylor 2001:111). "Communion with the shades can now mean fellowship with essentially living persons, with whom we look forward to a more intense life than we can imagine, to which the resurrection of Jesus has already opened the road" (Taylor 2001:112). Daneel (1987:277-278) ascribes an incorrect page number to this concept of Taylor's, but clearly sees the theological concept of Christ's deliverance in the "realm of the shades" as being directly applicable to the Shona Spirit-type churches, which for Daneel includes all Shona Zionists and Apostles.

The value of peace:
Nehemiah relates: "My father was 'cool' [sober-minded] and was a man of peacefulness, who hardly ever raised his voice" (Mutendi 2005:17). This quality of peace is expressed in the dilemma of the liberation (or civil) war in Zimbabwe. Out of loyalty to the chiefs Mutendi forbade his followers to hold political party cards. But even the chiefs' authority was ultimately tied to the state, which is why he did not recognise anything beyond the "police and the prophets", as he would say. However, this could also be interpreted as a desire for peace with the civil authorities, which is probably why he took so long to show more clearly his support of the *Chimurenga*. This value of peace is also reflected in how members of Independent churches are often found in the communal areas working alongside those of traditional and other beliefs, and how in desiring peace the Zionist prophets will even prescribe to the unbelieving parents of the deceased a means of appeasing the ancestors (Daneel 2005:19; Daneel 1987:107; Daneel 1970:41-42).

The value of justice:
Mutendi was also seen to be a man of justice and fair-play. This was born out on an inter-personal level where he was even-handed with his wives and treated them all with fairness. On an institutional level it was evident in how he actively pursued a course of action that allowed him to build schools, and on a tribal level when he fought for justice for Chief Jiri in particular in the boundary dispute (Mutendi 2005:17; Daneel 2005:22). This quality of justice and fair-play showed in his fight for schools, a hospital and a church that his people could call their own. His people often faced prejudice from the mission schools, but he relentlessly pursued justice for his people according to Daneel (2005:23):

> I would say for his own context he was marked by courage, regardless of opposition. He was determined, so it's perseverance, courage, and he was determined to have his own educational facility. He collaborated for some time with the Dutch Reformed superintendents, who supervised him for some time, that was the condition, but he kept going and at an early stage was repeatedly put in prison. …He was determined like all the missions to have his own autonomy, his own church, his own hospital – he had two hundred huts where all the patients came and the prophets working with them, and his own school.
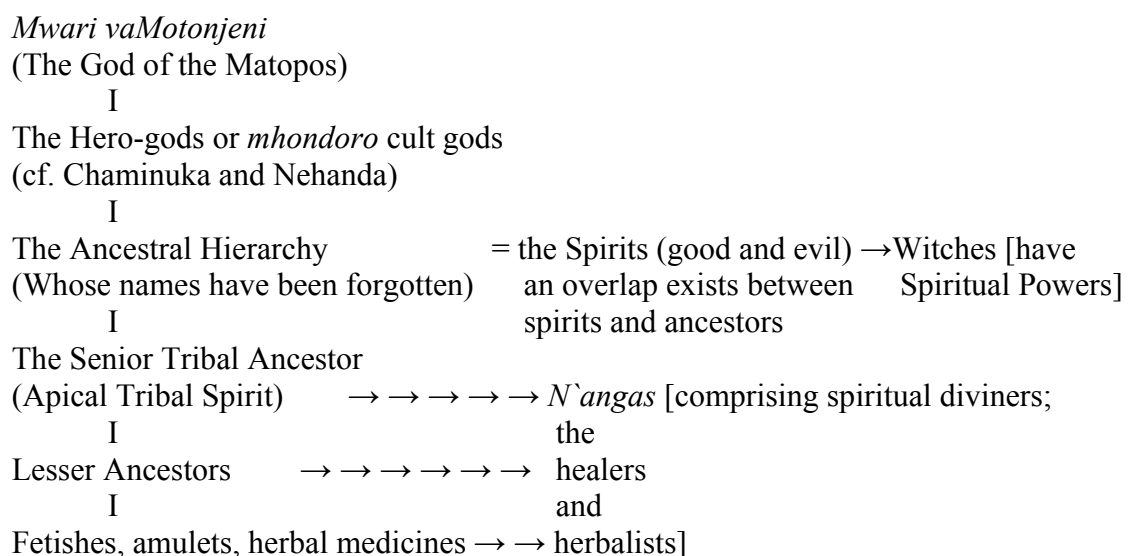
Mutendi's belief system underpinning his model of leadership

It is important to note a few fundamental aspects of the belief system of the tribes in the vicinity of Mutendi's campaigning before discussing Mutendi's personal Belief System. For the purposes of this thesis it is accepted that there is still some semblance (even if limited) of truth in the fusion of the *mhondoro* cult (the appeasement of senior tribal spirits or "hero-gods") and the *Mwari* cult, which later became known as *Mwari vaMatonjeni* (God of the Matopos hills). The principal *mhondoro* at Great Zimbabwe was Chaminuka's and although this Shona hero-god had no connection with *Mwari* originally, by a process of integration he became known as the "son of *Mwari*". These two cults were associated with the two dynasties of the Mutapa kings (*mhondoro* cult), and the Rozvi kings (*Mwari*) and came respectively with the associated spirit mediums or *svikiro* and the associated mediums who acted as the voice of God. Historically speaking the *Mwari* cult grew stronger in the South, especially among the Karanga with the final location of the shrines once they had moved from Great Zimbabwe to the Matopos. The *mhondoro* cult was more prevalent in the north. Yet because of the original fusion it is still possible to speak of a total system incorporating both (Daneel 1970b:24-26).

In a Southern tribal setting in Zimbabwe, *Mwari vaMotonjeni* is predominantly associated with rain-making and fertility. Under him is a hierarchy of ancestors whose names have been forgotten over time, but who are requested to intercede with *Mwari vaMotonjeni*, in times of crisis or rain-making. They are in turn approached by the senior tribal spirit. However, with the fusion of the *mhondoro* cult, this hierarchy has another level directly below *Mwari* himself. If the *mhondoro* cult is strongest in a certain region *Mwari* is in times of crisis or if it is deemed necessary to bypass the lineage ancestors, such as in a drought, approached through his *son* Chaminuka, or more recently through another hero-god, Nehanda. However, in places such as the Matopos where the *Mwari* cult is stronger, *Mwari vaMotonjeni* may be approached directly (Daneel 1970b:18, 25-26).

An integration of the two cults can be schematically displayed as in figure 5.1.1. This representation was, depending on the tribe, to a greater or lesser extent relevant in Mutendi's day, even if it may be less true for today's rural folk.

Figure 5.1.1: *The Simplified Shona Africa Cosmological Structure*

Mwari vaMotonjeni
(The God of the Matopos)
    I
The Hero-gods or *mhondoro* cult gods
(cf. Chaminuka and Nehanda)
    I
The Ancestral Hierarchy   = the Spirits (good and evil) →Witches [have
(Whose names have been forgotten)   an overlap exists between   Spiritual Powers]
    I   spirits and ancestors
The Senior Tribal Ancestor
(Apical Tribal Spirit)   → → → → → *N`angas* [comprising spiritual diviners;
    I   the
Lesser Ancestors   → → → → → → healers
    I   and
Fetishes, amulets, herbal medicines → → herbalists]

This follows the same classic pattern that Taylor, quoting Edwin Smith, notes in his studies of the West African tribes (Taylor 2001:49; Smith 1959:18). It is clear that once Mutendi was back in Zimbabwe, he accommodated the various needs of the people such as healing and as an alternative intermediary who could pray for rain and fertility:

> Mutendi thus replaces one of the *nganga's* most important ritual functions. Instead of the fertilizing powers originating from Mwari waMatonjeni being transferred through the manipulations of the traditional diviner to the seed and other objects, Mutendi conveys these blessings (also conceived of as fertility-power) directly from the "one from Heaven"…. But more important still is Mutendi's modelling of the ceremonial request for rain at Moriah on the familiar procedures adopted in the past (Daneel 1974:105).

His role became closely aligned with the role of the *n`anga* (or nganga) or super-*n`anga*. All Zionist prophet condiments were an adaptation of the *n`anga's*:

> In rejecting medicines the Zionists bring about a remarkable adaptation and fusion of the prophetic treatment with the traditional pattern. The burning of paper, the smoke of which must be inhaled, the manipulation of the sanctified staff, the purified water and the wearing of sanctified linen cloths, which the prophet almost always, prescribe, show a direct parallel with the medicinal practices of the *nganga*. The use of these "instruments" form the substance of the charge by the Mission Church members that Mutendi is nothing but a "*big nganga*" (Daneel 1970:44).

What is possibly more striking than his adaptation of the *n`anga's* role is Mutendi's choice to confront the ancestral powers, the *mhondoro* cultic beliefs and even the Matonjeni cult, which he did by cancelling out the *power of the shades* and the cults – the ancestor's oppressive forces and the hero-gods dominating influence. He was so radical that he not only equated the oppressive ancestral spirits to evil (*shave*) spirits, but *Mwari vaMotonjeni* to Satan himself as Daneel (1974:104) relates:

> In 1965, for instance, during the final sermon before the administration of the sacraments, he launched the following attack on Matonjeni and the ancestors: "A family under Satan's guidance [referring to Mwari waMatonjeni] has no peace. You must therefore cast away all that was practised by your forebears. They believed in and worshipped their *midzimu*. This kind of worship is the same as believing in demons, and such *shave* spirits as the Madanda, majukwa and Zvipuna. Cast away all these things and believe in Him who is in heaven."

Thus the negative impact of the ancestral spirits (*midzimu*) and even the high-god is disposed of. They are not only negated, leaving a cultural vacuum, but are replaced by the prophet and his Christian God. He spoke out openly against the *mhondoro* cult of Chaminuka and the *Mwari* cult of Matonjeni, challenging all dissenters to go to them asking for rain, having to make sacrifices and brew beer, when Mutendi asked for nothing of the sort. It was known in Zion City, and the message was passed to the *n`angas* and chiefs, that "'There is someone who can pray with his stick-rod, his staff and the rain falls'" (Mutendi 2005:12). The *midzimu* and their powers are diametrically opposed by the Holy Spirit's power. In this way, the *power of the shades* is confronted rather than

accommodated. On a pragmatic level, but also the level of *power encounter*, he would burn all the fetishes and cursed objects brought to him, given to the people by the *n`angas* and the spirit mediums (Daneel 1987:261; Mutendi 2005:14-15).

Samuel Mutendi was known as a man who had great mystical and healing powers, and many joined his church because of the healing and relief from curses that it offered. Nehemiah Mutendi tells how the first woman who was healed was baptised with the aid of a baptismal pole as she was crippled, but when she got out she was cured. (Mutendi 2005:14) Nehemiah then relates a story of a chief's daughter who had died and was brought back to life after Samuel Mutendi prayed for her, despite great opposition and threats to his physical wellbeing if he should fail. This event is confirmed by Inus Daneel, who relates how Chief Rukuni's daughter had died, and Samuel Mutendi himself went inside, and even under the threat of death he went ahead and prayed for her. She miraculously came back to life. The people gathered outside, Zionists and traditionalists alike, thanked *Mwari* – the Lord God (Daneel 1971:296-297; Mutendi 2005:14).

Mutendi was uncompromising towards fetishes and the powers they represent: in his mystical powers, his imprisonments and stand against the authorities, and in his simple but culturally relevant message of the *Christian God*, healing and baptism, his life closely parallels that of William Wade Harris (who died in 1929, near the beginning of Mutendi's ministry). However, Harris' work was in West Africa and in particular Liberia and the Ivory Coast, where he was responsible for an indigenous revival. This gave birth to a church, even though only after his death (Shank 1994:155, 162). Perhaps the most significant way Mutendi both opposed and transformed the cultic beliefs and rituals was to call for rain directly from the *Holy City*. Thus instead of the going to Matopos, the chiefs could come to him, seen clearly in a power confrontation that Nehemiah relates:

> There were two powerful forces, fighting against each other, it was not like the other one was useless, or had no power, and there was power in it. …Joel the prophet said, 'I your God, you must know, I caused the drought, I caused the pestilence to eat your crops, and I can stop it!" So this is what he was proving. But some of the chiefs said, if this is what you say, what you are doing and there is drought then we will go to Matopos. But they go to Matopos, nothing happens there and the Man of God says; 'this year is a drought, it is the plan of God, but if you want to prove that God is there it can rain, but it won't help your crops.' And it rained – proof that God controls everything! No other medium, no other spirits could work while the Kingdom of Heaven was in operation, which is depressing every other Kingdom (Mutendi 2005:15).

Yet in all this confrontation of cultic beliefs by Mutendi, it should be noted that *Mwari*, "The Lord of Heaven", pre-existed in Shona culture. The belief drew its origins from the Mbire tribe, who emigrated from the regions surrounding Lake Tanganyika where *Muali*, god of fertility, still exists in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro (Daneel 1970b:15-16). So the *power of the shades*, hero-gods and even the high-god of Matonjeni have been circumnavigated and *Mwari*, the Most High, is placed where he always has been, on the top of the apex, with all other powers negated and ascribed to Satan and his demon minions.

In a similar way to Mutendi's rain-making replacing the role of the cult spirit mediums, trances involving messages from ancestors were for Mutendi and other Zionist prophets

replaced by dreams and visions of angels. Although these came in a familiar way, they bore no relationship to the ancestors. As opposed to the hierarchical position of the spirits, angels are either seen as a great army or as individuals with specific names such as Michael or Gabriel.   The angels are not a direct replacement for the ancestors or a new name for them, but rather the diametrical opposite of the ancestors who are not at peace.   For example, Michael is he who leads the army of angels against the forces of Satan. Ancestors, specifically the departed spirits of Zionist members, are now instead honoured and God is beseeched on behalf of the dead. There is indeed the expectation that the dead should intercede for the living. However, it is important to note that Mutendi and his leaders rejected *kupira midzimu* – the worship of ancestors – and made worship exclusive to the Christian God (Daneel 1971:322-328; Jules-Rosette 1975:194; Daneel 1987:276).

One of the most significant aspects of Mutendi's transformation of the traditional religious rites was replacing the *kugadzira* (the traditional rite of the veneration and communion with the deceased) with the *runyaradzo* (a ceremony of consolation), which instead commemorates and honours the role played by and the character of the departed. The *runyaradzo*, rather than looking to the distant past and the world of bygone ancestors, focuses on the immediate past and to some extent is also future oriented. This future orientation is brought about by the challenge to non-Zionist relatives of the deceased of their need to seek God – for as death is inevitable they should nevertheless one day *die in Christ*; in the church's role in accompanying the deceased to the heavenly gates; and also in the comfort that this understanding brings to the Zionists. By emphasising the church's role in escorting the deceased to heaven instead of the traditional emphasis of the departing spirit being initiated into the hierarchy of ancestors, the whole realm of the *midzimu* is avoided (Daneel 1987:236-237, 268, 277 cf. Sundkler 1961:289-293).

What Mutendi's ZCC and other Zionist and Apostolic churches did was to provide a total system of belief: "By means of real adaptation and by offering alternatives to rain-making rites, the ancestor cult, healing practices and the belief in magic – that is by offering a new, comprehensible and relevant spiritual infrastructure for rural community life – these churches achieve their greatest impact…" (Daneel 1987:102). So comprehensive was the system of belief Mutendi promoted that it replaced everything from the traditional high-god cult, the hero-gods (*mhondoro*) and the ancestors (*midzimu*), to the role of the n`anga and the use of culturally relevant symbols in countering magic and the n`anga's use of fetishes and the like. The role of the ancestors and the world of the spirits were replaced by the Holy Spirit and the messengers of God – the angels. To counteract magic and to provide relief, healing and security, Mutendi used biblical or contextually relevant temporal objects that became conveyors of the supernatural, such as his consecrated staff, holy water, and even newspaper, which was burnt and inhaled (cf. Daneel 1987:241; Daneel 1970:44).
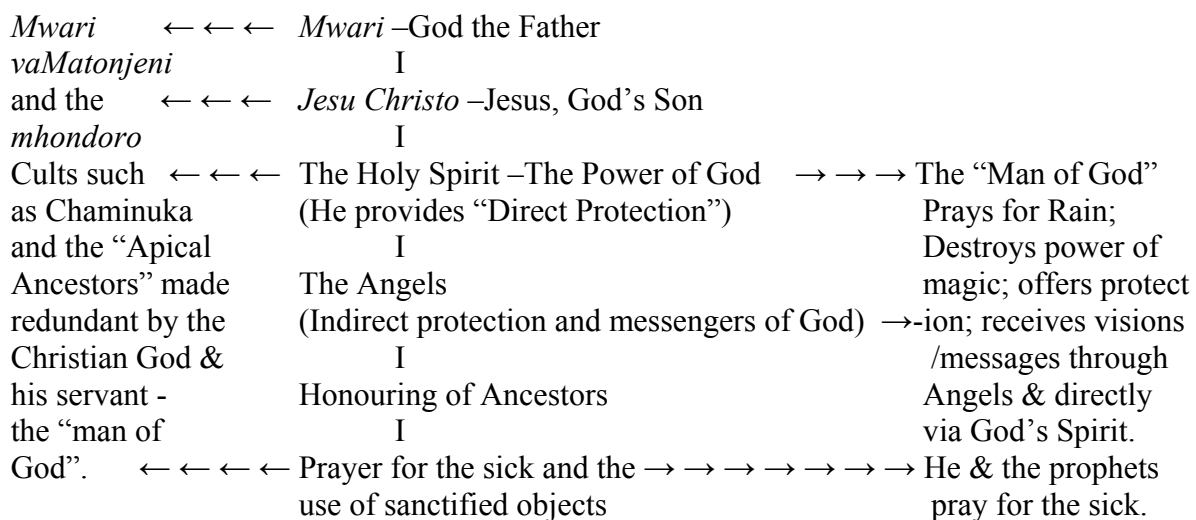
He would rebuke his followers who likened him to Christ; and while Zionist's talk of "the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob", his and Engenas Lekhanyane roles as co-founders of the ZCC are acknowledged in the Zionist's statement of faith, where Jesus is described as "the Christ of Engenas and Samuel" (Mutendi 2005:18). It is difficult to differentiate between the reverence given to someone who claimed a Royal Mambo lineage of the Rozvi's and to the Son of God Himself, save for the titles of respect given, and even these could at times be confusing. Though it is true that he played the role of a prophet in the guise of Moses or Elijah, he had a deep and sincere love for the Lord Jesus as the Son of God. Nehemiah would often hear his father singing to Jesus, even if a full understanding of

Christ's Divinity, as one standing alongside the Father, was only later appreciated by Nehemiah (Mutendi 2005:18). God the Son was seen by Samuel Mutendi in the mode of the King's son, yet his theology should not be viewed so much as stilted, but as one seen through a tribal paradigm. If honour is due on earth to the King's heir apparent, how much more so to the Son of the Great King of Heaven, the one who gave his life for us?

Though the Christology (the work of Christ) and Pneumatology (the work of the Holy Spirit) was somewhat weaker in the ZCC than in some of the mainline or Pentecostal churches (who could also even in Mutendi's day often be criticised for a weakness in one or the other), Mutendi had a strong personal faith in the Lord Jesus. He believed that kingdoms and all other cultic powers were replaced by the Kingdom of Heaven and the work of the Holy Spirit (Mutendi 2005:15). *Zion City* is for the Zionist like the *Kingdom of Heaven*, and *Jerusalem* for them really does refer to their *Holy City*. In Zion City the work of the Kingdom is of a very pragmatic and physical nature. Not only are sick people prayed for and given prophetic release from their sicknesses and problems, but widows and orphans are housed and fed and food is redistributed to areas where rains were insufficient to produce a good crop. In this manner the *Man of God* performs a much needed temporal intermediary role between God and the people, and himself personifies Christ to them (Daneel 2005:23).

With this brief commentary on Samuel Mutendi's beliefs and spiritual practice in mind, figure 5.1.2 displays these diagrammatically.

Figure 5.1.2: *Mutendi's Belief System*

Mwari   ← ← ←   *Mwari* –God the Father
vaMatonjeni   I
and the   ← ← ←   *Jesu Christo* –Jesus, God's Son
mhondoro   I
Cults such ← ← ←   The Holy Spirit –The Power of God   → → → The "Man of God"
as Chaminuka   (He provides "Direct Protection")   Prays for Rain;
and the "Apical   I   Destroys power of
Ancestors" made   The Angels   magic; offers protect
redundant by the   (Indirect protection and messengers of God) →-ion; receives visions
Christian God &   I   /messages through
his servant -   Honouring of Ancestors   Angels & directly
the "man of   I   via God's Spirit.
God".   ← ← ← ← Prayer for the sick and the → → → → → → → He & the prophets
                              use of sanctified objects   pray for the sick.

It is true that the prophetic emulation and the adaptation of certain practices of the *n`angas* by Mutendi and his leaders, may seem like syncretism to those who do not look at the beliefs that support the practices and methods used. However, in the prophetic therapy used, whether in the diagnosis of illness, exorcism or societal discomfort:

> …[O]ne must bear in mind that the prophetic churches consistently reject traditional divination as unbiblical, that the prophets interpret their extraperception as deriving from the Holy Spirit and *not* from the ancestral

spirits, and that despite similarities in the diagnosis of illness, prophetic therapy always remains Christian in orientation and centres on God's saving power, as opposed to the traditional n`anga's activities to placate the spirits (through ancestor worship) (Daneel 1987:148-149).

Even though ancestors are not worshipped in theory, in practice a compromise is reached when there are non-Christian relatives involved. At the prophet's suggestion, in a conflicting situation involving for example traditionalist parents of a deceased church member, the parents must perform something meaningful to appease the evil spirits, and in the case of a married woman her husband must provide for this (i.e. a cow required for sacrifice). In this manner the traditional relatives appease the ancestral spirits, which are nevertheless still referred to as *shavi* (evil) spirits. The Zionists therefore in reality approach ancestral worship with a far greater degree of understanding than what their wholesale rejection of the ancestors suggest at face-value (Daneel 1970:41-44).

What is particularly apparent in the AICs (in stark contrast to the mainline churches) is that in the case of both the living and the recently deceased, all the needs of the community are met, be this their spiritual wellbeing, their physical health, their societal welfare, or their psychological sense of being and purpose. This fits well with the African concept that God is active in the created order, even in human affairs, and "…in effect human history is cosmic history seen anthropocentrically or microcosmically" (Mbiti 1969:47). If it were not for Samuel Mutendi breaking with the mission-church and addressing the whole cosmological structure of the Shona then this may well have been impossible, for in the African worldview all domains of life are interconnected, are one (Daneel 1987:79), such that once the directly spiritual is addressed, then the groundwork for every other need is laid. He addressed the whole structure so completely that everything was attended to, from rainmaking to amulets for protection; from a direct voice on behalf of the people with *Mwari*, Lord of all, to the personal healing of an individual.

Soon after Bishop Samuel Mutendi died, Daneel (2005:19-20) in visiting the two sons, Reuben and Nehemiah, he witnessed an interesting development in the belief system of the Zion Christian Church and the mediatory role of the founder:

> But going there was interesting because they were then in the phase of monitoring what Mutendi's influence was in his state of death, through prophets dreaming about him, in visions about his directives to the church. So there is something of the old again, like spirit mediums, but they were prophets and the guidance they were getting was not that of tribal politics but how to run the church. [Their guidance came direct] from Mutendi, having passed away but sort of mediating the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. In other words his directives were aligned – they were very concrete things that they had to do – but aligned to the work of the Holy Spirit. And of course it is very similar to ancestor veneration, but in a Christianized manner I would say. Mutendi junior himself said that they go up every year to charge their batteries, meaning establishing through these prophets direct contact with the deceased and gaining a lot of inspiration from it for their outreach. Because Samuel Mutendi was a great missionary, he was sending out – after each of the three big meetings they call Pasika – he would send out these missionaries all over the country, so for them to maintain that momentum, that's why they went up to … their new church headquarters.

The basis for Mutendi's ability to cross the tribal boundaries

Before venturing into Mutendi's ability to cross the tribal boundaries, it is important to gain a minimal understanding of the conditions he returned to in the central-eastern parts of Zimbabwe. Historically speaking the *vaShona* is an intertribal grouping comprising at least six dominant tribes, with their roots imbedded in more than one regional tribal grouping. The tribal situation in the village around 1900 often comprised of more than one of these original tribes. One of these tribes was the Rozvi, once a powerful kingdom dominating over the Shona sub-tribes before the arrival of the Ndebele (Daneel 1971:28, 287).

Daneel mentions how he was adopted into Mutendi's household as a part of the family (Daneel 2005:22), which was a substantial act by Mutendi of crossing the socio-political boundaries in an age when there was not much social contact between the races. This is in line with Nehemiah's description of his father:

> The DC [District Commissioner] was such an important man in the area, but he would come to his home and eat. It was strange to see a white man eat in a black man's home [in those days], some of the missionaries would come and sit with him, and the priests from the Catholic Church, and from the DRC [Dutch Reformed Church] would also come. It was those early days when a white person and the race relations between the whites and blacks were better than between the Matabele and the vaShona. His church spread to Matabeleland, but then the Shona people would see all these Ndebele preaching and ask, 'Why do you get all these Ndebele people, they have taken all our cattle.' He said no, 'They are worshipping God now, it does not matter', so they would worship together (Mutendi 2005:14-15).

Mutendi was more able than most religious leaders to bring together the various tribal leaders. Indeed, with more than 15 paramount chiefs under him he was able to recreate something of a physical kingdom on earth, apart from the Spiritual one he proclaimed. In a time when the Ndebele had only recently stopped raiding Shona cattle, his role in uniting the two tribes in his churches should not be underestimated, even allowing the Ndebele to lead! Mutendi managed to create a church with a "multi-tribal character" (Daneel 1971:295) – in part due to the importance of tribal lineage and thus his role as a royal Rozvi with a claim to the Rozvi Mambos of old (Daneel 2005:20, 23). The numerous clans and various Shona tribes' greater need for a central focal point and a sense of a common identity that traversed the tribal boundaries were critical; one that spanned the Shona-Ndebele divide was even more significant. In a rapidly modernising era where nothing was secure, a sense of the old where the physical needs of rain and healing were still met was a much needed relief to an often spiritual and physical drought. In this modern era, there was no linkage as there once had been, between the spiritual work of the cults and the need for a sense of macro-tribal identity; a sense of Kingdom – which Mutendi could supply.

Yet as Daneel explains, he did not retain leadership positions purely for the Rozvi, but crossed the boundaries by appointing some leaders who were from the other tribes. Daneel describes this ability to cross boundaries as being due in part to an inherent ability to accommodate others within the African peoples and in part to pragmatic considerations, even the ambitious need to expand. And then there was his Christian conviction that the "…message of Christianity is for all peoples. …[T]hat Christianity is about Christ and that crosses boundaries" (Daneel 2005:23).

How Mutendi's Zionist convictions affected lasting tribal and national change
Perhaps one of the most significant things he did was to provide a sense of connectedness for the disparate tribes – a corporate sense of identity – and a sense of *Kingdom* which gave the paramount chiefs a focal point, religiously and politically, which would later contribute in its own way in the building of a national identity in Zimbabwe. "His Zion City symbolized not only the Christian kingdom but also the ancient Rozvi dynasty, evoking the by-gone glory of Shona nationhood. Thus his popular title, 'man of God,' had both religious and political connections", and Daneel (2004:198) continues: "Aware of the conflicts chiefs and headmen had to face – torn between the disparate demands of colonial administration and local tribespeople – the 'man of God' sought to provide frustrated tribal elders with a spiritual anchorage which could help them function optimally…."

One of the most critical areas where Mutendi helped affect lasting national change was in the arena of self esteem. According to Daneel: "He was a resistance figure, he was a Moses figure …" and someone who "… built his image as a resistance figure against white dominion" (Daneel 2005:19, 21). In his pursuit of justice for his people he was prepared to go to extended lengths. He did not back away from confrontations with whites, who did not threaten him. "And he was imprisoned a number of times and that boosted his image, he was courageous, he was not afraid of the whites, and there is a certain consistency and integrity in that! That was his image and he lived according to that" (Daneel 2005:23). Perhaps his Rozvi connections enabled him more than most to stand up to the white administration and sustain a fearless approach to whites in general. Nor did he stop with himself or his Rozvi relatives, but was, "… also very serious when he was talking about the people's relations to the whites, that they should not be docile, that they shouldn't sit down and cringe, that they should stand up for themselves, which of course was important in the white-black relations in Zimbabwe" (Daneel 2005:20).

> In this context the Zionist message of liberation evolved. It did not promise easy solutions or revolutionary changes that could bring sudden freedom from bondage. Instead the Zionist support system enabled the chiefs and headmen to cope by liberating them from the fears and anxiety that often beset them. As Christ did not constitute a Messianic order which would satisfy the Jewish nationalistic aspirations, Mutendi did not promise another Rozvi confederation or Zionist empire which would overthrow white rule. But he did set an example to the chiefs of how to realistically co-operate with the rulers without loss of dignity, and how to resist unjust legislation or actions even if such resistance rarely brought about the desired results (Daneel 2004:198).

The Suppression of Witchcraft Act was passed by Parliament in Southern Rhodesia sometime after 1923, and Nehemiah likes to attribute this in part to his father, who worked tirelessly to expose the *n`angas* and their acts of witchcraft. This was in stark contrast to the Catholic and Dutch Reformed Churches who did not approve of the witchcraft but did nothing to stop it either. He did not tolerate the traditional rites associated with the burial of the dead and the cultic practices of praying to the *Mhondoro* cult of Chaminuka or the high-god cult of Matonjeni for rain. In this way he substantially changed the belief systems of thousands of present day Zimbabweans and paved the way for lasting national change in the domain of belief systems. In this manner he brought relief from both *shavi* oppressive and cultic practices by providing another avenue to rain, healing and relief. He did this in a culturally sensitive way, realising that he was attempting to transform the people's roots.

Though at times it brought about conflict and a *power encounter*, he always provided a culturally relevant substitute (cf. Mutendi 2005:17-18).

In the areas of education and development, Samuel Mutendi brought about significant changes in the rural practices once used. Firstly, in the area of schooling, he assisted his people's education by providing schools. These were quite possibly some of the first indigenously owned and run schools in the whole of Zimbabwe. Secondly, in the whole arena of development, particularly within agriculture, he introduced modern techniques such as contour ploughing, which the government had advocated, but which were previously not used in the rural subsistence farming that was practiced in his earlier days. Samuel Mutendi also established cooperative farming long before the current Zimbabwean government's cooperative schemes (Mutendi 2005:18).

By bringing in modern agricultural methods and cooperative means, Mutendi was able to significantly advance the livelihood of particularly the rural subsistence farmer. In providing schooling to the less fortunate, who were usually his people; he provided other means of income in a rapidly modernising Rhodesian economy and paved the way for larger scale black leadership and empowerment. This, along with many other tributaries, contributed to the creation of a truly independent Zimbabwe, whose economy has never been so strong, even in the earliest of Smith's Rhodesian Front days when the costs of maintaining a white minority rule had not yet taken its toll, up until 1997.

5.3   Michael Cassidy

A brief commentary on Cassidy's life and rise to leadership [9]

Michael Cassidy was born in Johannesburg on 24 September 1936, the firstborn of Charles Michael and Mary Cassidy, and from the start he had a healthy appetite. In 1939 the Cassidy family moved to Maseru in Basutoland (now Lesotho). Maseru was the capital of Basutoland and Charles Cassidy worked as an electrical engineer for the British colonial administration. He had a deep personal faith in Christ and taught Michael how to pray. From his mother Michael gained appreciation for the honest doubters as she was sceptical of traditional Christian beliefs. When Michael was four his younger sister Olave was born. Michael gradually gained a reputation as the "naughtiest boy in all Basutoland" for his many and varied pranks.

He attended the Maseru Preparatory School with about 60 other pupils. His high spirited pranks were to eventually have a negative effect, as was proven by the bruises incurred by his younger sister, who had by that stage been joined by another sister, Judy. In September 1946 he was sent off to a boarding school, Parktown (or PTS) at the age of nine. In PTS, Michael met more than his match and experienced the negative effects of bullying first hand. In his studies, Michael achieved some distinction and as a sportsman he made the first team in both cricket and soccer and passionately took to boxing and at home during the holidays, Michael became an expert rider. In Maseru, Michael struck up a friendship with the much older Pat Duncan, son of the last Governor General to South Africa. Duncan influenced the young Michael with his liberal white political outlook and his disposition to always fight for the underdog. It was from Pat Duncan (who together with Peter Brown and Alan Paton helped found the South African Liberal Party) that he acquired his fervour for justice and his hatred of apartheid. He also began to sense spiritual things, and had a good relationship with the local Anglican vicar who faithfully sent him ten shillings a term. This had the effect of God being seen by Michael as a heavenly benefactor whom one could always count on.

In January 1950, at the age of 14, Michael was sent to Michaelhouse, a boy's school with a reputation for being one of the best in the country. Most of his earlier years at Michaelhouse were unhappy due to his being teased and bullied (he developed late). His loneliness made him turn to his childhood faith for solace and strength and he even formed a little prayer meeting with a few other boys. However, life at Michaelhouse was not always hard and in his post-matric year he was made a Senior Prefect of the School and House Captain of Pascoe House. In this capacity he resolved to clean up his boarding house with a prescription for justice and fair play. He also started thinking about politics and social justice on a national level. These were times in which Urban Africa was changing rapidly; South Africa showed the worst manifestation yet of its inner fractured nature with British settler and Boer hardly speaking and discrimination against blacks built into a series of laws as the nation entered apartheid. After Michaelhouse, Cassidy taught for nine months at his old school PTS before sailing to England to attend Cambridge.

At Cambridge he soon joined the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (CICCU), but not before meeting Robert Footner, who challenged him about his faith and where he stood with regards to Jesus Christ. After a church service one morning, Michael knelt

---

[9] This section draws largely on the work of Anne Coomes: (Coomes 2002), and where Coomes has been substantially supplemented, these sources have been clearly shown.

down in his room to "invite Jesus in", in line with Rev. 3:20. Michael was at first the overzealous evangelist, and yet at times he was struck with an extreme sense of self-doubt as to his own abilities. He was, however, to gain wisdom along the way. At Cambridge he met Father Huddleston and a friend called Michael Nuttall (later the Anglican Bishop of Natal), both of whom influenced him greatly and helped Michael start to integrate his faith with his political instincts. On the academic side he managed to change his degree from law and instead study in Modern and Mediaeval Languages. One day Robert Footner excitedly burst into Michael's room to announce to a clueless Cassidy that Billy Graham was coming. Graham later would have a profound impact on the young Cassidy, who began to look to Christ rather than well meaning liberal politics for solutions:

> Now that he had discovered the transforming love and power of God, "at once my perception of the South African problem changed. It was Jesus who could enable people to love each other. Surely then, no final political solutions could come, unless out of the matrix of spiritual awakening and renewal. But people would have to be won to Christ – in their hundreds and thousands. That meant evangelism" (Coomes 2002:66)

This was to become Michael's personal clarion call in his future role as an evangelist not just in South Africa but also in Africa at large. He was convinced (as he endeavoured to listen to God) that his mission would be to evangelise the cities of Africa. In June of 1957 he received an invitation to go to New York, which coincided with Billy Graham's Madison Square Garden Crusade. Martin Luther King's impassioned speeches based on a social gospel were at the time being televised, and both King and Graham greatly impacted him. In the middle of 1958 Michael completed his studies at Cambridge; a little over a year later he began a theology degree at Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena just outside Los Angeles, having been told about it by one of Graham's crusade staff.

Within a week of arriving at Fuller from South Africa he was thrust into leadership, and for the first time ever Fuller Seminary Student Mission Fellowship (FMF) asked a first year to become the new Chairman of the missions minded group. It was not long before Michael was formulating his vision to evangelise Africa and to faithfully pray for the 31 cities he had chosen to target. With the help of friends and encouraged by a prayer meeting, Michael embarked on the formation of a mission, to be called African Enterprise (AE), a name spotted on a ship that sailed between Africa and the United States. Michael soon started travelling, and with Ed Gregory he began a circular tour of about 20 cities in Africa: starting with Tripoli in North African, passing through West African cities such as Accra and Lagos, on through the Southern African cities of Johannesburg and Salisbury (now Harare) and then through East Africa to Addis Ababa and Cairo in the North. This experience was to be an eye-opener because time and again the political leaders with whom they met said that any mission enterprise needed to focus on the cities, whereas missions had traditionally focused on the rural areas. Michael started to further formulate his plans for Africa, but where to begin? The answer came to him in prayer on 1 August 1961: Pietermaritzburg in South Africa, where he did indeed start the very next year.

Michael returned to Pasadena and spent the next two years busily building the financial and administrative support base necessary to start such an enterprise. He began preparing the mission, starting by gathering around him a group of very competent like-minded men, each with their own expertise. Dr Charles Fuller, the founder of Fuller Seminary,

constituted a board for the fledgling ministry and lent the newly formed African Enterprise (AE) his secretary. He also helped kick it off with a small financial contribution. Their first call to do a mission came from Dr Calvin Cook (a Presbyterian minister) on behalf of the churches of Pietermaritzburg. The Pietermaritzburg Mission was held from 11-25 August 1962. The city hall was filled to capacity every night as Michael and his team of five evangelists ministered in what proved to be an early landmark in Michael's evangelistic campaigns. After returning to Pasadena, the team completed their studies in 1963 and embarked on two campaigns with Dr Leighton Ford and Dr Billy Graham. In 1964 the team returned to Africa as numerous ministry doors opened to them.

A great number of missions followed, most of which took place in South Africa or nearby in the early days of African Enterprise. In 1966, the team conducted a nationwide six month mission to Basutoland as she readied herself for independence. A positive feature of this campaign, after a highly segregated one in Ladysmith, was that the team took on their first black evangelist, Abiel Thipanyane. "Spearhead" was directed towards the youth of the southern suburbs of Cape Town and ran in 1967. The strategy was to meet in some 30 different homes to which the youth of the churches invited their friends to a fun filled, non-threatening environment where the gospel could be simply laid out. This was followed by AE's first University Mission of many – in this case to the University of Cape Town. Michael attended the Berlin Congress in Evangelism in 1968 where he was asked to speak on *Political Nationalism as an Obstacle to Evangelism*. He took the opportunity to speak about African Enterprise's commitment to non-racialism as a foundation to mission.

That same year, Michael flew to Nigeria where he attended the West African Congress on Evangelisation. Festo Kivengere, himself a product of the East African 1930s/1940s revival, was also one of the speakers. The two men had first met in 1961 when Festo visited Fuller. Michael had a revelation: why not join forces with Festo and build a team around him? Festo was by this stage already a celebrated international evangelist and speaker and as the older of the two, he was cautious about accepting an offer to join AE, but agreed to preach with Michael at the upcoming Nairobi Mission. Around this time Michael ran two successful missions, one to his old school, Michaelhouse, and another to its chief private school rival, Hilton. After these the Crossroads United Christian Mission took place in Nairobi in March 1969. During the afternoon rallies, Festo preached in Swahili – interpreted into English, and the next day Michael preaching in English – interpreted into Swahili. The combination was a powerful one-two punch and Riddel, a missionary from the Congo, is reported as having said: "This kind of city evangelism, not the hit-and-miss stuff, is what the whole of Africa needs" (Coomes 2002:153).

Next, Michael went to Kampala on the invitation of Festo and experienced Ugandan style evangelism, which involved a far greater grassroots participation and church enthusiasm. These were features not strongly present in the Nairobi mission, which being more cosmopolitan and not as strongly indigenous, had far less participation from non-professionals and relied more on its speakers. This was a revelation to Michael, who realised that the African Enterprise team would have to be completely revamped for effective ministry in the cities of Africa. Up to this point AE had largely been a white affair with a vast majority of North American professionals on the staff. With John Tooke (a white South African) and Abiel Thipanyane already firmly on board, Michael next asked Ebenezer Sikakane – the Zulu translator from Union Bible Institute and one of the finest

Zulu preachers in the nation – to join AE, even as some of the team's North Americans started to think of returning home.

In 1969 Michael and his team conducted a mission to the University of Cape Town (UCT), with the team acting as in-house missioners in the men's residences for the duration of the mission. The mission committee picked the lady missioners to be placed in the women's residences. One missionary developed malaria and Carol Bam was chosen by Mick Milligan (director of Student YMCA) and his wife Christian to be the substitute. As luck, or rather, as God would providentially have it, Carol and Michael went on a date after the formal part of the mission was over, during which Michael proposed to her! Michael had sensed God say the night before that this was the lady the Lord had for him. Fortunately she felt the same and knew (she had an inner assurance from the Lord) that it was right to go ahead, and so on the 16 December 1969, Michael married Carol Bam.

In 1970 Festo and Michael teamed up for their joint USA ministry tour. Speaking in tandem, their theme was "God has reconciled us to himself and given us the ministry of reconciliation", 2 Cor 5:18. This made for a powerful statement with a white South African, speaking alongside the gifted and internationally respected, Festo Kivengere. There were many other East Africans who joined Michael, among them John Wilson of Uganda and Grace Kalambo of Tanzania, but Festo remains the most outstanding. While he was alive theirs was strictly a partnership in AE and neither of them held rank over the other. During the next year the East African team for AE was launched with Festo as team leader, but he was also elected Bishop of Kigezi in 1972. This was the real birth of AE's sustained ministry to Africa beyond South Africa's borders and from where many other teams were to be launched in the years that followed. Back in South Africa AE launched, "The Durban Congress on Mission and Evangelism" in 1973 with nearly 800 South African delegates attending and about 50 000 people coming together for the closing event – a Billy Graham rally at King's Park in Durban.

In 1975, AE put on its first year long mission campaign to Pietermaritzburg. In 1976 AE helped behind the scenes to host the Pan African Leadership Assembly (PACLA) in Nairobi, where 800 leaders from almost all the nations of Africa met. This had a ripple effect in South Africa, where in 1979 the South African Christian Leadership Assembly (SACLA) was launched, which AE hosted directly and had a direct impact on the nation. A significant number of Dutch Reformed pastors attended this, many of whom trace their change of heart and change of theological stance on apartheid to SACLA 1979. In the years that followed AE's missions and influence grew with Michael often filling the slot of the keynote evangelist. These were often weeklong rallies preceded by months of preparation in prayer, meeting with pastors and arranging for counsellor training as well as the planning of venues and the follow-up process after the event.

One such rally took place in 1982 in Mutare, Zimbabwe's Eastern Highlands border town, and was called *Mutare for Jesus*. African Enterprise had launched a Zimbabwean team in 1978 and David Richardson and Chris Sewell had reached out consistently to the city's church leaders. At *Mutare for Jesus* they used a stratified evangelism approach developed by Michael Cassidy and John Tooke. Every sector of society, particularly in the workplace, was reached out to in over 600 meetings that occurred before Michael arrived. For the *official* mission, seven large venues were simultaneously used city-wide with all AE's leading evangelists, including Michael, in the evenings ministering at one of these venues

for the duration of the main week. By the time of *Mutare for Jesus*, what had in the past been a ministry upheld by the two *big stakes players* regarding evangelism, Festo and Michael, had transformed into an Africa wide team of evangelists.

In 1980, AE acquired a property on the outskirts of Pietermaritzburg, which was developed into the Christian Leadership Training Centre and also became Michael's headquarters. It was opened in 1984 with courses on mission and evangelism. AE's training of young people in evangelism was also launched that year. In 1983, Michael and AE embarked on a highly successful *Blantyre for Jesus* mission. They again used the concept of multiple venues throughout the city with a team of 26 people operating alongside Michael. In the evening rallies and elsewhere the team literally saw "thousands of people surging forward to receive Christ" (Coomes 2002:255). With the increase in polarisation in the South African society, in September 1985 Michael and the AE team and 70 South African church leaders held a conference in Pietermaritzburg, called the National Initiative for Reconciliation. Out of this *Initiative* grew the task of nationwide reconciliation, fleshed out by multiple small teams drawn from many denominations and races and that traversed the length and breadth of South Africa with the message of reconciliation.

In 1986, Michael again teamed up with the East Africans for a major mission to Kampala. He also held missions in both urban and rural areas (Pinelands, Cape and KwaMakhutha and Zama Zama), demonstrating the diversity with which Michael and the AE teams worked. In 1988 the AE ministry suffered a great loss when Festo Kivengere, Michael's East African counterpart, passed away from leukaemia. He was succeeded by Gresford Chitemo of Tanzania but Festo proved to be irreplaceable, both as someone who more than matched Michael as a speaker and as co-leader of AE. That same year Michael wrote his first book and perhaps the one he is best known for, namely *The Passing Summer: A South African pilgrimage in the Politics of Love*.

Another initiative from AE Zimbabwe was a strategy called "Operation Foxfire", which was launched in 1981. The idea of this was to send two or more "foxes" (often recently graduated Bible college students) out into the rural areas to establish churches for the people who had recently been converted by their ministry. By 1984 these foxfires were ministering in the Mozambique refugee camps on the borders of Zimbabwe; by 1987, they were ministering to 8 500 refugees. In 1992, "Operation Foxfire" was refocused toward the urban context and targeted the Mbare hostels where over 200 000 people lived in a high density slum of the most extreme kind. The model was transposed to South Africa in 1994.

In 1992, AE celebrated the 30th year of ministry to the cities of Africa with *Harambee*, which is Swahili for pulling together. Because of the political climate change in South Africa, for the first time the AE colleagues from East and Central Africa could join their South African counterparts in that country. The highlight of the *Harambee* celebrations was a dedication dinner that 1 100 people of all racial, national and denominational backgrounds attended. For Michael this represented a picture of the New South Africa and indeed the African continent and the world. Out of this experience flowed a ministry to South Africa called "From Africa With Love", which comprised seven teams with 33 of the East and Central African team members and a significant number of South African team members. The teams set out to minister to 17 cities, during which they met and prayed with the key political figures in the nation. These meetings included among other noteworthy leaders Oliver Tambo (African National Council - ANC), President FW de

Klerk (National Party), Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi (Inkatha Freedom Party) as well as others from the extreme right wing Afrikaner Volksunie (who advocated a separate homeland) and the Pan African Congress (whose slogan was "One Settler One Bullet").

The surprising spin-off from this was that a number of leaders from the different parties proved to have similar ideas of what a new South Africa should look like, and Michael decided to get the leaders of all the parties together for dialogue weekends. So over the course of a year, from the end of 1992 to the end of 1993, six separate weekend dialogues were planned at Kolobe Lodge. These were to impact the political second tier leadership in many of the political parties and significantly influenced the elections for a new South African dispensation in April 1994.

However, just prior to the elections the clash between Inkatha and the ANC heightened and threatened to drag the whole nation into civil war. The situation was grave and the three leaders, De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi called for international mediation by most notably Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington. At Michael's instigation Washington Okumu was also invited. As it transpired, once the international mediation came to naught it was Okumu, working behind the scenes, who brokered a deal agreeable to all parties. By Sunday, 17 April, Michael had called for a Jesus Prayer Rally in King's Park Stadium in Durban, to which about 30 000 people attended. As the prayer of the faithful gathered momentum in the stadium below, Buthelezi was in the VIP lounge above, sharing the Okumu proposals with Jacob Zuma of the ANC and Minister Danie Schutte from De Klerk's cabinet.

Much happened before and after this event in the ministry of Michael and AE, but things did slow down substantially on the *home front* particularly in the political arena, after 1994 as South Africa found her feet in the new dispensation. However, by 2003, some nine years later, it was apparent that all was not well in South Africa, with issues of HIV/Aids, violent crime and unemployment among others had been added to the age-old racism. So the second South African Leadership Assembly (SACLA II) was held in Pretoria, with over 4 500 delegates from a wide denominational; formal/informal leadership spectrum attending. SACLA II was championed by Mark Manley, AE's new team leader for South Africa with Donald Graham assisting, and with Michael and Mvume Dandala (Methodist Bishop and Chair of the South African Council of Churches) acting as co-conveners.

Mark Manley was to bring a new wave of activity to African Enterprise, resurrecting the *Ministry of Reconciliation* and involving numerous young people participating in outreach projects. Unfortunately his style clashed with Michael's (as so often happens when founding leaders are involved), and with the parting of ways, the new ministry generated and the increase in finances that came with it tailed off (Manley 2005:33). Michael and the AE board have fortunately not been altogether unaware of the issues surrounding an aging founding leader and have recently made a far-reaching decision, which Michael's circular letter dated 15 August 2005, reflects: "It is also now my privilege to announce that our brother Stephen Lungu, our Team Leader in Malawi, has been elected … and will take over from me as CEO of African Enterprise internationally in one year from now. So I will surrender that executive headship of the ministry in a year's time, even while continuing as International Team Leader for one further year" (Cassidy 2005B:1). However it remains to be seen how this arrangement will work with the founder always hovering in the background as retirement for Michael does not seem to be a preferred option.

Structures employed in Cassidy's model of leadership

It is difficult to ascertain the exact nature of the leadership structures in an organization like African Enterprise that has been around for some time solely through a literary research, as a lot changed over the course of AE's ministry. Yet it is probably true to say that there will always be a reflection of the founding leader's personality and style in the structures employed, even if these structures have been adapted to changing times and personalities.

In the early years his team from Fuller knew each other at college and the accent and structure was one of *team*. Michael's team of three Americans and one Canadian had all attended Fuller Theological Seminary with him. They were men of high academic calibre and skilled at their tasks. One had graduated *cum laude* in electrical engineering, another was an accomplished pianist, another had gone through extensive training in running crusades with the Billy Graham team and still another was a former Aero-space engineer. Michael has this to say in a letter about his team, documented by Coomes:

> "You ask whether AE will be 'just another' Christian organisation … we are fairly unique in the personnel on the team. All are not only highly qualified men, but also independent thinkers who are constantly willing to evaluate and adapt. The team members will always ensure that the message of Christ be presented in a way which is calculated to earn the serious consideration of thinking people. The team, as I see it, is dedicated both to scholarly principles and to simple piety, a combination which I believe is entirely biblical and proper. In the third place, AE has some degree of uniqueness in its attitudes of openness, sanity, unconditional acceptance of others, and in its strong desire to unite rather than divide God's people" (Coomes 2002:107-108).

In its early years the team was all white, male and North American (apart from Michael), making it hard to sell the need for financial support in South Africa as many thought they were funded by North America. With so many strong leaders on one team it is little wonder that AE devoted enormous amounts of energy at certain periods of its lifespan to sorting out differences, particularly in those foundational years. Michael says that after the emotional trauma, a bond developed, and out of this new-found team unity, ministry into Africa's brokenness became more, not less possible (Coomes 2002:125-126).

However, there was a significant defect: the team was still all-white, which prevented effective ministry into the cities of Africa. And so around March 1966 the first indigenous African, Abiel Thipanyane was brought on board. Yet if they were to minister effectively to the 31 key African cities as was their goal, they did not possess "… sufficient breadth in gifts, language, and cultural understanding to minister effectively in all sections of the African community and continent" (Coomes 2003:144). Such was their lack that they needed not just a revamping but the creation of a new inter-racially founded, South African based team. This happened as early as January 1969, and in 1971 another new team was directed out of East Africa. During Michael's visit to Nigeria in 1968, Michael envisioned an East African team, fuelled in part by a strong desire to work alongside Festo Kivengere, the charismatic Ugandan soon-to-be Bishop. It was with this understanding that Michael approached Festo Kivengere to head up a second team for AE (Coomes 2002:147-151).

Michael honestly mentions that, although in some ways an ideal ministry partnership was created with Festo and the two became equal directors (this was considered a somewhat

unique set-up structurally speaking around the world in Christian ministries), it did provide difficulties. It was a very innovative partnership structurally with both being co-leaders, but administratively it was at times very difficult and pushed relationships almost to the point of breaking. After Festo passed away, he was for a time a co-leader with Festo's successor, Graceford Chitema, but after a while Michael asked his board to move him either up a peg or down. Thus in more recent years AE trans-continentally has been more aligned to a direct hierarchical structure with Michael clearly at the helm (Cassidy 2005:27-28).

Michael in many ways uses a traditional top down approach to leadership, and this is perhaps most noticeable in the office in Pietermaritzburg. Mark Manley (2005:34), ex-Team Leader of AE South Africa, has this analysis to offer of AE's leadership structures:

> And so you had this very top heavy situation where many people were called funny things which amounted to being managers and had a voice on the "Exco" [Executive Committee]. So it was a bit like a sky-scraper as opposed to a pyramid, which is a very unhealthy situation. But now what that should have allowed for was greater expression because now everyone's got a say. But we all know it does not work like that because it did not have a formalised matrix approach. It was still hierarchical, very hierarchical. More disturbing was the un-official hierarchy, the one that operated in parallel to the hierarchy that was in the formalised structure and this had to do with access to the power, and the power in this instance was Michael and those who could influence Michael and the old click – the old boys club. Those who could influence, these people, although they might have had no structural power, were the people with the power.

This analysis is supported by Jamie Morrison, who although he states the case of Michael's leadership in a far more complimentary manner than Manley, still mentions that Michael, as International Team Leader for AE has 10 teams operating in Africa, each with a team leader reporting directly to Michael and also to a board of directors. Furthermore, there are six international countries that host support offices for AE, each with their own administrator or leader reporting directly to Michael. There are also about three Pan African Executive Officers running ministries such as the *Training and Leadership Ministry*, the *Reconciliation Ministry*, and *Aid and Development in Africa* (run by the leader of the Australian office). So beyond the local level in South Africa, internationally there are around 18 people reporting directly to Michael. Jamie Morison (2005:31) continues: "I don't know what all the management and leadership literature says but I think that's quite a large number of people reporting directly to him as head of the ministry."

Perhaps Manley is actually being polite. If on a local level Michael's management structure resembles a *sky-scraper*, then surely trans-nationally it resembles an upside down pyramid, or more accurately a flat topped mountain with one structural adjustment, for though from a distance it appears to be more-or-less flat on top, there is still a very definite summit. Michael perhaps unwittingly had, in seeking a comfort zone, produced a top-heavy structure. The AE's relative size combined with Michael's loyal, predominantly older white South African colleagues had cut out any other voice – the voice of youth; the voice of black Africans; the voice of dissent.   Manley believes that this occurred because there was a prevailing culture of *non-confrontation* emanating from the founding leader, which transpired in a top-heavy leadership and resultant inefficiency (Manley 2005:34). Or possibly more generously, these leaders had – because of their own relative energy levels

and the paradigm shifts that the world has experienced in the 40 years of AE's ministry (and particularly more recently in South Africa) – become disconnected with the outside world while still operating in an evangelistic ministry that requires high levels of output.

Mark Manley had tried to institute a much flatter organisational structure and had just about succeeded in reducing the multi-levelled structure that AE had become to just three tiers. In Manley's structure the younger South Africans because of a shift in culture brought about by the shear numbers, vitality and the voice that Manley gave them, for the first time in many years, had a say in AE (Manley 2005:33). Unfortunately Michael Cassidy and Mark Manley's styles clashed and with the departure of Manley, the structures were reverted. This was not the first time Cassidy had struggled with a younger aspiring leader, or as was the case with Manley, an ex-Mayor of Randburg and coordinator of the support structures that played midwife to the Interim Government, a leader in his own right:

> Well in the nature of things it has been a very much Michael Cassidy lead organisation, and he has had his team surrounding him. The big challenge as I understand it, and I know they have been wrestling with it themselves is what is going to happen when Michael Cassidy moves on or out? And they are talking about it as a second generation leadership. And my perception, frankly for what it is worth, I am not in on the inside of the workings of AE … looking on from the outside as it were, is that they are having difficulty working on that one. There have been quite a few fairly strong characters who have come in, second generation leadership, the most recent being Mark Manley. But there was an Anglican priest actually from Singapore, whom I got to know quite well as I had to relate to him as one of our clergy in Natal, who came a 'cropper' for whatever reason – I'm not quite sure. His particular style, what he had to contribute was not acceptable, so he had to move out! (Nuttall 2005:36).

To be fair to Cassidy, the problem of a second generation leader waiting in the wings to succeed Cassidy has not entirely been dismissed out of hand. More recently Michael has made efforts to find a replacement and has chosen Stephen Lungu, the current team leader for AE in Malawi, as heir-apparent. Lungu will become the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of AE International in late 2006, and "International Team Leader" in 2007, thereby relieving Michael Cassidy of his formal positions. Yet even then Michael Cassidy will retain the functional role of "Leader Emeritus" (Nuttall 2005:36; Cassidy 2005B:1).

However, beyond the office, his secondary style of leadership (a hands-off approach to the miniature detail of evangelistic campaigns) and very diverse ministry requires him to operate from the basis of a *team* structure (Morrison 2005:31). This is in large part due to his own variety in ministry and that of the overall organisation, which comprises not just evangelistic crusades but entails leadership training, social action, reconciliation, political leadership dialogue, city-wide discipleship and ecumenism. There was one arena that called for variety that AE was weak in from the start: their leadership did not fully reflect the people they were trying to reach on the African continent. In the arena of racial conflict they needed to preach reconciliation from the basis of a racially diverse team, making their call visible and tangible, which they tried early on with some degree of success to achieve.

> But on one issue the team were no longer fumbling. They had decided to make their public stand on racism clearer, more overt and more specific. "Repentance

from racist attitudes seemed to us to belong equally clearly with repentance from immorality or drunkenness. And we preached it, disconcerting though it was to many of our white leaders," remembered Michael. As if to practise what they preached, African Enterprise went further that summer and made plans to take on a new team member, Abiel Thipanyane. Abiel was a Sesotho-speaking South African from the Orange Free State and had been one of the main interpreters and preachers in the six-month endeavour. It was an extremely important Rubicon for the team to cross and the integration process thereafter would continue as other black evangelists and staff workers joined AE. …At the great closing rally with 10,000 or more present, Abiel interpreted again for Michael. It was the beginning of a great partnership and friendship that is still in place today, almost four decades later (Coomes 2002:128-129).

While this is true of their evangelists in the field, Michael and AE have never really got over the obstacle of a very white administrative team with a top down approach to leadership, which may have been an element in his losing so early on all of his founding team. Today his highest, most trusted staff members tend to be white South Africans from his own generation. Indeed, this may be part of his colonial legacy where he is most comfortable and secure with organisation taking place from the basis of a known cultural grouping – his own English speaking, white South African *laager*. Michael's need for security extends to his being unable to cope with the younger high fliers from generations below him, even from the same core grouping as his. Many able young men and women have come and gone from the ranks of AE, and at a glance the South Africa AE leadership team shows a distinct lack of black, Indian and coloured South Africans.

On a more positive note, African Enterprise has been surprisingly versatile beyond its central administration in its ministry approach, particularly in ministry to various sectors of society. Not only are they well known for their stratified evangelistic appeal where they attempt to reach all levels of society both in the business and political spheres, but they have used various approaches when working in conjunction with churches in different cities and situations. For example, they worked with a mission called *Spearhead* – birthed out of the Wynberg Ministers' Fraternal – to reach the youth and young adults of all races in the southern suburbs of Cape Town. Because security personnel incorrectly linked the concept of a spear with *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (The Spear of the Nation – the armed wing of the ANC), they tried in vain to block this multi-racial mission. The mission strategy was for small groups to meet in some 30 different houses over the course of several months. Christian youth invited friends and classmates to the CHUM groups (Christian Home Unit Method), where they could have fun, sing, eat and see skits (short dramatic presentations), which offered them a taste of the gospel in a non-threatening home environment.

However, beyond even their multicultural local ministry, AE trans-continentally has appeared far healthier. Particularly in their Pan African campaigns, they surprisingly resembled the polar opposite of their white management in South Africa. Michael himself enumerates, speaking of AE's trans-cultural flavour:

> And of course our team here we saw very, very early – we started full time in '64 and within months we had our first black person. That became our commitment, so we became a non-racial or interracial ministry as well as interdenominational. The very fact that AE is together today as a team and a

ministry after 44 years, is a testimony to that commitment. Because Africa over those years has had massive fragmenting forces at work within it, and if you bring people in from every background, from East Africa, from West Africa, from South Africa, you bring in whites from South Africa, you bring in old time white Rhodesians, you know, and the developing black Zimbabweans from those early years. And then you bring in a couple of tough Aussies and some rather sensitive gentle Englishmen and a few rash Americans and you really stir the pot to almost impossible levels of requirement. And I need to be absolutely honest, it was not all plain sailing (Cassidy 2005:27).

What is a glaring contradiction, though unrealised it seems by Michael, is the perception of the achievement of *an interracial commitment* by a token black South African or two within AE's South African based ministry. But beyond this neo-colonial blind-spot, African Enterprise over the years has led many different missions with many different strategies and structures. Apart from the CHUM groups of Cape Town's mission, they have also used concepts such as a Festival of Faith (a combination of a country fair and an evangelistic campaign) born from a conversation that Michael had with Ralph Winter, a missionary strategist in Altadena, California. Already by 1981, not only had the ministry in the major missions AE conducted stretched beyond the scope of Michael and Festo, even when they were present, but so had AE's vision for pioneering new modes of evangelism.

In Zimbabwe, having taken their cue from a ministry called New Life for All – a ministry linked to Campus Crusade and whose head-office was in Harare; AE developed and extended the idea of a Lay Witness Mission. This was often an internal mission whereby a small team of *lay-witnesses* trained in how to share their faith reached out to friends and church members and the outer fringes of the congregation. By 1981, the idea had been transplanted to Natal in South Africa, where AE Zimbabwe joined forces with AE South Africa to train over 100 lay witnesses, conducting between them an average of 10 to 12 missions a year. The previous year, 1980, African Enterprise took over the administration of the ministry, which was directed by David Richardson for several years. Foxfire – a new ministry was also born in the AE offices in Harare, and entailed indigenous witnesses' being trained and going out into rural areas and later cities to share their faith. Foxfire's witnesses often worked in pairs and sometimes had to travel to their various destinations by bus or bicycle which was also successfully transposed to Natal.

In 1988 Michael and AE South Africa launched a new form of mission, *ERA*, which was shorter in duration and more modest in its formulation. ERA (Evangelism, Reconciliation and Action), sought to be relevant to the racially polarised South African context and ran with the churches that were willing to work with AE. AE therefore did not have to wait for almost every church to get on board, as had been their previous mandate for mission. These church-based and other authentic market-place evangelistic endeavours in the streets of Africa were some of the many methods and structures AE has employed.

Styles of leadership used by Cassidy

Michael operates with a strong sense of leadership and calling, but in many organizational matters he prefers to operate from behind the scenes. Other more able administrators are regularly allowed to deal with the day to day tasks and the multitude of options often set before an evangelistic endeavour. Once in his up front "preaching and leadership mode" he

appears more directive and assertive, but Michael is most comfortable when working from the foundation of a multi-gifted team, with *team* almost being a definition of style and structure at one and the same time. If Michael initiates a leadership or missions conference, he very soon finds co-conveners so that even on the highest leadership level it operates from the basis of *team*. This was not only evident most recently in SACLA II, held in 2003, where he insisted on being joined up front by Mvume Dandala before he would even start preliminary organisation, but also from the early foundations of AE.

From the beginning AE was comprised of a group of young postgraduates from Fuller Theological seminary who joined him to start African Enterprise. It has always been an entirely different kind of *Evangelistic Agency*, consisting of fresh, young and talented team members, a refreshing approach to evangelism that included a strong social component to its message, with an Anglican non-ordained leader. Manley explains:

> So Michael comes in as this fresh faced youngster and brings in this new paradigm – this brings in this breath of fresh air. And starts doing things 'busking' to a different tune to a large extent because no one has done it before. So he comes in with this new way of doing things and it's great and people respond and people get behind it and it's wonderful and Michael has an anointing and he is an evangelist and nobody can ever take that [an anointing] away from anybody, even though they might want to. He is a very effective evangelist. And so his ministry if seen in terms of Ephesians 4 would fall on the evangelism side, he is not a very good administrator (Manley 2005:34).

Michael's management style, while falling somewhat short administratively, led by surrounding himself with capable and very able men. Anne Coomes mentions that in the primary area of evangelism, the founding team of AE's strong individually gifted strengths shone through, but with a participatory spirit:

> All were high-fliers and independent-minded men. They saw themselves not as going to work for Michael in any way, but as a group who had been called by God to come alongside Michael to do a specific job and share in the task. They would soon discover that they were, in fact, a team with complementary gifts, and with a good deal of interdependence (Coomes 2002:93).

Unfortunately, (or fortunately from black Africa's perspective) this team of high-fliers did not last. Michael points to tension in the team but one is left to surmise what this was essentially about, even if in endeavouring to meet the needs of black Africa in the 1970s, a team more conversant with the dynamics of Africa and more representative of its populace was required. By 1971 AE underwent an almost complete turnover of its original founding team of North Americans which was no doubt home sick (Coomes 1971:151). Yet perhaps the explanation of these events went beyond these emotions and the stresses facing every team that works, campaigns and lives its dreams in close proximity to one another and their own "felt" deficiencies in understanding Africa above the Limpopo?   A change in leadership style, from the early entrepreneurial one to one that Michael could comfortably maintain, might well have been the real reason for the split, as Manley (2005:35) explains:

> The change in the initial style, from the style that has sustained AE over the last 45 years or so, it has been a damping up and impounding of those initial heady

days, where there was an entrepreneurial-pioneering style, now there is a style that "maintains". This was explained by looking to Michael's roots and his Lesotho childhood culture: "In terms of his world-view it's essentially colonial –'we have to do the right thing on the basis of what is right' as opposed to a more contemporary view – 'you have to do that which works.'"

Possibly this colonial legacy meant not only a *maintenance* style of management, but also a style of leadership that sought to be in charge, arising from a cultural trait of that white South Africans – and in this case particularly the English speaking white South African – had been used to for so long. Even Michael freely admits the tension experienced between Festo and himself. This is explained as largely a logistical issue with Festo's being a bishop in the Ugandan hinterland in Kigezi without easy access to reliable telecommunications, and the people's perception of Michael as being the CEO due to his founding leader status. It is true that it would be almost impossible for any leader to handle a co-leader status without some form of clash along the way, and yet even as Michael handled his "junior-partner" status in ministry with the grace that an apprentice tandem speaker needs, it is unfortunately likely that in administrative issues Michael sought to subconsciously reverse the positional status.

People would go to Michael and complain *off the record* about the team dynamics, staffing issues and issues concerning distribution of finances. Michael got involved rather than challenging the people concerned to direct their concerns to Festo, which in theory would have been preferable, though easier said than done when Festo was largely inaccessible. Even Cassidy states that the perceived interference appeared to the outsider and to Festo to be intended in part: "Then that of course became difficult for Festo, because it almost looked like I was stepping into his bailiwick and trying to almost take over his turf, none of which was ever my intention or desire" (Cassidy 2005:28).

In line with the above, Manley (2005:35) perceives Michael as an extremely well mannered but entirely dictatorial leader:

> Michael's style is now autocratic or directive. I was in disbelief – here's Michael, the champion of democracy and he's behaving like a dictator – this cannot be, and yet you scratch the surface and there it is, and it is done in the nicest way and I think that fools everybody. …So here we have SACLA [II] and it is all the "old toppies", speaking and hogging the show, nobody young with a new idea or paradigm. And so that's the juxtaposition, that it is done in such a nice way, but it is still dictatorial. Even in SACLA [I] … Caesar Molebatsi had to do the keynote address at the end of SACLA I – now, he is now older that me, but he was then this black young buck.… He told me that when he was given the platform for this keynote address, wrapping up SACLA, Michael sat down with him and tried to influence Caesar in what he had to say. "No, you can't say that …" and so on, it was like a censorship sort of thing, a one man censorship. So Michael is a control freak, but he's so nice about doing it, because he has a desperate desire to be liked. He has a fragile ego.

This perspective is supported by Michael Nuttall (2005:36), in case the above should be put down to a highly disgruntled previous South African team leader of AE:

So I think they are having some difficulty. I said to Michael at one point: 'How is it, Michael, that you are on the SACLA executive representing AE and Mark Manley isn't. Because my understanding is that you are 'International Team Leader' now, not the South African leader. Michael just looked at me. I know nothing about what happened, Mark Manley as far as I am concerned just disappeared off the AE map and I don't know why, and it was never made public, perhaps it couldn't be. Naturally one drew one's own conclusions – there had been a clash of some sort. I think AE and Michael personally are finding it difficult to let go of the Mike Cassidy *imprimatur* – imprint, style in relation to AE. And it is going to be an enormous challenge for AE to continue and to survive, particularly in its South African face when Mike moves out.

Michael does have the ability to operate with more than one style, and a more complete understanding of Michael's leadership style should indeed include the style he uses in the office with his more trusted close associates, also the one that is clearly seen in the organisational phases of an evangelistic campaign, even if not in the final stages. Jamie Morrison, Michael's personal assistant puts this point forward: "I think he's quite an informal, relational, hands-off kind of leader. His way of operating is that he's a very motivated self-starting sort of person. And I think he sort of expects other people to be that" (Morrison 2005:31). And in speaking about AE's Pan African Missions, run in nations that do not have a host AE team present, Jamie Morrison (2005:31) says this:

> Some missions are Pan-African where we call on members of quite a number of AE teams across Africa and some missions are more a national mission where one country will do a mission. In either situation really Michael does not get too intimately involved in the preparation for the mission. That's the job of the Pan-African Missions Department or that's the job of the national office in the country that they are doing the national mission. Mostly his role in a mission is to be there – to preach….   The top leadership is who he normally speaks to. Normally in our missions they try to end it with a big stadium type rally and normally Michael is the one to give the main message at that stadium event.

Michael Nuttall elaborates on Michael's *imprimatur* – his imprint, or his "water mark". He then goes on to explain the flip side of the coin of Michael Cassidy's style:

> Michael has had this extraordinary mission, and he has persisted with that vision and that has been a very positive thing and has lead to the expansion of AE, essentially, as we've seen it. But it has had its negative side, in that it has brought with it such a strong Cassidy mark – water mark as it were – into the organisation that the challenge for the organisation and indeed for Michael himself, I think, is to move on without him.

> I don't want to give the wrong impression; he likes to work with colleagues, very definitely. Colleagues who are congenial, they need to be congenial theologically, there is an interesting co-patronage with Cardinal Winfred Napier, the leading Roman Catholic in South Africa at the moment, and with a Cardinal, no less. They are co-patrons of this marriage alliance and they are fighting these contentious issues through to the constitutional court to try to safeguard the traditional understanding of marriage in South African society. And he's got his

co-hosts of SACLA and all of that – so Michael likes to work with colleagues, but he plays a very definite prominent role in that he himself is almost the leader number one in those working relationships. My perception is that the situation Michael is involved in with Cardinal Napier and others is very much Michael's main arena with others in support (Nuttall 2005:36).

In terms of Michael's own apprenticeship role under Festo, it is obvious that he learnt fast. His talents had been sought after by the "Billy Graham Evangelistic Association" even before he joined Festo, with Leighton Ford attempting to get him on-board – an offer to Michael's credit, which he refused. He first saw Festo deliver a message while still a student studying at Fuller. After meeting up with him much later in Nigeria, he successfully spoke alongside Festo in the Nairobi mission of March 1969. In the 1970s he was a regular second part to the "Festo-Michael Reconciliation road show", which they took all over the world. Before this, however, and despite the fact that people immediately said that the "…Festo-Michael combination is powerful" (Coomes 2002:153), Michael still had a sharp learning curve to go through. He learnt how to do evangelism from an African "grassroots" perspective. At the end of March Michael was shown the ropes by Festo as he watched the Ugandan style of doing a mission in Kampala, a totally different ball-game to the more urbanised Nairobi setting (Coomes 2002:154). Though he had always been a speaker, Michael became more skilled at it with the passage of time and after Festo's death.

In his own mentoring of those below him, Michael prefers to do this by story-telling – relating incidents in his own life – while he is prepared to some extent to share the lime-light with other evangelists. The latter is achieved by running multiple large scale gatherings concurrently or *stratified evangelism* approaches whereby different sectors of the community are met in familiar grounds. However, within this framework, Michael often retains the keynote address to the nation's Christian, business or political leaders.

Values of Cassidy's leadership
The value of Christian fellowship (ecumenism)
Michael Cassidy was significantly impacted by his early interactions with Festo Kivengere, his counterpart in East Africa, with whom he toured on several occasions to evangelistic crusades. Indeed, because of this ministry partnership with Festo and because AE crossed the denominational divides in its Para-church ministry, Michael shows an unusually high value for ecumenism and Christian fellowship. This is perhaps no better emphasized than by the extent to which Michael and his organization went to be inclusive in both the Pan African Leadership Assembly and subsequent South African Leadership Assemblies. It was the close ministry fellowship that he shared with his counterpart that brought Michael to believe so strongly in Christian fellowship across racial boundaries and ecumenism across the denominational divides, as Michael himself says:

In many places that we go, people say 'How can a black Ugandan and a white South African preach together?' Our reply? Because we have found the Lord Jesus and we have found each other. …In fact, never was it more important for this kind of experience to take place than in Africa at this hour. For as brethren from different backgrounds, races, denominations, and cultures find each other, we are able to remind our divided continent that Jesus unites our hearts in a unique and glorious experience of one-ness. In Jesus – the barriers come down, –

middle walls of partition crumble, – the broken bridges are repaired and fellowship established. Indeed, to rediscover this, to declare this and to manifest this, is PART (and a big part) of what PACLA is all about. We want to see Africa criss-crossed from Cape to Cairo by a great new network of relationship based on our one-ness and fellowship together in Christ (Cassidy & Verlinden 1978:73).

Michael has possibly worked harder than any other evangelical leader of his generation in the area of ecumenism. This concept of inter-church fellowship (ecumenism) flows naturally out of reconciliation, as the previous quote (from Cassidy & Verlinden) illustrated. He moves with ease between Catholic, Baptist and Pentecostal and his own hand in SACLA II, held in 2003 and in which leaders from all over the Christian spectrum joined arms, is a testimony to this. Part of what makes this possible is that AE's being a Para-church movement makes it non-threatening and the ideal banner under which to combine efforts in city-wide crusades and leadership congresses. With AE all local loyalties can be put aside for the sake of a larger city-wide, national or regional vision based on the fundamentals of the faith and a united cause. Jamie Morrison contends that Michael's gift of being able to call all the churches together to the degree of success that Michael has had over the years, is quite unique in Africa. Michael's assistant states:

> …Michael has the apostolic gift and he's able to call the church together. You see that all the way from `73 and the 'South African Congress on Mission and Evangelism' in Durban when he got the church together there and from all across the spectrum – from Pentecostals to the real conservative evangelicals to the main-line churches and everything; to PACLA in `76; SACLA I in `79; 'The National Initiative for Reconciliation' in `85; PACLA II in `94 and then SACLA II in 2003. It seems like in Africa and in South Africa – I may be wrong – but I don't think there has been anyone-else who has been able to call the church together as fruitfully and as successfully as Michael has (Morrison 2005:32).

The values of reconciliation, love and forgiveness
Also of significance was the first Pan African Leadership Assembly (PACLA), where Michael was part of the visionary inspiration behind it and shared in its organization. It was in the build-up to and the leadership of the event that stories out of the East African revival significantly inspired Michael, as Gottfried Osei-Mensah (1978:20), Chairman of PACLA mentions:

> The Revival Movement in Kenya, for example, under tremendous pressure in the 1950's, demonstrated the superior power of love, forgiveness, righteousness and prayer, and thus safe-guarded the integrity of the prophetic ministry, and brought healing and reconciliation to this nation. We pray God inspire us with such worthy examples of faithfulness, courage and self-sacrifice.

The stories of the East African Revival and the conveyors of those stories such as Gottfried filled Michael with the sense that another way other than that of war, segregation and racism did indeed exist; a way of reconciliation, forgiveness and inter-dependence. It is not too hard to see that through his contact with men such as Gottfried Osei-Mensah and Festo Kivengere and in the experience of and build-up to PACLA in 1976, Michael got a new, more refined understanding of the values of reconciliation, love and forgiveness. He was

not only dealing with the theory from black Africans, which at the time was significant in itself, but as a white South African colonial he saw reconciliation, love and forgiveness being lived out in men of astounding leadership calibre, the likes of which white South Africans gathered in their respective Afrikaans and English *laagers*, normally only dreamt about. During a press conference in the build-up to PACLA, Michael had this to say about Gottfried Osei-Mensah (Chairman of PACLA) and John Wilson (Executive Coordinator of PACLA): "In such situations neither Gottfried nor John ever let me feel anything other than a total sense of solidarity with them not only in Christ, but in our African-ness as brethren from different parts of our tumultuous Continent" (Cassidy & Osei-Mensah 1978:111).

Again commenting on the PACLA conference, but this time in his book *The Passing Summer*, Michael says these words about Festo Kivengere and one Simone Ibrahim of Nigeria, in relation to reconciliation and Christian love:

> Before my own address to the PACLA conference on the theme of "Fellowship and Unity within the Body of Christ", I was introduced by Festo Kivengere, who … led our African Enterprise East African teams. Festo shared how we had ministered as miracle brothers – a black Ugandan and a white South African – and how this had come about through the reconciling love of Christ. Then he launched me with a great public embrace of love. Sitting in the Assembly, Simone Ibrahim of Nigeria was touched to the heart by this demonstration of Christian brotherhood. "In fact in that moment", he testified later, "the Holy Spirit worked in my heart and I began to feel that perhaps after all violence was not the way in Southern Africa. Maybe God really could bring an answer by the power of Calvary love" (Cassidy 1989:269).

Michael again relates his ministry relationship with Festo in a recent interview:

> You mention Festo, 1968-69 we were preaching in Nairobi and it was logical for the two of us to preach together. Then when we went off to do our first ministry tour in the States, the theme that the Spirit of God seemed to give us was the one from 2 Corinthians 5: 'God has given to us the ministry of Reconciliation'. And we did not plan that to be the theme song of our first tour, but it just happened everywhere we preached. And it was a big thing may I say for Festo, to take me into his life, much bigger than for me to take him. Because I was a white man, I was young, a lay person. I came from the pole-cat country of the world and he now already had a world ministry, but he saw that if he had come to Jesus and I had come to Jesus then we had to come to each other. Then out from there that ministry began and the Lord prospered it wherever we went (Cassidy 2005:27).

This deep rooted belief in the value of reconciliation, forgiveness and love for one's fellow human beings did not start in East Africa however, but was birthed by his mother's scathing temper and by stories from his grandparents. He comments thus on the effect of his mother's temper:

> "As I grew up, I decided that I hated having people fighting. I craved relational peace around me." His craving gave him a rare skill in facilitating good relations around him: "When Mum blew up, I always desperately wanted people to calm down, and for there to be no hostility." Thus Michael desired reconciliation rather than confrontation

from his earliest years. He was later to speculate: "Perhaps in the strange, sovereign ways of God, it let me have the temperament of a reconciler and a peacemaker. On the other hand I often wished I had the skills and abilities to be more creatively confrontational!" (Coomes 2002:40).

One significant experience of reconciliation occurred when Michael Cassidy and Festo Kivengere visited the historic Afrikaans University of Stellenbosch in November 1980. The unusual sight of a black-white ministry combination attracted considerable interest on campus. Warned of an expected low attendance, the hall where they met was filled with some 1 300 students! Michael Cassidy, in his book "The Passing Summer", relates how one of the Afrikaans theology students was highly impacted by the encounter and came to Michael afterwards and said "I am training for ministry. But I have been full of race prejudice. Today this brother has completely freed me" (Cassidy 1989:324). More than likely he spoke for many others. The key was that "the Spirit of the Lord" had been upon Festo – that made all the difference (Cassidy 1989:324).

In 1996, AE embarked on one of its most complex missions to Kigali, Rwanda, some eighteen months after the catastrophic genocide that had taken place there.   At one stage Michael and his team were desperately ministering at a prison setting where thousands and thousands of Rwandans, many of them still awaiting trial, were crammed into a congested courtyard, a legacy of the massacre. In this setting, which was a visible reminder to the broken inhumane inheritance of Rwanda, Michael decided a visible picture was needed. He relates how he got the team comprising a black Malawian, a brown South African Indian, a black Rwandese, a yellow Chinaman and himself as an old white colonial South African to stand on the bench and link arms to demonstrate their unity as brothers in Christ:

> "I then cried out to one and all (some 10 000 people in that prison with maybe 3000 or 4000 able to hear us), that here in Steve was a black man who hated and wanted to kill whites, but now in Christ had the capacity to forgive and love me a representative white. Then there was David who likewise as an Indian had hated white people and had been caught up once in violent Indian politics. I added that in South Africa many blacks hated Indians even more than they hated white people. …This is what the gospel is all about. So too here in Rwanda it requires the power of Jesus for Hutu to bond themselves to Tutsi and Tutsi to Hutu and both of them to the Twa and the Twa to both of them. The Spirit was moving. The place was riveted. For a throng of humanity such as we had it was a gospel marvel that you could have heard a pin drop. The Spirit seemed to take the point home with almost tangible impact all around us" (Coomes 2002:316).

Yet for Michael, Reconciliation is not an all-consuming passion, but flows quite naturally out of evangelism. His concerns for a socially relevant gospel meant that in a Southern African context this is where the emphasis of his message often lay. However, this same concern for a socially relevant gospel in Africa and the world at large, takes him beyond reconciliation to what the needs on the ground are, beyond all sorts of relational enmities to where the crisis actually is. Michael sees the gospel speaking into crises of poverty, of crime, of sexism, and even into the family and sexuality issues – though broadly speaking the whole arena of sexism, sexuality and the family could also be included within the work of reconciliation (Cassidy 2005:25; Morrison 2005:32).

The value of faith expressed in evangelism and holistic ministry
As an evangelist Michael has obviously had a particularly high regard for evangelism and sharing the message of Jesus Christ with others. This emanated from his own faith and an understanding inherent in his political thinking that if Africa, and particularly South Africa, was to be spared a societal meltdown, only Christian love could provide the answer because politics by itself obviously did not. To achieve this he needed people to believe in the Christian faith, and lots of people. To this end he early on sought an evangelistic city-wide strategy, which was at the heart of Michael's vision for Africa Enterprise:

> *Evangelise the cities of Africa*. That had been at the core of Michael Cassidy's vision for African Enterprise since 1961. In the following 40 years, the vision came true in city after city after city. Dozens of them, hundreds of them, from Cairo to the Cape. Little regional cities, elegant national capitals, sprawling metropolises. *How the cities responded! Crowds of hundreds, of thousands at any one time and, once, over a quarter of a million, would gather to hear the team as they joyfully proclaimed the good news of Christ's love for that city* (Coomes 2002:233).

The idea was to first receive an invitation from the churches of a certain city; once invited they would send someone like David Richardson to help establish the logistical groundwork and inter-church cooperation necessary to conduct a city-wide mission. Next, the various church leaders and their volunteers had to be trained in effective evangelism. These eventually developed into pre-mission discipleship courses. During this pre-mission stage, prayer meetings would often be organized. The mission would typically follow some months later, and might be aimed at different sectors of society in various small venues during the day. Testimonies were often shared by people who worked within that or a similar sector in society. A mass rally would take place in the evening or on weekends. In due time prayer for healing was included as an important aspect apart from the gospel message. Lastly there would be prayer for conversion and the subsequent follow-up by the churches. All the time African Enterprise did not seek to establish a new church, but instead fed back these newly converted into the existing churches in the city.

This became the standard city-wide model for an AE mission, but other new models were also created. Even this basic, adaptable structure evolved over an extended period of time. In its evangelism, AE was unique in that it did not shy away from a gospel of reconciliation and one where repentance from racism, apartheid and violence, particularly in the South African context, was a necessary component. In this respect Michael was surprisingly different for an evangelist as highly influenced as he was by the likes of Billy Graham. Beyond the East African influences in Michael's life and the early admiration for Martin Luther King, and the influence of Fuller Seminary which gave him a greater appreciation than most of his contemporaries for a more *Holistic ministry* there was the influence of men like Michael Nuttall and Trevor Huddleston early on, and David Bosch and Desmond Tutu later, who were all deeply committed to their faith and seeing South Africa resolve its racial issues. There were also internationally respected British church leaders like Stephen Neill and John Stott who personally mentored him, men with a heart for Africa. He thus came to regard evangelism devoid of socio-political concerns to be out of place on the African continent, but equally, if not more so, that socio-political concerns without evangelism was misleading. Michael comments on his views in his address to PACLA:

> The evangelism of the evangelist must be holistic, incarnational, and rounded. His concern is not just for souls but for people and all their needs. Mere telling and proclaiming does not exhaust the responsibility of the evangelist. And he who is concerned for education or famine relief, literacy, or socio-political action must not think his job complete until each person has heard the Gospel of Jesus and found Him – lest having clothed, fed, educated and politically liberated the man, you simply leave him in a more comfortable, sophisticated hell where his soul still cries out for meaning and reality and eternal life. May God lead PACLA so that we will not rupture fellowship over different views of priorities and different views of service but find a holistic type of evangelism that is not personal or social but both personal and social (Cassidy & Verlinden 1978).

Of course in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, this has become the staple diet of charismatic organizations such as Youth With A Mission, Rhema, His People and others, but in 1978, few others would have espoused a mixing of two totally separate hands of cards. The *liberal/mainline hand* was defined by the *Kings, Queens and Jacks* of politics, community development and humanitarian aid, and the discarded *joker* of evangelism. The other *evangelical/charismatic hand* was defined by the lone *Ace of Hearts* – only the personal Jesus who ministers to your soul and his gospel of repentance. As Michael Cassidy (1974:56) himself said in Durban, 1973, at the South African Congress on Mission and Evangelism, in which Christians from opposite polarities came together: "As the South African Congress met, it was against this sort of polarised theological background where activists and pietists, horizontalists and verticalists, 'Ecumenicals' and 'Evangelicals' were suspiciously viewing each other across a deep divide."

In this comment of Michael's about the diversity of the Durban Congress of 1973, it is clear that his two passions of ecumenism and a gospel that is holistic came together in the range of people he managed to attract. Michael explains the paradox (to some liberal and conservative Christians) of his perspective on evangelism, which emanates jointly from two leading personalities who greatly influenced his style of evangelism:

> In South Africa there were a lot of Christians that professed to be converted people, committed Christians and yet they were supportive of apartheid, they were supportive of racism, they had segregation…. And that led me into a struggle with the issue of the relationship between the vertical and the horizontal. The relationship between the personal faith and a socio-political expression of him. I was much influenced at the time by two leaders. …In 1957 I was in New York and Billy Graham was preaching night after night in Madison Square Garden and I was inspired and at the same Martin Luther King was preaching … and it was all on television. It was at the time that Eisenhower was sending troops into Arkansas…. And I thought – what do I make of this, Billy Graham on the one hand and Martin Luther King on the other, who was going up and down the streets of Montgomery, Alabama, and other cities of the South calling for racial justice.

> The penny sort of dropped for me in those years between 1957, I suppose, and about 1958 /59, when I was a seminary student, that these were two sides of the same coin. That became a very powerful value, a powerful commitment in me, in my life. The gospel spoke in both directions. It spoke of a vertical

relationship with the Lord and the importance of calling people into that vertical relationship. And secondly it spoke horizontally into the contextual issues that were around us. In terms of race; in terms of justice and all that kind of thing. I saw, to put it differently, that on the one hand we were called to love the Lord, and we were called to love other people. And that love of other people was not just at a personal level but at a structural level. And that justice was love built into structures. And in a way from that time on… the coming together of the personal and socio-political, it was almost second nature… (Cassidy 2005:24).

The Value of Trust expressed through Dialogue and Influence:
Michael, in realizing the importance of opening up a dialogue between members of different parties just prior to the 1994 elections put together six weekend experiences at Kolobe Lodge. This eventually led to the building of trust between people from often vastly different political persuasions. Michael Cassidy (1995:86) comments on the value of trust-building through dialogue arising out of the Kolobe Lodge weekend experiences:

> For us in AE, one Kolobe serendipity was the formal request from PAC leadership to facilitate communication between political and armed wings of the movement in winding down the armed struggle and the terminating of the "one settler, one bullet" slogan. …Most significant of all was what came forth in March and April 1994 in terms of the electoral process. Our new-found depth of relationships and trust emerging from Kolobe with Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte and IFP National Chairman Frank Mdlalose bore specific fruit.

Michael, in quoting a participant in the Kolobe dialogues, goes on to explain the importance of a world view and the sharing of that world view(s):

> "…That meant accepting every person and believing that every person was equal before God. Looking back on my experiences, I can see that many committed Christians are still locked into this schism of two separate worlds. Even though the Afrikaner community is so deeply rooted in the Church and the Bible, the ordinary person has not yet started taking the Bible into every part of his life. But once the Lord has led someone to grasp that necessity – and I have seen this during the election period with Afrikaners – their whole world changes and, ironically, they feel a lot more secure. They begin to realise that there is more to life than politics and power." Andries went on to note that Afrikaners now have to find their primary identity in terms of their faith and the Kingdom of God. …"You see the whole world of many Afrikaner people is falling apart and, if you don't have spiritual security and a world view that makes sense, you are in trouble. This is a lesson of life for all, not just Afrikaners" (Cassidy 1995:87).

Michael understands the value of trust between leaders as he sees that a key to evangelism is inherent in the influence that leaders wield and the effective mobilizing and networking of this influence. This perspective was gained early on as a young white South African who met African political leaders during his African transcontinental travels which helped him see the significant influence these leaders wielded. Built around the myth of the *Great Chief*, Africa does seem to have more than her fair share of leaders who for personal, tribal, national or even regional gain exhibit enormous influence. The question arises whether this influence will be used negatively or positively, and from Michael's perspective as an

evangelist, for Christ or against Christ.   If a leader's trust can be captured and their values and vision centred on Jesus, you have surely won the continent, or at the very least given yourself as an evangelist an unprecedented platform from which to speak.

Anne Coomes documents a letter that Michael sent to *Eternity* magazine in 1960 after it had accepted an article of Michael's for publication. In this letter Michael answers the question regarding his proposed future plans:

> You asked me about my future plans. Since the time of my conversion, I have felt there to be an urgent need for a new work in Africa that would seek to reach the influential people of this continent for Jesus Christ. These people, the most *influential*, are also the most *untouched* by the transforming message of the gospel. …But we do not seek only to reach the leaders in the various African parliaments, but would also seek to reach the masses by means of mass evangelism (Coomes 2002:81).

It is clear from this that Michael's passion was not just to reach out to leaders of influence, even if it did separate his ministry from any other evangelistic ministry, but also to reach everyone with the gospel. His high regard for evangelism, for leaders but also for common people, led to his own unique brand of holistic evangelism.

The value of peace expressed through a passion for prayer
Probably the best illustration of these two passions of Michael's was the "Jesus Peace Rally" in Durban's King's Park Stadium, which some 35,000 people attended. After Okumu had built an initial relationship with Buthelezi and Mandela, both asked him to be an advisor to the international mediators. But after a short and seemingly futile attempt at mediation by Carrington and Kissinger, they jetted away, declaring that an eminent war was looming. However, Michael Cassidy petitioned Washington Okumu to stay on and he began to work on a document to end the deadlock. Okumu met with Buthelezi at Lanceria Airport to discuss this document (Cassidy 1994).

Later Okumu and the chief minister for KwaZulu met in a Durban hotel in order to go over Okumu's proposal just before the *Jesus Peace Rally* at King's Park. Buthelezi meanwhile, excited by the new document that was brokering a way through the deadlock, entered the VIP lounge and shared it with Danie Schutte (National Party) and Jacob Zuma (Natal leader for the ANC), while Okumu, having flown down to Cape Town, briefed Mandela. The prayers for peace literally *bore them up*, with the faithful praying in the stadium below and with people praying all over South Africa and the world, Michael having appeared on the BBC that morning with a worldwide audience of approximately 21 million people to encourage prayer for peace.

With six days to go, Inkhata came on board; Parliament was convened the day before elections and with the Zulu king's position entrenched, the king told the people to go out and vote. During the four days of the elections there were no reports of murder or violence in the then crime capital of the world. Of the break in the impasse Anne Coomes says: "A big article in the *Natal Daily News* was headlined: 'The Day God Stepped In to Save South Africa.' The BBC in London the next day said: 'It was the Jesus Peace rally that tipped the scales'" (Coomes 2002:470).

Cassidy's Christian beliefs and philosophical framework
Cassidy's own words are quoted below at some length so that a more complete understanding of Cassidy's belief can be gained:

> The ancient Greek philosophers had seen that there was a divine reason or mind in the cosmos. This mind gives it coherence, unity and order. This is also the basis of an inherent morality which they sensed as something real. So they gave it a name. It was called the Logos (*i.e.* the word or self-expression of God). …
> The world was thus poised morally, spiritually and intellectually for the arrival of Jesus Christ. For as St John says: "In the beginning was the Word [*logos*], and the Word was with God, and the Word was God … we have beheld his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father" (John 1:1, 14, RSV). Here, said John, is the lawmaker behind our planet and the universe: he has stepped on to planet Earth and we have beheld his glory. …Jesus' nature is God's nature. Not only that, but in his humanity he was the … man *par excellence*, whose life was in absolute accord with the natural order and the cosmos. Because he is the agent in creation, and seeing that "without him was not anything made that was made" (John 1:3, RSV), all reality, and all the cosmos, has his stamp upon it. What Christians believe, therefore, is not that Jesus imposed a morality on man, but rather that he exposed more fully and completely an intrinsic morality in the universe itself. A good and moral action will therefore have not only Jesus and scripture behind it but the universe and the cosmos as well. …Consequently, in each action we commit cosmos or commit chaos…. A good action is integrative and constructive; a bad action is disintegrative and destructive. Christian ethics are therefore always on the side of … peace, health, political stability, justice, social harmony, and so on. Laws cannot, therefore, be "broken", but one can be broken by them. …To jump off the Empire State Building is not to break the law of gravity – only to illustrate it! (Cassidy 1989: 218-219).

So what is it that motivates Michael Cassidy in his ministry as an evangelist and one committed to the task of reconciliation? Is it this philosophical understanding of Jesus' being the "agent in creation" in the cosmos, which offers the simple yet profound concept that every action either lines up with the laws of the *cosmos*, whose author is Jesus Christ, bringing with it justice and harmony, or aligns itself with *chaos*, thus bringing injustice and instability? This philosophical understanding guides Michael Cassidy at least on a cerebral level. However, as an evangelist and minister of the gospel who travels widely, he has developed an integrated faith that affects not only his mind but his lifestyle, and thus his passion for ministry.

Michael Cassidy is underneath a classic evangelical whose personal faith is the basis to his ministry in the arenas of evangelism, reconciliation, societal wellbeing, ecumenism, leadership development and discipleship. Michael's base-line truths are put forward by Dr James Packer and presented by Michael in his book *Reflections on Christian Basics*:

1. The Supremacy of Holy Scripture (because of its unique inspiration).
2. The majesty of Jesus Christ (the God-man who died as a sacrifice for sin).
3. The necessity of conversion (a direct encounter with God affected by God).
4. The lordship of the Holy Spirit (who exercises a variety of vital ministries).
5. The priority of evangelism (witness being the expression of worship).

6. The importance of fellowship (the Church being essentially a living community of believers) (Cassidy 2004:18-19).

For Michael, the first two base-line truths are critical as he believes firmly in the person and work of Christ: the deity of Christ (i.e. Christ is God) and yet Christ as also fully human; the death (his atoning work on the cross); and the resurrection of Christ (rising to a seat of honour as God's Son). He also has a high regard for scripture as being *inspired* (meaning God-given). Yet God's word, is given through human authors in such a way that their individual personalities are not overridden (Cassidy 2004:93-94; 35-37).

It can be seen that most of what Michael engages in is driven by these two foundational truths – Lordship of Jesus Christ as the "Living Word" and the Bible as the "Written Word of God" (Cassidy 2005:25). To these two foundational truths should be added a Trinitarian belief in God – Father, Son and Holy Spirit (Cassidy 2004:20), while the evangelical concepts of conversion, evangelism and fellowship arise out of these three key concepts.

As regards what was being experienced at the ground level in pre-democratic South Africa, Michael for some time believed the conflict in South Africa was spiritual in the final analysis. His belief in the world of the supernatural was seen clearly in Rustenburg in 1985, where church leaders met to try and establish a joint response to the South African situation. Yet Michael also exhibits a real knack of tying this objective spiritual reality that he sees so clearly on account of his faith to concrete reality on the ground. In talking about apartheid and finding each other through the mind of Christ, Michael uses these words:

> I believe that the key questions at this Conference are whether in love, faith and courage we can: …find the mind and way of Christ for ourselves, the Church at large, and the Nation? Or, alternatively, will the grim Goliath and demon of apartheid, with its dread works of division and alienation, forever defeat both us, as the church of Jesus Christ, and the nation to which we belong? And certainly the divisive works of that demon are dreadful indeed, so that far from manifesting the mind of Christ we have what Allister Sparks calls, in the title of his book, *The Mind of South Africa* … "the division that runs through the psyche of the nation. It runs like a San Andreas fault through the mind of South Africa. Two minds, two worlds, one country – where people occupy the same space but live in different time-frames so that they do not see each other and perceive different realities" (Cassidy 1991:28-29).

How did this evolution of two separate people groups, white and black, two separate nations, coexisting in one country, come about? And how is it that this separation grew to be so strong that Michael calls it intrinsically evil? Michael himself answers these questions succinctly: "In a nutshell, the apartheid and segregationist ideas, born out of fear, are *Christian heresies*, which became a *party policy*, which evolved into a *tribal ideology*, which grew into a *national idol*, and which finally imprisoned all of us in a *demonic stronghold*" (Cassidy 1989:334).

The basis for Cassidy's ability to cross socio-political boundaries
One of the many influences in Michael's life was the stories his grandparents told of the Anglo-Boer War and which conveyed the principle that *all people and relationships count*,

something the British grossly violated in the war. Added to this was his father's influence, which gave him a keen sense of right and wrong, and just and unjust (Coomes 2003:434).

An early mentor of Michael's was Patrick Duncan; son of Sir Duncan, who was the previous British Governor General to South Africa and lived next door to the Cassidy's home in Maseru, Basutoland (now called Lesotho). Patrick and others such as Alan Paton helped found the South African Liberal Party.   He abhorred apartheid and was committed to justice, equity and non-violence, and thus had made

> ...Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of *Satyagraha* [italics inserted] a guiding star in his political thinking. Michael was impressed and influenced. He came to see that discrimination was wrong and justice was right. Pat Duncan said apartheid would doom South Africa and in 1948 when the Nationalists came to power, Pat walked Michael across a mountain behind the Duncan home and declared to him that this was a political tragedy from which the country would take generations to recover. Said Pat Duncan: "Mark my words, apartheid is a word that is destined to mobilise the world" (Coomes 2002:435).

At Michaelhouse he was greatly influenced by the headmaster Douglas McJanet, who at times invited people like Alan Paton, well known for his liberal views, to speak at the school. Beyond these childhood personalities, Michael stresses the importance of figures such as Louis Botha and Jan Smuts, who both had tremendous hearts for burying the hatchet with the English. He admired Smuts' global vision, and as opposed to the majority of the pro-nationalist Afrikaners towards the end of Smuts' life, Cassidy thought that Smuts' persona and vision not being nationally wed to South Africa was actually a *good thing*. Deneys Reitz (another outstanding Boer General) was also an important figure as he and Cassidy's grandfather had struck up a friendship, which impacted them both and politically helped Reitz make peace across the English-Afrikaner divide. More recently De Klerk and Mandela had also played their part in inspiring Michael (Cassidy 2005:29-30).

Soon after his arrival at Cambridge his views were challenged by the nagging realization that political endeavours could never uproot the depths to which racial prejudice in South Africa had sunk. At Cambridge he was lead to a personal conversion and acceptance of the gospel's being the only answer to the racial divide in South Africa. Michael also met Fr. Trevor Huddleston, of the Community of the Resurrection, who was forced to flee South Africa. Huddleston was persuaded "… that political processes rooted in Christian principle and conviction had to be brought powerfully to bear on South Africa so as to remove the National party and save the nation from political cataclysm" (Coomes 2002:436). Along with Huddleston, Michael Nuttall (the future Bishop of Natal) helped to instil in Michael the belief that Christian and political answers were not exclusive to one another. The British were reluctant to be tough with the South African government because of their own feelings toward the growing black population in Britain. But Nuttall, Cassidy and Alasdair Macaulay issued a letter to *The Times* in May 1956, challenging the *Tu Quoque* argument, for as the trio noted, "… the *Tu Quoque* (you also) argument, so appealing to the apostle of self-deception, does not exonerate or excuse the white South African in any way. It merely shows that the Englishman is likely to be as evil as he!" (Coomes 2002:437).

In the summer of 1957, Michael went to the Billy Graham Crusade in Madison Square Garden and heard the famous evangelist preach a personal gospel of salvation. At the same

time Martin Luther King was being televised from the streets of Montgomery, Alabama, preaching a gospel of social justice. Michael became convinced that both were in fact right and this conviction grew as he attended Fuller Seminary from 1959 to 1963; by the time the team started work in South Africa both aspects of a personal salvation and social relevance had been completely absorbed into the culture and philosophy of AE (Coomes 2002:439).

Another early influence on Michael was the political situation in the Federation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. After all, Southern Rhodesia was the country his father had originally came to as a young engineer in the early 1930s. The Federation was an exciting prospect as it formed an advantageous economic union, but it ended all too quickly in December 1963, only ten years after its formation. Some four years before the end of the Federation, the tension mounted as the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, declared a state of emergency. Michael was intrigued by Whitehead's 1961 constitution, which was the first real attempt at a non-racial yet franchise vote based on certain levels of education and property ownership. This constitution would in the long term have made an African majority inevitable, but as history showed, African nationalists wanted nothing less than *Universal Adult Suffrage*. Rhodesia was a dry-run at constitutional reform for South Africa and Michael watched with great concern as white Rhodesians grew increasingly introspective and black nationalists more militant, culminating in Ian Smith's 1965, Unilateral Declaration of Independence (Coomes 2002:442-443).

An aspect of Cassidy's heart to embrace all, even if the upper echelons of his staff in Pietermaritzburg are distinctly white, was fuelled by his and Carol's guardian role in the life of Sipho, who had been left fatherless and suffered at the hands of the apartheid system. Michael arranged a sponsorship with Hilton College and saw him through his university studies. Possibly his interaction with Sipho, more than anything else, helped him to see clearly the evils of the apartheid system and instilled in him a real love of his fellow black brother (Cassidy 1989:168).   From his grandparents, Michael inherited his bi-cultural English-Canadian and Afrikaans roots despite his overtly Natal neo-colonial British culture. He thus describes his grandparents, who were married some two years after the Boers surrendered to the British in May 1901, and their influence on his life:

> Molly Craufurd, Mafeking nurse, and Edward Reading, Canadian Cavalryman, who had both been through it all, were married in 1903 in Cape Town. Family and volk were indeed intertwining irrevocably. All of which, I would suppose, does in fact make me a South African. Our family story … is not unique. …But what we must observe is that out of all this long European settler crosspollination in our family and in thousands of others, an authentic, white South Africanism was struggling to be born, though scarcely cognisant that blacks within the occupied subcontinent needed somehow to be included (Cassidy 1989:58-59).

Perhaps we can forgive Cassidy for his distinctly white vantage point, as he was after all writing from a historical perspective and regarding the vexing question of what a white South African really was, let alone the imponderable quotient for the 1980s of an all-embracing *South Africanism*. Yet from this we see that his family history, which traversed the white cultural divide, planted the seeds of the cross-cultural understanding that served him well in his ministry of reconciliation later on.   This understanding of Michael is corroborated by Mark Manley (2005:35), who sees his transcultural sensitivity arising from a liberal upbringing, but not out of the justice cause:

> I think he does not fall into the justice side of the political spectrum, he falls
> more into the liberal side. I think that [his political persuasion] is more a
> function, not of his prophetic nature but more of a function of his Lesotho
> childhood culture and then finding a theology to support it as opposed to being
> prophetic and saying this is justice and it fits into this theology, rather he found
> a theology to support it – he actually said as much to me!

Michael also draws inspiration for his cross-cultural work from the example of Christ and
the biblical mandate, as he himself relates:

> The very fact that Jesus started out telling his disciples to love one another.
> What he was telling his disciples was 'By this will all men know that you are my
> disciples if you love one another.' So the most distinctive thing about Jesus that
> probably any non-Christian would pick up who knew almost nothing about him
> was that he preached love and was a loving person. As soon as you talk love you
> talk relationships, you are talking the horizontal … as an outward expression of
> an inner love for the Lord. …In the wider developing community in the book of
> Acts, you find that the thing that was distinctive about them, they were an
> alternative messianic community. I mean it had people in it who were
> government people, system people, it had people who were zealots bent on
> overthrowing the system by violence –like 'Simon the Zealot'.
>
> …And of course as we came back into South Africa … we came back into a
> drastically polarised society. Because we were committed to a gospel in word
> and deed we had no option…. People tried to tell us that we could not have
> interracial meeting, people tried to make life difficult when we added interracial
> components to our team. So the circumstances thrust the relational issue into our
> faces. We found English-white and black at odds, we found English and
> Afrikaner at odds; we found several of the tribal groupings at odds. And if you
> were to carry out a gospel with any credibility at all, it had to be relational, you
> had to talk reconciliation and you had to take your Lord's word in Matt 5:23 for
> example; "If you are bringing your gift to the alter and you find that your brother
> has something against you (not even you against him, but he against you) go and
> first be reconciled and then come bring your gift to me" (Cassidy 2005:26).

There was the influence of men like David Bosch and Desmond Tutu later on, who
subsequent to his interaction with Festo and other Ugandans, helped hone his instincts for
justice, truth and reconciliation, but the starting point was Michael's own personal
conversion. As Cassidy (1989:262) explains, it was only his conversion that can really
explain his desire to preach alongside fellow Ugandans and be reconciled to his Afrikaner
brother: "In my own experience, too, I know that nothing short of conversion to Jesus
Christ could have motivated me to want to preach round Africa with black Ugandans or
find my fumbling way over miscellaneous British barriers to Afrikaner friends."

For, it was on this personal level that Cassidy and his team, if they struggled, knew:

> …[T]hat the rendezvous point was the cross, and if you got to the cross you
> could find one another. It was a place to repent, a place to say I'm sorry. It was
> a place to put ourselves together again and become reconciled. And it was really

out of those struggles that AE still exists today. Any non-racial ministries in Africa that are honest probably would acknowledge the fragility that will always be there. The wounds from this racial thing in the past, they don't just heal overnight. Just ask white and black Americans! …So you know it all flowed from the love requirements of Jesus and then the context we were in. You could get nothing [evangelistic crusades/missions] to work unless you based it on reconciliation (Cassidy 2005:27).

Extending out of a personal belief in the work of Christ, is Michael's philosophical belief in the *Cosmic Christ*, which arises from his understanding of the Greek philosophers and John's interpretation of the *Logos* as the self expressed order of God. This had a direct political effect for Cassidy and led him to confront even politicians:

I wrote to a prominent politician … of Botha's cabinet and said that the issue in front of you is not whether apartheid is particularly good or bad, the issue is whether we live in a moral universe or not and whether Jesus is the "Cosmic Christ", that's what you've got to grapple with. Because … if this universe is random, unpredictable, irregular, chaotic – does not have Jesus behind it, you can go ahead with apartheid and get away with it. But I said if it is a moral universe and has Jesus behind it, you'll never get away with it. You will produce a mounting fury that is like sand in a watch, it starts to foul up the works and there's a kickback when the watch stops working. You'll have a mounting social fury – a kickback which will disintegrate the South African society. And that came from my understanding of Jesus as the "Cosmic Christ" (Cassidy 2005:25).

How Cassidy's Christian convictions helped to effect lasting national change

Early on Michael's family, as many others, had struggled about what a comprehensive white South African identity would look like. For the Cassidy family this was not just a national question but a deeply personal one spanning their own Afrikaner-English root divide, as already mentioned in the previous section. This grappling with the concept of identity may have seemed particularly short sighted in its white exclusivity, but as Michael writes – in his book *The Passing Summer* – from a historical perspective:

…[E]ven a comprehensive and deep white South Africanism, let alone one embracing blacks, has proved strangely elusive and in the view of many has yet to come forth. In any event, when my grandparents finally told me their own extra-ordinary story, which later included a deep friendship with the legendary Boer Commander Deneys Reitz … it was to put into my young soul at a tender age the conviction that war, alienation, vendetta and bitterness were not the way: forgiveness and reconciliation were (Cassidy 1989:59).

This concept of a *white South African*, while proving to be somewhat elusive to a greater or lesser extent, missed the mark in the dawning years of South Africa's first true democracy in 1989; and if it missed the mark then, so much the more now, some eleven years on from independence for South Africa. For surely the battle today, where the diversity of the tribal and racial groups and the sheer logistical magnitude of black Southern Africans tend to dominate the horizon, is: "What does a thoroughly integrated South African look like?" What South Africa even in the 1980s failed to recognise was how Zimbabwe in the 1970s

had not only made marked progress in integrating its white English and Afrikaner *tribes*, but by 1989, ten years on from independence, had made significant progress in breaching the barriers between black and white Zimbabweans and the two dominant Shona and Ndebele tribal groupings, a point of view supported by Cassidy (1989:437) himself.

But whatever the extent of Michael's understanding of the parallels and differences between the two nations – in Zimbabwe's case this included a fairly extensive pre-majority rule understanding (Coomes 2002:442-448) – what is pertinent to this thesis is that he made a point of trying to reconcile the contexts of both nations for which he would be ideally situated in the heartland of Kwa-Zulu Natal (then called Natal). This enabled him to indirectly help broker a constitutional compromise in South Africa that all could live with and to directly foster dialogue and peace among the various warring factions in Natal in particular. In Zimbabwe, Michael had gained invaluable experience in his and the AE delegation's role in helping to draft the *Call to the Churches and Nations of South Africa*, a document resulting from a congress held in Bulawayo in August/September 1977.

The Rhodesian Congress on Evangelism in Context, which Gary Strong (then leader of AE Zimbabwe), Phineas Dube, and AE South Africa had helped organize, came at the height of the civil war in Zimbabwe, and brought together 140 delegates from a broad cross-section of races and denominations. It was particularly timely in seeking to address a nation whose church was as polarised as its citizens, either by the good found by black Christians or conversely the evil found by white Christians in the liberation struggle. Anne Coomes relates the positive impact of the document, often simply labelled the *Call*:

> The document was seen by many as a model theological and political statement addressing both warring sides in a conflict with the church as the agent trying to bring them together in reconciliation. Whether in the final analysis the congress would make any real difference to Rhodesia was beyond anyone's guess. …Certainly some early results were very encouraging. The "Call" was considered by … the *Rhodesian Herald* in Salisbury as "a blueprint for a new peace-seeking initiative in the Rhodesian constitutional deadlock". Prime Minister Ian Smith, when presented with the "Call", said it was "a laudable attempt which needed to be made". A member of the South African Parliament wrote to Michael Cassidy, saying: "Congratulations on the *Call to The Churches and Nations of Southern Africa*. At last we have a sensible statement which is genuinely Christian and brings a proper appreciation of the spectrum and complexity of the Southern African situation" (Coomes 2002:447-448).

In Natal his role was less visible, but possibly even more necessary. This is apparent in how he worked behind the scenes to establish dialogue between the various parties during the transition years leading up to the 1994 democratic elections. One of the concepts he worked on was what became known as the Kolobe Lodge Dialogue Weekends. There were two significant building blocks to these dialogues. First there was a two year non-stop chain of intercession beginning with a call to prayer in April 1993. Next there was an AE promoted strategy, labelled *From Africa with Love*, whereby small teams comprising Christian leaders from throughout Africa visited with politicians and political parties.

In the Kolobe Lodge Dialogue Weekends an assortment of the immediate second tier of politicians from the full spectrum of political disposition were brought together at Kolobe

Game Lodge, just north of Pretoria. Between the end of 1992 and the end of 1993, around 96 politicians went through one of six separate weekend dialogues. During this time the South African politicians were arguable the most prayed for politicians on the planet, and the dialogue weekends were for many life-changing experiences (Coomes 2003:465).

These weekends built relationships across the spectrum of political understanding in South Africa at the time – a spectrum which varied from radical Afrikaner nationalism to radical African nationalism. They paved a way for negotiation and deeper understanding of the many authentic personal stories that gave rise to the many inherent even if somewhat distorted positions in South Africa's rich tapestry of peoples and political persuasions. One of the opportunities created by the "Kolobe Lodge Dialogue" was "…the formal request from the PAC leadership to facilitate communication between the political and the armed wings of the movement in winding down the armed struggle and the terminating of the 'one settler, one bullet' slogan. We cooperated in this endeavour… (Cassidy 1995:86).

By the end of 1993 the whole of KwaZulu Natal was a flash point as the Zulus were not properly handled over the issue of the decentralization of power and the recognition of the Zulu king, and the Inkhata Freedom Party reacted in a series of actions promoting violence in Natal. With the possibility of a total bloodbath and seemingly no way out of the deadlock, Michael made a number of moves. Both overtly and behind the scenes Michael initiated a process based on relationships developed in the Kolobe Lodge weekends towards establishing dialogue and peace, strongly sensing it would come about through prayer. Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington had been asked to act as international mediators, but failed to break the impasse. However, Michael felt this was an "...African problem requiring African solutions" (Cassidy 1994). As mentioned earlier, the impasse was resolved through Washington Okumu's intervention and the Jesus Peace Rally. Buthelezi acknowledged that it was by God's sovereign intervention that he had turned back to Lanceria Airport to see Okumu prior to this (Cassidy 1994). Of the amazing electoral peace, which had none of the predicted bloodbaths; Coomes (2002:470) reports:

> The word "miracle" appeared at the head of editorial after editorial. A big article in the *Natal Daily News* was headlined: "The day God stepped In to Save South Africa." The BBC in London the next day said: "It was the Jesus Peace rally that tipped the scales." In the British House of Commons the next day an MP stated: "If there are miracles in politics, then this is one." *Time* magazine said the following week: "History has thrown up an authentic miracle." The *Wall Street Journal* carried a full-page article entitled: "God in Politics".

Cassidy also managed to leave his mark, along with other Christian leaders, on the Constitution of South Africa in that it recognises God's sovereign status at the beginning and end of the constitution, closing with *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica*, which means "God bless Africa" (Cassidy 1994). Michael played a vital role not only in influencing the constitution of South Africa, but also in the breakthrough of the Dutch Reformed Church's disowning apartheid and revising their theological position that supported it. There were a significant number of Dutch Reformed ministers present at SACLA I, one of whom, a good friend of Michael's and who was assassinated as a result of the *N.G. Kerk* Synod of 1986, had led the charge in the exegetical studies that reversed the Dutch Reformed Church's philosophical position on apartheid (Cassidy 2005:30).

5.4   Desmond Tutu
A brief commentary on Tutu's life and rise to leadership [10]

In 1925 Hertzog, the then Prime Minister, made a speech in the Orange Free State in which he outlined his social programme of segregation, and proceeded to implement them in a series of laws, known as the *Hertzog Bills*. It was into this rapidly escalating racial world, a world that imbibed concepts of apartheid, that Desmond Mphilo Tutu was born on 7 October 1931. His father, Zachariah, a Fingo of the Xhosa nation from the Eastern Cape, was headmaster of the Klerksdorp Methodist Primary School in the Transvaal, while his mother, Aletha, was a Tswana. When Desmond was eight his father was transferred to Ventersdorp, which offered tuition to blacks, coloureds and Indians (who lived in the white areas), and Desmond was a pupil there. From Ventersdorp the Tutu family moved to Roodepoort and from there to Munsieville, in Krugersdorp, built as one of the original black *locations* in 1910. He showed early entrepreneurial skills, selling oranges (to supplement the family income) for a small profit and peanuts at the suburban railway station as well as being a caddie at Killarney golf course in Johannesburg.

In 1945 he attended Western High near Sophiatown, at the time the only black high school in the entire West Rand region. Run by Mr Madibane, the school acquired a reputation for producing a significant number of black leaders, and became known as *Madibane* High. Even though a *wizard* at playing cards, Desmond's arithmetic was not great, nevertheless he managed to progress with his schooling and topped his class in the Form 1 mid-year exams. He was known to be extremely bright and gifted with a *photographic memory*, and developed a sense of humour early on (Motjuwadi 1984; Du Boulay 1988:29).

Because of the long commute to Sophiatown he stayed at the hostel run by the fathers of the Community of the Resurrection, to which Trevor Huddleston belonged who made a huge impression on the young Tutu. Tutu fell sick with tuberculosis when he was fourteen, and every week of his 20 month stay in the Rietfontein Hospital, Huddleston would visit him. Far from falling behind, Desmond kept up with his studies, particularly his English reading. It was in hospital that Tutu's Christianity gained a concreteness and personal conviction that had hitherto been lacking. Baptised a Methodist, he had followed his elder sister's lead and joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He even had a spell with an obscure African Initiated Church sect (his grandfather had become a minister in the Ethiopian Church and another relative was a minister in the same sect), before his whole family, including Desmond, joined the Anglican Church. He became a server in St Paul's, Munsieville, and such was the piety of the young Tutu that he would often slip quietly off to the church to pray. Once Tutu was out of hospital, Ezekiel Mphahlele, driver and clerk to the Blaxalls (and later a professor at the University of Witwatersrand) encouraged Desmond to take up running and boxing. Apart from giving him physical strength, it provided him with the confidence to stand up to the so-called township *tsotsis* or thugs.

He began to show signs of leadership and younger boys followed him around. Upon his return to school he caught up by studying by candlelight late into the night and regained his position at the top of his class, graduating at the end of his Matric year with a Joint Matriculation Board certificate. Desmond decided to follow in his father's footsteps, and in 1951 he attended the Pretoria Bantu Normal College. He acquired his Transvaal Bantu

---

[10] This section has been drawn almost entirely from the work of Du Boulay (1988), Tutu (1995) and Gish (2004); but where these books have been supplemented this material has been clearly referenced.

Teacher's Diploma in 1954 and taught at his former school, Madibane High. Studying in the evenings, he received a Bachelor of Arts (BA) through the University of South Africa (UNISA) within a year. Somehow, in all these studies he found time to get to know Leah Shenxane, a gifted student – who had been taught by Zechariah – and friend of Tutu's younger sister Gloria, and they were married on 2 July 1955. After the wedding he changed teaching jobs and taught instead at the new high school adjacent to his father's junior school where, as a visionary teacher, he inspired his pupils.

Desmond had only just begun teaching when the Nationalist government brought in the Bantu Education Act of 1955, seeking to ensure that black servitude was perpetuated. His style of teaching, which trained his students *how* to think, not *what* to think, was at loggerheads with the system. He finished teaching the pupils that he had started to teach and then quit teaching. After this he was accepted for training into the priesthood by the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg and went to train at St Peter's College, run by the Fathers of the Community of the Resurrection. This was not a surprising decision, having already been accepted in 1955 as a sub-Deacon in the church, but it did disappoint his father, as priesthood was not seen to be as prestigious as teaching. He was so gifted academically that he exceeded all the students in the first section of the Licentiate of Theology, including the white students training in Grahamstown. He received a spiritual training too, with meditation, Matins and Mass every morning, and regular retreats too. Tutu was impressed by the discipline of prayer that the Fathers had, who in their devotion taught by life-style. In his third year he was made *senior student* and again took the lead.

Desmond Tutu was so immersed in his theological studies that he was almost untouched by the activities of the African National Congress (ANC) and the mounting tension on the outside. One thing that did make a lasting impression on him was when Chief Luthuli and Professor Matthews, both recently released from the Treason Trial, came and spoke to some of the students. On 21 March 1960 the Sharpeville massacre occurred (see Section 4.3, subsection: *A brief commentary on Mandela's life and rise to leadership* for details) in which not a few of the protesters were shot in the back. In solidarity with the PAC, the ANC announced a national day of mourning employing a stay-at-home strike.   The Nationalist's response was to ban the PAC and the ANC, declaring a state of emergency.

Tutu was not politically active at this stage but he could not fail to be angered by this set of events. Tutu was ordained Deacon at St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg and his curacy (typically the apprenticeship period of priesthood) took him to St Alban's Church in Benoni location. His training took place in harsh conditions, with Tutu living in a garage and by this stage with three children, but by the end of 1961 he was ordained a priest and moved to Thokoza. While Tutu was still a curate though, Father Stubbs sensed the need for an African member of staff at St Peter's and in liaison with the Dean of King's College, London, arranged for him to study for a degree in Theology, and so Desmond, followed by Leah and his two eldest went to London. He decided to stay on to do his masters and while studying became a curate in the small village of Bletchingley.

In part due to the race laws, St Peter's moved and became part of the ecumenical Federal Theological Seminary near the famous Fort Hare University outside Port Elizabeth. Tutu (now back in South Africa) was appointed as a lecturer and was also made chaplain to Fort Hare. Fort Hare was the birthplace of Black Consciousness where Steve Biko, *The Father of Black Consciousness*, founded the South African Students Organisation (SASO),

believing "The aspirations of blacks should be met by blacks alone", and becoming its first president (Du Boulay 1988:76). Though Tutu with his multicultural background was not as radical, he was nonetheless outspoken against apartheid.

The students of Fort Hare called for a series of strikes demanding an end to racist education, which culminated in a student strike – over the Rector's refusal to meet with them – and the ensuing standoff was surrounded by armed police with no-one allowed to enter or leave. Into this situation strode the defiant Tutu, declaring that the police should not stop him entering because as the students' chaplain he may as well also be arrested! With this began the stirrings of a more active involvement in the political arena, but before this found its full expression he accepted an appointment as a lecturer to Roma in Lesotho, in 1970.   This started a restless phase in his life, in which he accepted five new appointments in the next ten years. At Roma Tutu's association with liberation theology – which sees God as being on the side of the oppressed – started. From Roma, Tutu accepted the position of Associate Director of the Theological Education Fund (TEF), and so in January 1972 the Tutus were once again in London.

At the TEF, where he was responsible for Africa as the Associate Director, his skills in administration and handling finances grew enormously.   But this position and stay in England was not to last, as after his name was forwarded for the candidacy of Bishop of Johannesburg, he narrowly lost, but was asked by the shrewd new Bishop, Timothy Bavin (the previous Dean), to be the new Dean of Johannesburg for the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA). Instead of living in Houghton at the deanery as a *fly in the white ointment* of the Group Areas Act, he chose rather to identify with his own people and live in Soweto, commuting to the Cathedral. For the first time a black South African was to occupy a significant position in Johannesburg. He used his position to great effect on behalf of the black South African and wrote to John Vorster, warning him that unless things changed beyond the purely cosmetic, there could be serious consequences. His prophecy was to come true more quickly than expected in the *Sowetan Uprising*. On 16 June 1976, with 15 000 Sowetan school children protesting, the State reacted mercilessly killing over 600 people. Tutu was in absolute anguish, but even before he wrote to Vorster, he had agreed to become Bishop of Lesotho and so once again left the country and the immediate conflict, less than a year after being installed as Dean of Johannesburg.

Though of course not the first black Bishop in Southern Africa, he was the first in Lesotho and he threw himself into his new role. He managed to meet most of the Anglicans in his diocese surprisingly quickly for a priest accustomed to urban living. Tutu used his office to call into question the injustices of a government not duly elected, having come into office through the 1970 coup, and was held in such regard in South Africa – despite receiving much criticism when he moved to Lesotho – that he was asked to conduct Steve Biko's funeral in September 1977. While in Lesotho he joined the third order of the Franciscans, open to the ordained and laity. This order's deep spirituality, which endorsed for him his more jocular, carefree nature attracted him.   It was not long before Tutu received an invitation to become General Secretary at the South African Council of Churches (SACC), but on the advice of his fellow Bishops, he declined. Three months later, the new appointee resigned and Tutu was approached again. Having placed himself at the mercy of his fellow Bishops, they this time unanimously consented and Tutu again, as he had in other church institutions, became the first black South African to hold this high office.

Tutu began his role as General Secretary on 1 March 1978, but shortly afterward the SACC was inundated with claims of fraud and abuse of funds, of mismanagement and tardy administrative practice and he had to attempt a cleaning up operation. This clean-up included a court case against a former senior member of the SACC – a Bishop of an African Initiated Church. Tutu was not satisfied with just an in-house financial and administrative clean-up exercise, but used his new role to criticise the government's policy of forced removals. These removals entailed the eviction of blacks considered to be in certain white areas illegally, to newly formulated homelands which became dumping grounds for these refugees. But Tutu did not stop at vocal criticism, he and Boesak went to sympathize with the inhabitants of Mogopa in the western Transvaal, a village which had been in the hands of blacks for generations, but was now declared a white designated area.

His major role as General Secretary was to wear the mantle of prophet, but a prophet that acted as God's spokesperson to *forthtell* rather than foretell the future. For this role he was severely criticized at the time, but rather like an Old Testament prophet he saw all too clearly the present and its implications for the future. Tutu believes he is communicating the *Word of God*, not just in a morally deterministic manner, but as one steeped in prayer. Dr Allan Boesak suggested after the banning of most of the black political organisations that the church wherever possible should engage in mass organised civil disobedience, which received Tutu's ultimate supported. Tutu spoke out against international investment in South Africa and the purchase of South African products, even raw products such as coal, believing that while the miners would be hurt for a season it would not be the same as the sustained levels of pain experienced by a corrupt system over a lifetime. He became a highly controversial figure and though his colleagues did not always agree with him and he was told by Pretoria (the seat of government) to retract his statements, most of his peers told him to stay true to his prophetic calling, which he did on every occasion he could find.

However, the situation with Pretoria became personal when the Prime Minister P.W. Botha in 1981, accused the SACC of using some R2.5 million in external funding in fermenting unrest. Tutu responded by challenging Botha to charge them in open court, the Prime Minister instead set up a commission which found nothing substantial beyond an antiquated accounting system and the old General Secretary having misappropriated funds. However, Tutu came out almost unscathed and the government could get none of the accusations to stick. Meanwhile, the SACC experienced unprecedented international solidarity from the Anglican Communion when it sent a high powered delegation as a show of support. Tutu claimed the commission had no right to tell the church how it should speak in the current context in the light of the gospel. It was true that the SACC was not spotless, but the commission managed to raise the image of the SACC both among black South Africans as a champion of the people and in the international community.

However, the attempt to undermine and silence Desmond Tutu did not stop with the commission and time and again his passport was withdrawn, only for the authorities to be faced with the international press recording Desmond's words in an increasing manner. All kinds of accolades and honorary Doctorates were conferred upon him, and he used most any opportunity to call for international intervention in the form of diplomatic and economic pressure on the South African government. He warned that time was running out with a more militant South African youth coming to the fore, but believed that catastrophe could still be averted if they acted now. At times his passport was valid though, and beyond being able to attend the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches in

Vancouver, where Tutu was a huge success, he also increasingly established relationships with Americans, who unlike the British had no formal ties to South Africa. There was a bond between the African Americans and himself and their convictions that apartheid was wrong grew as their familiarity with Tutu increased. This resulted not only in friends but in funds and the SACC's budget increased to R4 million by 1984.

On 15 October 1984 while he was on sabbatical and lecturing at the General Theological Seminary in New York, Desmond Tutu received the news that he was to be awarded the Nobel Peace Price   Singing reverberated and applause echoed from the seminary and when he returned home, he was met at Jan Smuts International Airport by a jubilant crowd singing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica*. Tutu, while receiving praise was also on the receiving end of not so subtle government propaganda that often quoted him out of context and linked him directly to violence. Other critics included Alan Paton, who could not see the legitimacy of Tutu's call for economic sanction, though to be sure Tutu was often accused of oversimplifying the means and effect of economic disinvestment in South Africa.

After returning to America to finish his lecturing-sabbatical he was invited to the White House, but Reagan could not see beyond American big-business to begin to contemplate the vantage point of this black Bishop-come-spokesperson for the disadvantaged South Africans. From there he went to Oslo to receive his award, which ensured that Tutu became a household name internationally. Locally the attention of the media increased further as he was named as Bishop of Johannesburg on 13 November, amidst the celebrations over the Nobel Prize. The appointment was extremely significant for he now presided over the largest single diocese in South Africa with 300 000 Anglicans, 80% of whom were black.

Tutu proceeded to invite Senator Edward Kennedy to South Africa. Kennedy was outspoken in his support of Boesak and Tutu during his visit, but he was met with opposition in the form of the Azania People's Organisation (AZAPO). So a rift developed between AZAPO (a Black Consciousness organisation) and Tutu, who moved closer in his alignment to the non-racial United Democratic Front (UDF), of which he had been named a patron. Even though Bishop of Johannesburg for 18 months only, he took up the cause of the oppressed time and again. By 1985 there was a virtual state of civil war. 700 people were killed in the first nine months, black schoolchildren were demonstrating repeatedly, and suspected informants were *necklaced* (rubber tyres placed around their necks, set on fire with petrol). The indomitable Tutu stepped in on one occasion to rescue a police informer in Duduza in July 1985. That month the state declared a state of emergency. He asked to see President Botha, offering to be a broker in starting negotiations; however, he was snubbed at first; he met twice a year later but to no avail.

By the beginning of 1986 tensions had mounted to fever pitch within the townships of the Witwatersrand, but Tutu managed to diffuse a potentially highly volatile situation where crowds had gathered at a football stadium in Alexandra and undertook to place their demands before the local police officer in charge. Doing more than he had committed to, he flew to Cape Town to try and see the President, but again was rebuffed and had to settle for seeing Adriaan Vlok, Deputy Minister of Law, Order and Defence. The three demands made were the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of township residents held in detention and the withdrawal of security forces. Vlok responded that the matters would be investigated, and Tutu had to return to a reassembled and extremely angry community

whose convictions were increasingly confirmed that due to the government's intransigence they would have to take matters into their own hands.

During this time, Tutu was criticized by more militant blacks for being too moderate, while whites considered him a radical black revolutionary. His call for sanctions brought the predictable backlash from white South Africans who did not realize the lengths to which the majority of black South Africans (for sanctions would surely hurt the ordinary person) were prepared to go in order to gain their liberty. His consistent stance in the use of non-violence at times seemed ridiculous when all other options had failed, and he stood for reconciliation even when the *Kairos Document* authors said that repentance must come before talk of reconciliation in a situation where one side was an armed violent oppressor.

His role as Bishop of Johannesburg was interrupted by news of the intended resignation of Philip Russel, the Archbishop of Cape Town. Tutu was chosen as the new Archbishop of Cape Town in a swift electoral process and was five months later enthroned in September 1986. In the months between the situation in the country deteriorated and a second state of emergency was declared. As honours from outside and castigation from inside continued to amass, he was in September 1987 conferred with a further honour as the President of the All-Africa Conference of Churches. Tutu continued to speak out in the hope that there was still time to avert a bloodbath. In September 1987, the mounting tension in Natal mutated into violent action in the townships adjacent to Pietermaritzburg (provincial capital). This represented the growing rivalry between the UDF/COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) on the one hand and Inkatha led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu (a homeland incorporating large swaths of Natal) on the other. Over the next two months 77 people died and church leaders, including Desmond Tutu, stepped in.

In 1988 the conflict between the state apparatus and the pro-liberation forces intensified and the government outlawed 17 anti-apartheid organisations, including the UDF and AZAPO, and restricted trade unions from the political arena. Also included was a personal ban on some 18 leaders, which the church decided to protest with a march on Cape Town's parliamentary buildings on 29 February. The marchers, numbering some 150, linked arms and when confronted by police knelt on the pavement. The leaders were extricated by the police and the rest disbursed using water-cannons. A further protest rally was banned and Tutu, Boesak and others responded by organizing an inter-faith service in St George's Cathedral. Before the march in Cape Town, Tutu wrote to President Botha appealing on behalf of *the Sharpeville six* (accused of killing a town councillor). This was followed by Tutu meeting with Botha, only to be treated like a naughty little school boy.

In May 1988 the SACC launched a campaign of non-violence against the apartheid apparatus under the banner *Standing for Truth*. In response the government stepped up its harassing of Tutu by organising anti-Tutu propaganda used in government orchestrated protests and on 31 August a bomb wrecked Khotso House, headquarters of the SACC. Early in 1989, the church leaders again played a critical role in the release of the hunger strikers, who as political activists had been detained indefinitely by the state and were to play a pivotal role in the ensuing defiance campaign. With the UDF outlawed, the leadership reconstructed themselves into the loose coalition called the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and by August 1989 the MDM launched the defiance campaign challenging the tricameral parliamentary general elections.

The Church once again stepped into the gap left by banned meetings. This culminated in Desmond Tutu, Beyers Naudé and others challenging the blockading of a Methodist church at which Naudé was due to speak. The church leaders were arrested, yet in a twist of events the Supreme Court set aside the banning order on the service. Once this had happened, the now released prisoners could themselves release all those barricaded inside the church. The brutality of the Cape Town riot squad during the defiance campaign did not go unnoticed – enraged Capetonians listened as a police lieutenant openly condemned the riot squad. A march was mounted with the newly elected Mayor agreeing to join the march which Tutu asked twelve nations to monitor. The mounting domestic and international pressure was acutely felt by De Klerk in the first month of his administration. In a spectacular show of strength, some 30 000 people marched on City Hall.

De Klerk's allowing the march to go ahead set a precedent for a greater leniency towards political demonstration and showed his more tolerant and progressive style of leadership. Tutu met with De Klerk, joined by Boesak and the General Secretary of the SACC Frank Chikane. While De Klerk listened intently, he was non-committal at the meeting. However, on 2 February 1990, F.W. de Klerk with the opening of parliament brought sweeping reforms, unbanning numerous political parties, freeing many political prisoners and promising the imminent release of Nelson Mandela. Amidst the lack of preparations due to the sudden release of Mandela that De Klerk had opted for, Tutu had to calm the crowd. On the night of 11 February after appearing with Mandela at Cape Town's City Hall, he graciously hosted Mandela and Winnie on the first night of Mandela's release. With the rightful leaders now in place, Tutu could withdraw from the forefront of political leadership, though his job as negotiator and prophet to the nation was not over yet.

The fighting in Natal had by 1990 reached a new intensity, culminating in what became known as the *Seven Day War* in the Edendale valley next to Pietermaritzburg, with some 120 people killed by mid-April. The conflict brought about the deaths of some 800 people in August to September and spilt over into the Rand (now Gauteng). Tutu cut short a visit to Canada to join other church leaders in an effort to restore peace and to aid with negotiations between Inkatha, the ANC and the government of F.W. de Klerk. By March 1992 negotiations for a transitional government were well under way with CODESA II.

With the ensuing debate over a federal or unitary constitution (the ANC favoured a unitary state), the ANC called for rolling mass action and the talks broke down. The response was brutal and during the night of 17 June 1992, around 300 Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) men assisted by an unidentified *third force* and armed with axes, spears and automatic weapons slaughtered forty six people in Boipatong, south of Johannesburg. Despite this Tutu decided to cancel the planned Olympic Games boycott after being convinced in a meeting with De Klerk that the government had moved substantially towards reform. As the rolling mass action progressed Tutu became concerned that the ANC leaders would not be able to prevent a violent outcome. His fears at first seemed unjustified but then came the tragic march on Bisho by the ANC which Ciskei troops opened fire on, bringing a new level of sanity to the negotiation table for both the government and the ANC. Yet the nation was once again thrown to the brink of civil war on 10 April 1993 with the assassination of Chris Hani, and if not for the efforts of Nelson Mandela all hell may well have broken loose.

Tutu conducted the funeral and in his sermon committed the people to a path of discipline, peace and reconciliation, claiming that no guns could stop the "rainbow people of God".

The violence did not cease overnight and over the next 12 days, after 2 July 1993 and with a provisional date set for the country's first democratic elections, some 220 people died in violence on the East Rand. The atmosphere was not at all conducive to a Mandela-Buthelezi summit, but Tutu managed to broker one, laying the groundwork for a renewal of their relationship (Nuttall 2003:86-88). Though the violence mostly impacted black townships, there was also an attack on St James' Church in Cape Town, where 11 people were killed and 50 others wounded later understood to have been the work of PAC militants. The massacre was widely condemned and at an inter-faith rally, Desmond Tutu again used very similar words to those used at the funeral of Chris Hani, declaring that the "rainbow people of God" were unstoppable (Tutu 1994:248; 251).

By November 1993, the multi-party talks (which were boycotted by Inkatha and the more extreme white right wing parties) set up an interim constitution agreeing to a Government of National Unity for the first five years after the April 1994 elections. Things, however, grew worse in Natal and a state of emergency was declared. The findings by Judge Goldstone showed the involvement of top police generals in what appeared to be a government sponsored strategy of destabilization. After three weeks the deadlock was not yet broken, even with the intervention of international negotiators. Still church leaders toiled behind the scenes and the little-known Washington Okumu helped broker a settlement acceptable to all parties, entrenching the Zulu monarchy within the new constitution. This brought in the IFP one week before the elections. On 27 April 1994 South Africa went to the polls to elect its first democratically elected government.

Even after Nelson Mandela came to office Tutu's roll as a reconciler and peace-maker did not end. It took on a formal role when Mandela as President invited him to take the helm of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) formed as a result of an Act of parliament passed on 19 July 1995. The TRC endeavoured to lead a nation to understand the truth in numerous tragic events and to be reconciled with one another and its own past. The process was a long and arduous task many claim would not have been possible without Tutu's commitment to reconciliation and unearthing the truth. Most notably, the security force generals involved in the atrocities came clean, but their political masters abandoned them, largely choosing to remain silent as did Winnie Mandela. Although it is true, Winnie did apologise for the less desirable things that "went wrong" during the struggle, after being encouraged by Tutu to do so (Meiring 1999:12, 141, 309).

The TRC's report was formally handed over to President Mandela by Desmond Tutu on 29 October 1998, but not before it received interdicts from both former President De Klerk, who successfully prohibited certain information from being disclosed, and the ANC, driven by Thabo Mbeki in an unsuccessful attempt to stop the report from portraying the ANC in a less than perfect light in its role in the struggle (Meiring 1999:366). During and since his TRC days, Tutu did not stop his prophetic role, speaking out against hikes in the salaries of Mandela's government; Mbeki's lack of action over the disparity of wealth – South Africa has one of the highest Gini coefficients in the world – and HIV/Aids; and Mugabe's more recent political policies, who Tutu insists is not exonerated on the basis of his liberation credentials of the past. Upon his retirement from the church, his fellow Bishops bestowed on him the title of "Archbishop Emeritus" in honour of his unprecedented contribution to the nation (Gish 2004:157, 166; Tutu 1999:274).

Structures employed in Tutu's model of leadership

Tutu had a global vision and the restriction of institutional structures or mental constructs could not contain him. He was one of those visionary leaders who had learnt to see beyond any South African world view.   Because of good fortune he travelled extensively and saw the international world, but also the provinces in his home country where he experienced the inherent dichotomous nature of South Africa. Tutu in refusing the insularity of a South African sectarian perspective, whether black or white, held a world perspective. Du Boulay emphasises this by calling to mind the perspective of Dr Margaret Nash: "Dr Margaret Nash, the ecumenical officer with the SACC, will never forget 'the sense in which he was, so to speak, taking the world in his hands and holding it up to God, place by place, situation by situation, person by person.' At the SACC he was a Bishop without a diocese, but now the world was his parish" (Du Boulay 1988:131).

The SACC was made up of 16 divisions, each with their own director covering a multiplicity of concerns and operating semi-autonomously. Tutu reconstituted them into a team, grouping them into three "clusters", to practically aid the process. The clusters were *Church and Mission*, *Development and Service* and *Justice and Society*.

> …[O]ne of Tutu's great gifts is his ability to create working conditions that are both efficient and happy; he is an individualist who thrives on working in a team. Dan Vaughan … feels that Tutu is 'not a great planner, nor a strategist, but he is intuitively brilliant. In a way he left us to do what we could do, supporting and encouraging us. Things happened because he was around'" (Du Boulay 1988:149).

The structures of the TRC beyond the councillors appointed to head up the commission and the other appointments made by the TRC itself, was such that three committees were formed to look at and give hearings: firstly pertaining to amnesty; secondly to human rights violations; and thirdly to address the issues of reparation and rehabilitation. The premise used was that the nation could only move forward if it dared to open the book on the past and to forgive – an approach which had never before been used in this exact vein. This framework of understanding of the TRC was largely inherent within the act that set it in motion, yet it had been provided with almost nothing that could be considered a working structure. Here, though Tutu had shown his adeptness in handling unwieldy teams, his lack of managerial expertise outside of the church (though not lacking in administrative capability) was complimented by Alex Boraine's considerable skills:

> One of the things, that I hope to some extent is a gift of mine, was the fact that I like to give people space, I like letting everyone to have the opportunity to show off their ability, and I have mercifully learnt that I am not omniscient and omni-competent – that other people know certain things a great deal better than I. For instance, we would really have been up 'Queer Street' if we had not had Alex Boraine as the Deputy Chair. His managerial skills are superb. It was really because of him that we were able to have started as quickly as we did. He was good about putting down the structures that we needed and calling the staff that we should have had, because we had to start from scratch and I don't want to wish that on my worst enemy. Other governments if they want to have a TRC should ensure that they have a structure in place. We didn't have any of that, we had to find our offices, we had to find staff, and I would quite frankly have been

completely out of my depth if we had not had someone with the considerable skills that Alex Boraine had! And the people who headed up our regional offices they too, turned out to be just out of the 'top drawer.' I think I have got to the point where I am not too threatened by the competence and skills of others. And so allowing people to have space, and they came to realise that I really like affirming others and letting them take the bit between their teeth and to run with it (Tutu 2005:38-39).

Tutu's admiration for his Deputy Chair is equally matched by Boraine's admiration for the Chairperson of the TRC and also in like manner by Michael Nuttall's personal admiration for his Archbishop, who was the consummate team-player and who led quite ably:

But with the TRC it became an even more difficult ride, because he had to deal with a more varied group of people, of different faiths or no faith at all, and coming from different professions and not quite as willing as we Anglicans tend to be to acknowledge authority in the life of the church. …But Alex Boraine goes on to say how brilliantly he moulded that group in all their diversity into a team. And he did exactly the same with us, it didn't come immediately, he had to work at it, he had to work with us and win our confidence, and he did. And he did the same with the TRC, as far as I can tell, winning their confidence. And then Boraine says; "If there was any one person who was essential to the success such as it was of the TRC, that person was Desmond Tutu as the leader." His skill was fairly considerable in moulding a team of people, especially for someone who had such strong views himself, nonetheless accommodating other people – and other views – and making them all feel important, making them feel that they belong and have something to contribute (Nuttall 2005:42-43).

This ability to work in a team is perhaps best captured by Tutu himself as he relates the early stages of the TRC, and how in favouring others he managed to weld a team together where Boraine believes (see above quotation) others would quite simply have failed:

The first thing to say about the first months, the first part of our time together – very difficult, very, very difficult. I think each one of us wanted to establish themselves and lay out some of your turf, they were some of the most difficult meetings I have ever had to preside over. I had been accustomed to our church meetings, where yes there was consensus, although I think there was deference also for the Archbishop. At the beginning [of the TRC], some of the women for instance took umbrage that some were addressing me as 'father', and they said that now they were not going to accept all that paternalism. It was rough, but I think some of the things that I had learned in the church did in fact come in handy. We were Jews, Muslims, Christians, Hindus and atheists and we had to be welded into a team and in addition we were all of us people who had been wounded by apartheid. In the end I think we came to be more united than we had been at the beginning (Tutu 2005:38).

Yet before his work with the TRC, the structures from his school teaching days right through his training for the priesthood were strictly hierarchical and authoritarian. Even within St Peter's College, staffed as it was by the fathers of the Community of the Resurrection (CR), the learning environment though filled with piety and reverential

humility, was to all intents and purposes a command structure. He was made senior student in his third year of college (not too surprisingly as he was an older student with a teaching degree already), a position chosen for him by the fathers of the CR. It was here that Desmond managed to induce his flare for change and put to early use his considerable leadership skills and his inclination towards reconciliation. For he "…encouraged the students to realise that a senior student must have their confidence and not merely be imposed on them by the Fathers; in turn he persuaded the Fathers that the college could be more democratically run. His role as a reconciler was beginning" (Du Boulay 1988:49).

This early ability to employ structures for democratic and conciliatory ends is perhaps screened in his later work as a bishop, where the church structures appear to be strictly conducive to an authoritarian, almost autocratic style, with bishops standing one step removed from pre-eminence and archbishops seemingly second to none. This picture of the church as strictly hierarchical can be misleading according to Bishop Nuttall (2005:43):

> When you go to a Synod, there you have got clergy and laity equally represented, presided over by the bishop, yes, but the bishop can't outvote them or anything like that. And he would preside over Synod, but he said openly he most enjoyed his meetings with his fellow bishops, he felt most comfortable at those meetings. They were consultative, they were not meetings that made decisions that governed the life of the church on the whole, they were influential, but they were not like Synodical meetings, which makes the cannon of law that governs the church or something like that. The Synod of Bishops is a different kind of meeting for mutual encouragement and council, one from another, and he was most comfortable – he was most relaxed in those meetings.

Styles of leadership used by Tutu

Once Bishop of Lesotho – though Tutu freely admits as an Anglican of high-church disposition that he likes all the pomp and ceremony that goes with being a Bishop – he was quick to discourage the use of *My Lord*, not wishing to become an *ecclesiastical bureaucrat*. He remained sensitive to the common Basuto and insisted that all should call using the front door. His sensitivity extended quite naturally to the priests he cared for, noting each of their personal details in his intercession book and praying for them daily, a practice he carried with him everywhere else he went (Du Boulay 1988:110-112).

Indeed again with the SACC his predominant style was paternal, seeing himself as father, his staff as his children and his secretaries (one white, one black) as his daughters. He has a great desire to be loved and affirmed and is quick to take offence if he is not greeted or if his pride is hurt, a weakness for which he has been criticised. But this desire is equally mirrored by Tutu's huge capacity to love and affirm (Du Boulay 1988:132-135). One of the reasons he is able to cope with a huge workload is that he works well within a team framework and delegates easily. Tutu describes his own style as being inclusive, but one senses that his dominant style is authoritarian, being most comfortable with the position and deference that the Anglican hierarchical structure affords him:

> And so yes, there would be times when you hold on to a particular position which might not have been so popular. And my own position say over things like sanctions, not everyone agreed with me, that's putting it mildly, even in our

> church, even the bishops, we were not of one mind for a long time. They did come to a point where they were saying, they could agree to some extent [on investment sanctions]. …Well you try to be inclusive as possible, I think that looking back there must have been times when I was insufferable, because it is very easy to become self-righteous when you do look like, I mean, that you are right. I think that there were times when I could have been less abrasive than I was. There is a lot of truth in the saying that, 'you catch more flies with honey than with vinegar.' And I say that maybe we lost some people, alienated some people by not always being accommodating and being tough (Tutu 2005:38).

Even though Tutu's actions may be seen as coming from someone with a commanding personality often acting on impulse, what some would call *Holy promptings*, he was by the end of his illustrious career also the consummate team player. Not only did he often include others in his decision making, but in the formulation of important and strategic policy of the CPSA he allowed the team and expert opinion to sway his perception and therefore his subsequent action.   When the CPSA was debating the reasonableness of economic sanctions, Tutu's original decision for all-out economic sanctions was actually curbed to one where as Tutu says, "…banking and loan sanctions must be applied. Foreign loans must not be granted without conditions" (Tutu 1989). Nuttall says that this process of refinement as to what should actually be done as regards to economic sanctions "…was a notable example of teamwork on a sensitive and emotional subject." Nuttall says earlier that the secret to his successful team-building was his ability to love and affirm those on his team, practically showing this by constantly writing personal letters of thanks and encouragement. These virtues were instilled in the wider team: "Love, prayer and support for one another became cardinal virtues for such a time" (Nuttall 2003:31; 25).

Tutu's considerable capacity to absorb differences of opinion was shown by his willingness to compromise, perhaps supremely in his work with the diverse team of the TRC:

> It is because I don't have all the gifts, I'm very smart at getting good people around me; they then make me look good, able. No that's quite true, even at the TRC it was that way – we had wonderful commissioners, committee members and staff persons – they did the work and I got the credit. Even as Archbishop the other bishops were just outstanding people, most times, and I was a very good captain because I had a winning side (Tutu 2005:37).

Within the framework of a team, it is in the process of consensus seeking that Tutu displays both his African style of leadership where everyone's concerns are taken seriously by the chief in the traditional court and Western styles of leadership, using democratic processes and seeking expert opinions. Both of which for Tutu are overlade with Christian concepts of listening to what God is saying throughout.   Though once Tutu's background is considered as that of a detribalised *commoner* (he was not at all associated with the chieftaincy, and his tribe – the Fingo – are a low ranked tribe in the Xhosa nation) and above all this he was an urbanite, the traditional inputs are understood to be somewhat suppressed (Nuttall 2005:46).   In the issue of deliberation and voting on the ordination of women he perceived after failing to win a majority vote first time around: "Maybe the Holy Spirit is saying 'Wait'."   True to course and prophetic interpretation, the vote succeeded after a second modified vote was taken later on (Nuttall 2003:108-110).

Tutu was able to so closely connect with the team(s) around him at various times that love for the leader was clearly demonstrated. Solidarity with Tutu was shown by the Truth and Reconciliation team when he was ill with prostate cancer. On another occasion his fellow bishops stood alongside him and caused the government to back down from imposing a possible banning order on Tutu during a time when there was much finger wagging by P.W. Botha. On yet another occasion, as the "the people's archbishop" addressed a youthful crowd after a violent eruption in Sebokeng, the bishops acted as a human barrier preventing the advance of the police (Nuttall 2003:24; 99).

Tutu is a bold, forceful leader and he would often seize the opportunity to broker a meeting between various parties, playing the role of the consummate negotiator and prophetic motivator. He is also well known for his use of humour and his pastoral concern even for those appearing to be on the losing side. A less well known aspect of Tutu's style is his ability to act as broker but with deference, for he possesses that unique capacity as an up-front leader of being able to step back and take an ancillary role. Perhaps this aspect was best displayed in his role in restoring a relationship in the much publicized deadlock between Buthelezi and Mandela, as told at length by Nuttall:

> He has got an amazing knack in which he uses his humour, he allows himself to be nudged to take advantage of an opportunity. I mean the way he got that meeting together…. Because there was a certain reluctance we were aware, not so much between Mandela and Buthelezi, but by some of their colleagues for this meeting to happen at all. And it all happened over one weekend in Pietermaritzburg in my home town. Desmond Tutu was up for two events, on the Saturday the new Bishop of Zululand was being consecrated in the Cathedral in Pietermaritzburg and Desmond came to do that consecration and because it was the Bishop of Zululand who was being consecrated, Buthelezi was in the congregation because he is from Zululand. And during the peace, we were giving the peace to one another, Desmond goes straight to Mangosuthu Buthelezi who was sitting in the front of the Cathedral, gives him the peace and says to him in passing, 'If I were able to get a meeting between you and Mandela would you come to it? Are you willing to come?' To which Mangosuthu Buthelezi says, 'Yes I would come, yes your Grace, I would come.' He called him 'your Grace' and then we carry on passing the peace; he's got his acceptance right there in the middle of the service. That's part of Tutu's style – 'seize the moment' – *Carpe Diem*.
>
> Next day the city was unveiling a wonderful new statue of Mahatma Gandhi, you know Gandhi was kicked off the train on the Maritzburg station in 1893, on a cold night, because he was in the wrong compartment, he was sitting in the first class. In the cold night of the station, that's when he thought up his philosophy of *Satyagraha*, non-violent, passive resistance, which he eventually applied in India to great effect but he also applied it in South Africa, and this was 1993, a century later when the statue of Mahatma Gandhi was unveiled, and Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela were invited to come and do the unveiling. So now he's got this contact with Mandela and Buthelezi the day before. So he said we are going to speak to Mandela over lunch, and he took me with him, got Mandela into a corner of the room over lunch, and said, 'Look, I saw Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday and he's agreed to meet with you, are you

willing to meet with him.' 'Oh yes, yes of course I am', says Mandela. Right, now he says, 'I've got to go overseas tomorrow, I've got a commitment overseas, so this Bishop Nuttall, he is your contact.' And Mandela gives me his personal phone number to set up this meeting. Now that is Tutu's style.

When we get to the meeting itself, about a month later, when we eventually managed to arrange a date and a venue, and those things are not easy to arrange! As co-chair, we involved Bishop Stanley Mogoba as well, presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, a very well respected leader at the time and we thought let's involve him as well. So we brought him in on this, and he was very willing to cooperate. Stanley and Desmond co-chaired the meeting; I just sat on the edges as a little consultant and a listener. Stanley and Desmond chaired the meeting, and if I remember correctly they were fairly laid back in the way they did it, because the politicians were essentially talking to one another. But Desmond's style is that he does not hesitate to nudge, to make a suggestion – 'perhaps this is the way to go now', or, 'Don't you think….' He can be almost forceful but he does it with a humour that enables him to carry it of. Now look at the way he brokered that meeting. He just took advantage of those circumstances that weekend, and thought: 'This is now God's opportunity, I cannot let God down on this one.' And he pulled it off (Nuttall 2005:40-41).

Tutu's ancillary role, his capacity to compromise; to accommodate someone else's gifting, is referred to by Nuttall and is evident in Tutu's non-interfering delegation and the trust placed in his lieutenants – the "Dean of the Province", Michael Nuttall, in the tasks he asked him to perform for the CPSA; and Alex Boraine, the Deputy Chair of the TRC, in relying on his considerable managerial skills (Nuttall 2005:42; Tutu 2005:39).

Perhaps this ability to work alongside others of considerable strengths comes from his unique sense of security in himself and his desire above all for conciliation. Tutu's conciliatory style allows him to stand alongside the underdog and even feel the hurts and fears of his presumed enemies. Indeed, like Mandela, he has an enormous capacity to love all and sees all people, black and white, Xhosa and Zulu, coloured and Indian, as needing to be healed. If he wrestled in any area of his style of leadership, it was how to balance the Prophet's dreams with the Pastor's heart for those who have been left in his wake. During the negotiations for accepting women into the priesthood, Tutu did what appeared to be an about face by consoling and affirming those who were not in favour of such a move. Such is the depth of his pastoral concern he can be mistaken for a *turncoat*. Yet these same qualities together with his African style of leadership and his disarming humour whether at the negotiating table or in addressing large crowds really come to the fore as strengths:

He stands for the many who need to be listened to at last and taken seriously. He stands for a new style of leadership which will not necessarily follow Western norms. After all, he is African, and often will speak and act out of his African-ness.   But, above all, he is a Christian, and it will be as a Christian disciple that he will seek to lead and serve. I heard him say at a conference a couple of years ago: 'PW Botha his brother.' When subsequent speakers referred to the State President, they described him as 'Bishop Desmond's brother'! (Nuttall 2003:164).

Another critical aspect to his style of leadership was the way he would constantly be in prayer for everyone and everything. Indeed his prayer is so wide ranging that it can literally cover the whole globe. This aspect in his leadership helps to create balance and harmony (as does his humour on a public level) between the prophet and pastor:

> Desmond's wife, Leah, has said that his prayers for the world are like 'a Cook's tour' as he moves around the world, nation by nation, mentioning each one by name. Wide-ranging prayer is for him a daily offering, often in the very early hours of the morning, but never neglecting an opportunity day or night, to move to this mode. His intercession book stuffed with prayer reminders and requests, would never be far away, and often in his busy life, if a quiet space arose he could be found with this little book open in his hand. The prophet, the pastor, the pray-er: these were an unshakeable threefold cord (Nuttall 2003:94).

Perhaps this prayerful, exuberant, caring, loving, reconciling and interceding side of Tutu is best summed up by the twin concepts or *styles* of the *pray-er* and the *pastor* in Tutu. But this would not reveal the complete picture of Tutu's style, as to the world at large he comes across as first and foremost a prophet. However, this might not be his most natural *style* of leadership, but the circumstances of the nation thrust him into this role, which no doubt he was eminently suited to. Exemplifying his consistent prophetic call on the nation's leaders, Tutu was also outspoken on issues that he saw as purely cosmetic. One such issue was the proposal made in May 1982 by the multiracial President's Council calling for an electoral council consisting of white, Indian and coloured members, thereby still excluding 73 per cent of the population. By the 1980's Tutu's fame abroad was matched in intensity only by the death threats he received at home. At one evening's meeting of the South African Christian Leadership Assembly that had brought together 500 delegates and which he was addressing, over a hundred car tyres were deflated, and information (or disinformation?) on leaflets was widely disseminated defaming him (Du Boulay 1988:169).

With the constant death threats and harassment that he received during the apartheid struggle (Kennedy 2004:60), one would have expected him to have sought early retirement or at least kept quiet a long time ago. Yet since 1994 he has still consistently been a voice speaking out against all forms of injustice, as he did in the presence of Robert Mugabe at the Harare assembly of the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) held in 1995 and recorded in *Archbishop Tutu: Prophetic Witness in South Africa*: "Responding to Robert Mugabe's opening remarks on the prophetic role of the church, the Archbishop observed: 'I assure you, Mr President, we will want to continue to keep governments on their toes as we seek to be the voice of the voiceless. It is the role of the church to be the conscience of society'" (Hulley, Kretzschmar & Pato 1996:42). This was not an idle threat but a role that Tutu had already consistently lived up to and pre-1994, stridently filled:

> You should also remember, Rich, his role as a prophet, because that was part of his style, speaking out as the prophet: 'Thus sayeth the Lord.' Which is what he did *vis-à-vis* society, *vis-à-vis* the state. So he was fulfilling that role quite stridently, perhaps sometimes too stridently, but the circumstances were such that we needed to hear a strident voice, knocking them [the politicians] back on their heels if necessary. So he was doing that with his strident call for economic sanctions, his leading of protest marches, his statements to the media and all of that. And then he had to hold together, with that prophetic style, a more

consultative style among his fellow bishops in the life of the church, and a more democratic style himself as he presided over Synods in the life of the church. He had to actually adjust; he had to make room in his own qualities of leadership for these different elements of style (Nuttall 2005:43).

Tutu's temperament is an outgoing one, and delivering his impassioned speeches with a penchant for the flamboyant is part and parcel of his style. Always inclusive he saw funerals as the seedbeds for sowing hope where others saw despair. At large gatherings he raised the standard of a "rainbow nation" with black and white side by side while others would instil tension and anger (Nuttall 2003:103; 134). He has been known to come back from times of communing with God at conferences to pronounce a direction or insight that he had gained from God. On one such occasion:

> His sincerity earned the response of a delegate who obviously disagreed with his counsel: "You put me at a disadvantage, Father. I would dare to argue with you but not with God. A subtle form of manipulation, some have suggested. "Whatever Desmond is, he is not a democrat," an Anglican priest told me. "He can be uncompromisingly authoritarian." When he believes he is right it is not easy to change his mind (Hulley, Kretzschmar & Pato 1996:44).

Though at times true to his Anglican moulding he could seem overbearing in his opinion and Episcopal expectation that everyone should follow his lead, he was tempered by the realisation that things were somewhat different outside of the church. In his role at the TRC's helm, independently minded professionals replaced largely deferential Christian delegates and Bishops (or at the least a consensus seeking team); he had to learn the art of sensitive leadership on a whole new level. During this time his prostate cancer *laid him out* momentarily, but when he returned it was with greater sensitivity (Nuttall 2003:145).

These rough learning times were not only times when Tutu was the one on the receiving end, as Tutu (2005:38) – quoted in detail earlier – adding his own honest insight, sees it:

> Well you try to be as inclusive as possible. I think that looking back there must have been times when I was insufferable, because it is very easy to become self-righteous when you …are right. I think that there were times when I could have been less abrasive than I was. There is … the saying that, 'you catch more flies with honey than with vinegar.' And I say that maybe we lost some people, alienated some people by not always being accommodating and being tough.

Beyond his own growth in the arena of team management and conciliation in his work with the TRC, Tutu indeed had times when he was very much the learner, as someone learning to alter a style once he had already arrived, so to speak. In his youth he had assumed the role of an apprentice, possibly most notably in what he gleaned from the role models of his father and mother. Both, as headmaster and primary nurturer respectively, had a direct bearing on Tutu's early disciplined teaching style and his compassionate conciliatory approach, which later on indirectly also influenced his preaching and pastoring. The first minister he was placed under as a curate was Canon Mokoatla, whose great preaching ability provided Desmond with another role model, as did the brothers in the Community of the Resurrection. The latter also modelled for Desmond the epitome of the prayerful

warriors, always on their knees but also totally engaged in the struggle, as supremely exemplified by Trevor Huddleston (Du Boulay 1988: 22, 55, 26, 31).

Tutu as noted above has at times been criticised for not acting democratically and for not seeking advice first. He appears at times to step out into the fray as if a lone crusader fighting single-handedly against the demon of apartheid. This may well be due to his working within Anglican hierarchical structures for so long, and thus being most comfortable with a top down leadership style. But to say this was his only style would be to discount the many times he did seek advice, for example from his trusted colleagues, Bishop Nuttall or Alan Boesak. This style of consensus seeking is perhaps best seen as a process in Tutu. He sought support after he had been badly scolded for acting too often alone, as in the visit of Edward Kennedy, and in his deliberations over sanctions, for as one *first among peers* he soon learnt his fellow Bishops were not about to be steamrolled as easily on important issues as they may have been for less critical ones (Tutu 2005:38; cf Nuttall 2005:42).

While he did learn to seek others' opinions, these often only modified and did not completely alter his course of action, as with his call for economic sanctions, where his fellow Anglican Bishops, seeking the best possible outcome for the ordinary man on the street, managed to convince him to ultimately seek out investment sanctions only. However, what needs to be said is that Tutu was first and foremost a man who sought out God's opinion, in a manner pertaining to a Prophet who seeks God's thoughts on behalf of his or her nation. Typical of this was the *dreaming up* of the march on Cape Town's City Hall, which Tutu claims God gave to him (as much as any man can know for sure that it was God) while he was preparing a memorial address (Tutu 1994:184).

Values of Tutu's leadership
The values of peace, ubuntu and restorative justice
Peace as social harmony, or the natural accord intrinsic to *ubuntu*, is for Desmond Tutu the principle by which he governs all else. "Harmony, friendliness, community are great goods. Social harmony is for us the *summum bonum* – the greatest good. Anything that subverts, that undermines this sought-after good, is to be avoided like the plague" (Tutu 1999:31). This social harmony stems from his understanding of *ubuntu*. *Ubuntu* for Tutu is by definition that which makes a person a human being, because they think and act as someone bound up indissolubly in ties of community with others (Tutu 1999:31). For Tutu *ubuntu* and interdependence are integral to global harmony:

> Now and again we catch a glimpse of the better thing for which we are meant – for example, when we work together to counter the effects of natural disasters and the world is galvanized by a spirit of compassion and an amazing outpouring of generosity; when for a little while we are bound together by bonds of a caring humanity, a universal sense of *ubuntu*, … when we agree as one to outlaw torture and racism. Then we experience fleetingly that we are made for togetherness, for friendship, for community, for family, that we are created to live in a delicate network of interdependence (Tutu 1999:264-265).

Yet peace does not come without a price for Tutu. Desmond Tutu believes that restorative justice – not retributive justice – is integral to societal peace and wellbeing. Together with

this he has a high regard for the healing of breaches in all relationships, desiring the total restoration of community for both the oppressed and the oppressor alike:

> We contend that there is another kind of justice, restorative justice, which was characteristic of traditional African jurisprudence. Here the central concern is not retribution or punishment. In the spirit of *ubuntu*, the central concern is the healing of breaches, the redressing of imbalances, the restoration of broken relationships, a seeking to rehabilitate both the victim and the perpetrator, who should be given the opportunity to be integrated into the community he has injured by his offence. This is a far more personal approach, regarding the offence as something that has happened to persons and whose consequence is a rupture in relationships. Thus we claim that justice, restorative justice, is being served when efforts are being made to work for healing, for forgiveness, and for reconciliation (Tutu 1999:54-55).

Driving his desire for *ubuntu* is his belief in the inalienable right of every human to a true freedom of spirit and body. Tutu believes that it is only in *true* freedom – flowing out of a deep understanding of interdependence and the dignity in every man, concepts inherent to *ubuntu* – that unjust rule is subverted. As Tutu states: "No matter how long and how repressive their unjust and undemocratic rule turns out to be, the urge for freedom remains as a subversive element threatening the overthrow of rigid repression" (Tutu 2004:15).

The values of trust, integrity, confidentiality and transparency
Desmond Tutu holds integrity as a value, but understands that trust, closely linked to one's integrity, can take time to achieve. When a fellow commissioner's integrity was on the line because of an attack on his character, Tutu had this to say about the situation:

> It shook us to the foundations, though I believe that, had it happened at the beginning of the life of the commission, it would without doubt have destroyed us. But by this time, two years into the life of the commission, we had, surprisingly, grown to have a great deal more trust in one another. Hence the commissioners almost unanimously accepted that Dumisa's integrity was unimpugned [*sic*] and we believed his side of the story (Tutu 1999:206).

This integrity arises out of his very being, such that word and deed are totally congruent in Tutu's life, as the following story shows. Once as Bishop of Lesotho he had reduced his audience into fits of laughter when he strode onto the platform with an Afro-style shirt on and "…mimicked Dorothy Lamour…. But the quality that informs his every word and action rests deep in his spirituality. What he *is* shines through his words, whether serious or amusing, gentle or forceful. In him being and doing go hand-in-hand – the idea of Tutu being insincere or in any way untrue to himself is simply inconceivable" (Du Boulay 1988:158). Desmond Tutu also has a high regard for confidentiality, which if not honoured, can only add to a sense of distrust in a team; yet he balances this with an equally high regard for transparency, flowing out of his personal integrity, and is extremely open about his life wherever this is possible (Tutu 1999:200). Nuttall (2003:35) demonstrates his ability to be real/transparent in a quotation from an April 2001 newspaper interview:

> "I have a very strong weakness for being liked. I want to be popular. I love to be loved. One has enjoyed the limelight. I am guilty of the sin of pride.

> Sometimes I find it very difficult to be humble – that is why it is so good to
> have Leah. She pulls me down a peg or two. To her I'm not an archbishop
> with a Nobel Price: I'm just a not-very-good husband who likes gardens but
> won't do any gardening." Not many leaders are as transparent as that.

Desmond Tutu believes in being even-handed in a non-partisan and non-racial manner,
which flows out of his personal integrity and the honour due to every person. As a
response to the political violence that had engulfed Natal in 1989, a representation was sent
from the Synod of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA) to see
Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Upon consultation with the speaker of the KwaZulu Legislative
Assembly (also a lay representative at the Synod), Desmond Tutu sent three Bishops who
were Zulus – Sigisbert Ndwandwe, Alfred Mkhize and Zambuhle Dlamini. Dlamini grew
up with and was a personal friend of Buthelezi's, and Ndwandwe was linked to the royal
lineage. This could only have smoothed the way in brokering negotiations between Inkatha
and the other political parties (Nuttall 2003:62, 64). "Desmond, always with an eye to
inclusiveness, decided to widen the representation by asking me to be part of the group as
well" (Nuttall 2003:62). It is somewhat surprising therefore that one can trace a sense of
disharmony and distrust in the TRC, arising from the fact that the initial staff appointments
made by Tutu and Boraine were seen as being exclusively white (Tutu 1999:198).

The value of faith expressed in spirituality and ecumenism
Tutu believes it is important to spend time being still in God's presence so that His qualities
can rub off on us (Tutu 2004:100). This, together with his love of the Eucharist, epitomizes
his high regard for spirituality. Not only does Tutu spend many a spare moment in prayer
and intercession, but within the busy ordering of a day he could often be found in the
chapel at Bishop's Court in prayer and sacrament: "This chapel reminds us of the centrality
of what we are about. We're all very busy with summits and meetings and so on, and
sometimes we may forget our 'raison d`etre': that we exist for the glorification of God and
trying to deepen our personal relationship with God" (Du Plessis 1990).

Tutu's value of a deeper spirituality flowed out of an early appreciation for his faith and
ecumenism (a fellowship that knows no denominational boundaries) as he had to
contemplate the possibility of dying due to tuberculosis while in hospital as a teenager. It
was while he was in hospital that his friendship with Trevor Huddleston, a father in the CR
whose faith and commitment to spirituality so inspired Desmond that even at a young age
he could be found spending great lengths of time in prayer.

> His ecumenism started early. In hospital everything seemed to come together.
> The devout background was there, the long weeks lying gave time for reflection
> and Father Huddleston acted as the catalyst. Desmond did not understand then
> the white priest's political views, but was convinced that everything he did
> stemmed from his prayers and his faith. …So it was in hospital that he made a
> great friend, he laid the foundation on which his wide-ranging knowledge was
> built and he found a faith which quite surprised him by its intensity. He
> remembers on one occasion when he was very ill, haemorrhaging badly …
> being overcome by a profound sense of calm and saying to God, "Well, if I have
> to die – okay." His Christianity had moved from outward observance to the
> depths of his soul. When he left hospital he began the disciplined spiritual life
> that was to intensify as the years went by (Du Boulay 1988:31).

The value of reconciliation

Tutu believes in a continuum starting with forgiveness and ending in reparation as the basis to true reconciliation: "True reconciliation is based on forgiveness, and forgiveness is based on true confession, and confession is based on penitence, on contrition, on sorrow for what you have done" (Tutu 2004:53), and: "Confession, forgiveness, and reparation, wherever feasible, form part of a continuum" (Tutu 1999:273).

He often used a hard hitting posture rather than humour to get his point across, as he did in his speech to the National Initiative for Reconciliation (NIR) Conference in which he addressed the far-reaching issues that reconciliation brings with it:

> "I have sometimes had quite insensitive letters from white people urging our people to be longsuffering. I feel such words are a discredit to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. How can you ask forgiveness of someone when you still have your foot firmly planted on his neck? You have got him down there and you say, 'Forgive me for putting my foot on your neck.'" [Then came] … the unpleasant truth that Desmond punched home: "My brothers and sisters, reconciliation is not cheap, nor is it an easy option. You hear people in this country say, "Why don't you get involved in reconciliation rather than confrontation?" Who said reconciliation excludes confrontation? Who says reconciliation is easy? We must know what we are for when we say we must be ministers of reconciliation, because reconciliation cost God the death of his son" (Cassidy 1989:282).

Desmond Tutu's strongest motivating force for reconciliation is his belief in God's love; a love that always triumphs over hatred (Tutu 2004: 40-41). Flowing out of this conviction of God's love, Tutu is driven by a strong sense that a moral universe will ultimately prevail over an immoral one, and that good ultimately always triumphs over evil (Tutu 2004:2). He has an equally deep belief that nothing is outside of God's redemptive grasp: "The principle of transfiguration says nothing, no one and no situation, is 'untransfigurable'…" (Tutu 2004:3). In line with these morally higher virtues flowing from an ultimately moral universe is Tutu's concept of a grand cosmic reconciliation:

> There is a movement, not easily discernable, at the heart of things to reverse the awful centrifugal force of alienation, brokenness, division, hostility, and disharmony. God has set in motion a centripetal process, a moving toward the centre, toward unity, harmony, goodness, peace, and justice, a process that removes barriers. Jesus says, 'And when I am lifted up from the earth I shall draw everyone to myself' as he hangs from his cross with outflung arms, thrown out to clasp all, everyone, everything, belongs. None is an outsider, all are insiders, all belong. There are no aliens, all belong in the one family, God's family, the human family. There is no longer Jew or Greek, male or female, slave or free – instead of separation and division, all distinctions make for a rich diversity to be celebrated for the sake of the unity that underlies them. …It was God's intention to bring all things in heaven and on earth to a unity in Christ, and each of us participates in this grand movement (Tutu 1999:264-265).

What is notable about the Archbishop is that he does practice what he preaches. On one occasion he was visibly moved and openly demonstrating his reconciling spirit during the Rustenburg Conference to Prof. Jonker after confessing his complicity in apartheid:

> I confess before you and before the Lord, not only my own sin and guilt … but *vicariously* I dare also to do that in the name of the DRC of which I am a member, and for the Afrikaans people as a whole. I have the liberty to do just that, because the DRC at its latest synod has declared apartheid a sin and confessed its own guilt of negligence in not warning against it and distancing itself from it long ago (Jonker 1991:92).

To which Tutu replied:

> I believe that I certainly stand under pressure of God's Holy Spirit to say that, as I said in my sermon, when that confession is made, then those of us who have been wronged must say 'We forgive you', so that together we may move to the reconstruction of our land.   That confession is not cheaply made and the response is not cheaply given (Tutu 1991:99).

Tutu's Christian beliefs and the bases to his multifaceted theology

After stressing his early roots in Methodism and the African Initiated Church (see *A brief commentary on Tutu's life and rise to leadership*), Du Boulay mentions that his ecumenism started early. Even as a Methodist, he was greatly influenced by Huddleston, as already alluded to, while he was close to death suffering from tuberculosis in hospital and as a boarder in the hostel run by the CR. Later he was to follow his sister into the African Methodist Episcopal Church and in all these experiences an early acceptance for other churches was instilled (Du Boulay 1988:29-31).

For Tutu this early open mindedness to ecumenism with other denominations has been extended to a willingness to come alongside all faiths. In his understanding of his witness, lifestyle is for Tutu the most meaningful. More than even lifestyle he believes that witness to the Lordship of Christ comes via the pre-incarnate word:

> For me, Jesus Christ is the revelation of God, but I am opposed to proselytisation. Our task as Christians is simply to live attractive lives that are transparent with the gospel. We take ourselves far too seriously when we think that God is relying on our evangelical campaigns to make everyone Christians, in order for them to enter into communion with God.

> People sometimes ask me what I make of the fourth gospel which quotes Jesus as saying: "No one comes to the Father except by me" (John 14:6). The question is whether this means it is by the incarnate Christ or the preincarnate Logos that we enter into union with the divine? Surely it is through the eternal creative Word of God that this happens, and there are so many different manifestations of God's Word. If this is not the case, how do we account for the encounter between God and Abraham, Sarah or Moses? Jesus Christ has not yet appeared. I have encountered holiness, spiritual insight and the presence of God in people of many different religions. I cannot be so arrogant as to insist that these people become Christians (Hulley, Kretzschmar & Pato 1996:45).

In speaking in this manner Tutu endears many more liberally minded Christians or those of other faiths with a more open disposition, but he sets himself up for disagreement with the

Evangelicals and more conservative Christians as well as the Biblical scholars. It should be noted, for example, that Tutu in the above has ignored the standard evangelical mandate of Matthew's gospel, which if read beyond the light of the original twelve compels all Christians to "…go and make disciples of all nations" (Matt 28:19). Beyond this is the understanding that the risen *Logos* who has for all time changed mankind's concept of the "eternal creative Word of God", such that the message inherent in the creative order, which clearly is a part of God's revelation – beyond the personal encounter that Abraham, Moses or Sarah had to work with – is not the full testimony of God's Grace. God's Grace is supremely beheld through the revelation of Jesus for today. Yet for all his at times contentious statements of matters temporal and eternal, Tutu remains one of the great models of ecumenism and inter-faith understanding and was adept at handling many different faith persuasions in his role as the TRC chairperson.

Concerning Tutu's Christian faith, it is important to firstly note that in his theology there are also elements of *Liberation Theology*, which for Tutu started in Roma, Lesotho but matured during his time spent with the TEF where he encounter those espousing Latin American Liberation Theology (Du Boulay 1988:101). Tutu's liberation theology is most clearly seen in his understanding of the liberation of the Israelites from Egypt, Moses' squabble with Pharaoh and the great journey of the people of God into the Promised Land. Where he stopped short of a full appropriation of the Exodus narrative for the Southern African context was in the use of violence (Kunnie 1990:239). Though what Kunnie has only partially taken into account here is that it was violent rebuke at the hand of God directly – in the form of a plague and later the Red Sea's water subsiding – that actually inflicted death on the Egyptians in the biblical narrative, on which Tutu may or may not hold a direct position. What is correct in Kunnie's argument is that Tutu agrees with other liberation theologians that "God is on the side of the oppressed" (Tutu 1989:44; cf Kunnie 1990:239). But Tutu differs from some of the more radical liberation theologians, particularly in the Americas, in that he is opposed to the use of violence and draws his hermeneutic from the incarnate life of Christ and an uncompromising understanding of reconciliation, which involves the redemption to full humanity of the oppressed and oppressor alike (cf. Battle 1997:5; Kunnie 1990:239; Du Boulay 1988:117).

It should also be remembered that Tutu's application of reconciliation and non-violent opposition is based within the South African context of apartheid's violent oppression, where use of excessive force in the struggle on a provincial or national scale would undeniably have been met with greater counter force. However, over and above even the immediate context of his liberation theology, "Tutu's call for peaceful resistance to the tyranny of apartheid is predicated on the perception that Jesus, the locus of the Christian gospel, as a person whose life and philosophy was unequivocally committed to the way of 'non-violence', from which he derives his inner spirituality" (Kunnie 1990:241). It is this deeply held belief in the non-violent Christ that tempers his style of liberation theology.

Secondly, Tutu's theology is driven by *Black Theology*. Originating in America as a theological understanding of *Black Consciousness* and as a response to the philosophy of *black power*, it reached South Africa by 1970 (Du Boulay 1988:84). Paralleling to some degree liberation theology, it seeks a theology applicable to the context it is addressing, not in an abstract manner but in a highly relevant way. In the South African context it sought to address the need of the person suffering under the yoke of apartheid. Tutu's first significant encounter with *Black Consciousness* was with the students of Fort Hare and it

was the 1968 strike at Fort Hare that gave the impetus to Tutu's alignment with this movement. Tutu differs from the early advocates of black consciousness, including Steve Biko, in his desire for inclusivity within the black militant ranks, believing ethnicity to be irrelevant. Most others associated with the movement felt the need for blacks to separate themselves in order to consolidate their position such that blacks could later on come back and stand undeterred, eye-ball to eye-ball with whites (Du Boulay 1988:77-79, 101, 117).

However, this theology struck a note of truth for Tutu, who saw that the identity of the oppressor or dominant economic people group was seen to pervade all understanding of who *the other* was. In a South African context, *the other* became defined negatively as *non-white* or *non-European* or simply seen as the opposite of white (which automatically inferred good; clean), and thus there was a need to uphold the value of being black (Battle 1997:135). For Tutu there was also value in black theology in its opposition to *Western Theology*, which while raising valuable insights it did not address the African context and subtly (or not so subtly in the form of *Prosperity Theology*) upheld a consumer oriented global market economy. Black theology's weaknesses were obvious to Tutu. In its excessive association with *blackness* it lent itself to the radical excesses of force applied to those who quite simply were not black on the converse assumption of apartheid that white was evil, and manifested itself in the PAC slogan of "one boer one bullet".

Thirdly, Tutu's theology is driven by his African-ness, in what has been referred to as his *Ubuntu Theology* or his *African Theology*. This is a theology that addresses the African context, as Tutu remarks: "Blacks must stop testing their theology against the value systems of the West and develop their own insights. 'It is only when African theology is true to itself that it will go on to speak relevantly to the contemporary African – surely its primary task…'" (Du Boulay 1988:116).

Tutu's *ubuntu* theology is nurtured by his rich understanding of the African tradition and its concept of personhood's being defined as dependant on others, as opposed to Western concepts of individuality and exclusive ethnicity, which in excessive measures can lead to abuses of individual power and racist behaviour. This for Tutu is expressed in an understanding of personhood that while everyone is unique, they are equally part of a community and made in God's image and therefore should be valued and honoured. Tutu's recognition of the *imago Dei* comes strictly speaking from two sources: Firstly the one we are dealing with in his African cultural heritage as epitomised in his understanding of a universal *ubuntu*, and secondly from the monastic tradition and teachings of the Community of the Resurrection. For Tutu, who is firmly rooted in both the Old and the New Covenantal understandings of grace, God's creation is however the focal point of his understanding of men and women, who were made in God's image. Thus all peoples are first and foremost "God's children" by virtue of the created order; only then comes the "scandal of the particularity" in terms of the revelation of Christ, but also in terms of a contextual theology (Battle 1997:125-127; Du Boulay 1988:116, 87; Nuttall 2005:44-45).

Tutu puts his finger on the pulse of the searing question of meaningless suffering: "We humans can tolerate suffering but we cannot tolerate meaninglessness" (Tutu 2004:75). Yet for Tutu nothing is wasted. Even Mandela's twenty seven years of incarceration is seen as preparation for national leadership and personal enrichment (Tutu 2004 73-74). Paul's conviction that a slave should not rebel but act in love is in line with this philosophy. In the *universal ubuntu* that Tutu believes in, it somehow cosmically stands for more than

is immediately apparent and will have an impact, if not in one's immediate lifetime, then in someone else's. This is nevertheless hard to reconcile with the waste and carnage of apartheid and other repressive regimes that at times appear to be self-perpetuating. Indeed Tutu tempers a futuristic eschatology which bases itself in an other-worldly kingdom – a "Pie in the sky when you die" approach – with one that sees value in long term suffering on behalf of an eventual physical reality. In this understanding of an earthly outcome, Tutu strongly rejects a theology that does not deal with the here and now.

His traditional understanding became more firmly rooted while he lectured at Roma (the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, as it was called at the time), starting in January 1970, and again when he was Bishop of Lesotho, starting in July 1976. Tutu is at times criticised for his Western outlook and the ease with which he accepts relative wealth and comfort and his seeming lack of a deep appreciation of the African working-class song, dance and idiom; still he can equally be seen as being African through and through, which he owes to his mixed Xhosa-Tswana heritage, but also deeply instilled for Tutu within the Maluti Mountains of Lesotho (Du Boulay 1988:113-114, 232; Kunnie 1990:284-285).

Fourthly, Tutu's theology, and even his practise, is defined by his ecclesiastical tradition beyond his early roots in Methodism and the African Initiated Church, as already stated. Tutu's *Sacramental Anglo-Catholic Theology* and praxis were moulded by the *ascetic* tradition and teachings of the Community of the Resurrection and to a lesser extent by the Franciscan order to which he belongs. "Informed by such examples as St. Anthony, the ascetic tradition sought to wrestle demons by breaking down false divisions between the sacred and the profane. Tutu's theological strategy also was to model the divine life to the corrupt society of apartheid. Through the ascetic tradition, persons are no longer identified by race but form a community, expressed in the particular witness of the Community of the Resurrection (CR), able to contain and celebrate diversity" (Battle 1997:131).

The influence of the CR did not stop with their asceticism – which led them into a deeply meditative, prayerful and Eucharistic life of devotion – for they were greatly involved in the struggle of their downtrodden fellowman/woman. This total dedication was supremely modelled in the life of Trevor Huddleston; later, while Tutu was studying with the CR, the Vice-Principal Timothy Stanton was a powerful example also (Du Boulay 1988:26; 49).

From the CR Tutu has inherited his deeply devotional and *Catholic* spirituality, whereby he takes morning and evening prayers without fail and will even take a moment within the hectic movement of an airport to celebrate the Eucharist (Nuttall 2005:44). Their exemplary ministry also instilled Tutu's deeply incarnational model. "His absorption of an incarnational spirituality, that sees God in everything and everyone, continues to constrain him not only to do whatever he can to help people in trouble, but to love his fellow man, whether or not that love is returned or even welcomed" (Du Boulay 1988:48). He is so highly steeped in a life of prayer that a deeply biblical and prayerful understanding of what a godly response to his context constitutes, flows out of this lifestyle, and is not easily swayed by extreme interpretations of black or liberation theologies. These two theologies tend to interpret scripture based on contextual realities, but Tutu – guarded by a reverse of this process – allows for prayer and meditation on the scriptures to speak into the context.

Lastly, beyond the CR his ecclesiology is defined as being derived from a *Liberal Theological* position. He is liberal in his understanding that God is a God of all peoples,

and because of his particular emphasis on the Genesis encounter, he believes that all people are "children of God" as they have been first and foremost made in "His likeness." He has gained this liberal vantage point through his extensive (for his generation) theological studies both in South Africa and in Britain. According to Nuttall, it is his belief in the "motherhood of God" that drives him even on justice issues:

> From this liberal basis, this belief in the motherhood of God, this drives him – and also on the grounds of justice – this drives him to believe that it is just to ordain women on the grounds that they have no control over their sex, just as blacks have no control over their colour so it is a justice issue. In regard to homosexuality and the acceptance of such, Desmond would go so far as to say, even though this is very controversial, that their sexual orientation is what they were born with, it is in this way God given so we have no right to demand that they change. In this way he is extremely liberal (Nuttall 2005:45).

Perhaps Tutu can best be understood as an *absorption theologian* or more accurately a *synthesis theologian* who has taken something from everything in order to mould a truly authentic African theology. Because Tutu's theology is strongly rooted in the African tradition, it does not have the need to construct a philosophy and vocabulary for the existence of God, for the non-existence of the Divine would be incompatible with the African worldview. Because Tutu is strongly rooted in the liberation tradition, his theology seeks to set the captive free, while confronting the earthly powers in a tangible manner that discounts abstract otherworldly answers. Because Tutu was moved by black theology and its philosophical counterpart of black consciousness while at Fort Hare, he is astute to the distortions that an all-pervading white supremacy had brought South Africa. But because of his being rooted in the sacramental tradition and life of prayer, he is able to more than most negate the abuses or overemphasis of a black identity. And because of his liberal disposition, he rather speaks of an all-inclusive identity – incorporating oppressed and oppressor, black and white, straight and gay alike – made possible by the *imago Dei*.

The basis of Tutu's ability to cross socio-political boundaries

As discussed before, Tutu's theology and his values are grounded in the twin concepts of *ubuntu* and reconciliation. These concepts are so essential to Tutu's transcultural ability that, at the risk of being repetitive, they must be further addressed. From the book, *The Essential Desmond Tutu*, an insight is gained into Desmond's view of race:

> There is an old film entitled *The Defiant Ones* which depicts two escaped convicts manacled together. One is black and the other white. They fall into a ditch with steep, slippery sides. One convict claws his way nearly to the top and just as he is about to make it, he discovers that he can't get out because he is still manacled to his mate at the bottom, so he slithers back down. The only way they can make it out of that ditch is together – up, and up, and up, then out together. In South Africa we can survive only together, black and white. We can be truly free, ultimately, only together, black and white. We can be human only together, black and white (Tutu 1997:18).

This belief in only finding a freedom together is based on Desmond's understanding of the gospel, in which there are no longer any divisions for Jesus Christ has broken them all.

Tutu does not stop with a purely Pauline inspiration to his understanding of reconciliation. He also draws on the Old Testament prophets such as Jeremiah to explain his conviction that all people are valuable to God, whose plan for Tutu was not an ill-conceived one, "…no divine afterthought. He [Jeremiah] was part of the divine plan from all eternity. He was no accident. None of us is a divine afterthought. I sometimes say some of us might look like accidents, but no one is an accident. God has chosen us from all eternity to be an indispensable part of his divine plan" (Tutu 1997:19).

Kerry Kennedy in her book *Speak Truth to Power* clearly ascribes Tutu's vision for a future that was not based on tribe or ethnicity to his belief in God the Father and His Son – "the Word made flesh". It was a vision for which he dared to call for sanctions:

> His faith in the Almighty is exemplified by his belief in the Word made flesh; that the battle for the triumph of good will be won or lost, not by prayers alone, but by action taken to confront evil here on earth. "When I became archbishop in 1986, it was an offence for me to go and live in Bishopscourt, the official residence of the Anglican archbishop of Cape Town. Now we live in a village that used to be white, and nobody turns a head. It's as if this is something we have done all our lives. Schools used to be segregated rigidly, according to race. Now the schools are mixed. Yes, whites tend to be able to afford private schools. But government schools, that in the past were segregated, have been desegregated. Now you see a school population reflecting the demography of our country.
>
> I was an advocate for sanctions and as a result, most of the white community regarded me as the man they most loved to hate" (Kennedy 2004:58-60).

For Desmond the basis of his transcultural abilities beyond *ubuntu* and his African tradition (the foundations of which are fully congruent for Tutu with his Christian tradition), were his early life circumstances such as when his father moved to Ventersdorp and he attended a school offering tuition to black, Indian and coloured South Africans. There were also the influences of personalities especially in his youth inspiring compassion, reconciliation and self-pride and role-modelling the ability to cross socio-political divides by their lives: his mother, Aletha Matlana, known as *Komotso* (the one who comforts the afflicted), who always stuck up for the underdog in family disputes; the feats of black sportsmen and athletes such as Jackie Robinson and Jesse Owens (inspiring self-pride); Mr and Mrs Blaxall who worked with black blind people; and the compassion of men such as Trevor Huddleston of the Community of the Resurrection (Du Boulay1988:22-30).

Perhaps not so much the basis of Tutu's transcultural ability as a natural disposition within his personality, he has a flair that lends itself to humour, even self-depreciating humour at times, which allows him to capture his audience and enthuse them with his vision for a new united South Africa: "Sipho Masemola, now a priest in the East Rand, delighted in his jocular, gregarious personality, 'bubbling with love for people'"; infact he was even able to joke, "…about white fears of black retaliation" (Du Boulay 1988:48, 100).

Because Tutu was groomed theologically as much in Great Britain as he was in South Africa and beyond that travelled extensively, he has the ability to bring a global perspective to bear on the immediate issues at hand. This global perspective was rooted in his diverse

tribal experience in which his mother was Tswana and his father a Fingo of the Xhosa nation, and later on once in Lesotho where he had to speak Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho and Tswana.   But his perspective was indeed enriched by his exposure particularly in the United Kingdom, where, for example, in his role with the TEF he mixed with colleagues who were Taiwanese, a Malaysian-Chinese, a Brazilian-Armenian, and a white North American (Du Boulay 1988:130, 114, 91-92).

Beyond his work for the TEF his travels abroad exposing him to many different cultures (more so than most white clergy under apartheid), and many different theological positions, which arguably led to his having a very inclusive one. This is seen clearly in his inclusive position towards homosexuals in the life of the church according to Nuttall (2005:46):

> A key text for him would be, "In Christ there is no Jew nor Greek, slave or free, male or female …" and all the rest. He would add black or white, straight or gay. He said that, he said that! In Christ these things don't matter any more. And we are all in Christ, not just for Christians, we are all in Christ. So he enlarges the Pauline meaning of that Galatians text, but that is crucial for him, it is absolutely fundamental, and that is what galvanises his philosophy of reconciliation, to be a reconciler. He also recognises wounds; this concept of being a wounded healer was at the heart of the TRC: "We are dealing with wounded people; I too am a wounded person. I carry my wounds but I also acknowledge that by God's grace and love and mercy towards me that I am healed, so I am a wounded healer." …I think that prompts, his reconciling approach. Jesus on his cross, must be at the heart of his meditation a lot of the time, how can I be like Jesus, arms out, wounded, willing to embrace everybody, everybody. He has written a book, *No Future Without Forgiveness*, that comes not only from his work for the TRC but his contemplation of that word from the cross, "Father forgive them for they know not what they do." It is part of him; it is part of his spiritual life.

His liberal understanding of God's grace being available to all, a theology that arises out of a deep woundedness due to apartheid, and most importantly Christ's own example, all contribute to enabling him to act as reconciler and "wounded healer" to the nation. Alongside the liberal roots – his Genesis narrative interpretation and particular reading of Pauline theology on matters of justice and inclusivity – stands his understanding of *ubuntu*, which determines for Desmond his ability to cross boundaries that would normally divide.

> His concern is with the human family, not just the church family, so he is utterly human. He has an ardent doctrine of creation. The doctrine of creation is so utterly important to him. Every human being is made in the image and likeness of God. That is what galvanised his prophetic ministry as well, he called apartheid a blasphemy, not just a mistake. [Tutu says,] "Why have you got into conflict with the fundamental belief of Genesis 1, that we are all made in the image and likeness of God, therefore how could you treat people like that? It is a blasphemy." So he is human, he is humane, he represents *ubuntu* supremely, that difficult concept that is difficult to define. It is close to hospitality, it is close to sharing, compassionate. You know Descartes said, "I think, therefore I am." *Ubuntu* says, "I belong, therefore I am." He is a representative of *ubuntu*, and *ubuntu* is very close to the Christian ethic of compassion, of sharing, of togetherness, of belonging to one another (Nuttall 2005:44).

Finally, his own church's willingness to promote Tutu time and again to positions such as Dean of Johannesburg that had never before been occupied by a black South African should be mentioned. The Anglican Church's courage, even if somewhat belated, should not be underestimated in the promotion and grooming of such a controversial figure (at the time) as Tutu. This afforded him the platform from which to speak as *prophet to the nation*. From the beginning he was groomed by the CR, who also made the necessary contacts for his studies abroad. The Anglican Church at large time and again went the extra mile to make space for Tutu's lead in an era in which the Reformed churches buckled to the song and dance of the political masters of the day.

How Tutu's Christian convictions helped to effect lasting national change:

One can never say for certain what influenced De Klerk and the National Party's dramatic directional change, though much must be attributed to the daring leadership of De Klerk himself, who no doubt used the prevailing change in the global political climate with the end of the Cold War to great effect. Yet it is hard not to surmise that with Tutu calling the government's bluff (which subsequently backed off in the events surrounding the march on Cape Town's City Hall), his speech on the day of the march – issuing a warning and appeal to the newly elected F.W. de Klerk – in all probability, had an effect on the more moderate leadership of De Klerk's. Tutu (1994:182-183) at the end of his speech used these words:

> We want to say to Mr de Klerk: "We have already won. Mr de Klerk, we have already won. Mr de Klerk, if you know really what is good for you, join us! Join us! Join us! Join us! Join us in the struggle for this new South Africa…. I want us to stand – Capetonians, South Africans, black, white, whatever, and hold hands and know that nothing can stop us. We are unstoppable! Unstoppable! [Outside the City Hall Tutu added] Let's just keep quiet. "Mr de Klerk, did you hear a pin drop?" They tried to make us one colour: purple. We say we are the rainbow people! We are the new people of the new South Africa!

Tutu was unrelenting in his call for justice and national change and on numerous occasions called for meetings between himself and Botha, F.W. de Klerk's predecessor. He was outspoken in the arena of economic sanctions, which won him many a foe but indisputably applied pressure to the already buffeted National Party. His role as a patron to the UDF and member of the MMD cannot be underestimated in the two mass movements' call for a new dispensation. He was instrumental in his role of reconciler between Buthelezi and Mandela and in his support of other Christian efforts to mediate. His contributions throughout his lifetime were profound and his stand for justice, non-violence and peace deservedly won him the Nobel Peace Price. But perhaps the most tangible way in which Tutu's role as reconciler of the nation can be assessed is in his work with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. With the lofty expectations placed upon the TRC before it even began, it seemed doomed to failure. Giles Fraser, who quotes Tutu, has an interesting take on this:

> Of course, there are criticisms to be made of the use of "truth". From a Foucauldian perspective, suspicions are raised that the language of truth and reconciliation makes an attempt to impose a particular authority or interpretation (of the ANC over Inkatha, for instance). The TRC can thus be seen as legitimating the hermeneutics of the victor's justice as it were. And there are, of course, many other criticisms too: that a great many crimes went unexamined

and many perpetrators were not brought to book. No doubt there is more work for honesty to do. And there always will be. Tutu writes: "A Dutch visitor to the commission observed that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission must fail. Its task is simply too demanding. Yet, she argued, 'even as it fails it has already succeeded beyond any rational expectation'" (Fraser 2001:47-48).

Though the success of the TRC has been debated widely, it nevertheless contributed to the national process of healing in a way no other nation before has attempted in quite the same fashion – it offered pardon for honest testimony, in an effort to uncover the truth.

> It is always interesting to find that they appointed an Archbishop to head up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was a quasi-legal body. That it is an interesting thing that they didn't, as you could have expected, go for a judge, and I think that that says a great deal. And once we were meeting as bishops in our church and we were meeting in the Free State and we invited the Premier of the Free State to come and talk to us. And he said that he is surprised that we are surprised that they should have chosen to walk the path of reconciliation. Because he said the church is to blame if you want someone to blame [for choosing this path] because most of them were educated in church schools, and most of them are practicing Christians and therefore all of this should have been natural. Now if that is so, then one could expect that the results of the TRC would have been percolating through society and percolating through the leadership. But that does not mean we always obey or do the right things, when we may know that this is what should be happening (Tutu 2005:39).

This is very apt, for while the TRC did confront some with the truth, others chose to ignore its findings or simply found them too difficult to contemplate. This is especially true of the conservative, yet politically uninformed (as to the inner workings and duplicity of the National Party) Afrikaner who wanted to believe the best in the National Party and in the ideals that the Afrikaner nation itself stood for (Meiring 1999:62, 112-113). This was not entirely the ardent Afrikaner idealist's fault for some would go to great lengths to suppress the truth, and to Tutu's dismay the party he himself was loosely aligned to also sought to cover up the truth concerning certain damning events that they had freely confessed to during the TRC hearings. For the comparison with the National Party was not a politically acceptable image for the ANC, who viewed themselves as being on morally higher ground. This stance was true in the sense of their being the liberator of the people, though it did not wholesale excuse their methods, according to Tutu (Gish 2004:157). Given this scenario, it was nevertheless unfortunate that both Nationalist and ANC leaders sought to suppress the truth and thus rob a nation of potential healing. They would also doubtlessly have become more powerful role models had they chosen to perform otherwise.

Professor Meiring (1999:366) reflecting on these events says: "But a few days before D-day former President F W de Klerk took the TRC to court and obtained an interdict prohibiting certain information concerning his involvement in human rights violations from being published…." He adds: "And then the final blow: the evening before the report would be handed over, the ANC requested a court interdict to try and stop the report from being issued, as the report, in the ANC's opinion 'criminalized' their role in the struggle." Perhaps though, this was a mark of the TRC's success: it had managed to upset both the old

masters, De Klerk (and Botha before him) together with the National Party, and the future ones (who would come after Mandela), Mbeki and an ANC dominated coalition.

Tutu's contribution to national change is thus maybe best seen in the work of the TRC, for though his contribution was significant before, it is sometimes harder to assess the work of a *Prophet and Pastor to the Nation*, who calls for change and loves all citizens, than it is with the concrete work of a commission that achieves something tangible. Kerry Kennedy notes for us Tutu's thoughts on the TRC:

> "Our country knew that it had very limited options. We could not have gone the way of the Nuremberg trial option because we didn't have clear winners and losers. We could have gone the route of blanket amnesty and say wipe the slate clean. We didn't go either way. We didn't go the way of revenge, but we went the way of individual amnesty, giving freedom for truth, with people applying for forgiveness in an open session, so that the world and those most closely involved would know what had happened. We were looking particularly to the fact that the process of transition is a very fragile, brittle one. We were saying we want stability, but it must be based on truth, to bring about closure as quickly as possible."

> "…One of the extraordinary things is how many of those who have suffered most grievously have been ready to forgive – people who you thought might be consumed with bitterness, by a lust for revenge. A massacre occurred in which soldiers had opened fire on a demonstration by the ANC (African National Council), and about twenty people were killed and many wounded. We had a hearing chock-a-block full with people who had lost loved ones, or been injured. Four officers came up, one white and three black. The white said: 'We gave the orders for the soldiers to open fire' – in this room, where the tension could be cut with a knife, it was so palpable. Then he turned to the audience and said, 'Please forgive us. And please receive these, my colleagues, back into the community.' And that very angry audience broke out into quite deafening applause. It was an incredible moment. I said, "Let's keep quiet, because we are in the presence of something holy" (Kennedy 2004:60-61).

Many like the family of Steve Biko found it too early to forgive, yet Tutu and others like Mandela have laid the foundations to the establishment of a new national identity, proud of its heritage and able to face its past as a multifaceted people.

> As he handed the report to Mandela, Tutu said, "We have looked the beast in the eye. Our past will no longer keep us hostage. We who are the rainbow people of God will hold hands together and say: never again, nooit weer, ngekhe futhi, ga reno tlola." (The last three phrases mean "never again" in Afrikaans, Zulu and Sotho.) The report labelled apartheid a crime against humanity…. According to a 1998 poll, most South Africans believed that the truth and reconciliation process had worsened racial tensions in South Africa, at least temporarily. Tutu was not surprised. He insisted that reconciliation would take time and that it could not succeed if the truth remained buried. He believed it was unrealistic to expect that racial tensions that had built up for centuries would completely vanish in a few years (Gish 2004:157-158).

But Tutu, being astute, spiritual and yet grounded, was all too aware of the shortcomings of the TRC. He had hoped that far more whites would have embraced the process than actually did, and had wished that the politicians who played dumb would have come clean. Tutu understood that the process was imperfect, but believed in its ultimate contribution to the promotion of truth and reconciliation of a nation by providing a remedy for "…former adversaries to live together after a prolonged period of conflict and division. Tutu was convinced that true reconciliation could only occur if the gap between the rich and the poor was reduced in South Africa. …From Tutu's perspective, reconciliation could not be achieved overnight. It was an ongoing process that required effort by all" (Gish 2004:157).

Yet for Tutu, reconciliation is not the end of the road – it is the path by which all may enter into his vision based on a greater sense of a community that is not monochromatic, but full of tribal/ethnic diversity and yet united as one (Tutu 1994:183). As is the case with Mandela, perhaps even greater than Tutu's role in reconciliation is what he has offered a nation: a chance to achieve a new patriotism; a chance to achieve a new national identity for the many who were previously entrenched. His vision of "the new people of the new South Africa" – healed and being healed, set free and in the process of being set free from their past – whose unity of purpose but diversity of culture within the new dispensation, is best painted by Tutu's expression, the "rainbow people of God" (Tutu 1994:183, 248, 251).

5.5   Comparison of the Three Christian Models and Application Using All Six Models

Table 5.5.1: *Framework of comparison of the three Southern African Christian leaders*

	Mutendi	*Cassidy*	*Tutu*
Structures	Traditional kinship / Royal Rozvi. Mirroring chiefly structures. Small initial evangelistic-band. Promoted foreigners into church structures & later used kinship inversion. Progressive centralized flat pyramid-authority of Zion City, networking 15 Paramount Chiefs. Roving evangelists used after *Pasika*. Inter-tribal Church. Small groups meet under trees.	Team young professionals in AE foundations - beyond Michael all white N. Americans. By 1969 a new multicultural team in SA & soon after 2nd team in E. Africa. Michael & Festo co-leaders of AE. Structure later hierarchical, resembles multi-level skyscraper. Predominantly older Eng. SA executive devoid of youth & non-whites. Used foxfire teams & CHUM's.	Hierarchical structures of church and state, theological learning institutions & TEF. Collegiate structures of TEF&TRC, Tutu has a flair for modifying institutional structures, but not good at creating new ones. Good in teams. Created clusters (small teamlets) in SACC. Multicultural team of Bishops. Uses democratic structures less so. Most at home in collegiate/ deferential structures.
Style(s) (as a young man)	(Youth largely unknown – artistic, possibly gentle & humble)	(As a young man, entrepreneurial - pioneering, professional style)	(In youth not arrogant but democratic &consensus-seeking in Community of the Resurrection)
Dominant	Autocratic, chiefly, resolute and unshakable resolve. Charismatic & yet non-vocal.	Autocratic - directive and top down neo-colonial; maintaining status-quo as founding leader.	Authoritarian & prophetic; humour-ous/flamboyant/outgoing. Direct-ive and assertive – *carpe diem*.
Secondary	Persuasive, gentle &humble man. Consensus seeking, Humorous but firm & shrewd.	Informal, relational, hands-off with trusted associates / missions. Collegiate style with co-patrons.	Inclusive, consensus-seeking, collegiate and able to act as broker & take an ancillary role.
Situational Leadership Styles S1-S4	S1 – Firm and directive in correcting subordinates. S2 was his natural style. S3 – Collegiate with sons/ councillors. S4 with Nehemiah as schools superintendent.	S1 – Authoritative style to juniors & story-telling role-modelling. S3 – With theologically similar colleagues. S4 in ministry & administration.	S1 – Commanding style as bishop. S2 – Persuasive with fellow bishops. S3 – Collegiate with TRC Councillors. S4 – Delegating with Nuttall (CPSA) & Boraine (TRC).
Situational Apprentices hip Styles AS1-AS4	AS1 and AS2 as he watched and learned from Lekhanyane. AS3 giving deference to Lekhanyane once in Zimbabwe. AS4 as church gained its independence.	AS1 - Listening to Festo at Fuller & in Nigeria. AS2 – Learning grassroots evangelism in Kampala. AS3 Accommodating secondary role Festo-Cassidy speaking-tour. AS4 conferences after PACLA1.	AS1 Listening when curate with Canon Mokoatla. AS2 Learning with Fr. Huddleston. AS3 Accommodating as a curate. AS4 As Dean of Johannesburg he served under Bishop of Johannes-burg, a role he later occupied.
Values	Love Unity & Reconciliation Peace Justice	Christian fellowship / ecumenism; reconciliation; love; forgiveness; trust (dialogue & influence); faith (evangelism / holistic).	Peace / *ubuntu* & restorative justice; trust, integrity, confidential-ity & transparency; faith (spiritual-ity & ecumenism); reconciliation.
Transcultur al Ability	Daneel adopted into Mutendi's family; entertained whites. Royal Rozvi used to great effect. Used Ndebele & foreign leaders break-ing Shona-Ndebele tribal divide. Created inter-tribal church with multiple paramount chiefs.	Marriage grandparents (Canadian/ Afrikaner), role-models of Duncan, Huddleston, Nuttall, B. Graham & M.L. King. Inspired by *Satyagraha* & federation Rhodesia-Nyasaland; liberal political roots of Lesotho & Michael House. Guardian to Sipho.	*Ubuntu* & respect for all traditional roots. Role models of mother & Fr. Huddleston. Travelled widely & studied in UK. Xhosa / Tswana roots; Bishop of Lesotho; Christian faith and doctrine of creation. Son of Fingo – a "Xhosa commoner".
Political / Christian Conviction	Christian / adapting traditional religious beliefs - replacing *n`anga* / ancestor powers & High God with Prophet & Christian God.	Christ's life; need for Cosmic order & philosophy of Cosmic Christ. Evangelical – person / work Christ; scripture inspired; Trinitarian. Belief in supernatural world.	Strong ecumenical Christian faith. African / Liberation / Black / Liberal Theology. Anglo-Catholic spirituality; liturgical ascetic & pious.

The historical contexts of the three Christian models
Each of these Christian leaders assessed, as in Chapter 4, began with a section titled, *A brief commentary on the life and rise to leadership…*, which provided a perspective on each leader's life and the historical context of each. From these, together with the political

models assessed, can be gleaned a contextual understanding but beyond this as in Chapter 4 it may be helpful to add a few brief pertinent thoughts on the historical context.

Tutu's and Cassidy's historical contexts were somewhat similar with both being born in the same generation (Michael Cassidy in 1936 and Desmond Tutu in 1931). They also shared experiences of extended ministries into Lesotho and the broader context of Africa. Though Tutu was born in the Transvaal and Cassidy in Lesotho, the greater context of South Africa's increasingly oppressive regime affected both (though to very different degrees) for the major part of their lives. This context can possibly best be encapsulated by looking at a specific event and the felt impact of this to the African mind. In 1925 Prime Minister Hertzog, made a speech in the Orange Free State outlining his social programme of segregation. Shirley Du Boulay spells out the implications of Hertzog's speech:

> Segregation, he said would protect "civilized labour" – that is, white and "coloured" (mixed race) – from "uncivilized labour", the cheap labour of blacks. He proceeded to implement these ideas in a series of laws which became known as the "Hertzog Bills"; their effect was encapsulated in a parody of the 23rd Psalm by an African poet:
>
> Hertzog is my shepherd; I am in want.
> He maketh me lie down on park benches,
> He leadeth me beside still factories,
> He arouseth my doubts of his intensions.
> He leadeth me in the path of destruction for his Party's sake.
> Yea, I walk in the valley of the shadow of destruction
> And I fear evil, for thou art with me.
> The politicians and the Profiteers, they frighten me;
> Thou preparest a reduction in my salary before me
> In the Presence of mine enemies.
> Thou anointest mine income with taxes,
> My expenses runneth over.
> Surely unemployment and poverty will follow me
> All the days of this Administration,
> And I shall dwell in a mortgaged house for ever
>
> It was into this world that, on October 7th, 1931, Desmond Mphilo Tutu was born (Du Boulay 1988:21-22; *Umteteli Wa Bantu* 1932).

Though this world was to undergo some significant changes over the course of Tutu and Cassidy's lives pre-1994, the undercurrent of apartheid (built on the early foundations of the Hertzog Bills) was always there, and for the most part in increasing measure.

Samuel Mutendi's world was somewhat different. Born as he was to an earlier generation around 1890 (exact date unknown), he passed away in 1976, which was reasonably early on in the lives and ministries of Tutu and Cassidy. He is also a Zimbabwean and notably a royal Rozvi, born after the kingdom of the Rozvi's had collapsed, but just before the 1896/1897 Ndebele rebellions against the British occupation of Rhodesia. The Ndebele had in the interim years stepped into the gap left by the disintegrated Rozvi Empire and under Mzilikazi and later his son Lobengula had raided and dominated the Shona tribes to

the north, establishing the Ndebele nation. Even in Mutendi's youth the Ndebele still raided the Shona cattle, but their hegemony was to be superseded by British rule once Rhodes reneged on his agreement with Lobengula, the Ndebele having been subjugated by the British after the rebellions.

The Rhodesian government of Samuel Mutendi's early years was dominated by a paternalistic attitude with government agents in the form of District Commissioners having authority over the local chiefs. He became somewhat of a forerunner to the early resistance after his return from seeking employment in South Africa in 1925. After the Rhodesian government's self declared independence (its *Unilateral Declaration of Independence*) in 1965, the segregation between white and black in Rhodesia was somewhat more oppressive (but relatively less so than in South Africa) to the blacks. Yet even in the days of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland a franchise vote was formulated whereby any Rhodesian could vote if possessing adequate property rights and a certain level of education. He was, however, not to live to see Zimbabwe gain her full independence, thereby fulfilling the aspiration of the black Zimbabwean of *one man, one vote*.

The historical contexts of Cassidy and Tutu set the backdrop for *Thesis* in the process of synthesis used in this thesis, for the missionary church was in many ways complicit with the colonial outlook that transpired in apartheid in South Africa. It was this complicit nature that was one of the reasons for African leadership breaking away and forming the African Initiated Church, which is understood to be the *Antithesis* in the *Synthetic-Semiotic Model*. Before moving to *Synthesis* in the final analysis in Chapter 7, the three Christian leaders will be compared and the input from this comparison and the three Political leaders will be analysed for the initial implications for a multicultural model of leadership for the early 21st Century Southern African city context within Christian organisations.

A brief comparative analysis of the three Christian models of leadership
Though Mutendi's structures were somewhat unique, being primarily traditionally based – reflecting as they did the chief's court – but also structures appropriate to his royal lineage, all three leaders worked in institutions where the structures were hierarchical. Apart from the similarity in the authoritative nature of leadership that these kinds of structures naturally impose, there were considerable differences. Mutendi, as founding leader of the ZCC in Zimbabwe, chose a flattened pyramid structure, which had few leaders anywhere near the top. Only one minister stands between him and his ministers on a ministry level and only one minister operates in a given circuit, and thus relatively few rank even as fully recognised ministers (*vafundisi*). In contrast to this Michael Cassidy has over the years adopted also as a founding leader, of AE in his case, a structure resembling a multileveled skyscraper with an abundance of leaders at the top. In contrast to both, Tutu's structures were chosen for him by the church or state and though they significantly resembled a classic pyramid structure in the CPSA (the Anglican Church's official title in Southern Africa), in the TRC they were far more collegiate as Cassidy's initial structure was, with a professional atmosphere and leadership operating far more on the basis of peers.

They all have a dominant autocratic style and a secondary collegiate or consensus seeking style. Though Mutendi's natural style was possibly a persuasive/gentle style, the traditional/royal patterns of leadership tended to reverse these. As for the cycle of styles presented in the *Situational Leadership and Apprenticeship Models* (Figures 1.1 and 1.2 respectively on page 11), both Mutendi and Tutu display the whole ranges S1 to S4 and

AS1 to AS4. Cassidy shows a gap in the S2 sector in that he is not noted for being persuasive/consensus seeking in the literature reviewed. This at first seems surprising as he is adept at working with colleagues, but in all of these cases one finds that Cassidy plays the dominant role with peers, and appears incapable of operating in a consensus manner with juniors, showing a sizable blind spot to his inability to relinquish control (S4) in areas other than detailed administration and/or evangelistic campaign planning.

There is a significant overlap in the values the three leaders possess. All three have values of reconciliation and unity/ecumenism – ecumenism or unity for Mutendi was expressed through a traditional understanding and desire to unite the tribes – and a high degree of overlap in the values of love, trust, forgiveness, peace, justice and faith. This is to a certain extent to be expected when working with Christian leaders who have all influenced the political arena to some degree.   The total overlap beyond reconciliation and unity/ecumenism would have been even greater had the assessment been done on a different set of bases. There is no doubt that love and forgiveness are expressed by Tutu within his value of reconciliation, while peace for Cassidy and forgiveness for Mutendi were inherent in their overall concept of reconciliation. Justice for Cassidy was also a value, but was expressed through his liberal ideals and not as directly as Tutu and Mutendi.

In each case the bases of their ability to traverse the socio-political barriers are significantly different outside of their Christian beliefs. In Mutendi's case this ability is mostly due to his heritage as a royal Rozvi and secondly because of patterns inherent in inter-tribal acceptance. This secondary consideration also affected Tutu, though as a *commoner* of Fingo extraction there was nothing particularly royal about him (Nuttall 2005:46). For Cassidy, heritage also played a role, because as a son of English decent, born in Lesotho and schooled in Natal, his liberal instincts were part of his cultural upbringing, while his capacity to seek commonality between Afrikaner and English stretches back to his grandparents, one of whom was Canadian and one Afrikaans. All three find commonality in their Christian faith inspiring them in their respective transcultural abilities.   The personal experience and guardian-type roles that both Mutendi and Cassidy played for individuals (Daneel and Sipho respectively) who came into their orbit is intriguing. Tutu's early exposure to the British through his studies in England and work for the TEF is significant.

In their Christian convictions, all three had a strong personal faith. Beyond this Mutendi and Cassidy show a significant overlap in their cosmic/supernatural beliefs, though these were applied to very different circumstances with significantly different results.   In Mutendi's case his belief system addressed the traditional issues of his day while Cassidy's the political arena of South Africa pre-1994. Tutu's African-liberal theology and ecclesiastical tradition (for want of an all-embracing term) also caused him to address the political sphere, but from a significantly different basis to Cassidy's. To both Tutu and Cassidy, apartheid was unjust and a heresy, but Tutu's analysis of the situation equated heresy as being a blasphemy against God's created order, for all humans were created in the image of God. For Cassidy, the unjust heresy was perceived supernaturally as a power or *demonic stronghold* in the unseen world and cosmically as instilling chaos instead of harmony. Somewhat surprisingly this kind of supernatural terminology is to a large extent congruent with Mutendi's perception of the negative effects of the shades (ancestors) and the spiritual hold over the people of the cultic deities and even the cult of the high-god.

Initial implications from all six leadership models for a multicultural leadership model
Though there is an overabundance of hierarchical structures that do not fit well in a postmodern world or a multicultural context, all of the models analysed also showed a propensity to working in teams and/or networking-collegiate orbits. The leaders all also had experience, whether early on in their youth or in their young adult days, of smaller groups or cells/commandos/circumcision classes.   In Mandela and Tutu's cases, the experience was less obvious early on from the literature reviewed. However, it existed for Mandela in his early days of the ANC Youth League and for Tutu with his colleagues in training for ministry. In many of the cases the macro-structure of kingdom or nation played a significant role and the importance of networking at this level of structure counterbalancing the small group level can probably not be overemphasised. Many of them promoted people from other tribes and races to leadership positions (and in the case of Mandela, Moshoeshoe, Tutu and more recently Cassidy, to high offices of leadership).

From these notes can be gleaned some implications (key traits) for today's Southern African Christian organisation within a city context. The idea that someone needs to fulfil the role of a final authority figure provides for a focal point of leadership, but which needs to be directed in a collegiate-democratic-professional manner.   Team and consensus seeking structures as well as placing others of a different racial group in significant leadership positions, should also be employed to avoid any abuse of power.   It is significant, however, that when Tutu early on promoted only whites in the TRC's support infrastructure he was strongly criticised indicating that this last principle should thus not be overworked. These structures can employ concepts of tribe, nation and even kingdom to instil pride and a sense of belonging.

It may be critical to employ a more open-handed collegiate style as the dominant style, for which Moshoeshoe, Mandela and to a lesser extent Mutendi showed a capacity. All the while the ability to switch into a secondary more commanding/executive decision making style in the present day context under review here must be retained though. Beyond this, what is intriguing (as stated earlier) is that in every case without exception, both semi-autocratic/authoritative and diplomatic/consensus styles of leadership were used by each of the strategic transcultural leaders (transformational leaders who can cross socio-political boundaries with ease). Not *either/or*, but always *both/and*, even if this was less evident in Smuts and Cassidy. If the values are evaluated that support these widely divergent styles, it is interesting to see that Tutu, Mandela, and Moshoeshoe all exhibited strong desires for peace/conciliation/*ubuntu* while also holding to a deep conviction in justice and/or the equality of all life. This in turn led to the paradoxically held styles of consensus seeking and yet on other occasions the grim determination that would overrule at critical times. Dr Michael O'Brien in assessing 11 companies ranked as the most successful companies in the United States found that they held just one key factor: *leadership*, on which two key elements were built: *humility* and *professional will* (Williams 2002:106). Sham (1999:91) also comments on this phenomenon in transformational leaders:

> During times of uncertainty and especially in the early phases of organizational transformation leaders would need to be less democratic and to direct with "light government". …The transformational leadership approach compliments the direct, tough leadership approach in that it "frees" the "captured" organization through, instilled pride, respect, inspiration and prompts intelligence, rationality and problem solving amongst the workforce. It is

therefore conceded that direct, autocratic leadership and transformational leadership are to be used sequentially in order to *effect* and then *sustain* organizational change. The direct, autocratic approach initiates and enforces the change, while the transformational leadership ensures that the organization begins to grow its workforce and the organizational culture in order to ensure continued organizational life.

From the analysis of all six leaders, though both Smuts and Cassidy showed a gap in their *Situational Leadership Style* S2 (persuasive/accommodating/consensus style), in all other respects it appears that it would be preferential to have a complete set of situational leadership styles at a leader's disposal. While it would appear that Smuts also jumped directly to AS2 in his *Situational Apprenticeship Style*, in most cases other than the highly intelligent or naturally gifted leader it seems preferable to go through a gradual learning curve. Though a trait of gifted leadership does appear to be this propensity to jump (as with Cassidy's initial Christian leadership at Fuller and Moshoeshoe and Mandela's propensity to operate in created structures original to each), this learning curve is essential if not in their initial training and mentoring, then later on in new areas of work or ministry.

The values within the six leadership models that appear to be the most consistent are ecumenism/unity (often perceived on a national/kingdom level) and reconciliation (understood as comprehensive/costly), followed by love, trust/loyalty and peace/social harmony/*ubuntu* (noting Madiba's value of conciliation). Justice, faith, humility and magnanimity show a lesser degree of overlap. However, all of these are key values for today's multicultural model.

Early exposure to other tribes/ethnicities and/or a multicultural heritage, whether stretching back to grandparents (Cassidy, Moshoeshoe) or more recent family (Tutu), or via a friendship/family acquaintance (Mandela, Smuts, Tutu) appear to be significant traits of transcultural leadership, as does a fostering role of someone of another racial group (Mutendi, Cassidy). A royal/chiefly heritage and/or role-modelling of benevolent Regents (Moshoeshoe, Mutendi and Madiba), instead of distancing the leader from his or her audience, once applied through other structures of church and community have a unifying effect with the stability offered by an undisputed leader. All six leaders drew on their Christian faith as a basis for crossing socio-political boundaries while the philosophies of *Satyagraha* and *Ubuntu* overlapped to a lesser degree. Beyond this though, all other inputs into their transcultural ability allowed for diverse individual experiences and philosophies.

For all six leaders a conviction regarding the Christian faith was the single most important factor as an element in their Philosophical/Faith convictions. Traditional culture inspired some leaders with traditional roots regarding the dignity of every person and *ubuntu*. It was noteworthy that some, though not all appeared to conceptualise, or naturally practise from, a complex mental framework or thought pattern. These frameworks or thought patterns were useful to the leaders in dealing with life's circumstances and desires: Smuts and his holism, Mandela and his integrated political/Christian strategy of reconciliation, Mutendi and his belief system, Tutu and his multiple yet integrated theological inputs and Cassidy and his Cosmic Christ. What may be significant for today's multicultural model in the cities of Southern Africa is this ability to conceptualise a belief-framework or governing theology that cognitively gives substance to the overall mission, vision and most significant goals of the Christian organisation.

CHAPTER 6: THE MULTIPLE PARADIGMS OF LEADERSHIP & SOCIO-POLITICAL FORCES IMPACTING ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

6.1   Introduction and the Concept of Multiple Coexisting Paradigms

Chapter 4 looked at the leadership models of the three historically placed political leaders. In a similar way Chapter 5 looked at the leadership models employed by three $20^{th}/21^{st}$ century Christian leaders inspired by their individual belief systems/theologies. These three Christian leadership models give us an understanding into the inputs required for multicultural synergy and in Chapter 6 are fed into our *Synthetic-Semiotic Model* in order to obtain an initial proposal for a multicultural leadership model.

This chapter will principally provide a description of key paradigms of leadership in the postmodern, tribal, neo-African and multicultural contexts and some of the more critical socio-political forces impacting Southern Africa today. In doing so it will afford this thesis with an essential diverse insight into how to synthesise a model appropriate to the complex Southern African situation. In order to achieve the necessary inputs to arrive at a possible lasting synthesis, this chapter will progress as follows:

1. The basis for understanding how multiple paradigms can co-exist.
2. The postmodern paradigm of leadership.
3. The tribal paradigm of leadership, focusing on the Ndebele structure of leadership and Southern Sotho/Zulu styles of leadership.
4. Specifically South African current political ideologies and socio-political forces are discussed (with brief reference to Zimbabwe).
5. The neo-African paradigm of leadership.
6. The multicultural paradigm of leadership.
7. Synthesis of a proposed model of multicultural leadership in a tabulated format.

Elaborating on the above, some issues of postmodern paradigms of leadership will require suggestions for an adaptation to the Southern African context, as postmodern thinking often falls prey to purely Western thinking without the necessary Southern African perspective(s). To counterbalance postmodern trends tribal paradigms of leadership are looked at in three tribes – the Zimbabwe Ndebele structures of leadership in its foundational stages and a comparison of Southern Sotho and Zulu styles in their foundational stages within the Southern African context. The tribal paradigms will give an insight into neo-African oriented perspectives of leadership.

Next specifically South African political ideologies are examined together with a brief analysis of the major societal forces affecting or preventing cultural change in South Africa with a brief reference as to the impact of these on the nation-state of Zimbabwe. Socio-political forces of the day in South Africa such as ideological/religious, ethnic/tribal and local economic/globalisation forces vying for dominance are briefly discussed as a necessary foundation to neo-African models. A multicultural paradigm of leadership is then drawn out from regional and international sources of information, and chapters 4 and 5 help to indicate a compatible style of leadership for this paradigm. This multicultural paradigm together with the postmodern, tribal and neo-African paradigms are used to refine in a framework of comparison or schematic format the initial implications for a proposed multicultural leadership model put forward in the previous chapter.

Introducing the Concept of Multiple Coexisting Paradigms
As mentioned in chapter 1, David Bosch in his book *Transforming Mission* uses Hans Kűng's concept of six major *epochs* or *paradigms* in western history and Thomas Kuhn's concept of *paradigms shifts* to define major historical periods in the church, each with their own distinctive missions paradigm (Bosch 1991:181-185).   From *Systems-Sensitive Leadership* one gleans the concept that worldviews (or as Armour and Browning refer to them, "thinking systems") do not simply dissolve with each new paradigm shift or epoch in history. Rather, more than one worldview or Bosch's paradigm can be held in a generation, even if one view is dominant. Thus over time differing worldviews, thinking systems, value systems or philosophical paradigms have not completely disappeared. Yet through the ages dominant ones have given rise to certain governing forces. Each of these thinking systems, worldviews or paradigms that dominated a particular historical period are then likened to the thinking systems that tend to govern our lives from infancy to maturity – from simple to complex. In as much as thinking systems relate to our view of the world they thus change over time within an individual, whose world is perceived as more complex with each passing year (Armour & Browning 2000:18-19; 26-28).

This concept of multiple coexisting paradigms on a generational or personal level is not an aberration. For Armour and Browning it is an accepted norm where even within the individual governed by for example a postmodern mindset – though Armour and Browning use other terminology for postmodern in relation to their concept of thinking systems – can experience a throwback to an earlier governing system of say their infancy under duress. Thus thinking systems can and do accumulate, such that more than one thinking system can coexist even at an individual level (Armour & Browning 2000:26-27).   The coexistence of more than one thinking system as put forward by Armour and Browning is supported by Bealer, who attempted to address the crisis of single paradigm theory, as Kuhn originally addressed in 1975, and mentioned in *Diversity Management* by Flood & Romm (1996:31).

Thus thinking systems relate more to the overall perceived complexity of the individual and group's situation and sometimes more so to the immediate environment than it does to the philosophical trend or historical timeline. Each situation's complexity is perceived differently by each individual even in a common grouping, as more than one worldview can coexist where other factors such as race are held constant. There have been repeated clashes between coexisting systems and throwbacks to a system that dominated at an earlier stage. An example of this is Europe when Nazi Germany used dictatorial force to maintain the militarist ethos of the day. What is different today as opposed to the world even 50 years ago, is the great number of coexisting and competing systems of thinking due to the complexity of today's world (Armour & Browning 2000:60; 282).

This is helpful in the Southern African context where multiple cultures make up a nation and where people of widely differing economic wealth, background and tradition coexist. Many different indigenous people groups, who have adopted varying degrees of Westernization and retained varying degrees of their traditional worldview, can and do coexist in the cities. In addition the worldview(s) which dominated in the previous generation(s), such as the fading colonial and postcolonial-modern paradigms, are still evident today, though they are not covered in any detail in this thesis. Thus the concept of thinking systems Southern Africans relate their divergent experiences, both internally – where many differing worldviews vie for dominance – and externally – where they contend with the dominant worldviews of the Western powers with the onset of globalisation.

What is helpful, however, is to gain an understanding – over and above coexisting worldviews – of a melding of worldviews, of synthesis. In a particular locality or across a nation, the newly emerging dominant worldview can be seen as a synthesis of more than one pre-existing worldview together with the incoming postmodern worldview. Thus on a national level, South Africa or Zimbabwe do not simply have to acquiesce to the past Western modern mindset or more pertinently the new postmodern mindset per se, but can create for themselves a new governing worldview.

6.2   The Postmodern Paradigm of Leadership

Postmodernism as philosophy and praxis is normally portrayed as the most remote paradigm to tribalism that there is. While this is true on one level (i.e. a technological level), it has surprisingly much in common with the tribal on another. The new generations that have grown up in the postmodern era are starting to redefine themselves as new tribal affinity groups; new communities of common purpose. Long (1997:84) is quoted by Kelly (1999:84) as saying that "'…tribalism, or community, is much more closely aligned than the autonomous self to God's intention.' The postmodern generation, then, will look for more than off-the-self truth, more even than truth embodied in an individual life. They will look for truth indwelt within a community or tribe."

> Thus authentic community which is found in friendship groups – which I have dubbed 'the new tribe' – who find commonality in their interests, experiences and outlook is fast becoming the new embodiment of truth for the postmodern generation(s). Possibly as a by-product of our individualistic culture and thus personalized salvation we have forgotten to preach salvation from the perspective of tribe, ethnicity and yes even culture (McLaren 2003:228).

But how are we to achieve this *new tribalism*, this place of belonging, of community, in a Southern African setting where the consumer driven individualistic society itself consumes the suburbs while economic decay and lawlessness makes for a stilted community in the inner city? One plausible answer is to look for the *tribe* within the new structures of society even as the old concepts of extended family, clan, folk, tribe and kingdom or nation are being eradicated. Max DePree, the author of *Leadership Jazz*, suggests that institutions (and I would add societies, clubs, sporting facilities and all places of commonality) can begin to provide for a renewing of community or *tribe* within the postmodern context. He draws on the rich metaphor of an Indigenous American (Native American) watercarrier:

> In the life of an American Indian tribe, the watercarriers held one of the most important and respected positions. Water, like food and air, is essential for survival. Corporations and colleges and hospitals can become sustaining institutions like tribes. They can be the source of belonging; they can be the locus for achievement; they can be a real life – and work – support system. The best institutions have already become these things. This is not to say that a company or an institution has to be one big happy family. If it is, something is probably wrong. Diversity of opinion is as necessary as light and air, a diversity of opinion encouraged and exploited for the good of the group. Leaders help define that public good; the watercarriers of an institution communicate and exemplify the ties that bind the institution together (DePree 1992:65-66).

When transferring this to a Southern African setting, if we counterbalance the Western individualism of *consumer-driven salvation* with African tribalism, which speaks into the concept of communities being saved and the restoration of *tribe/family*, the effect of a healthy cross-pollination could possibly be a movement of society towards the creation of a real network of authentic community. Networking amongst a brother/sisterhood of friends where tribal identity is based on a person's rootedness to place/circumstance/commonality is a way forward in a world rapidly losing the origins of tribal or ethnic identity.

The postmodern generations are looking for people to be real and for friendships that are *for real*. These most recent generations are calling for a new openness and reality on the part of the leader, not only in spoken word and by example in the leader's strengths, but in the vulnerability and accountability in his or her weaknesses. This is fast becoming a given criteria for any effective leadership role model to these generations (DePree 1992:41). In South Africa, these generations more than any other before them are looking for leaders that not only encourage diverse opinion but value diversity of culture; of roots; of a past tribal identity that they can interpret into the present new reality. Leaders are called to be real and to themselves participate in the search for new and renewed meaning and purpose.

In this new era of postmodernity, transparency, vulnerability and authenticity; and inclusivity, consensus-building and creative openness to the new and the old – which are the respective values and styles of leadership – the new calling cards of Generation X and Generation Y. And in leading the way in being real, these generations are also called upon to lead for real, boldly going where others within a modern paradigm of thought have never gone before – *leading into the fray* into a postmodern world, and particularly in Southern African, which has never before seen quite so much change happen so rapidly. Within the context of the United States, but equally applicable to South Africa, Kelly (1999:214-215; 221-222) has this to say about the style of leadership that a postmodern era requires:

> Now, if the gurus and experts are right, leadership is increasingly concerned with soft skills – teamwork, communication and motivation. …The shift in industry from 'hard' to 'soft' skills is now well documented. At its heart is the drive for cooperation, for leadership built on negotiation, motivation and mutual benefit rather than coercion, control and fear. …To be a leader in the coming decades will mean, by definition, to be a lifelong learner – not only gaining new skills, but being able to adapt existing skills to new situations with dramatic frequency: with one eye on the task in hand and one eye on the horizon.

> Our culture is crying out for leaders, regardless of gender, age and social background, who are ready to look ahead, to grasp intuitively the outlines of an emerging landscape and to chart a course that they and those who travel with them can follow. To chart such a course will mean, very often, to miss out on the rewards of staying put. There will be many in leadership who are just not ready for a frontier-town culture, who have invested too heavily in the …status of a settled life. …But there will be others – some thrown into leadership for the first time – who thrive on the gold-rush mentality of social change and bring a flood of new thinking to their responsibilities. These are the leaders who will break the cultural ice and blaze a trail into the future.

Mark Manley (see Chapter 5, Section 5.3, subheading: *Structures of leadership employed by Cassidy*) in his work with African Enterprise endeavoured to institute a postmodern structure, which by its very nature is strategic (looks at the long term; at the bigger picture; is proactive). Manley's analysis of African Enterprise (AE) is applicable to all Southern African leadership models struggling to emerge from the modern era and engage with the postmodern world. He describes the situation in AE as he made significant adjustments:

> But yes, new staff came on board – it was younger, it was guys that had a different type of orientation; but the thing is that the people that were in the positions of power were the people that had been with the ministry on an average for probably about 30 years. So the culture was changing outside of the realms of the powerbrokers and that lead to a certain amount of tension…. The culture was essentially tactical or short term as opposed to strategic. And that probably was the greatest change that we brought about – was moving from a tactical culture … to being strategic, saying here are our long term goals and our objectives which define what I have to do now. It means also going out and doing unsolicited ministry … uncomfortable for those who were more reactive as opposed to being proactive (Manley 2005:33).

Mark then discusses the changing culture made up of many new, particularly young people whose individual culture was at first bound by the old but found wings, a liberty and expression! In order to do this, Manley not only gave credence and a voice to a new influx of young South African's; he raised the tempo, expected excellence, raised the level of financial support, flattened the management structure from a previous five to just three levels and increased the number of ministries, expecting people to be pro-active. For a short season this produced a new culture in AE, one derived from a dynamic yet integrated system, but it also brought tension within AE's power-structures.   Manley states, using systems language: "Michael comes out of 'Systems 4', I come out of 'Systems 7' and there we couldn't see eye to elbow. …He probably thought I was 'Systems 5', and 'Systems 4' folk are very threatened by 'Systems 5'" (Manley 2005:35). In lay-man's terms, Michael came out of a Lesotho upbringing, which instilled in him colonial values and truths; where the "world is governed by timeless principles and eternal absolutes" (Armour & Browning 2000:32). Manley's paradigm was postmodern, where the "world is a vast network of complex, often paradoxical relationships, where ever changing realities demand holistic approaches to life"; but it was mistaken for a postcolonial-modern paradigm belonging to the *baby-boomer generation*, where the "world is teeming with unlimited potential for personal success and fulfilment" (Armour & Browning 2000:32).

Though systems language does not strictly use colonial, postcolonial-modern and postmodern paradigms to define systems 4, 5 and 7 respectively. Bosch (1991:182) for one absorbs both colonial and postcolonial-modern paradigms in a *modern enlightenment paradigm* – but if paradigms or systems are seen to coexist, these still offer a reasonable fit. In postmodernity, an era so rapidly changing that some theorists suggest that it is already moving on, it is important to be able to handle multiple generational – or as systems thinking suggests *post-generational* – paradigms, all competing for the same domain; the same space.

6.3   The Tribal Paradigm of Leadership

There is no one definitive tribal structure by which all local tribal structures are ultimately governed, but it is possible to discern at least one broad structure in Southern Africa and within this at least two divergent styles can be seen in Bantu concepts of leadership. There is notably a structure of chieftaincy, below which there is a series of lesser or petty chiefs, headmen and then family heads, and to the side of each, councillors for advice giving. Above a regional (or provincial) chief may be found a Paramount chief or *Inkosi* (King).

This is clearly shown below in the chart of late 19th Century Ndebele chieftaincy, which related directly to the regions or areas of life they controlled (c.f. Hughes 1956:11):

Figure 6.1: *Ndebele chieftaincy and related regional areas they control*

Inkosi (King)	=	Ndebele Kingdom/ Nation
I		I
Induna Enkulu	=	Provinces (*amaxiba*)
I		I
Induna (chief)	=	Regiments (*amabutho*)
I		I
Umlisa (headman)	=	Wards (*izigaba*)
I		I
Family Head	=	Family Kraal

However, this thesis contends that there are actually at least two divergent styles of leadership within the broad outline of a *Tribal Paradigm*. This is born in mind as a suitable leadership model is being synthesised in this thesis – one that creates synergy with the many different cultural groups represented in Southern African cities. These two divergent styles, which evolved into two vastly different kingdoms or states, nonetheless emanated from the same base tribal structure. They are most strikingly seen in the comparison of Moshesh's and Shaka's models of leadership and particularly in the style of leadership and values used:

> The quality of Moshoeshoe's achievement is highlighted when it is compared with that of Shaka. There is no reason to believe that there was any greater disposition to violence or despotism in the culture of the Nguni peoples than among the BaSotho. Yet the Zulu and the MoSotho created two diametrically different types of states. Shaka's was militaristic and predatory: Moshoeshoe pacific and self-sufficient. Shaka ruled by fear: Moshoeshoe by consent. Shaka broke brutally with the past: Moshoeshoe built a bridge between the past and the future. The Zulu's career was cut short by assassination at the hands of kinsmen: the MoSotho was to die peacefully of old age (Thompson 1975:216).

Despite the fact that these styles of leadership generated somewhat divergent state leadership structure(s) that could cope with what are popularly regarded as two independent tribal styles – respectively autocratic rule and consensus seeking – this thesis contends that both styles actually appear in any single traditional leadership structure (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3, subheading: *Styles of leadership used by Moshoeshoe*). What is of interest to this thesis is that both can often be seen clearly in a single ruler. The autocratic dictatorship and hegemony of kings were evident in all the great Nguni leaders of Shaka's day, yet it

operated alongside the participatory leadership approach, which in the case of Shaka, was applied in times of consensus building to the *Great Ones* - the *izikhulu* - of the Paramount Chief's court (Knight 1994:26-27).

This thesis argues that these two contrasting yet equally deeply rooted traditional styles of leadership have always been and continues to be present in African political leadership circles (c.f. Chapter 4, Section 4.4, subheading: *Styles of leadership employed by Mandela*), even regionally in the way SADCC operates. At a certain level SADCC acts as a regional authority seeking consensus and avoiding areas of controversy and conflict. Yet there is a battle for regional supremacy, which is in many ways – except economically – still waged between South Africa and Zimbabwe. In his book, *The Dynamics of Change in Southern Africa*, Rich (1994:25-26) says: "South Africa may try to take over from Zimbabwe the hegemonic role in the region of orchestrating its development demands and needs". This foresaw the days when Mandela was president, yet in the guise of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), it is equally true of Mbeki.

This concept of two divergent styles of African leadership not only provides two views of leadership and the divergent structures that emanate from them to critique and consult in our synthetic-semiotic model, but also helps us to understand the models of leadership emulated in present day Southern Africa. In critiquing the first tribal model of leadership as epitomised by the prototype of Shaka, it is easy to only focus on the negative aspects of the Nguni system. Despite all the harmfulness of the predatory nature of the early Zulu and Ndebele kingdoms, there were some structural improvements that helped sustain them through an expanding dominion. The royal envoys or *indunas*, particularly in Shaka's case, were promoted not on kinship patterns but on loyalty and achievement, counterbalanced the power of the regional chiefs. In the second tribal model of leadership as epitomised by the prototype of Moshoeshoe, it is important to remember that for all its inherent weakness in both discipline and raising an army, its system of onion skin envelopes and network of allegiances – based on the m*afisa* system and tribute – held a nation together through turbulent times. Through loyalty to Moshoeshoe rather than fear, an army was raised when it was most needed (Knight 1994:27, 53; Thompson 1975:177, 212).

6.4   Ideologies and Socio-political Forces Impacting on South Africa

At present there is a battle for the heart and soul of Southern Africa between the global forces on the one hand and the forces generated by NEPAD and the desire for Africa to once again establish herself as an economic force on the other. Southern Africa was once a land of proud empires, as seen in the overwhelming strength of the Zulu, past trade in gold out of Monomatapa and the formerly dominating Rozvi dynasty. Not only does the global village creep ever closer, with styles and technologies almost immediately available, but what has dawned on even South Africa's white entrepreneurs is that she is integrally connected to Africa. This obvious connection, which in the apartheid era was never fully realised nor exploited, because of political sanctioning, has caught the imagination of some with its market opportunity and also the possibilities of harnessing pan African business cooperation. NEPAD taps into these two economic forces in order to generate a more vital economy. It is possible to achieve this, particularly in South Africa with her industrial, mining and information technologies that give her the chance to compete on both the world and African stages. But in order to attain this Mbeki needed the cooperation of other major African brokers, which Sparks captures succinctly in NEPAD's evolution:

> In 2000 Mbeki came up with a Marshall plan for Africa, asking the developed world to invest urgently in the continent to remove the image of the emaciated African children with begging bowls from the television screens of the world. A year later this evolved into a more detailed aid plan which Mbeki called the Millennium Africa Recovery Plan (MAP), which in turn formed the basis for discussions with other key African leaders, Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal and Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria. What emerged was a … more palatable proposal to put to the aid-weary major powers which the four leaders called the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad) plan. In an effort to shake off the begging-bowl, they presented the plan as a trade-off: Africa would commit itself to democracy, good governance, financial discipline and market-orientated policies in return for more help from the developed countries, especially by giving better access to Africa's exports (Sparks 2003:324-325).

Yet with the process of luring in the developed world comes the natural tendency to drift away from helping the poorer sectors and succumbing to the "…class limitations of post-independence African nationalism, namely acting in close collaboration with hostile transnational corporate and multilateral forces whose interests are directly opposed to those of Mbeki's South African and African constituencies" (Jacobs & Calland 2002:53; NEPAD 2001:28, 40). However, in contrast to the above Mbeki and his associates, Trevor Manuel and Alec Erwin, also find the locus of their national strategy not in the continued personal improvement of an African bourgeois but in the "…further integration of Africa into the world economy that – they would concede – is itself in need of better regulations and fairer economic rules. The project, therefore, is to reform interstate relations and the embryonic world state system" (Jacobs & Calland 2002:54; cf NEPAD 2001:50, 52).

The battle is not only on the level of the economy – for in one sense on an economic level Africa's leaders have viewed, for better or worse, all business as good business – but is in a far greater sense in some ways, a philosophical one. For just as exposure to the neo-liberal concepts generated by a postmodern outlook are making major inroads into South Africa and to a lesser extent Zimbabwe, they are also exposed to the philosophy that Africa will soon "have her day". Her day will not come by blindly being Westernised, but by accepting the need for global economic competitiveness within a framework for a rediscovery of Africa's cultural roots (AU 2001:34). And yet here lies the paradox, for from NEPAD's vantage point the *key ingredients* Africa has to offer, are its artistic, scientific and literary works; in short its cultural legacy:

> …NEPAD's endeavour to depend on transference of foreign-developed knowledge and technologies for promoting Africa's international competitiveness would effectively undermine African culture, an integral part of continental renaissance. …Openness, which GEAR and NEPAD engenders, has robed Africa of its capacity to protect and nurture these key ingredients of continental rebirth (Tsheola 2002:806).

Thus the two knowledge bases of developed Western nations and Africa are often pitted against one another because of their differing "strategic orientations" (Tsheola 2002:803). *The Renaissance* – in a philosophical sense – that Africa seeks is to be found not so much externally as internally, for there is a belief that as Africa realizes again who she is, she will

be able to harness her own hidden potential. In turn, this internal and often latent potential to cultural Renaissance that Africa possesses will not be realised once South Africa traverses the canyon from "Renaissance as philosophy" to "Renaissance as economic recovery". Tsheola (2002:806) argues that this traversing, if it has not happened already, is not possible, particularly in the arena of export potential, without Foreign Donor Investment (FDI). FDI implies a Western oriented agenda, which in turn undermines the inherent concept of NEPAD's being "…based on the agenda set by African peoples through their own initiatives and of their own volition, to shape their own destiny" (AU 2001:14). Thus NEPAD becomes a self-consuming cultural virus – even the African National Council appreciates that "…globalisation contradicts the very agenda of the Renaissance" (ANC, 1997b:6).

In this new global village where peers and political counterparts are more immediately accessible to each other and through the media to the public, and thus held accountable (at least in the public's eye), Mbeki makes the mistake of seeing himself only in the mould of a visionary transformational leader in postulating NEPAD. He grossly misunderstands his role as a major regional power player in a global economy where there is no truly sovereign state. The concept of Zimbabwe's sovereignty was raised by the ANC as an emphasis, as far back as 25 October 2003, by the then Minister of Foreign Affairs (now Deputy President) Dlamini Zuma (2003), espoused in her address in London. This – Zimbabwe's supposed sovereignty – was given as the overt reason for a lack of interference beyond talk and pleasantries with Mugabe's government, but to be fair to Mbeki one must remember though that he was instrumental in the decline in political violence in Natal post-1994, according to Lodge (2002:247), and saw fit to dismiss Jacob Zuma from the position of Deputy President as he was linked too closely to allegations of corruption (Mbeki 2005).

However in Africa at large not only has Mbeki's leadership been found wanting in calling her leaders to accountability, a key factor linked to NEPAD (2001:18), but he has failed to be completely transparent in his dealings with the issue of HIV/Aids. This lack of transparency may be politically contrived for the cost of anti-retrovirals to effectively counteract it was – prior to 2003 when measures started to get under way in the delivery of anti-retrovirals – possibly considered to be economically prohibitive. But this explanation does not entirely explain Mbeki's stance. One possible explanation for his position is that he has imbided and agreed with one of numerous websites that employs radical, fringe opinion as if it were fact – a value based misperception known in the United States as the *Salinger Syndrome*. The syndrome is named after a senator who belonged to the printed age where something in print had to be fact, and believed the same, vis-à-vis the internet: "Salinger unwittingly found himself as an immigrant in a world where everyone is an author, everyone a publisher, and everyone an expert" (Sweet 2001:39).

There seems to be an inherent flaw in the plan when it comes to accountability. Africa seems to be incapable of pointing a finger at her own and indeed Mbeki himself is reluctant to discipline the land-locked neighbouring Zimbabwe. For whatever reasons his approach to Mugabe is one of appeasement – be it because Mugabe is older statesmen/comrade in the struggle with ties to Mbeki's father, or because the land issue is a less so but still explosive issue in South Africa too. The policy of quiet diplomacy, regarding Zimbabwe's land policy, can only be understood, in the immediate sense, in the light of correcting past injustices and Zimbabwe's close proximity – economically and geographically – to South Africa, resulting in a ground swell of immeasurable emotive forces (Dlamini Zuma 2003).

But here's the rub! How do these fine principles and all the mechanisms for guaranteeing good governance square with Mbeki's reluctance to take a stronger line against Mugabe's blatant misrule? What price peer review if the man whose brainchild this is cannot exercise it on his delinquent neighbour? Mbeki and his colleagues were able to get the G-8 nations – the world's richest seven [nations] … plus Russia – to sign on to Nepad at their summit in Kananaskis, Canada, in June 2002, but their pledges of help were lukewarm. The G-8 leaders were plainly sceptical of Africa's ability to deliver its side of the bargain. Zimbabwe is Nepad's credibility test, and so far Mbeki has failed to pass it. The G-8 were also sceptical of the AU's prospects for success after Mbeki and his colleagues were unable to prevent the election of Libya's Muammar Gadaffi, widely regarded as a rogue leader, onto its management committee (Sparks 2003:326).

Mbeki sees an obsession in the West with Zimbabwe, motivated by racist instincts, because the handful of dispossessed farmers are all white, and hypocritical, because of the lack of similar interest in South Africa's willingness to stop lucrative trade negotiations with Sudan in 2001 due to human rights violations. What he has probably overlooked in his call for the West to correct its racist preoccupation with its own colonial protégée, is the bottom line of economics. The West and particularly the USA sees in Zimbabwe anti-democratic governance and the total disregard for free market principles. Nevertheless his lack of intervention in Zimbabwe, albeit motivated in part by a failure of more aggressive means elsewhere in Africa, must surely be seen as at least partly contributing to the sorry economic mess his neighbour now wallows in. Mbeki's quiet diplomacy has not even remotely drawn blood yet, which could be achieved more directly by for example, calling in Zimbabwe's outstanding power bill and cutting off all electricity until Mugabe's human rights issues have been addressed (Lodge 2002:234; Sparks 2003:327).

Meanwhile Mugabe raises himself and his nation as the model democratic state, a modern and extensively Western concept belonging to a previous era that he appears to have no real grasp of. In that era the future of a truly African democracy, where a place was found in the sun for both white and black commercial farmers and subsistence farmers alike, was already being declared by the world as a success story. The economic recovery after the first decade of socialism had all but been accomplished when Mugabe suddenly back-peddled, sensing a slipping in the reigns of power. When a post-socialist understanding and an ability to define the nation's ruling party as more than just a post-liberation movement was within striking distance, he looked to the past to define his presidency by means of land. Mugabe ignored the future and an understanding of land as a rare commodity in a global community where white and black farmers can work hand-in-hand for the betterment of all and with meaningful inputs into the global economy.

Despite Mbeki's failures as regards to Zimbabwe and HIV/Aids, there is indeed merit in his *African Renaissance*. For what stands up to sound reasoning is this: if Africa is to see a bright tomorrow she must be integrally involved in her own transformation. It is painfully obvious that the transformation of Africa's nations from the ranks of the impoverished to those of economic wellbeing – which in previous decades was left by and large in the hands of greedy indigenous politicians and the somewhat hamstrung externally based expertise – has not worked. There is a sense that if the best of an internal cultural paradigm can be captured and linked with the best that globalisation and local *Western influences* have to

offer, a previously untapped potential could become the synergy necessary for economic transformation.

However, before going any further, the difference between globalisation and postmodernity needs to be defined, for they are not one and the same. Globalisation, as opposed to postmodernity (which is seen to be a period of history that the world is currently in), is seen to be a world-wide state of the economic, political and societal forces that the world is driven by. Globalisation, according to Anthony Giddens, is a series of overlapping trends which are affecting the very way one lives and does business. The major players are the "world-wide communications revolution", "the new knowledge economy", "the fall of Soviet communism" and the "transformations happening on the level of everyday life", notably the role of women in society (Hutton & Giddens 2000:1-2). Simply put, globalisation is the compound force driving the new global economy.

Refocusing on South Africa, it is true that not only is NEPAD in jeopardy because of its inherent contradictions and continentally because of Africa's volatility, but within Southern Africa and South Africa in particular internal tribal forces, which though diminishing can, it seems, flare up at any time, threatens the country. This was clearly seen in KwaZulu Natal where tensions were particularly heightened with the build-up to the 1994 elections in South Africa.   Kelly writes succinctly about the twin forces of globalisation and fragmentation as global phenomena:

> If imperialism was characterized by the subjugation of small nations and people groups into monolithic empires – whether colonial or communist – and by the forced abandonment of cultural identity, the postimperial age will be marked by the self-identification of an ever more complex kaleidoscope of ethnic and social groups. The key to understanding this process is the recognition that its momentum is derived not from one force but from two. The twin but opposite forces of *globalization* and *fragmentation* – the one drawing the world together, the other tearing it apart – form the horrific double act at the heart of a whole range of contemporary conflicts. This is the power of globfrag – the most significant force at work in contemporary global politics (Kelly 1999:138).

And later Kelly comments on the global context, though also somewhat pertinent to South Africa and Zimbabwe:

> This is the greatest irony of the late twentieth century, that an era of peace was also an era of war.   …Within nations, not least in the vast sprawl of multicultural cities, the same fault lines are being projected from the global to the local scale. The world's mega cities are growing as patchwork quilts of diverse and varied cultures (Kelly 1999:143-144).

This ideological battle impacts on Southern Africa's religious roots too, be they almost equally inspired by African traditional religion(s) or Christianity. Postmodernism suggests that there is no absolute truth and indeed no God; yet to the African mind the latter thought, whether for a traditionalist or a Christian, is a ridiculous concept. What is indeed gaining currency in South Africa is the postmodern perspective that there is no absolute truth but only subjective truth – even if *God* is still a widely accepted religious currency in South Africa – and therefore all religions can sit alongside each other as *co-seekers of truth*.

This is remarkable for a nation where, as recently as in the 1996 census, over 70% of all South Africans were Christian, including 75% of all black South Africans (Kritzinger 2002:24;27). The faith that claims absolute truth in the person of Jesus Christ is without doubt being subjected to a postmodern, subliminal yet violent change to its worldview at the hand of the political and philosophical forces of the day. Unfortunately politically and popularly inspired externally generated values and beliefs are being uncritically employed without a perception of South Africa's own religious and macro-cultural distinctiveness. What is not yet know is what the prevailing philosophy and/or belief system at the end of the decade will be, and what will ultimately gain the upper hand.

6.5   The Neo-African Paradigm of Leadership

Neo-Africanism for the presidents and ruling parties of Zimbabwe and South Africa progress along a continuum from socialism and African Nationalism to a call to an *African Renaissance*, within which, unfortunately the socialistic ideals of the past (particularly in Zimbabwe's case) have often done little to help the economic advancement of Southern Africa. Allister Sparks has this to say about the dismal economic reality and ineptitude spiralling into a vicious cycle in general for much of Africa:

> What can be done about the malaise that afflicts so much of the African continent and has given it such a dismal reputation? The problem is that Africa's hopelessness is now so widely perceived that it has become a self-fulfilling prophecy, deterring investors from creating the new enterprises that might arrest its downslide and causing a continuous brain-drain with thousands of African professionals and other enterprising spirits abandoning the continent annually. Somehow this vicious cycle must be turned around so that Africa's people can begin to regain their self-confidence through role models of achievement and success (Sparks 2003:323-324).

The answer to how Africa is to move beyond the *vicious cycle* of the self-perpetuating downward spiral is hinted at above by Sparks in a recapturing of self-confidence, which Mbigi, Mbeki and others espouse through an African resurgence or renaissance:

> The African Business Renaissance is about our organizations finding innovative ways of doing business by harnessing cultural strengths and inspiration to meet the challenges of global competition.   …Therefore it follows that African economic development and renaissance have to be inspired by our cultural strengths, which lie in people care and the collective brotherhood of humanity with its sense of shared destiny. We have to embrace the ancient African wisdom of Ubuntu – "I am because we are; I can only be a person through others" (Mbigi 2000:10-11).

Indeed these words of Mbigi's and similar concepts espoused by Mbeki and others, using "our cultural strengths" to further "economic development" and thus an "African Renaissance", have, it seems, been taken seriously by a small but growing number of South African businesses. Frank Horwitz (2002:217) says of South Africa in his chapter *Wither South African management* in the book, *Managing Across Cultures*: "Indigenous models of leadership have slowly begun to emerge. The concept of *ubuntu* (humaneness) underlines traditional group decision-making" and that "South African management now emphasizes

co-operative teamwork and communal decision making, where the core is the group and not the individual. Companies such as Pick 'n Pay in retailing and SA Breweries, where significant black advancement has occurred, are examples of this new approach."

For many individualistic white South Africans this seems to rub directly with Western orientated notions of free trade and individualistic capitalism, where boys and girls become men and women based on their ability to make it out there in the world of business, career, and buying fixed and moveable assets and thereby becoming their own person. Yet many Afrikaans speaking South Africans do not have to reach far into their past (if at all) to experience similar feelings of family and *volk*. *Ubuntu* is in a sense debunking the Western myth of individualism, despite the fact that most would accept that the balance is a both/and scenario in a South Africa with more than one paradigm operating. In a sense "I am who I am", needs to go hand-in-hand with "I am who we are". Even the West is beginning to recognise this in an era of postmodernism and cultural diffusion:

> The 'real me' is my unique, in-dividual, core self. The in-dividual self values itself most for what is supposedly utterly different and unconnected about it. But, objects Booth, such an understanding of self is incoherent. Can we really believe that we are not, to the core, who we are because of our kin, our occupations, our political and social situations, our faith or philosophical associations, our friendships?   …In fact, Booth continues, "people in all previous cultures were not seen as *essentially* independent…." Anyone in those [non-Western] cultures thinking words like 'I' and 'mine' thought them as inescapably loaded with plurality: 'I' could not even think of 'my' self as separated from my multiple affiliations: my family, my tribe, my city-state, my feudal domain, my people… (Clapp 1996:91; cf Booth 1993:78-81).

And again Clapp (1996:194), writing next more directly from a Christian position, states:

> Beginning where we already are, we can first of all *recognize that we are inescapably communal creatures*. We really can't – contra the modern myth – create ourselves. We are made in the image of a Trinitarian, communal God. We depend on others to be born, to survive, to be buried and remembered. We live and have our being in community, however attenuated it may become.

What is intriguing is the commonality between what the postmodern writers and philosophers are saying and what is emanating from the neo-African authors and academics. The concepts of tribe and community permeate both paradigms. Because of this synergy the twin philosophical forces of neo-Africanism and postmodernism might possibly rapidly fuse to become the new way of doing and being as a society grapples with the old and new forces of Tribalism/Western Modernism and neo-Africanism/ Postmodernism, overlaid as they are by the prevailing winds of globalisation.

Mbeki realises that it is necessary for any sustainable attempt to eliminate poverty from Africa that Africa takes responsibility for herself and almost literally pulls herself up by her bootstraps. The assisting hand available when Africa links herself to the ever growing global trade through the nurture of the *African Renaissance* should of course still be accepted. His perspective of this historical linkage, both past and present is a fairly

balanced approach to the Western world's strengths and weaknesses, as well as Africa's. For as he believes

> "…the African Renaissance is upon us … Africa was filling the void left by the Cold War … the new political order in Africa owes its existence to African experience of many decades which teaches us that what we tried did not work and the one-party states and military governments will not work … the way forward must be informed by what is common to all African traditions that the people shall govern … Africans need to work together to develop and use the continent's resources to rid it of the cumulative legacy of colonialism … Africa's natural resources and varied sources of energy served as a catalyst for the continent's integration into the international economy; the tragedy of Africa's past was the European scramble for Africa's scarce resources which accelerated development in the Western world and underdevelopment in Africa" (Mathebe 2001:120).

But what brings in a new slant, an alternate voice, in neo-African resurgence is Mbeki's perspective of culture. He seeks to reinvigorate the African concept of self and culture through economic placement in a global economy: "To this effect, the variable of culture has been identified as an important tool because it provides all the races that constitute a complex system of social relationships in society a sense of themselves as Africans. Mbeki sees culture as an important vehicle for the creation of Africa's sense of nationhood" (Mathebe 2001:123). This is achieved in Mbeki's stance, as Lucky Mathebe argues just prior to the above, by a respect of the past (both the honour of the past chiefs and the moral teaching they brought), and the respect for African cultural art and architectural achievement. The idea is that as Africans find themselves in their roots, they will rise to the challenges of the present:

> And he sees the main task of culture as being the restoration of dignity and self-worth of all Africans. But for him the transformation of African consciousness requires a definition of self: Africans need to answer certain questions about their status and destiny such as "Who am I?" …Mbeki has responded to this question by declaring "I am an African". Mbeki suggests that this self-definition needs to take place within the framework of the African Renaissance.

> His realist epistemology therefore looks to the romantic African past, that is, to the African continent that he imagines to have been. The romantic African past is reflected in the pyramids of Egypt, the sculptured stone buildings of Aksum in Ethiopia, Great Zimbabwe, the rock paintings of the san, the carvings of the Makonde and the stone sculptures of the Shona. It is also reflected in African music, dance, literature both written and contained in folklore, decorative dress, cuisine…. He feels that pressing need to hold on to these aspects of the past because he believes that they represent the true historical heritage of the African continent. And because his cultural nationalism is an act of preservation, it does not grow out of a conservative desire for racial and ethnic self-determination. He is not motivated to fashion a separate ideology because in his view, all Africans – blacks, coloureds, whites and Indians – form a significant part of the global world (Mathebe 2001:121; cf Mbeki 1997).

And yet Mbeki does not, as Mathebe points out, see the need for African distinction and separation in the face of enormous odds. He adheres to the positive forces of globalisation and sanctions world trade for Africa and in particular for South Africa. He recognizes the globalisation as an unstoppable force, yet he appears not to see the conflict between his twin saviours – Africa's own economic improvement, and its partnership in the global economy – with the one needing of redemption, that being Africa's culture, self-expression, self-determination and the need for a renewed self-dignity. Mbeki has not been drawn into an exclusivist *black-consciousness*, but neither has he proposed a model that will sustain African culture through the onslaught of Westernisation under the tuition of a global economy. Instead he has alluded to an acceptance, even ownership of all other South African cultures (Mbeki 1998). But beyond the romantic notion and the existential imbibing of another's culture, how realistic is this? Would it not be better to uphold the distinctive of other cultures while also upholding the commonality?

If the way forward for a cultural resurgence in Southern Africa is a both/and scenario, what will this look like? A possibility is a scenario where cultures are respected as unique even while a greater sense of nationhood is being built. With these thought this thesis now turns to a newly emerging paradigm – the *Multicultural Paradigm of Leadership*.

6.6   The Multicultural Paradigm of Leadership

Christopher Earley and Soon Ang in their seminal work *Cultural Intelligence*, provide insight into multicultural team situations. While most of their work is based in the corporate world where in any given team there is usually a dominant host culture into which an international CEO or executive has to fit, their work still gives us a key insight into the positive and negative factors associated with such *heterogeneous teams*. They indicate that heterogeneous teams experience more conflict, which makes it difficult to provide for a satisfying experience in the group and these kinds of teams are therefore often hard to hold together over time. Conversely, homogenous teams can gain a higher degree of affinity and thus experience a greater degree of satisfaction and lower turnover rates and in addition, on the positive side Earley and Ang (2003:240) state:

> Heterogeneity in top management teams has demonstrated some positive effects on performance. …For example based on the data from 199 banks, Bantel and Jackson (1989) concluded that both diversity in education and diversity of work function were positively related to measures of innovation when other factors such as organization size, team size, and location of operations were held constant.

In the above example diversity relates to education and skills rather than ethnicity. However, Earley and Ang draw on this to show the positive creative dynamic in teams that any kind of diversity brings. Supporting this and as already mentioned in chapter 2 of this thesis, a correlation between financial performance and excellence in diversity has been raised in multiple studies as stated (Hayles & Russell 1997:4-6).

South Africa's large cities are catching-up fast. Where the fault line was previously clearly along racial lines of black, white, coloured and Indian (in America fault lines have in the past not been delineated quite so strictly on the basis of a hypothetical colour bar, but rather along the lines of ethnic roots), it is increasingly becoming a segregation along economic

and social status lines. It remains to be seen whether young South Africans will rebuild society and form a true national identity, based neither on the racism of their grandparents' generation, nor the economic and racial prejudice of their parents', but on a new footing of acceptance, tolerance and integration.

It is difficult not to parallel the inter-tribal and black-white relations in Zimbabwe to that of South Africa. In many ways they are especially pertinent to Natal because of its strong Nguni component and distinctly British heritage. Zimbabwe does provide an example to South Africa's striving for a *true national identity*, and yet this can sometimes be overemphasised. When considering the overall histories and demographics of the two nation-states with the many parallels that do exist, they are still distinctly different. The past cooperation between the major Zimbabwean tribes and their respective political parties (which we see paralleled in South Africa by Inkatha's inclusion in the first government of National Unity), may have more to do with the Ndebele acquiescing in the spate of the Ndebele massacres of the early 80's than with pure unity between the dominant two parties. Indeed beyond this inter-tribal conflict, history was to prove that all was not well beneath the surface with black-white relations either. Jealousy over land ownership must have played a role in the forced removals from previous white farm lands, even if the dominating factor was political intrigue and power-play by Mugabe.

This new identity will have to find enough common ground for the building of what Hennie Groenewald, drawing on Casmir's paper to the Intercultural Association in 1991, calls a "Third Culture"; one that "…does not imply a mere eclectic merging of the two cultures of the involved parties but the mutual development of a unique meeting ground" (Groenewald 1996:22). This *Third Culture* is rightly understood in a South African or Zimbabwean context as the emerging macro-cultural national identity incorporating numerous cultures. It is that common footing which each cultural group in each Southern African nation-state can identify with while retaining the individual ethnic identities that make up the whole. Already in 1984 Willem de Klerk (referring to Prof. J.J. Degenaar) had conceived the idea of the "morally critical Afrikaner", which was a view that opposed the exclusively Afrikaner nationalist philosophy of that day. This morally critical Afrikaner's platform is:

> … Free of ethnicity, on which a new nation can be built with a common South African nationality, in which colour and race play no part. Isolation and insularity have been breached and complete participation in the lifestyle of the twentieth century is now part of the Afrikaner experience. …The (r)evolution from relative uniformity to a variegated pluriformity has broken the exclusive model of Afrikanership (De Klerk 1984:11).

Yet the problem with painting such a utopian picture – even though a much needed, prophetically critical alternative to the nationalist model in 1984 – is that it does not deal adequately with the fears that would undermine this picture in the first place. And these same fears – of the loss of individual cultural distinction – are seemingly alive and well in 21st century Afrikanerdom. The fears of absorption and the resulting loss of identity if all that pertains to the peculiar is just melded into the greater identity of Africa, seem all the more real for white South Africans as they come to terms with neo-Africanism. These selfsame fears, particularly those of identity, although expressed differently by the few remaining white Zimbabweans, are seemingly all the more real for people who if

agriculturally rather than urban based are now faced with being landless and the virtual extinction of a micro-culture, with no real place to call their own or even just home.

On a broader Western scale, there is a fear that the Western ideal of individualism will be absorbed or extinguished if the African ideal of the communal is followed. However, theorists have shown conclusively how we are all dependent on others for self-fulfilment – independence and community are thus not inversely related but stand in partnership (Shutte 1996:34). Despite this, or perhaps in ignorance of this duality, the call of *ubuntu* is not a universally accepted ideal in Western oriented Southern African circles. The paradox is that the heart wrenching cry of postmodernism is one from the place of isolation to a place of authentic community, which is exactly what Africa has to offer. The problem will be how best to create a new national identity where both individualism and community (freedom and *ubuntu*), decisive leading and consensus seeking (as seen in Mandela) are valued; one in which a macro-cultural identity does not diminish or undervalue the separate cultural identities it encompasses.   The challenge of the future will be the creation of a macro-cultural identity while still retaining the many micro-cultural identities. In this it is important to make sure that the national identity is driven by South Africans and Zimbabweans respectively and not by the Western powers in a globally marketed culture!

How to do this and how to philosophically address this issue of a common identity is a question that vexes most. For Thabo Mbeki the answer lies in an all-embracing and truly African identity that goes beyond race to taking ownership of another's identity:

> I am formed of migrants who found a new home on our native land. Whatever their actions they remain still part of me. In my blood courses the blood of the Malay slaves who came from the East. Their proud dignity forms my bearing, their culture is part of my essence … I am the grandchild who lays fresh flowers on the Boer graves at St Helena and the Bahamas, who sees in the mind's eye and suffers the suffering of a simple peasant folk: death, concentration camps, destroyed homesteads, a dream in ruins … I came of those who were transported from India and China whose being resided in the fact, solely, that they were able to provide physical labour, who taught me that we could both be at home and be foreign … that freedom was a necessary condition for that human existence. Being part of all these people and in the knowledge that none dare contest that assertion, I shall claim that I am an African (Mbeki 1998).

Mbeki sees in his mind's eye a reality beyond his own – one of ownership, existential thought, and a belief that the multiple cultures that make up South Africa's rich heritage have become his. Whether this is achieved by an existential perception of another's reality, by an immersion in another's culture, or by a genetic transplanting of another culture's code via the diverse intermingling and intermarrying of historic cultures, these cultures make up the philosophical Thabo Mbeki. Even if this argument is negatively understood – to be in the main, existential utopian thought, where culture is so diluted as to be deemed accessible to all – he does raise at least two valuable points. Firstly, someone else's culture can in an inexplicable way become a part of what makes up an individual liberated into the freedom of accepting and participating in another's culture. And secondly, it is possible to be both "at home and be foreign", or put differently, to be a part of a macro-cultural or national identity while retaining one's historic cultural roots.

This leads to the black majority in Southern Africa's opposing fear to that of the whites' one of absorption, namely that indigenous cultures will be lost for good to white individualistic aspirations and the overwhelming onslaught of a global economy. Black Southern Africans sense their cultures will be lost if these forces are not counterbalanced with a revised concept of tribal community, where the ideals of such things as the extended family and tribal identity are retained. It is true though that this fear is felt more acutely by the older generations. It is largely not even verbalized by the younger generations in Africa's frenzy to accept the ideals of a consumer economy and all that pertains to a Western style, technologically based society. It is interesting that if white Southern Africans fear the overshadowing reality of Africa, black Africans should equally fear (even if they do not) the all consuming nature of globalisation driven by the Northern Hemisphere. But *fear* should be employed not to spark a complete rejection of what has already come and will inevitably come in greater measure, but to counteract an unqualified acceptance of a global cultural norm that will obliterate all that is uniquely Southern African in cultural form if it remains unchecked. This is sure to happen if cultures are not proactively engaged in finding their roots and finding each other and thus conserving their micro-cultures even while formulating a Southern African macro-cultural identity.

It is a shame that before Mugabe's tragic recent political policies, Zimbabwe, being 14 years ahead in its independence and with a rich heritage of church and private schooling and more recently from 1980 onwards its successful government schooling of its black leadership, was well on its way to a vibrant integration in business and commerce. This together with a growing number of young professionals' in Zimbabwe's recent past mixing socially across the old colour bar gave much hope for a multicultural future in Southern Africa. Meanwhile South Africa with its rich musical heritage, including synergistic musical styles – expressing in song South Africa's rich diversity – has for some time been the transcultural artistic leader in the region. Art was and is a driving force in creating a new identity for Southern African society, no matter the race.

The creation of a new national identity is an important feature in reconciliation, for common ground is always the starting point for understanding. The need for a national identity does not diminish the need to reaffirm the individual's distinct ethnicity and cultural roots. Indeed Taylor (American context) and Villa-Vicencio (South African context) , both argue for a position "midway between the inauthentic and the homogenizing demand for recognition of equal worth, on the one hand, and the self-immurement with ethnocentric standards, on the other" (Taylor 1992:62; cf Villa-Vicencio 1994:120). This paradox, Kelly (1999:152-153) points out from an American perspective:

> The challenge is to provide both roots and wings – to bring young people into a sense of connectedness with the past that doesn't rob them of their vision for the future. …In some cases this requires the validation of a person's known roots – affirming the strength and dignity of the tribe and history from which they come even when this falls outside of the church's dominant norms. In others, it requires the provision of a new history – a foster tribe able to give identity to those so cut off from their past that no personal history remains. In both cases, and all between, it requires the recognition, in a world cut loose from its moorings, that roots and relationships matter; that the need for love is the one need that our culture most stimulates and least meets.

The balancing act of the concept of both-and, rather than one or the other is desperately needed if we are to recoup any semblance of what has already been lost in the rich cultural heritages of Zimbabwe and South Africa.   This is currently being worked on in South African corporate culture: "Organizational culture in South Africa thus reflects the coexistence of both Western and African leadership styles. A synergy of these ostensibly different leadership approaches is part of organizational development in the post-apartheid era. This is evident in black-owned insurance companies…" (Horwitz 2002: 217). Even though work has started locally on the synthesis of divergent styles of leadership, Southern Africa and more specifically South Africa, with a history of male domination across most ethnic groupings and the apartheid driven racially motivated disparities, may need to look elsewhere for clues to a synthesis.

Not only has there historically been male domination and racial disparities, but this is now counteracted by a fast track of Black advancement supported across multiple levels by a quota system still being fine-tuned. This policy has, in more recent years, led to attack due to non-implementation and has itself come under attack as to its implementation. On the one hand it is faced by a white vanguard seeking to retain their privileged positions in some companies, and on the other by an excessive application of the quota in recent government and civil service employment, often reaping inefficient results.

In such a complex ongoing scenario where the nation is in a state of flux it is important to ask questions as to how effectively diversity can be fostered, as Horwitz asks for the South African organisational level:

> An important question is the extent to which teams with multicultural and multifunctional diversity can be fostered in South African organizations. A shift away from a traditional to a flexible organization requires a move away from a command and control style towards cooperation and motivation.   …The diversity of South African organizations creates an insistent need to create common goals, shared values and foster reconciliation after the divisiveness of apartheid. Raising managerial competence in strategic management, resource utilization, negotiation and operations is vital for organizational effectiveness. Performance improvement, greater accountability and active measures to address racial and gender mixes in the occupation structure are necessary (Horwitz 2002:219).

Yet life in Southern Africa is not as simple as to reason that these newly established common goals and values, backed by reconciliatory measures and an appropriate flexible team based/power sharing/consensus seeking style of leadership will be accepted wholesale by all. The past paradigms come back to haunt even the most liberal white or capitalist black. Indeed not only are there elements of prejudice in each individual's life to be weeded out, but some who have not begun the process could be firmly placed within a paradigm others would like to believe has been buried with the past. This glibly assuming that bygones are truly bygones for one and all could be a miscalculation which could seriously erode the gains of the immediate past, that is if Zimbabwe stands as any lesson for the rest of Southern Africa. What may be critical, as suggested by the analysis of chapters 4 and 5, is an early exposure to other cultures and/or in the case of Tutu, Cassidy, and Moshoeshoe, a bi-cultural heritage that may assist a leadership team in negotiating the

waves of change between cultures. Possibly for some, as appears to be the case with Tutu, this can be translated into dealing with generational changes also.

In his inner city church work, Ray Bakke looks to Moses as a patriarchal model and mentions his bi-cultural heritage (according to Stephen's reckoning in Acts 7:22) and his foreign education as contributing factors in his transcultural leadership (Bakke 1997:48-51). This cross-cultural help may be critical, for most people tend to believe they have become more similar to those around them than they actually are in their hearts, a position put forward on a global scale by Ignatieff (1984:130): "The more evident our common needs as a species become, the more brutal becomes the human insistence on the claims of difference. The centripetal forces of need, labour and science which are pulling us together …are counter-balanced by centrifugal forces, the claims of tribe, race, class, section, region and nation, pulling us apart."

Indeed the twin opposing forces of globalisation and fragmentation unite and divide us. For South Africa this is further complicated and compounded not just by a history rich with tribal feuds, but by the great massacres inflicted by the *Mfekane* (arising out of a Tribal paradigm) in the early part of the 19th century and apartheid (arising out of a neo-Colonial paradigm) in the later half of the 20th century. And in the 21st century, by the third force of neo-Africanism, currently dressed in the language and desire for an African Renaissance. On top of these three forces (the first two of which have not gone away, but are now just dressed in a different guise) there are also the forces of globalization that tend to dominate the formal business and, to a significant extent, the government sectors.

There is a further complexity brought into play when looking at a relevant model of leadership for the Southern African context. The Postmodern paradigm (of team-building, consensus-seeking and power-sharing) is beginning to challenge the old Modern paradigm of centralised, top-down, autocratic leadership styles. This conflict was clearly evident in Tutu's work in the TRC and particularly noticeable in the pre 1994 white only, Western orientated management employed in South Africa, as markedly shown in the lives of Smuts and Cassidy. It seems reasonable to suggest, that with a high degree of synergy between the postmodern and tribal paradigms, the dominant style conducive to all should be one of consensus and relying on colleagues for their expertise. A willingness to be decisive when there is a desperate need to move ahead is equally vital though, as both Tutu and Mandela's lives would suggest.

Yet beyond these pointers as to style, how are we to survive this multi-paradigm situation, where centripetal and centrifugal forces in Southern African such as globalisation threaten to consume us and racially based paradigms of yesteryear still evident today threaten to tear us apart as people, tribes, ethnicities and nations? What is needed is not only a common understanding of our joint African identity, no matter the colour/creed of our forebears, but also an understanding of our global belonging. Conversely but equally if not more importantly, is a respect for our many tribal and ethnic heritages. "Becoming open to differences and creating an inclusive environment means that 'New Groups' will have to be allowed into places of decision making and influence" (Gardenswartz & Rowe 1993:396) must be understood as a given. Mbeki not only sees that "New Groups" should be allowed into places of decision making, but in the past he has actively honoured this by employing a consensus approach, giving a voice to all black political parties (Mathebe 2001:125, 127).

It is perhaps not so obvious that beyond the understanding of power diffusion leadership itself, not to mention friendship, trust and understanding one another's backgrounds and varying cultures, is often cultivated at the smaller, more intimate level. By smaller level this thesis suggests the cell, common interest, peer or project group, which comes together for mutual support or a given task. At the macro-level there are gains too, for with the new global village more people than ever before have a common reality. They are fed with the same information through the world-wide-web, harness similar images on their television screens, have access to the same products with the ability to communicate globally, and in the age of aeronautical travel, transcontinental even trans-global friends can even visit and experientially compare notes on how each other's cultures live.

Within the context of South Africa this coming together is emphasized by black, white, coloured and Indian all watching the same TV shows, wearing the same designer jeans and discussing the same music. Yet all is not well in South Africa, and indeed on planet Earth. The irony of this new global identity is a sense of alienation, unrootedness and a drifting in a world that teaches the non-value of the distinct, the absolute and the meta-narrative.

> Deconstruction is the uncentering of modern life that leaves us with multiple possibilities and the equal validity of all interpretations. MTV is an excellent example of deconstruction. The images in any given video are constantly changing and redefining reality. Taken together the images suggest that there is no objective reality – only preferences. …The Generation Xer's world is defined by MTV with its floating, ever changing images. There is no grand theme of life. We are left with fleeting images, and it is up to us to define reality as we choose (Long 1997:70).

Instead of simply coming adrift, a new rootedness can be found in that which is substantial – the family, the tribal understanding, and *The Story* as told from the perspective of a man who crossed the individualistic, the tribal and the societal barriers of his day. Truth needs to be replanted, not so much by a philosophy or religion, but as defined in a person and his reconciled community – Jesus Christ and the followers of *the Way* who have come to be known as Christians (for they bear Christ's imprint in being able to traverse the cultures) both historically and today – which offers a home, shade and protection; a tree firmly rooted, offing both truth and hope in an age of relativity and hopelessness. With these few thoughts and before turning to the conclusion in chapter 7, this thesis now takes a look at what a tabulated multicultural model of leadership might look like (see next page):

Table 6.6: *Tabulated Synthesis Showing an Initial Proposal of a Multicultural Model of Leadership for early 21ˢᵗ Century Christian Organisation in the Cities of Southern Africa.*

	Factors Gleaned from the Six Models of Leadership (Chapters 4 & 5).	Additional Inputs from Ch. 6– Paradigms of Leadership & socio-political forces.
Structures	Working in teams and/or networking coalitions – collegiate structures. Cell/small groups preferably used early on in the formation of an organization. Use of concepts of tribe for the mid level (congregation) group and concepts of kingdom/nation employed as the organization grows into a macro-structure and /or connects to a greater community. Upper leadership/ management team reflects cultural diversity which uses consensus / collegiate approach and structure(s) to balance to final authority figure.	Community found in new tribalism of affinity groups. Diversity in outlook, culture, roots & skills is a necessary component of the new tribe /team. Networking of authentic community rooted in place & circumstance. Promotion on basis of loyalty and achievement as seen in the Zulu emissaries. May also be possible to employ a modified concept of onion skin structures & alliances beyond Moshesh used on the macro-level
Styles (youth man)	(Often arrogant/militant/forceful but also entrepreneurial/pioneering or humble/consensus seeking.)	
Dominant	Open-handed professional collegiate style, using democratic and consensus seeking approaches. Humorous/flamboyant style.	Transparency/authenticity/negotiation/inclusivity, accountability & creative openness. Visionary, strategic style. *Ubuntu* –reliance on each other's gifts. Honouring other cultures.
Secondary	Commanding / executive decision-making style.	Synergy between Western/African leading styles. Decisive – using Western individualistic style.
Situational Leadership Styles S1-S4	The top leadership, particularly the CEO of a Christian organisation should be able to exercise a wide range of leadership styles from S1 (commanding) to S4 (comprehensive delegation) depending on the situation.	Power sharing in leadership approach implies a range of styles and approaches should be employed.
Situational Apprenticeship Styles AS1-AS4	Most leaders in the upper levels experience an apprenticeship in various spheres in which they progressively adapted their learning styles from AS1 (listening) through to AS4 (owning), but some may jump the AS2 (learning) stage.	
Values	1. Peace/*ubuntu* /societal harmony/conciliation. 2. Unity (perceived on a national/kingdom level)/Ecumenism. 3. Reconciliation (understood as costly). 4. Trust/loyalty 5. Love – in addition values of justice; faith; humility & magnanimity.	Unity that upholds heterogeneity (diversity) Reconciliation based in community.
Trans-cultural Ability	Influence of early transcultural role-models. Generational leadership or chiefly/royal heritage can play a role, but leadership just as equally need not be based on this. Bi-cultural heritage or early exposure to other culture(s) is significant factor in upper leadership. Openness to other helpful philosophies: *Satyagraha* and *Ubuntu* (African traditional wisdom).	Safeguard the cultures within the Christian org. while building a multicultural identity. Transcultural nature of group affirmed through music, social mixing in church on basis of new church family (cell) and tribe (congregation) & building a common future. Establish common goals & values that foster reconciliation. Share "The Story" (the metanarrative).
Political / Christian Conviction	Christian beliefs, with the upper leadership showing an ability to conceptualise a belief-framework or governing theology.	Truth found in the person of Jesus and the reconciled community, offering truth and hope in an age of relativity and hopelessness.