DIAKONIA AS A CASE STUDY IN
CHRISTIAN NON-VIOLENT SOCIAL ACTION
FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA 1976 – 1982

by

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DECLARATION

I, Fiona Catherine Higginson declare that

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Abstract

Diakonia is a Christian, church-based, development agency operating in the greater Durban area. It was conceived and established by the Roman Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley.

A qualitative, conceptual, and historical case study of Diakonia and its founder is undertaken. The case study seeks to reveal the nature and role of Christian non-violent social action for peace and social justice in South Africa between 1976 and 1982 – the first six years of Diakonia's existence. Some of the questions that Diakonia raises about the role of religion in social change are explored, namely:

- What is religion as belief and ideology?
- What, if any, is the role of religion in social change?
- Does the existence of an organisation such as Diakonia demonstrate that religion can directly and positively impact on non-violent human agency for social justice?

An understanding of Diakonia cannot be divorced from its situation. The agency is therefore located within the historical configuration of the South African nation-state. In addition, it is analysed in relation the institutional Church; to opposition politics, both secular and religious; to civil society in relation to the state and social change and; to the place of non-government organisations in civil society. Non-violence debates on peace and social justice form an important part of this analysis.

The study affirms that religion can make a significant contribution to social justice. Whatever advances social participation, non-violence, equality, liberty and, a better life experience for more of the population is an improvement on the existing state of affairs in a society. Religion therefore has a legitimate role to play in social change.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Biographical background information of the author

The year 1976, when Diakonia was established in Durban as an ecumenical Christian non-governmental organisation (NGO) working for social justice, was the year that I enrolled as a school-leaver at the University of Natal in Durban to undertake a Bachelor of Social Science degree in Social Work. The leftwing National Union of South African Students (Nusas) was in control of the Student Representative Council on campus and it was not long before I was swept up into the hurly-burly of student politics and was awakened to Karl Marx's theory of historical materialism, a thirst for social justice, and concern at the brutal, cruel nature of the apartheid State in action.

I had been brought up in a leafy, safe Durban suburb in a liberal Catholic, immigrant family from working class Ireland and Scotland. I had been protected from most of the harsh realities of life and I was armed with the first flush of a conservative, Charismatic revivalist Christian faith, to which I had recently been converted.

It was not long before the props of my worldview began to collapse and I started to scramble to make sense of God and myself in apartheid South Africa. Regrettably, I did not persevere and I did not discover the rich, socially-relevant religion of the likes of Roman Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley and the remarkable local community organisation called Diakonia, which he initiated in Durban at the time.

My life since then has taken many unexpected twists and turns which brought me back to Durban and to the University of Natal (now called the University of KwaZulu-Natal, or UKZN) as an administrator in 1995. While I was older and a little wiser than in my student days, the pressing questions of the late 1970s had not been answered. As a result, I was attracted to the coursework Masters degree being offered in Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies at UKZN. After undertaking the first module, Theories and Issues in Peace Studies, I started a dissertation and re-discovered the call of old, unresolved issues concerning religious faith and society. Consequently, the dissertation was enlarged to full research degree status. I embarked on a journey to discover the nature and meaning of Christian social action in South Africa during the 1970s and 1980s, prior to

the election of a democratic, multi-racial government in 1994.

Diakonia as a case study

But why a case study of Diakonia? Diakonia was chosen as a case study in Christian social action mainly because I knew it to be a dynamic and innovative local Christian development NGO committed to social justice, which was accessible, within the limits set by my location and work. I soon discovered that it was a fortuitous choice for two reasons: its mission and operation challenged a simplistic, dualistic separation of religion and politics in the social change debate; and, because it was geographically focused on the Greater Durban area, it had not attracted the attention of the academic community.

I intend to interpret Diakonia - a Greek biblical word which means service or social action - as an agency for Christian non-violent action for social justice and peace, within its community and historical context. I will not attempt a detailed description of the entire history of Diakonia. Instead, an archival search of Diakonia from its inception until the end of 1982 has been undertaken. This represents a distinct first phase in its 33-year history, when it was still a small, pioneering organisation. While Diakonia grew in size and stature, it has retained the core purpose and identity with which it was formed. Thus, the first six-year period provides an accurate overview of the nature of the organisation.

The archives at Diakonia Centre occupy a large attic room in an office and conference complex, which was originally the St Joseph's Convent Primary School. The two-storey, red-brick building is situated in Durban's central business district, on what used to be called St Andrews Street. In 2006 the Municipality renamed the street Diakonia Avenue, in recognition of 30 years service to the City of Durban by Diakonia. The formal, organisation management material is well archived. In addition to the minutes of meetings, however, there is a large amount of published material that was not organised in any clear manner. Furthermore, while there were bound volumes of newspaper clippings relating to the organisation's work, I was not able to find the volumes covering the early period.

I read through the collected minutes of the Steering Committee that formed Diakonia, the Diakonia Council minutes, the Executive Committee minutes, the Patrons meeting minutes, the Programme Committee minutes, the Community Project Committee minutes, and the *Diakonia News* publications of the period. Any content in the meetings that relates to the aims and purposes

have been recorded, in the form of appendices, as accurately as possible. I also found the minutes of a conference on non-violence held in 1982, which Diakonia co-sponsored with the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission in Natal, and an annual general meeting report for 1980. Paddy Kearney (the Director of Diakonia) also provided some papers written by Archbishop Denis Hurley in support of the work of Diakonia, which I have referred to. However, I discovered that the same components of his political theology are also published formally in a selection of papers printed in 1997, which are listed in the bibliography.

The minutes were, in the main, recorded in a cryptic manner with no supporting documents. The information is therefore sparse and patchy and many of the meetings did not provide any material relevant to this study. Nevertheless, I believe, taken as a whole, these minutes, read with writings by Archbishop Denis Hurley and an interview with Paddy Kearney, the Director of the organisation during this period, provides a clear and accurate view of the organisation from which I will draw a summary.

You will find an emphasis, in the literature search, on the social justice writings of Denis Hurley. I believe this is justified because of the manner in which Diakonia was conceived as an outworking of his contextual theologising on the evils of apartheid and the proper role of the Church in promoting social justice.

Religion and social change

As a Christian, I hoped to discover that the church was able to play a significant and dynamic role in the birth of multi-racial democracy in South Africa. This is a relevant topic of exploration because Christianity was part of the very fabric of South African culture. According to Hope and Young (1981:6), religion permeated every aspect of South African life, and Christianity was widespread. In 1970, only 18% of Africans said they did not belong to a Christian church. By 1980 in South Africa, according to the government census, 77% of the population associated itself with Christianity. According to PGJ Meiring (1983:292), census data showed that 90% of whites, 87% of coloureds and 76% of Africans regarded themselves as Christians, although further studies revealed that the majority of these were nominal Christians.

However, every new indication of a positive role for religion in social change was soon shattered by countervailing evidence. The role of Christianity in South Africa's history appears to be a mixed bag of reactionary and progressive tendencies. These propensities, in turn, arise out of a

wide spectrum of opinions, both across denominations and even from within denominations. This occurs to such an extent that it appeared hopeless that any causal direction worthy of attention could be uncovered in the messiness of South African church history. But the existence of some special cases, such as Diakonia, kept me going.

As I read further, more and more questions arose as issues that would need to be defined and clarified before any meaningful discussion of Christian social action was possible. For while we can generally agree on the need in society for abstract notions of social justice and democracy, as professed by Diakonia, it is quite another matter to translate them into socio-economic programmes and structures. In other words, it was not possible to isolate Christian social action from the broader social and political dynamics.

It was my hope to find a theoretical perspective on social action and social change with particular reference to the nature and significance of religion. This would need to be in relation to what was politically and economically feasible in South Africa during the 1970s and 1980s. The terrain of social change, however, proved to be extremely complex and contested. Hence, the nature of Diakonia as a development NGO in civil society, and as part of the opposition movement in South Africa, led to an exploration of opposition politics, and the role of civil society in regard to the state and social change. This in turn is located within the history of South Africa and of the institutional Church, and an overview of the most important political groupings and their strategies, to provide contextualisation.

The debates on non-violence and social justice both globally and in the South African institutional Church are explored. Diakonia is then analysed in relation to these debates. The emphasis on non-violence and social justice was occasioned, in the first instance, by the location of the dissertation within the field of Peace Studies. This, in turn, led to the selection of Diakonia, because of its commitment to non-violence. The focus on non-violence was also occasioned by the richness of the debate concerning the use of violence, as opposed to non-violence, in South Africa during the period of the enquiry.

This study explores some topical questions related to the role of religion in social change, namely:
- What is religion as belief and ideology?
- Is religion simply a private belief system, or worse, a false ideology that serves to obscure the true nature of social relations?

- Does the existence of an organisation such as Diakonia demonstrate that religion can directly and positively impact on non-violent human agency for social justice?
- What, if any, is the role of values and social ethics in social change?
- How can we define human agency, social change, social justice, and non-violence?

It has become clear that by grappling with questions of religion and social change, the focus turned away from Diakonia, as a case study, towards an exposition of the themes and issues of social change. I wanted to reach beyond description, hoping to find some patterns of social action that could be understood theoretically. However, this quest for theoretical understanding did not uncover clear causal relationships. Instead, the complex and elusive nature of the dynamics of social change became evident. That exploration carries its own value, however.

Social theoretical considerations

Critical social science came closest to providing a theoretical framework for understanding the role of religion in social change. Brian Fay (1987:10) calls this way of thinking the self-estrangement theory of human existence. In his opinion, critical social science is an instance of the self-estrangement theory in general and of its humanist variant in particular.

Critical social science offers an account of human suffering and conflict which promises to both reveal their nature and to show how they can be overcome. In this view humans do not see their true situation, and consequently, they engage in social arrangements which are frustrating and unsatisfying. But, critical theory holds out a hope that if humans can gain insight into society and their true needs and capacities, they can free themselves, can re-connect to the sources of energy and health available to them, and can create satisfying alternatives.

But, in Fay's opinion, this is not a viable project:

> Humans are not only active beings; they are also embodied, traditional, historical, and embedded. These other dimensions of their nature limit activity, mitigating the effectiveness of the capacities which comprise it. Intelligence, curiosity, reflection, and will are only partly responsible for making humans what they are, and so it is only in certain circumstances and in partial ways that they can be effective (1987:209).

Ultimately, this study elicits the question of the manner in which human societies generate worldviews, which in turn affects ways of understanding and acting in the world: the exploration

of ideology and agency in social change.

The relative and subjective nature of human understanding in every field of endeavour became painfully obvious to me. Every aspect of social life when looked at sociologically is so contested and multi-layered that I began to doubt that I could gain enough knowledge and courage to deal with social change from a sociological perspective. However, in the end, the real world is messy, contradictory and full of unexpected twists, turns and consequences that can never be conclusively pinned down by sociology, philosophy or theology.

Social change in South Africa
As the investigation proceeded the recognition of the complexity of society helped me to understand my own confusion and the importance of a persistent, balanced and modest approach to political change with an emphasis on both open communication and inclusivity. In other words, that no one owns reality but that every piece of the puzzle, which includes Diakonia, has its role to play in the big and complex picture of social change.

And this does not only apply to the past. Within contemporary, democratic South Africa, with its black-majority, African National Congress government now 15 years in power, the words of Nithaya Chetty, a progressive UKZN academic with a deep concern for democracy, (2007a) published the *The Witness*, resonated with my experience:

> South Africa is in need of a stronger moral and ethical basis for government... actions and utterances at the highest levels of the government have belied its commitment to basic principles of democracy.

 He continued:

> Our struggle for freedom over the many decades was based on a highly principled approach against the morally bankrupt system of white minority rule. Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela are only two of the great many visionary leaders who helped develop the philosophies of those times as exemplified, for example, by the declarations of the Freedom Charter.

Less than a month later, another article by Nithaya Chetty (2007b) caught my attention. In this article he remembered two great intellectual leaders who were men of peace, Chief Albert Luthuli and Mahatma Gandhi, who were both associated with KwaZulu-Natal. "Both Gandhi and Luthuli

were religious men, but it is clear that their essential message was universal and timeless, and well beyond the confines of their respective faiths."

These men have had a significant influence for good in South African history as will become clear in the course of the forthcoming chapters. This was cause to remember that Alan Paton and Denis Hurley, who also feature during this period as intellectual leaders and men of peace, lived in Natal.

The history of the dark days of Apartheid reveals the power for good that individual persons of noble character and insight can exert on society. Although I am not claiming that social change is purely a matter of individual leaders taking control of society, the opposite is also not true: that individuals have no power to influence their social circumstances. I will argue that the truth lies somewhere between these two extreme positions.

The case study on Diakonia illustrates that Christianity can be a positive motivating factor for non-violence and social justice in society. However, while there appears to be a relationship between religious belief and human agency, I was not able clearly to distinguish its influence from other factors such as race, class, national identity, and other cultural, personal, family and historical factors.

The study reveals that there is not an automatic and mechanistic relationship between modes of production, class interests, and ideology, such that there is a contingent dominant ideology that holds sway. Nor can we settle for a functionalist theory which explains ideology as an automatic human response to the needs of a social system so that a common culture or set of values is bound to exist (Thompson, 1986:35). According to Thompson (1986:31), by viewing ideologies as 'sites of contestation', even Marx and Engels recognise that the view of religion as 'social cement' is not the whole story and that religious ideas can question the *status quo*, or provide a moral standard against which to measure society.

The case of Diakonia and Archbishop Denis Hurley supports Kathryn Tanner's argument (1992:4), from the perspective of a theologian, that Christian beliefs about God and the world can be used to question social and political practices albeit in a complex and indirect manner. And that religious beliefs both help make sense of, and motivate, every day attitudes and actions. Hence, the function of beliefs, ideology and social ethics in relation to social change will be explored in some depth.

I have set out on a personal journey of discovery of the socio-political terrain of the South Africa of my youth. I lack a focused academic background in sociology, politics and theology. But my treatment of social change has the advantage of a unique focus: my attempt to make sense of the history of an innovative and important intervention in the form of Diakonia.

The merits of a case study on Diakonia

A major hurdle, that arose as soon as I embarked on this venture, was a concern that there was no real merit, in terms of change theory, in looking at a Christian organisation. Yet, one of the most significant Christian activists of the time, Dr Beyers Naudé (1991:220), believed that the institutional Church, in general, did play a meaningful and decisive role in South Africa's political landscape. This was on account of its role in the creation, development, support for and opposition to apartheid. And that it had a meaningful role to play in South Africa's political change process.

Writing in the 1990s when the establishment of a democratic government was in clear sight, Naudé had been at the forefront of the struggle against Apartheid in South Africa since his political conscientisation as a senior Dutch Reformed Church participant at the Cottesloe ecumenical consultation on the Church and Apartheid in 1960. His vision gave rise to the Christian Institute of Southern Africa (CI), an ecumenical organisation for promoting dialogue and for witnessing to justice and reconciliation in South Africa.

Naudé (1991:230) also challenged the Christian Church to meet the requirements of love, justice, forgiveness, tolerance, peace and human development in South Africa. He pointed to the differences in interpretation as to the function of the Church: on the one hand, the role of prayer, worship and personal salvation, and on the other the theology of liberation and of concretely attending to the material needs of the poor and the dispossessed. Naudé believed that all of these aspects of the life and witness of the Christian Church are equally valid.

We will explore how Diakonia took up the challenge posed by Naudé, and how it had a particular sphere of operation that is socially inclusive and that emphasises social ethics.

Values, politics and social change

But there is also a need to look beyond abstract ethics to what it means to foster social justice and non-violence within normative and actual socio-political structures. Once we turn to the real world

we confront the question of how to define an ideal society. There is no one ideal that is true for everyone, nor is it true in different geographical, cultural and economic contexts. In addition, we must confront the issue of power and how power is not equally distributed throughout society.

'Power' for Michael Foucault (1926–1984), according to Hohmann (2000:142), is an attempt to impose order on a world in flux and is exerted in systems of knowledge and social institutions. Truth, therefore, is never absolute but always contingent, an expression of prevailing social and political norms, a product of power relations rather than a levelling influence. We shall see how this is particularly evident where there is political contestation for power and resources, as was the case in South Africa.

Writing in the period contemporary with my study of Diakonia, Peter Berger (1977:27) claimed that two broad models of development policy dominated the political thought of the time, and determined the scope of what was viewed as possible and desirable in terms of social change. These were capitalism and socialism, and a variety of mixed model approaches developed in third world nations.

The dominant social and political norms did indeed appear to determine what was viewed as possible in South Africa and they have deeply influenced my approach, which has grappled with the political thought of the period and the structural versus cultural motive forces in the social change debate.

It was difficult to grasp the true nature of state oppression in South Africa, owing, I believe, to the complexity of factors – national, racial and economic – at work, and the paucity of information that was made available by the State. This state of affairs is exacerbated by the complexity of human understanding, or socially constructed meanings. I certainly could not make sense of the big picture at the time and I have since gained the impression in my literature search that Christian intellectuals, in the main, struggled to clarify and operationalise their social ethics and politics. This is an important issue for social transformation because our view of the problem will determine our strategies for change. It is also important, in the context of a sociological dissertation, to uncover the motive forces of social behaviour.

Anthony Marx (1992:5) maintained that since the colonial occupation of South Africa, the nature, relationship, and importance of the social, political, and economic aspects of domination exercised

by the white population against the black populations has been a source of controversial debate. Ruth First, an ANC activist appears to have grasped something of the political nature of the situation at the time, and it is worth quoting her words. She described South Africa as

> ... a capitalist social formation, but one without the features of a bourgeois-democratic state, precisely because forms of labour coercion, buttressed by race and national oppression, are essential to the process of accumulation and the politics of race rule (1976:97. Cited in Marx, 1992:5).

In the opinion of Marx (1992:5), analysts and activists tend to focus on race, nation, or class. This focus then determines strategy and the core constituency, with its insiders and outsiders. On the other hand, the inherently subjective nature of social categories undermined the South African state's attempts at imposing divisions. South African opposition movements redefined state-enforced categories of static racial, national and class identity. Categories and social relations operate only to the extent that people act in accord with them (Marx 1992:9).

It was Frueh's contention that whether something qualifies as real, and therefore important, depends not on whether it exists, but on whether humans treat it as significant. Because assessments of importance are culturally specific, the study of politics should try to answer contextualising questions about what is influential in a society rather than universalising questions of existence. Each society has a notion of reality made up of those aspects of the material world that are designated to be valuable (2003: 9). This appears to be particularly apt in relation to Diakonia, which, despite Marx's contentions above, seemed to have a wonderful ability to cross boundaries of race, nation, class and ideology in its quest for social justice.

In fact, progressive, faith-based civil society organisations would be hard-pressed to justify taking on exclusive, adversarial, us-and-them approaches more reminiscent of political movements, but would rather need to be inclusive. This is partly because of the all-encompassing message of the Gospel but also because Christianity in South Africa spanned races, nations and classes. How, then, did the Church make sense of its place within this complex and contested political terrain?

The structure of the dissertation
I have tackled a complex and multi-levelled investigation of Christian social action in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s. This has had an impact on the structure of the dissertation, which falls into three sections.

Section one: introduction, general methodological and conceptual introduction

- Chapter one provides the introduction (above).
- Chapter two deals with the research approach.
- Chapter three discusses the important concepts that will inform an interpretation of Diakonia and its social environment.

Section two: historical, political and theological background

- Chapter four is an historical overview of the formation of the Union (1910) and the Republic of South Africa of both 1961 and 1994, the location of the institutional Church and the State and the major social and political groupings.
- Chapter five explores aspects of secular and Christian opposition politics in South Africa into the 1980s, selected in relation to my task here.
- Chapter six surveys Christian political theology in more detail and will include a brief biography of Archbishop Denis Hurley and his thinking about the role of the Christian in social change.

Section three: case study of Diakonia and conclusion

- Chapter seven provides a description of Diakonia in relation to social justice.
- Chapter eight and explores the nature of its commitment to non-violent social change and peace.
- Chapter nine concludes the study by addressing what the case study of Diakonia reveals about the role of religion in social change.

Chapter 2
Research approach

Establishing the viability of the research approach

From the outset I settled on a case study of Diakonia as an interesting phenomenon of Christian social action within an oppressive and unequal socio-political milieu, and to use this as a vehicle to explore religion and social change. But what did this mean in terms of methodological approach?

A self-imposed complexity of this research arose from the fact that what really fascinated me about Diakonia was the role of religion in social change, which in turn begs the question of the function of ideology and agency. It was not enough simply to show that Diakonia played a part in promoting social justice and non-violence in South Africa. I also wanted to see how it exposed a role for religion in social change. And, therefore, the theoretical content was greatly increased. I was advancing into the realm of political philosophy. How was this material to be drawn together to establish the links between the case study and the larger historical and theoretical issues, and was this a viable and legitimate investigation?

To make matters worse, according to Luckman (1991:170), 'social realities' present a fundamental difficulty to the social sciences because of their nature as the direct results of meaning-impregnated human actions. Having become established as historical realities, they constitute the condition for further human actions. In other words, social structures are constructed, maintained, and changed in intersubjectively meaningful sequences of behaviour:

> …how are interactionally preconstructed historical realities to be reconstructed as data with such parsimony as to allow comparison (and more complex generalising treatments) and yet with sufficient richness as to keep it's intrinsically human historical quality plus provide adequate explanations?

To compound the problem further, as far back as 1946, TD Weldon noted that while political philosophers tend to put forward their definitions as self-evident truths about the real world, they actually belong to the realm of theory, which either falls in the rationalist or the empiricist school of thought. While empiricism builds definitions on the basis of observation tested by experiments, rationalism does not have a means of experimental testing. And, he maintained, the majority of political philosophers from Plato onwards have taken a predominantly rationalist approach (1946:17). More recently, Lipson (1970:3), pointed out that "The study of politics can never arrive

at more than generalisations, to which there are always exceptions." Clearly, this was complex and contested territory and I was setting forth armed with little more than curiosity.

Methodological approach

Nevertheless, the first obstacle to clear had to be the question of methodological approach. The major classification of research is that of the quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods approaches (Creswell, 2003:3). This dissertation is positioned firmly in the qualitative arena, utilising a mix of evidence from a range of sources. The important elements, which combine to form the different approaches to research, comprise the philosophical assumptions about what constitutes knowledge; the general procedures of research, or strategies of enquiry; and the procedures of data collection, analysis and writing-up.

Four broad types of knowledge claims are identified by Creswell (2003:16). The second of these, which he calls socially constructed knowledge claims, most closely resembles my approach. Research that adheres to socially constructed knowledge addresses the process of social interaction and the context of understandings in the historical and cultural setting in order to discover meanings that are negotiated socially and historically. One's own background and the positioning of self are important. Research is looking to grasp the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas. The aim is to generate or inductively develop a theory or pattern of meaning from the data generated.

Creswell's (2003:21) three considerations, namely the personal experience of the researcher; the research problem; and the audience for whom the report will be written, was helpful towards justifying a qualitative approach:

- I have a strong personal bias toward qualitative, analytical and philosophical questions of social meanings;
- The research problem – Diakonia as a case study in Christian social action and social change – lends itself to a qualitative, theoretical and historical macro- and meso-level tactic that uses a case study in reporting and archival material as a source of information, along with an extensive literature review;
- The question of audience, in the first instance in the form of a supervisor (a sociology professor) and academic examiners, has an impact on the need to be able to justify my methodology. A further audience may be much more diverse, but for later consideration.

But while I wanted to be methodologically precise, the research text books I initially found in the University library were of little help because their focus was either quantitative, or they adopted the qualitative approaches of participant observation and ethno-methodology, neither of which provided helpful guidelines. Even the treatment of case studies was too formal and restrictive for my purposes. I was happiest browsing political philosophical texts, but these too were not offering easy solutions. As I grew increasingly nervous about the legitimacy of the project, Harry Wolcott's (2001) open-ended and utilitarian approach to research method was distinctly reassuring.

Qualitative research, for Wolcott (2001:88), involves engaging with data by means of experience or participant observation, enquiry or interviewing, and examination of material or archival research. "I visualised these three major research activities like roots penetrating deep into everyday events. Firmly anchored in the reality of ordinary life, these roots form into and support a sturdy trunk that rises out of them and, in turn, supports several major branches." One of these branches is archival strategies which in turn includes the smaller branches of history, philosophy, and content analysis.

At last I felt that it was acceptable to find my own way - as opposed to feeling strait-jacketed by academic research methodology - towards answering the questions that drove me onwards. But what was my research approach?

Case study approach

In contrast to Wolcott (above, 2001), Yin (1990:36-37) viewed the case study as a distinct methodology. He describeed three types of case study: an explanatory, an exploratory, and a descriptive case study. The requirement for an exploratory study is that it covers the statements: what is to be explored; the purpose of the exploration; and the criteria by which the exploration will be judged successful. He said of the descriptive case study that it must address, first, the purpose of the descriptive effort; second, the full but realistic range of topics that might be considered; and, third, the likely topics that will form the essence of the description. These two types of case study did not provide me with a model that I could use. The issues that I am looking at are multiple and multi-layered and do not lend themselves to such straightforward, and seemingly obvious, projects.

For Yin (1990:36-37), in an explanatory case study, the research design embodies a theory, or a sufficient blueprint, of what is being studied, and thus the development of theoretical propositions

prior to the collection of data, is essential.

I believe that this case study is explanatory in so far as I will argue that the phenomenon of Diakonia appears to confirm the complex interplay of culture (or ideology) and social structure in the determination of human agency and social change. It also confirms the importance of the political realm and of civil society and reveals the complexity of the debates on the role of religion in social change and in the promotion of social justice. However, I did not start out with a theory; only a hunch and a hope that religion had something significant to offer towards the creation of a socially just and peaceful society. I hoped that the case study of Diakonia would demonstrate that religion could have a direct and positive impact on social change, and in this respect my dissertation does contain an explanatory case study, albeit employing more inductive, grounded research than the traditional scientific, deductive approach emphasised by Yin.

The nature of this case study is influenced by it being about a period of the history of Diakonia as opposed to a functioning organisation in the present. The complexity of the mission and operation of Diakonia, which is a multi-focussed and dynamic, responsive politico-religious entity, makes it extremely cumbersome to attempt a detailed description of its functioning throughout its 30-year history. But, more importantly, the purpose of the research - to address the question of the ways Diakonia reflects the dynamics of social agency and the role of culture and ideology in social change during the 1970s and 1980s – has a direct impact. The purpose does not necessitate a detailed descriptive analysis of its operations. I have therefore selectively focussed on the aspects of Diakonia that directly relate to my research question. Information about Diakonia has been drawn mainly from its archived minutes of committees and the 1980 AGM report. In my analysis of the minutes I have conducted a number of key word searches to identify the nature of its programmes and priorities.

Archival research, according to Francis Dane (1990:170), uses content analysis to make objective and systematic inferences about theoretically relevant messages as its research method. The researcher is seeking the extent to which the content conforms to, or challenges, some external standard in order better to understand the social and political motives involved.

Dane (1990:177) made a distinction between manifest and latent content in an archive. He also pointed out that someone else was responsible for collecting the data and the data therefore has already been selected according to criteria that may not be shared by the subsequent researcher(s).

My archival research of Diakonia did not conform to the stringent scientific controls outlined by Dane. The archival search was not undertaken armed with a research hypothesis and variables. However, I did have a clear idea about the nature of the material I was looking for. I looked for any material dealing with its social action programmes as opposed to internal administrative matters. I recorded any discussion of the aims and objectives of the organisation from every set of minutes of the pre-establishment Steering Committee, the Council, the Executive Committee, the Patrons Committee and the Communications Programme Committee plus a Community Project Committee between its inception in 1976 and the end of 1982. I also looked through all the copies of *Diakonia News* for the period in question. These were the only likely sources of archival information that I was able to find during a two-week period spent in the archives. I have no doubt that I could have found additional material if I had spent more time searching for it. But this material is sufficient for the task at hand, and it provides an accurate account of the nature of the organisation.

We will now return to the discussion of the case study approach. I have noted above a marked difference of opinion between Wolcott and Yin concerning the nature of a case study. Burns (2000:460) appears to bridge this divide by describing the purpose of the case study as the means to gain an in-depth understanding that focuses on process rather than outcome and discovery rather than confirmation. In other words, it allows the investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful character of real life events in their idiosyncratic complexity in terms of how, who, why and what questions. The four main components of the case study research design are as follows:

1. Develop the initial case study questions: who, what, where, when and how.
2. Spell out the study propositions to direct attention at something that should be examined within the scope of the study.
3. Define the units of analysis that constitute the case study.
4. Link the data to the propositions and the criteria that has been developed to interpret the findings.

While the who - Diakonia; the what - an ecumenical Christian Church agency working non-violently for change towards peace and social justice; the where - in the greater Durban region, is straightforward, descriptive and historical; the how gets to the main purpose of this study. The how proves to be extremely complex and to require substantial theoretical and historical intervention. It leads us into the second and third steps of spelling out the study propositions and

units of analysis, or concepts, which need to be identified and explored before the how question can be answered.

I will describe the elements of the thesis and concepts of my research question - items 2 and 3 above - in detail in chapter three. But, in addition, a broad historical and theoretical context for Diakonia will be provided, which appears to be an additional aspect to my study to those mentioned by Burns.

In Chapter four, the historical development and character of the major branches of the institutional church will be traced, along with some of the significant ways it relates to the nation and the State. In chapter five the nature of opposition politics in South Africa, both secular and Christian, will be outlined. In chapter six the focus returns to the Christian Church to look in more detail at the current political theology. This leads on to the case study of Diakonia.

The fourth step of the case study described by Burns, that of linking the data - derived both from the historical information and the case study of Diakonia - to the propositions and the concepts that have been developed throughout the dissertation, will be drawn together in the final Chapter.

Theory-generating research

However, it was only upon reading Derek Layder that the final piece of the research approach puzzle fell into place. In an attempt to promote theory-generating fieldwork with a primary emphasis on qualitative data, he provides what he called a 'research resource map' (1993:72).

The four research rudiments of the map (Layder, 1993:72), which are a clustering of analytical and empirical characteristics representing levels, or sectors, of social life and social organisation are:
- Self: self-identity and individual's social experience;
- Situated activity: social activity;
- Social setting: intermediate social organisation;
- Context: macro social organisation.

Layder (1993:89) stressed the importance of social setting and macro social and historical context to research problems, particularly in resolving general theoretical questions and understanding the links between 'macro and micro' events. He identified the main 'macro elements' that have been used in sociological analysis as class, gender, and ethnicity and culture (1993:99), which he

described as aspects of the wider field in which situated activity takes place and which, to some extent, influences that activity (Layder, 1993:100).

For the research map, history represents the temporal dimension through which all of the sectors move. While all the levels are combined and interwoven in relation to particular empirical examples of social activity, they all possess distinctive characteristics and influences (Layder, 1993:101).

The resource map promotes a combination of both micro- and macro-level approaches to research which facilitates the combination of interpretive analysis of activity with theory generation (Layder, 1993:102). Layder wrote that

> ...social analysis begins and ends with the examination of the interpretive capacities of the interactants and their deployment of the physical and social resources at their disposal. ... [A]cknowledging this should not blind us to the part played by the wider social context of positions and locations in which the individual is embedded. Clearly these more encompassing social relations of domination and subordination play a significant role in constraining, as well as enabling, certain forms of behaviour and activity (1993:104).

Finally, I felt that I was on a charted path that would be acceptable to academic social science. First of all, I was revealing myself and my personal experiences and motivations for this study. By looking at Denis Hurley, the second level, of an individual intellectual and his situated, social activity, was included. The case study on Diakonia, as a social organisation, is at the third level. And the historical and theoretical context, which brings social structures and culture into play, is at the fourth level. Thereby, both the micro- and macro-sectors are included in an attempt to chart how the understandings and actions of human agents are both influenced by, and influence, their historical, structural and cultural social context.

This brings us to the difficulties raised by attempting an interpretive analysis of social agency and change.

An interpretive analysis of social agency and change
While searching through theoretical writings on the nature of social change, and in particular, social action and the role of religion and ideology, the wide range in both approach and

understanding in social theory was striking.

Within this environment, Brian Fay (1999:1-3) called for "… a new philosophy of social science": an attempt to understand others that turns away from a preoccupation with scientific method and status; but without falling into 'perspectivism', whereby we can only encounter the world from our subjective point of view; and 'relativism', whereby we cannot judge any point of view as better than another; but not at the expense of 'multi-culturalism' - the celebration of cultural and social differences.

A major impediment to traditional social science is the predominance of what Fay (1999:223) described as a dualistic way of thinking. Dualism sets up a confrontation between two entities and forces one to choose. An alternative would be to hold the opposites in tension or to question the presuppositions instead of answering the question on its own terms. We will see below in the discussion of the role of structures and culture in society a prime example of dualistic as opposed to dialectic thinking.

For Fay (1999:76), the characteristic scientific activity of observation, identification, classification, and explanation take place within a conceptual scheme, which provides the framework within which scientific thinking occurs.

'Interpretivism' involves understanding intentional phenomena by interpreting their meaning in the terms of those engaged in them (Fay, 1999:133). In addition, all cases of meaning - what it means for them and what it means for us - are both operative (Fay, 1999:153). We can be objective, not in terms of interpreting them 'as they are in themselves' but 'in an open-minded, responsive to evidence, accountable, criticism-seeking manner' (Fay, 1999:221). And this is what I have set out to achieve.

For Fay (1999:231), much can be learned by focusing on the 'liminal', on borderlands, on the clashes of groups and ideologies. The spread of ideas, techniques and forms of organisation always involves power between groups differentially placed. Cultural interaction includes threats, manipulation, and coercion as much as rational analysis and reflection. Cultural and social interaction involves complex patterns of appropriation and negotiation among groups with differential power.

The history of South Africa during the turbulent 1970s and 1980s was just such a liminal time, which allows us to identify some of the dynamics at work in social change. In particular, a significant battle in South Africa was for the hearts and minds of the people, waged both by the State and by the resistance politics.

Diakonia did not shy away from confrontation and conflict with the agencies of the South African Government. It deliberately attempted to expose the brutality and injustice of apartheid and to foster structural social change on the side of the marginalised so that all citizens could have equal rights and privileges and access to such rights as education, employment, housing and legal justice.

Ontology, epistemology and the social relevance of the study

It was however inevitable, in my journey of discovery into the role of religion in social change, that I would soon bump up against two major issues in political philosophy: ontology (a study of the nature of being or reality) and epistemology (a study of the nature and limits of knowledge). I was now completely out of my intellectual depth, attempting to grapple with fundamental and mind-boggling philosophical questions which, clearly, I could not answer in my lifetime, with my academic background, within a Masters dissertation.

On the other hand, these issues could not be avoided if I wanted to argue for a role for religion in social change, because this thesis rests on a number of other assumptions about the nature of society and the nature of how we apprehend, act in, and create society.

In addition, directly related to issues of ontology and epistemology is the problem of whether such a study can be justified as having sociological relevance. This in turn begs the question of what are the motive forces of social change; for if our belief system has no impact on social change we are wasting our time on a study of Christian social action.

It was therefore reassuring to read Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman's thesis on the construction of the social world:

> ... reality is socially constructed and … the sociology of knowledge must analyse the process in which this occurs. The key terms in these contentions are 'reality' and 'knowledge'… to define 'reality' as a quality appertaining to phenomena that we recognise as having a being independent of our own volition (we cannot 'wish them

away'), and to define 'knowledge' as the certainty that phenomena are real and that they possess specific characteristics (Berger and Luckman, 1976:13).

Hence, sociological interest in what counts as 'reality' and 'knowledge' in different societies is justified (Berger and Luckman, 1976:15).

But, an important qualifier raised by Berger and Luckman is that while everyone participates in creating their social world, they generally do so without theorising about it:

> To exaggerate the importance of theoretical thought in society and history is a natural failing of theorisers. … the sociology of knowledge must first of all concern itself with what people 'know' as 'reality' in their everyday, non- or pre-theoretical lives (Berger and Luckman, 1976:27).

This qualifier struck a chord with me because I had struggled with the lack of theoretical and analytical material available in the Diakonia archives and even from its senior office bearers. This posed the question of how I was to tackle a deliberately analytical analysis of an organisation that did not present itself at all in this manner. This discordance between the data and the approach raised a concern that perhaps the whole project was inappropriate – a concern that would only be resolved once I could tackle the analysis of Diakonia at the end of the investigation.

A cultural and a structural understanding of social change

But before proceeding further with this line of enquiry, we must ask what is meant by 'culture' and 'structure'? David Rubinstein described and debunks an important historical debate at the core of sociology over a cultural versus a structural understanding of human agency and social change. A cultural (or ideological) determination means that a system of beliefs – norms and values, attitudes, worldviews, and so on – are thought to explain conduct. Individuals are seen as mainly norm driven. Structures are usually understood as the external and objective features of social order that are thought to have controlling power over culture and human behaviour via the incentives or costs, and opportunities or benefits, they present to actors (Rubinstein 2001:2-6).

However, some would argue that to place theorists in one camp or the other, either structuralist or culturalist, does their thought a disservice. Other theorists, such as Fay (above), pointed to the poverty of dualistic thinking. And Anthony Marx argued that both Marx and Weber understood

that social relations evolve through a continuing interplay between material experiences and new ideas, which inform each other (1992:26).

Anthony Giddens, according to Rob Stones (2005:14), was one of the major contemporary theorists to deliberately try to bridge the divide between, what he called, 'objectivism' and 'subjectivism' with his 'structuration' theory. For Giddens, while objectivism places all the emphasis on impersonal forces, and subject-less structures, the second, subjectivism, reduces the whole of social life to the actions of individual agents or groups, their actions, interactions, their goals, desires, interpretations and practices. Subjectivism uproots agents from their socio-structural context. Instead, agents draw on structures to produce actions that change or reproduce structures. This is the cycle of structuration (Stones, 2005:20).

In developing structuration theory, Giddens combined many different aspects of social ontology into an approach that would recognise the contribution of each, but not to the detriment of any of the others, to the motive forces of society. Thus, whereas Marxism emphasised economic aspects, and Weber emphasised power and especially administrative power, while Durkheim and Parsons emphasised the normative dimension and the internalisation of values, Giddens kept open a place for all of these in his ontology of social life. And also, whereas structuralists and post structuralists emphasised the importance of language systems over other determinants of social life and practices, and interpretivists and other language philosophers have emphasised hermeneutics, shared understanding, and ordinary language over all else, Giddens combined their emphases with an equal stress on the institutional, material and power dimensions of social life (Stones, 2005:15,16).

Frueh (2003: 12) explained this process of structuration: the mostly unspoken patterns of daily life define society. Because these are often presented as natural or objective facts, they are often treated as reified things – structures. As part of the social world, human beings are also defined by these social dynamics of meaning. Some personal characteristics are valued more than others, sometimes value hierarchies are explicitly institutionalised - race in apartheid, gender in patriarchy, or citizens in nationalism. There is a continuous process of elaboration in the dialectical relationship between active individuals and the structures of social relations (also described by Fay, 1999). Individuals learn what it is to be human by interacting with those around them. Within this context, society can be broadly defined as any group whose activities link its members to a common centring theme.

Another hurdle had been overcome in the dissertation journey: I could justify looking at the role of religion, as ideology and belief and an aspect of culture, in social change, because of the way that social relations evolve through a continuing interplay between material (structured) experiences and new ideas, which inform each other. I could also legitimately explore how the history of the institutional church, opposition politics, and Diakonia, in South Africa, illustrate this view: that there is indeed a dynamic interplay of structures and culture at play in creating human agency. In this case, the interplay was as a result of Christianity, as the shared dominant religion, of the conflicting social alignments, with their differences of race, class, language, political power, institutional arrangements and national identity. While Christian belief served to emphasise and buttress these divisions - through the particular form of racial capitalism in the guise of Christian Nationalism and apartheid - it also served to challenge and bridge social structural divisions. And it is, in essence, this role of religion in motivating and informing attitudes and actions that is the preoccupation here.

A conceptual scheme for the dissertation

However, to move beyond description; to be able to interpret Diakonia meaningfully towards finding explanations concerning the role of religion in agency and social change, I required, in the words of Fay (1999:74) "... a scheme consisting of terms by means of which facts could be constituted, and principles of significance on the basis of which facts could be sorted and related, because facts are theory-impregnated."

Thus, now with our research approach and our ontological approach clarified and justified, a logical next step in Chapter three is the clarification of our epistemological approach in the form of the major theoretical concepts, namely, social change in relation to human agency and ideology (social change in relation to the structure and possibilities contained in contemporary social relations has already been discussed above), religion, social justice and non-violence (which will include peace). While all of these concepts over-lap in various ways, I will discuss each separately before their inter-connections are explored.

Chapter 3
Concepts and theory

The major conceptual variables

In order to do even cursory justice to this deliberation on Diakonia as a case study that has something to reveal about the role of religion in social change, a number of levels of enquiry and points of entry, with different foci of analysis are called for.

In chapter three the major variables at an abstract conceptual level are explored in order to achieve a better understanding of the nature of social change, and within this, the nature of religion, culture, ideology and belief, agency, non-violence, violence, power, peace, and social justice. An attempt will be made to better understand concepts such as society, nation and state.

Thus armed with a conceptual frame of reference, in chapter four, five and six, attention will turn to the circumstances that gave rise to Diakonia in 1976. A brief history of South Africa, with a focus on church-state relations, will be followed by a description of the change strategies that were current, both a secular and a Christian.

Clearly, setting the scene, in order to locate Diakonia, is an ambitious project in itself, with the implication that only after six chapters does the focus turn to the organisation itself. It also means addressing issues that in themselves provide a potential source of never-ending exploration and discussion. On the other hand, how can a social scientific analysis proceed without putting the significant conceptual building blocks in place? Thus, while I have attempted to undertake this broad theoretical and historical study, it will of necessity be nothing more than a cursory exploration by an interested non-expert with a more focussed task.

Human agency, social action and social change

Let us begin with the nature of social change and how it is brought into being. The writings of Jamie Freuh, published in 2003, on political identity and social change in South Africa, provided a clear and helpful delineation of this topic. He began by describing the importance of identity to society. Any collection of people making up a distinct social group, or society, has both a distinct, albeit complex, identity, and is continually changing in various ways and to various extents.

However, in general, it is the elite who benefit relatively more than others from social arrangements because they possess qualities instituted by the social culture as valuable, making them seem naturally more deserving of a disproportionate share of social goods. Actors either contribute to the stability of social arrangements by following the rules or they can potentially assert different rules (Frueh, 2003:14).

Agency is the perceived ability purposefully to change some part of society or material reality in a creative way (Frueh, 2003:16). But for old social rules and arrangements to be under stress, actors must notice problems and believe that they are related to these rules. For change to occur, actors must believe that an alternative system is available that could solve these problems better. This is the role of resistance (Frueh, 2003:18). Resistance can be divided into four distinct and progressive levels: noticing, questioning, causing trouble, and working for a specific alternative (Frueh, 2003:19). It is interesting to note the similarity of this definition of resistance to the Catholic see-judge-act methodology adopted by Diakonia

A society's intricate and shifting systems of identity labels are the principal means by which agents know which social rules to translate into action, and how to do so in such a way that their behaviour not only makes sense, but is co-ordinated with the behaviour of others. Identity labels are codes, statements that give cues for how individuals should behave and how others should behave toward them (Frueh, 2003:33).

In times of social upheaval, changing conceptions of structures make rebellious assertions more acceptable, and more actors can become agents who think of themselves and are thought of by others as capable of formulating new behaviours and negotiating them as rules with others (Frueh, 2003:35). In addition, conflicts - situations in which parties experience clashing interests - are opportunities to negotiate new understandings and to modify society according to changing ideas and actions (Frueh, 2003:58). South Africa during the 1970s and 1980s was just such a time.

Tournier (1988:xv) also emphasised the significance of agency and social action:

> ... men and women are not subject to historical laws and material necessity, they produce their own history through their cultural creations and social struggles by fighting for the control of those changes which will affect their collective, and in particular, their national life.

Ideology and social change

We discussed in chapter two how social relations evolve through a continuing interplay between material experiences and new ideas, which inform each other. Apparently in line with Frueh's thinking, Thompson (1986:24) argued that for Durkheim and Althusser, 'ideology' serves the function of reproducing the social order by symbolically representing it as a unity in which the individual subject has a place, and the symbols operate to generate a sense of identification and commitment. It follows, however, that if ideology serves to reproduce the social order in this manner, it can also serve the cause of social change where there is discordance between the socially-generated meanings and lived experience. We will return to this aspect of ideology, which is linked specifically to challenging the status quo, later. For now the focus is on the role of ideology in maintaining society.

Anthony Marx argued that in the contemporary world the 'subjective mental constructs' of race, nation, and class are used by activists and commentators to interpret how social relations are ordered and can be changed. The categories encapsulate ideology as it is lived through. They are more than ideas; they are a way of experiencing historical situations in which one or another or a series of identities suit people's interests and are purposefully adopted by elites (1992:8).

For Stones (2005:21), in Giddens' structuration theory, which is an important contribution to thinking on social change, there is a dialectic at work in which agents and structures 'mutually constitute' one another:

> ... the configuration of norms, the conventional significations and the possessions of power that are perceived by agents exist only because of the involvement of agents in producing them and continuing to produce them. Structures and agents intermingle, structures are within agents and agents continually help to constitute structures.

There are three components to Giddens' conception of agency:
motivation of action;
knowledgeability and the rationalisation of action; and
the reflexive monitoring of action (Stones, 2005:24).

The special significance of this approach by Giddens, in the opinion of Fay (1999:64), is that the social structure is understood to be composed of agents and not mere interrelating parts. Agents

are competent performers who consciously learn their roles and sometimes alter them in pursuit of their goals within a system of rules and roles, which are either regulative or constitutive. The complex of discourses recruits people as subjects and constructs ideological communities. The nation is one such ideological community, and the more it occupies the consciousness of people and attracts their allegiance, the less likely they are to give their allegiance to competing ideological communities (Thompson, 1986:48).

Nation, nationalism and the state

But what is this thing called 'nation'? Benedict Anderson (1983:13), in his scholarly book on the rise and spread of nationalism towards the end of the eighteenth century, found the concept of nation difficult to define and analyse.

For Anderson, 'nation'

> … is an imagined political community ... It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members … yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion... The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them … has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations.... It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which enlightenment and revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm... nations dream of being free... The gate and emblem of this freedom is the sovereign state... Finally, it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship (1983:15-16).

Weber also viewed 'nation' as a political concept, which can only be defined in relation to the state. The existence of a nation means that a specific feeling of solidarity can be expected from certain groups of people in the face of others. The sense of solidarity is not totally subjective, because it was usually rooted in objective cultural factors such as a common language, religion, customs, political experiences and practices. Whereas a state is an example of an association developed consciously for specific purposes. The state can only survive in so far as it can harness the allegiances of the national community in support of its power. Reciprocally, the nation can only preserve its distinctive identity, its culture, through the protection it received from the power of the state (Thompson, 1986:59).

Thompson pointed to important implications for social order and control from how the nation is imagined and the way in which its character and scope are defined (1986:61). The way that the nation of South Africa was conceived and structured, during the period of this study, made of it a site of contestation and power struggle.

Religion as belief and ideology

It is now appropriate to ask: what is the nature of religion as belief and ideology in society in relation to these other communities and structures? Put in another way: what are the ways that religion, and Christianity in particular, contributes towards our values, our worldview, and our understanding of ourselves and society, and motivates action? But before turning our attention to religion, it will be helpful to explore the nature of ideology in more detail. This is because, although we have already touched on the role of ideology in providing meaning and motivation for social action, ideology remains a complex and contested analytical concept.

In *A dictionary of Marxist thought*, Bottomore *et al* (1988: 219), discuss religion under the sub title of 'ideology' thus:

> … the critique [of religion and traditional epistemology] by Marx and Engels seeks to show the existence of a necessary link between 'inverted' forms of consciousness and men's [sic] material existence. It is this relationship that the concept of ideology expresses by referring to a distortion of thought which stems from, and conceals, social contradictions. Consequently, from its inception ideology has a clear-cut negative and critical connotation.

The authors proceed to explain that for Marx, the idea that God created humans is an inversion, and this inversion is more than an illusion; it expresses the contradictions and sufferings of the real world. We create religion to compensate for a deficient reality: "… it reconstitutes in the imagination a coherent solution which is beyond the real world in order to make up for the contradictions of the real world" (1988:219). In turn, by obscuring contradictions, ideological distortions contribute to the maintenance of the status quo and thereby serve the interests of those in power. Hence, for Marx, ideology is a negative and restricted concept (1988:220): "…ideology conceals the contradictory character of the hidden essential pattern [of economic relations] by focussing upon the way in which the economic relations appear on the surface."

In contemporary writing, on the other hand, ideology has been used rather as a neutral concept explaining the ways agents comprehend, and are motivated to act on, social reality. This is the broader and more neutral notion of ideology utilised in this dissertation. For while the historical exploration of the institutional Church in South Africa reveals the operation of religion as ideology in the Marxist sense, it also reveals religion as a force for social change. Therefore, we cannot simply shrug off religion as a form of false consciousness. I argue that religion functions both as a belief and an ideology. But what do we mean by these terms: 'belief' and 'ideology'?

The broadest and most inclusive definition of ideology is one that makes it co-terminus with culture. However, Therborn, like most theorists of ideology, wished to narrow his focus, and so although he did not limit the content of ideology, he was more specific as to its operational effects. These are concerned with the organisation, maintenance, and transformation of power in society (Therborn, 1980:15).

Therborn identified the dialectical character of all ideology in the reproduction of any social organisation as subjection-qualification: that the formation of humans by ideology involves a simultaneous process of subjection to a particular order and qualification in the social roles, including the role of possible agents of social change (Therborn, 1980:17). Ideologies subject and qualify subjects by telling them, relating them to, and making them recognise what exists and does not exist, what is good or not good, and what is possible and impossible. This knowledge can either serve to support or to challenge the status quo (Therborn, 1980:18).

To understand better how human subjectivity is constituted, Therborn (1980:22-25) described the four analytical dimensions of human subjectivity, of our 'being in-the-world'. That 'being' a human subject is something existential and something historical. And being 'in-the-world' is both inclusive (being a member of a meaningful world) and positional (having a particular place in the world in relation to other members of it). These four dimensions combine in different ways to create four types of inclusive, co-existing ideologies, namely the inclusive-existential, the inclusive-historical, the positional-existential and the positional-historical types of ideology:

1. The inclusive-existential ideological discourse provides meanings related to being a member of the world, i.e., the meaning of life, suffering, death, the cosmos, and the natural order. This would include mythologies, religions, and secular moral discourse.
2. The inclusive-historical ideological discourses constitute human beings as members of historical social worlds such as a tribe, an ethnicity, a nation or a church.

3. The positional-existential ideological discourses subject one to, and qualify one for, a particular position in the world of which one is a member, such as self-other, gender, race, class, life-cycle, and constitute subject-forms of individuality.
4. The positional-historical ideological discourses locate human beings in their historical social positions within family lines and social geography. In my understanding, the social and political meanings of race, class, gender and nation would be operational here in terms of status, power and wealth.

For Therborn (1980: 27)

the irreducible multi-dimensionality of ideologies means that a crucial aspect of ideological struggles and of ideological relations of force is the articulation of a given type of ideology with others. The efficacy of a given religion, for example, will have to be understood in its articulation, explicit or implicit, with historical ideologies, positional and inclusive.

The 'articulation' of Christianity within the various groupings of the nation and the state in South Africa is an important component of our forthcoming discussion of Diakonia and the role of religion in social change. Indeed, our historical sweep of the topic will reveal much nuance and complexity which make simple generalisations extremely difficult, if not impossible.

Having provided a more nuanced understanding of the role of ideology, and within this the location of religion, we can now turn to an examination of the nature of religion.

Contradicting Karl Marx's negative and limiting view of religion, Glock and Stark maintained that religion has important and significant effects on the quality of human experience (1973:x). Religion, or what societies hold to be sacred, is defined by Glock and Stark (1973:4) as comprising an institutionalised system of symbols, beliefs, values, and practices focused on questions of ultimate meaning. By 'institutionalised' is meant that religion is a stable property of groups to such a degree that it will be maintained even though the personnel of the group continues to change. By 'ultimate meaning' is meant those matters pertaining to the nature, meaning, and often, purpose, of reality – a rationale for existence and a view of the world. Religion is therefore a particular kind of perspective, as an ordered view of one's world – what is taken for granted about the attributes of various objects, events, and human nature. This definition of religion corresponds with Therborn's

(1980) location of religious belief as an inclusive-existential ideological discourse, described above.

Modern humans hold many perspectives as a result of playing many roles. While many perspectives are compatible, some perspectives foster definitions extending beyond a specific sphere of activity and can be potentially incompatible with perspectives from other spheres. Once perspectives reach a point of addressing reality in general, alternative perspectives of this same order can no longer be accommodated. The peculiar dominating quality of these broad perspectives seems to be caused by them being organised around some statements concerning ultimate meaning. That is, each provides a set of general principles by which people understand and perceive their experience in general (Glock and Stark, 1973:4).

For Glock and Stark (1973:8), values are statements about what 'ought to be', which appears to be equivalent to Therborn's (1980:18) subjection-qualification mode of ideological interpellation that tells us what is desirable.

Values are taken for granted, and, moreover, are unchallengeable because they are viewed as self-evident. But values can only meaningfully define desired ends as they are more or less systematically encompassed in some rationale concerning common human problems – some conception of the nature of reality, which combine to form a 'value-orientation' (Glock and Stark, 1973:8).

The authors use 'value orientation' to identify those over-arching and sacred systems of symbols, beliefs, values, and practices concerning ultimate meaning which humans shape to interpret their world. Religion is the most common, but not the only manifestation of the need for value orientations (Glock and Stark, 1973:9).

Thompson (1986:46) also recognises this transcendent quality of religious belief: "As collective representations, religious beliefs carry and bestow authority because they seem to emanate from a transcendent source – they transcend the individual, sectional interests, utilitarian or mundane concerns".

Reinhold Niebuhr (Niebuhr, 1937. Cited in Graybill, 1995), an important twentieth century American theologian, portrayed the role of religion as twofold: religion is not only an instrumentality but an absolute standard by which to judge all finite structures. The two forces of religion contend with each other – the utilitarian, which seeks to harness the ultimate to one's immediate purpose, over against the transcendent, in which humans truly desire to submit their will to the divine. The capacity of a human for self-transcendence permits a more absolute standard for judging his/her necessarily finite perspectives in the light of a more inclusive truth (Niebuhr, 1955. Cited in Graybill, 1995:6).

This transcendent quality of religious belief has both positive and negative consequences. Niebuhr warned that the religious person can be tempted to claim divine sanction for very human and harmful actions. They can be tempted to equate their particular interests with eternal truths (Niebuhr, 1937. Cited in Graybill, 1995). In South Africa, the justification of apartheid, according to the will of God for his chosen people, in their God-ordained land with Africans as servants, appears to fall into this trap.

Religion, values and worldview

In keeping with the notion of religion as transcendent, Leatt (1997:237), went further, to argue that our very goals and criteria for social choice are ultimately religious in nature. He justified this position by sketching the essentially religious nature of our historical worldviews of progress. For the ancient civilisations of the Near East, which were the cradle of contemporary Western culture, time and human history were cyclical. Within this cyclical process of time, the natural world, with its human inhabitants, and the Gods, were inextricably intertwined. And within this "divinely constituted cosmic order" the social status quo within communities was preserved (Leatt, 1979:328).

It was the Israelites who introduced a directional, linear view of history, a secular natural world, and a transcendent God. This worldview allowed humans to engage in purposive action to secure a desired future. Leatt also affirmed the importance attributed to the Protestant Reformation, by Max Weber and Robert Merton, for our modern understanding of economics and science. The Reformation, by making salvation the God-given right of every human within a secular and historical natural world, empowered people to engage in a dynamic way in shaping their natural

and social environments. It was within this context that both liberalism and Marxism could take shape as "fruits of the enlightenment" (Leatt,1979:329,330).

In a similar vein, Kathryn Tanner was concerned with how faith in God is related to everyday attitudes and actions (1992:1). She found that different beliefs about God and the world do not have a simple, direct correlation with attitudes and actions (1992: 6-7). However, she did find an *a priori* relationship, providing consistency and compatibility, between beliefs and attitudes and actions (1992:18). This influence is qualified by the way in which the meaning of such beliefs changes with changing social conditions: Christian beliefs are "... inextricably intertwined with social relations ... a product of language use by real people in the course of historically specific and politically charged interactions" (1992:19).

Despite these reservations, Tanner finds the potential for a positive relationship between Christian belief and social justice. She acknowledges that theology cannot provide practical, detailed guidelines for social change. What it can provide is an optimistic belief that social change can, and should, occur as a result of human agency, to further the biblical principles of the equality and dignity of all persons and their rights to social justice. "This goal or direction for action is a formal rather than a material one: in whatever one feels called to do, one should try to serve the cause of justice as one goes about it" (1992:225-257).

It is precisely this potential influence of religion – in motivating attitudes and actions towards principles of equality and social justice – that appear to be operational in Archbishop Hurley and Diakonia.

It is also evident, from the discussion above, that the province of religion is the province of values. Values incorporate social ethics and morality. Mokgethi Motlhabi distinguished between ethics and morality (1998:120). He saw morality as being related to the conduct of life, or behaviour, while ethics involves the principles behind such conduct: "Morality is actual behaviour based on our knowledge of these principles – which are principles of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour". Social ethics therefore involve the rightness or wrongness of social arrangements. Without ethics, behaviour cannot be considered to be either moral or immoral, but rather amoral, which means that it is of no moral significance. Our ethics will, in turn influence, and be influenced by, our values, which are broader than ethics.

Marxists, on the other hand, view morality as a form of ideology. A distinction is made between morality which concerns rights, obligations, and justice, identified by the German term '*Recht*', and by what Marx called 'human emancipation'. The first view of morality is seen as ideological, because it arises from conditions, such as scarcity and conflicting interests, of class society.

> To morality in this sense Marxism holds a view exactly analogous to its view of religion: that the call to abandon such illusions is the call to abandon conditions which require such illusions. Remove scarcity and class conflict and morality of *Recht* will wither away. The morality of emancipation demands the abolition of the conditions that require a morality of *Recht* (Bottomore, 1988:342).

The author of this dissertation does not subscribe to the Marxist view of morality, which does not appear to take into account the complexity of human society and the need for transcendent ethical standards.

It is not the role of religion to provide cutting-edge political and social analysis but to provide the value system, the ethics and morality, by which the justice of social arrangements can be judged. And Rick Turner's book *The eye of the Needle*, which attempts to find the best appropriate Christian response to Apartheid, is instructive in this regard.

According to O'Dowd (1981:37), Turner (a political science academic at the University of Natal, and activist, who was assassinated by State operatives in the 1970s) did not debate how black discontent could be cooled off by concessions within the capitalist system, but stepped back to take a critical look at the very nature of the system. He made this clear in a discussion of what he called internal and transcendent moralities:

> ... there are two kinds of ethical systems. One accepts the predominant human model and tries to rationalise it, to smooth its edges. I call this internal morality: pay your debts, give to the poor, don't tell lies, don't steal… these internal moralities make life easier for people within the system, and should not be sneered at. But they do not challenge the human model implicit in the system. An ethic which does this I shall refer to as a transcendent morality. It goes beyond the given and asks the fundamental question: What is human life for, what is the meaning of human life? (Turner 1980:17).

Turner spoke of a 'transcendent' morality because he believed that Christianity (like all the world's great religions) is transcendent. This mode of social ethics requires of me to take cognisance of how my behaviour impacts upon others. This, in turn moves the behaviour into the realm of politics, into the arena of social identities, structures, norms and behaviours. It calls on me to comprehend the justice of social arrangements and to act accordingly (Turner 1980:19). This, we shall see, was also one of Denis Hurley's core beliefs, which motivated both his own politics and his constant striving to conscientise white South Africans to the wrongs of the system.

The Marxist theorist, Gramsci, acknowledged a role for the recruitment of value commitments, which includes the formulation of persuasive interpretations of beliefs and their transmission, and sees this mobilisation as the work of 'intellectuals' in the broad sense. In addition, the relationship between the 'high philosophy' of intellectuals and common sense, has to be secured by 'politics' (Gramsci, 1957. Cited in Thompson, 1986:66).

Thus we see the importance to social change of the way we, as social agents constitute society and nation; how we perceive our world, how our understandings are constructed and recruited as beliefs, ideologies and culture, which include our religious beliefs and our values, ethics and morality. These, in turn, influence the way we act in the world. We also see how intellectuals have an important role in formulating, interpreting and communicating meanings.

Prophetic theology

A conceptual frame of reference has now been created for the more focussed investigation of an incidence of Christian social action. However, these are still very broad and abstract brush strokes that cannot accommodate the specificity and complexity of the impending case study. For example, what is the shape of these transcendent moralities in the environment of the Church in South Africa?

Church leaders tend to couch their language in theological terms, as opposed to political, sociological, or economic terms. However, we have already seen above how social ethics that have a transcendent quality, of necessity, move one out of strictly theological, and into socio-economic territory. But what are we referring to by using the term 'theology' and what were the major theological positions concerning social action in the Church during the 1970s and 1980s?

Gabriel Setiloane (1971:28) quoted Preston Williams, Associate Professor of Social Ethics at Boston University and co-author of the Atlanta Document on Black Theology, on a definition of theology:

> Theology can be defined as reflection on the faith of a community, as an attempt to order systematically that faith and the experience of it to the end that the community may know itself more fully. The theology chooses an integrating concept to illuminate both the faith and the nature of reality … rooted in that culture.

To illustrate this point, Graybill (1995:4) found that in apartheid South Africa, while Africans tended to view God as liberator, Afrikaners, once they were firmly in charge of the State, saw God as the maintainer of order, which reflects the different social, political, and economic positions, and interests of those theologising. Both schools of thought – 'prophetic criticism' which stresses the evils of government, and 'priestly sanctification', which sees government as an ordinance of God – are armed with proof texts for their positions.

For Albert Nolan (1986:131-132), a fundamental characteristic of prophetic, or Liberation, Theology is that it is time bound: "All prophecy and prophetic theology speaks of, and speaks to, a particular time in a particular place about a particular situation". Nolan sawWestern 'Church' theology as unprophetic because it understands all truth to be timeless and universal. Nolan's writings were published by the Institute of Contextual Theology, a politically progressive, Christian think-tank in South Africa, with a focus on contextual theology. The Institute (1985:4) proposed that as all life is political, so is all theology political; an important issue is who it is that principally benefits from the theology – is it the poor or the elites? We can view it in another way, that while traditional Western theology is appropriate to European conditions of relative structural peace and justice, it fails to address issues of social inequality and injustice, particularly in an under-developed, or Third World, context.

In apartheid South Africa, the activist sectors of the institutional Church were developing contextual theologies to make sense of their social experience. Within this tradition, 'prophetic theology' comprised either Black Theology, allied to Africanists and the Black Consciousness Movement, or Liberation Theology, with an emphasis on 'praxis' and structural oppression. But, the more dominant tradition, in South Africa, was a liberal social democratic analysis.

Nevertheless, there is evidence that the Liberation Theology of South America and Black Theology of African-Americans in North America, directly influenced the development of the prophetic theologies emerging in South Africa from the 1950s.

Roman Catholic theologian, Linden (1997:26), described the core ideas of Liberation Theology as the option for the poor and their liberation; the need to analyse the context, to read the signs of the times; the importance of historical and social analysis; the systematic and structural nature of conflict and violence; the rediscovery of the prophetic tradition of the Bible and of Jesus' ministry and the need to act in the world.

Liberation Theology arose principally in Catholic Latin America in the turbulent 1960s, in the wake of the 2nd Vatican Council, which opened the way for the Catholic Church to become more engaged with the modern world. Liberation Theology challenged the power of elites and stressed the importance of people being in control of their own destiny (Linden, 1997:3).

Latin American Liberation Theology, according to Paul Germond (1987:215), provided, at the time, the clearest contemporary attempt to establish a Christian political response to a violent, revolutionary social context.

Black Theology, on the other hand, was developed in the United State of America in the 1960s by such Christian intellectuals as Martin Luther King Jr. in the face of deep structural and ideological racism. Black Theology grew out of the non-violent civil rights campaigns in the American south that challenged the political and social establishment to give equal rights to African Americans, and which culminated in the passing of the Civil Rights Bill in 1968 (Setiloane, 1971).

In support of prophetic theology, University of Cape Town academic and theologian, Villa-Vicencio, emphasised that the task of the prophetic, transcendent Church was to represent those whose interests were not adequately accounted for by the state. This was primarily because in situations where the poor and marginalised were excluded from the political processes there was no one else to represent them (1987:250).

Clearly, the institutional Church is part and parcel of society and therefore cannot escape from the hurly-burly of ideological positions and contestations. However, it appears to be a dominant notion that the Church, as an institution, should not directly align itself to any political party. But this does not exclude a political role for the Church. Villa-Vicencio, understood that while it was impossible for the Church not to reflect its social base, it was also impossible to entirely suppress the transcendent aspect of religion.

> … the Church has never quite managed … to deny or suppress a residual revolutionary theology in favour of the poor and the oppressed, traceable back to its early history. It is the 'dangerous memory' famously alluded to by JB Metz (1980), which contradicts its social location in society and which accounts for marginalised groups within the Church being susceptible to revolutionary influence. It is this, in turn, that prevents the Church from entering into an altogether uncritical alliance with any dominant political group (1988:132).

Thus armed with a basic understanding of a potential political role for the Church, we will complete our conceptual framework with an explication of non-violence and social justice, for the purposes of a case study on the task of religion in social change.

Violence and non-violence

What do we mean by the terms 'violence' and 'non-violence'? In a societal context, violence is generally understood as the unlawful use of force. In South Africa, for example, the Christian Nationalist Government justified the use of violence by the military and police against its citizens as necessary force, and as morally neutral, because it was associated with the legitimate power of the State in maintaining law and order. The violence exercised by guerrilla insurgents, on the other hand, was represented as illegitimate violence. There is thus an ideological distortion of whether, and in whose hands, violence could be viewed as legitimate force in South Africa.

On the other hand, violence - as a means of waging war - was characterised by Kenneth Boulding (1962. Cited in Miller, 1972:34) as a 'chronic disease of society', because in situations of conflict "... it frequently inhibits settlement; for it leaves no path to settlement open but conquest, and this may not be possible". Boulding asserted that violence is only able to end conflict by suppressing it, and this only from the side of the victor. However, he conceded that an absolute absence of violence is not possible – that we can only hope to limit it.

More helpful for our purposes - as it does not only take into account war but all forms of social injustice - is Galtung's (1996:2) broad definition of 'violence" as harming and/or hurting. Violence can be direct (for example, military action) or indirect (socio-structural) and behind these is cultural violence, which legitimates the violence. In order to understand the nature of violence, it is important to understand the nature of power. He described four types of power: cultural, economic, military, and political. He believed that the major causal direction of violence is from the cultural via the structural (economic and political) to direct violence (military).

According to American sociologist Jean Sharp (1973:8), all types of struggle, and all means to control governments or to defend them against attack, are based on certain basic assumptions about the nature of power. Non-violent action is based on the view that governments depend on people for their power, that power is pluralistic, and that political power is fragile because it depends on many groups for reinforcement of its power sources. In contrast to the non-violent view, is the helpless view that people depend on government, that political power is monolithic, desirable, self-perpetuating, and in the hands of the elite.

Boulding (1999:10) distinguished what he calls faces of power; and while the exercise of power tends to involve all dimensions, they co-exist in different proportions in different circumstances:

• Threat power (such as military or legal threats), which depend on the response of the threatened, such as submission, defiance, flight, retaliation or disarming behaviour.
• Economic power, which he defines most simply as what the rich have more of than the poor.
• Integrative power, which Boulding viewed as the most important form of power. The power of legitimacy, persuasion, loyalty and community. In a sense, those who are subjected to power have given it to the powerful. Integrative power supports economic and threat power.
• Organisational power. This involves the development of organisations, ranging from churches to governments and corporations, which have members and usually some sort of hierarchy.

The significance of the identification and operation of power is helpful in looking at social change and the role of violence. We cannot consider issues on non-violence without considering power. Its significance will become evident in the later discussions of the history of South Africa and its opposition politics. But, it is the last two types of power, namely, integrative and organisational power, that are particularly relevant. On the one hand Diakonia utilised the organisational influence of the Churches by harnessing the power of civil society. On the other hand it waged an ideological struggle by using the integrative power of a shared faith, to counter the organisational

and integrative, or ideological, power of the State. We shall see how it also addressed the threat and economic power of the State in various ways.

But first let us gain a better understanding of 'non-violence'. While non-violent strategies for social change arise directly from the socio-political and historical context, the concept of 'nonviolence' has a specific definition, which is substantively different to 'non-violence' (an absence of violence). Geoff Harris, in his Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies Newsletter No. 27, UKZN, December 2007, drew an important distinction between nonviolence and non-violence. 'Nonviolence' arose as a translation of the Sanskrit word *'ahimsa'*, which Mohandas Gandhi drew from the ancient Hindu texts to describe the core of his philosophy (Miller, 1972:25-33). 'Ahimsa' is literally interpreted as non-harm or inoffensiveness. Gandhi, himself related the concept to agapē love - a freely given, active, affirming, unmerited love for humankind – emphasised in the Christian New Testament Bible (Gandhi, 1936. Cited in Miller, 1972). However, I have chosen to use the standard rendering of the word to avoid confusion, which arises when quoting other sources that tend to use the hyphenated version.

Mohandas Gandhi

Gandhi's concept of ahimsa is never passive. The practical expression of ahimsa is *satyagraha*, which literally means 'the power of truth', but it is also used to mean 'soul force', expressed politically as civil disobedience, arising from a feeling of inner strength, the positive activity of agapaic love in response to actual or threatened violence. The exponent of satyagraha inflicts no physical injury but endures suffering without thought of counter-violence and thereby seeks to shame or inspire the opponent into doing what is right (Miller, 1972).

We have mentioned the influence of Liberation Theology and Black Theology on the South African Church. Gandhi was another significant influence on the Christian resistance thinking of the time. An occasional writer on participative democracy, Nithya Chetty, said of Gandhi:

> The genius of Gandhi was his ability to turn his thoughts on peace and non-violence into
> a practical way of life and to inspire masses of people to follow his way... He was
> convinced that the means of fighting for a just cause was as important as the ideal of
> peace that he aspired towards (2007b).

It was the opinion of Brown (1996:113) that Gandhian non-violence can only be properly understood if viewed in the context of his spiritual worldview (or theology). This worldview saw

people as one aspect of creation, which should be cherished in all its manifestations; that every action had important repercussions either for good or evil. In any conflict no one party had the absolute right of way and a compromise that safeguarded the integrity and concerns of all parties, was therefore essential. And finally, that there should be no distinction between means and ends. Both are equally important

The Gandhian spiritual principles correspond to the Judaeo-Christian notion of 'Shalom'. Military disarmament and peace and justice cannot be separated, according to biblical teaching that promotes the Hebrew concept of 'Shalom'; referring to both a social and personal condition of wholeness, health, human dignity and justice (Villa-Vicencio, 1987:245). The concept of Shalom, can also be equated with the non-violence concept of 'positive peace' – where the social conditions to sustain peace are in place.

Helder Camara (1974:143), a South American Catholic bishop and political activist who was assassinated by right-wing forces in the 1970s, proposed that: "Non-violence means believing more passionately in the force of truth, justice and love than in the force of wars, murder and hatred." But he provided an ethical, non-specific imperative rather than a specific change strategy or a vision for a future society. The question remains: how does this translate into policies, strategies and actions in the real world?

The literature that I found on non-violence, while broadly like-minded, provides varying descriptive categories and emphases, which reveal the lack of analytical rigour and the diversity that characterises this field of study.

According to Miller (1972:47), historically, the major viewpoints or strategies that are associated with non-violence can be analytically categorised as follows:

- Non-resistance or pacifism.
  Pacifism, has not been a tactic or stratagem but has rather been born out of religious conviction, of doing good, of trying to redeem the enemy in a spirit of love.
- Passive resistance.
  Passive resistance is a pragmatic resistance usually conducted by those who are unarmed or poorly armed. Historically, its appeal has been to justice rather than to love; it has functioned as a means of defending rights and asserting claims. Passive resistant tactics

use non co-operation and withdrawal to coerce the opponent by refusing to fulfil a role or function relied upon by the opponent.

- Active non-violent resistance or non-violent direct action.
  Non-violent direct action takes the offensive and confronts the opponent on disputed territory by means of civil disobedience. This direct action can be motivated by religious-political convictions or secular-political convictions.

For the purposes of this study we are most interested in the third category of non-violent action. Bruyn (1979:14) conceived a helpful description of non-violent action as creative conflict, which can be either pragmatic or radical. Pragmatic non-violent action is the use of non-violent techniques to achieve objectives while radical non-violent action attempts to treat the causes of violence and to offer a direction to human development. This is the non-violence of Mohandas Gandhi in India and Martin Luther King Jr. in the United States. "Their ultimate aim was to develop a new order of social institution ... to seek the truth underlying the conflict, and if possible, to win the understanding and friendship of opponents" (Bruyn, 1979:16). The non-violence of the ANC in the 1950s, in particular under the influence of Chief Albert Luthuli, resembles this form of radical non-violent action. A commitment to non-violence, along with his strong Christian faith, is made apparent in his biography (Luthuli, 2006).

It will become evident that Diakonia was not as politically activist as Gandhi or King, although it did appear to offer a direction to human development, based on Christian values.

Miller was less optimistic, and perhaps realistic, about the scope of non-violence: non-violent direct action was a way of waging social conflict that does the minimum of damage and holds the door open to creative, constructive possibilities. But it has no intrinsic power to heal and build anew; instead: "Our concern must be to establish normative, operable justice rooted in actuality and relevant to historical conditions" (Miller, 1972:182). I understand him to be saying that a non-violent struggle does not, of itself, guarantee positive peace in the new dispensation. But, I believe that this is the case with any form of resistance, and that there are components to a non-violent strategy that actively promote participation, empowerment, dialogue and reconciliation – all positive building-blocks for a new society.

Sharp (1979:243), revealed how non-violent action uses social, economic, psychological and political power in the matching of forces in conflict. Sharp referred to the list that he has drawn up

of at least 198 specific methods, which he arranges in three classes, namely, non-violent protest and persuasion of the milder forms; non co-operation, including boycotts and strikes and; non-violent intervention. The work of Diakonia will be analysed in chapter eight according to Sharp's methods. It is seen to work mainly within the category of non-violent protest and persuasion of the milder forms.

While the power of the elite can be diminished by the withdrawal of obedience, non co-operation would need to be widespread, and to be maintained in the face of repression aimed at forcing submission. Sharp also emphasised that non-violent action does not seek to abolish power, but to wield power in order to counter and control the power of threatening political groups (1973:64).

Ralph Summy (1985:230-241) described a diversity of views in the non-violence camp. This diversity, which was even manifest within particular non-violent campaigns, threatens effective action. On the one extreme, non-violence can be understood as intrinsically ethical and linked to religious belief, and as other-worldly. At the other extreme it is a pragmatic approach where non-violence is simply regarded as an effective method of action. The protagonists could have a short- or long-range programme of social change, could be prepared to engage in acts of coercion or to eschew coercion as a tactic, could be primarily concerned with their own integrity, could embrace strategic thinking and action that is passive or dynamic. The differences in approach emerge clearly in the types of non-violent action in practice which he groups into eight types: non-resistance, active reconciliation, moral resistance, selected principled non-violence, non-violent revolution, tactical method, strategic method, and satyagraha.

It will become clear in chapter eight that Diakonia's work was most similar to the category of active reconciliation, but went beyond the confines of this definition. It did not however go so far in its activism to be satyagraha or non-violent revolution.

Positive peace
But it is not simply about being against war, as the means to social change. David Barash and Charles Webel (2002:427) emphasised a vision of a positive peace which is part of a broader, deeper effort to rethink human relations and the environment, a commitment to human rights, poverty-eradication, environmentalism and the fundamental principles of non-violence in both the personal and the political realms.

A peaceful society means a society characterised by the absence of physical violence, the elimination of unacceptable political, economic and cultural forms of discrimination, a high level of internal and external legitimacy and support, self sustainability, and the propensity to enhance the resolution of conflicts, according to Luc Reychler and Thania Paffenholz (2001:12). This in turn requires effective communication, consultation and negotiation at all levels of society, the building of peace-enhancing social structures, a social climate that emphasises unity, reconciliation, shared values, and consensus, and, finally, objective and subjective security.

In keeping with this more active notion of positive peace, the Second Vatican Council, in 1965, recognised that peace was more than the absence of war, it was more appropriately called "an enterprise of justice" (*Gaudium et Spes*) (Villa-Vicencio, 1987:233). We shall see how Denis Hurley was directly influenced by this direction of the Vatican.

The Catholic Church was not alone in its vision of a just and peaceful world. At the Vancouver Assembly of the Protestant WCC in 1983, the following statement on peace and justice was recorded (Gill, 1983. Cited in Nash, 1985:149):

> Peace cannot be built on foundations of injustice. Peace requires a new international order based on justice for and within all nations and respect for the God-given humanity and dignity of every person ... The biblical vision of peace with justice for all, of wholeness, of unity for all God's people, is not one of several options for the followers of Christ. It is an imperative in our times.

Reconciliation and the Church

Clearly, peace is not possible without reconciliation. The role of the Church as reconciler was one of the active and controversial subjects of debate in South Africa during the struggle against apartheid. While it was a dominant position that the institutional Church should function as a reconciler in social conflict, the brutal and adversarial nature of the apartheid State meant that this appeared to be a soft option in favour of the status quo. But what do we mean by reconciliation?

For Miller (1972:188) the whole process of overcoming estrangement is reconciliation. He considers reconciliation to be practically complete when conflict between communities has ended on a basis of operative harmony. However, this process is never entirely complete, it is ongoing. While conflict situations ultimately end by some means, be it conquest, disengagement, compromise or arbitration, it is only in reconciliation that a settlement is reached, which results in

what Kenneth Boulding, (1962: 310) calls "convergent modification of the images of the two parties". It is rapprochement in depth as a result of conversation, argument, discussion and debate.

But reconciliation is much more than reaching agreement. Mark Hay (1998:13-14), for example, believes that healing from the horrors of apartheid in south Africa, to both individuals and the nation, could only be achieved through a process of reconciliation. In this regard Hay defines reconciliation as "…the establishment or recovery of the dignity and humanity of every person, rooted in human rights, and the acceptance of this by the individual and society". Reconciliation is therefore about transforming dehumanising situations and their personal and social consequences. Social reconciliation occurs when a community recovers its dignity and honour. It requires that the human rights abuses of the past are brought to light so that victims can tell their stories, be heard, grieve and gain the support of their communities, and for the perpetrators to admit to their abuses.

In the same vein, reconciliation, in the opinion of Nürnberger *et al* (1989:2), can only be the agreement between two parties in a conflict to forgive and accept each other on the basis of a common commitment to justice, not on the basis of acquiescence to injustice. Therefore, the only true alternative to violence is conflict resolution on the basis of justice. Reconciliation and justice cannot be separated. For Beyers Naudé, "No healing is possible without reconciliation, and no reconciliation is possible without justice, and no justice is possible without some form of genuine restitution" (1991:227). This is the meaning of reconciliation that informs the work of Diakonia.

Social justice

To my mind, the motive forces of social change should take us closer to a reconciled, participative, egalitarian, socially-just and non-violent society rather than towards injustice, conflict, violence, anarchy or dictatorship.

The concept of social justice, according to David Miller (1999:ix), arose in the nineteenth Century along with the establishment of social democracy. It is therefore part-and-parcel of a specific social and economic context and is not a value-neutral idea or ethic, as we saw in the writings of Karl Marx. Miller also revealed it to be a poorly-understood notion that is much contested in its implementation.

Social justice is generally regarded as an aspect of distributive justice – the advantages and disadvantages whose distribution it seeks to regulate - and it presupposes the particular form of the

contemporary nation-state with a citizenry and an elected government that runs the organs of the state (Miller, 1999:4-7). Social justice also requires that there is a broad consensus on the value of the goods, services and opportunities that are available for distribution (Miller, 1999:12). Relations of domination and oppression become evident where this distributive structure is unjust (Miller, 1999:17).

Miller (1999:18) described the principles of justice, in terms of which distribution can be evaluated, as: need, desert, and equality. Justice is a social virtue, which tells us how we should treat each other. However, these principles of justice function within different modes of relationship within a liberal democracy, namely 'solidaristic community' (personal relations), 'instrumental association' (organisational structures), and 'citizenship' (nation) (Miller, 1999:26). For the purposes of this study we are interested in the rights and obligations of citizenship and its primary distributive principle of equality: "... each person enjoys the same set of liberties and rights, rights to personal protection, political participation, and the various services that the political community provides for its members." However, citizens also have needs and deserts and require equitable access to the distribution of property, income, and other social resources (Miller, 1999:30).

In considering the rights of citizens, Miller (1999:40) was referring to the basic obligations of citizens one to another. This in turn raises questions about how to address mutual rights. Are they addressed, for example, by reaching out in charity to the 'needy', or with political activism to focus on allowing people to participate fully as citizens? We shall see that this is a question raised by the institutional Church, in the consideration of its proper role in society. The matter is also complicated by the conflicting demands of the principle of equality and the principle of desert, which is used to justify the unequal generation of wealth in a market economy (Miller, 1999:92), and which will not be address in this dissertation.

I have described Miller's account of social justice to provide some background on this multifaceted and contested notion, which nevertheless forms an important part of the discussion in my study, because Diakonia sets out to work for social justice. It is clear that social justice, while complex in the abstract, is almost impossible to live out in contemporary industrial society, whether socialist or capitalist. How, for example, could we make everyone equal in all respects. Could we all deserve and need goods equally? Social justice is therefore an ideal type of what we are striving for. It gives a direction and some form to programmes of action, as we shall see in the

discussion of Diakonia, but it does not provide a clear, operational blue-print for the type of society that is envisioned. Human rights appear to fall into the same conceptual camp as social justice. In fact, Barry (2005:22) argued that social justice is part-and-parcel of the contemporary concept of human rights.

Human rights

While human rights do not specifically feature in the Diakonia minutes that were used for this dissertation, I will show that social justice and the rights of the citizen were major foci.

Moosa (1991:2), points out that human rights share with religion concerns for justice, fairness and responsibility, and for human dignity. Stated differently, Moosa claims that secularism gave birth to its own civil religion (or non-biblical ethical framework), with the arrival of several human rights charters. *The Virginia Declaration of Rights* of 1776 in America, *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen* of the French Revolution in 1789, and *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* by the United Nations in 1948 are some of the more significant charters.

But approaches to human rights vary widely, and religious and socialist concerns with human dignity do not correspond closely to human rights criteria: their concerns with human dignity are duty based and not rights based (Moosa, 1991:3).

This more duty-based notion is an ideal, holistic notion of equality. Miller (1999:232) called this second kind of equality, equality of status, or simply, social equality, whereby people regard and treat one another as equals. It is more this generalised, holistic notion of social equality, which appears to have motivated Diakonia's social action programmes.

Barry (2005:19-21), who was concerned with social justice from a practical implementation point of view, delineated 'rights' narrowly as not being prohibited from having or doing something. 'Opportunity' was to have it in one's power to do or obtain the thing in question. 'Resources' were the things external to oneself that can be owned or accessed to help achieve an end, for example money, education, housing, employment and social status. This to me is a very practical way of approaching rights in an implementable manner. However, I was not able to ascertain exactly how Diakonia viewed that matter, or indeed, if it ever saw the need to become so precise in its definitions.

Richard Falk, on the other hand, provided a detailed typology of human rights (2000:153) that form an ideal against which one can evaluate social justice, namely:

1. Basic human needs: the right of individuals and groups to food, housing, health and education and the duty of the government to satisfy these rights.

2. Basic decencies: the right of individuals and groups to be protected against genocide, torture, arbitrary arrest, detention and execution, or their threat.

3. Participatory rights: the rights of individuals and groups to participate in the processes that control their lives, including the choice of political leadership, of jobs, of place of residence, or cultural activities and orientations.

4. Security rights: the right of individuals and groups to be reasonably secure about their prospects of physical well-being and survival by means of national and economic security.

Human rights enshrined in constitutions, are regarded as 'co-original' with 'deliberative democracy', in contemporary Western society, according to Van der Ven *et al*, (2004:80). Republicanism (sovereignty of the people, curbs on power, division of powers, the parliamentary system, general elections etc) and liberalism (human rights as the foundation of society because the principles of equality and freedom are supreme) are inseparable for a just society, in his opinion. However, as we will see in chapter four, this notion of liberal capitalism, with its systems of parliamentary democracy and notions of equality and freedom, does not take into account the differential power of classes, races and national groups within a social formation, which in turn gives rise to differential access to privileges and power.

This in turn raises the question of how it can be ensured that human rights are exercised in society. In a book on pluralism, justice and equality in collaboration with Michael Walzer, Miller (Miller and Walzer, 1996:9) proposed, accurately I believe, that the arrangements that justice require are those of:

A decentralised democratic socialism; a strong welfare state run, at least in part, by local and amateur officials; a constrained market; an open and demystified civil service; independent public schools; the sharing of hard work and free time; the protection of religious and familial life; a system of public honouring and dishonouring free from considerations of rank or class; workers' control of companies and factories; a politics of parties, movements, meetings and public debate.

He stressed the importance of equal citizenship within a defined community in Walzer's account of justice. This is more than a formal status; it is required to facilitate an active agent capable of taking part in the direction of society, and that is not possible unless people are empowered within civil society (Miller and Walzer, 1996:12).

> This conception of citizenship provides a pivot from which we can tackle disputes about the distributive criteria appropriate to particular social goods. Broadly speaking, it guides us towards preserving as many distinct spheres of justice as possible, and enhancing those spheres which are in danger of becoming marginal to social life. The more spheres there are, the better the chance any given person has of enjoying the experience of 'ruling' (Miller and Walzer, 1996:12).

Falk, in line with Miller and Walzer, also stressed the importance of the 'citizen' as distinct to the 'subject' for real political participation and empowerment from below in all social institutions and practices – "It is virtually impossible to imagine humane government … without presupposing the increasing influence and acceptance of participatory politics resting on the dignity and worth of the individual, but also the group" (2000:248-249).

Civil society

The weakness of modern liberal capitalism in ensuring human rights for all its citizens was addressed by Doreen Atkinson (1992:1-2), by emphasising the importance of civil society as the medium in which citizens can exercise their rights. She described how with modernity the secular state detached itself from the religious authority and the growth of state power brought with it increasing social autonomy in the form of the nation with its citizenry. She argued that it was the problem of maintaining a balance between a sovereign state and the personal liberty of the citizenry (the nation) that gave rise to the classical triad of values of the French revolution, viz. liberty, equality and fraternity, that is, human rights. But Atkinson went beyond simply pointing to a role for human rights. She also argued that since the eighteenth century it had been accepted that the power of the state often varied inversely with that of civil society.

After Adam Smith the concept of the economy also achieved its own importance. Within the triad of state, civil society and economy, she outlined four ways in which the concept of 'civil society' could be delineated (Atkinson, 1992:10). For the purposes of this paper civil society will be

considered as a sphere separate from both the state and the economy and to incorporate the voluntary, non-profit sector.

The role of civil society is important to an understanding of Diakonia as an organ of civil society.

Civil society, for Mark Swilling (1992:78) was understood as a concern with the associational life of society that exists somewhere between the individual actions of each person, or 'private realm', and the organisations and institutions constituted by the state, or 'public realm'. It is where everyday life is experienced, discussed, comprehended, contested and reproduced; where hegemony is built and contested. Building civil society, therefore, is about building 'voice' at grassroots level, it involves the structures of social movements, community agencies and development organisations which mobilise collectives and communities around immediate local interests. Diakonia was such an agency of civil society.

Thus armed with a research approach and a conceptual and theoretical scheme, we will change gear entirely to embark on an exploration of the social, political, religious and historical context of Diakonia in the Greater Durban region of South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s. This contextual framework, which provides the content of Section two, will greatly enrich our appreciation of the nature of Diakonia and will also enrich the ultimate enterprise of the dissertation: the analysis of Diakonia as a case study in Christian non-violent social action for peace and social justice, to discover what it has to say about the role of religion in social change.

Chapter 4

The history of the church and state in South Africa

The relevance of a history of the church and state in South Africa

During the period of the case study, Diakonia functioned as an ecumenical agency for social action, in the Greater Durban area, established and run by churches. Most of these churches were, in turn affiliated to the South African Council of Churches (SACC), which was associated with the World Council of Churches (WCC), while the Roman Catholics Church fell under the umbrella of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC), with its centre of power the Vatican in Rome. These Durban-based churches that established Diakonia shared both the influences, concerns and tensions of their controlling bodies and the affects of apartheid policy on their work. It is therefore impossible to appreciate the full significance of Diakonia without gaining insight into the character of institutional Christianity within the Republic of South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s.

South African history is partly characterised by a dynamic interplay between social forces and the institutional church, and between the church and state. Therefore, in chapter four we will explore how Christianity was integral to the formation of the character and history of South Africa.

Roughly 80% of the general population called themselves Christian during the period of this investigation (De Gruchy, 1985:85). But, even more importantly, there is much evidence that Christian beliefs played a significant role in the motivations, attitudes and actions of the people involved, both in terms of maintenance of the status quo and of the struggle against racial domination.

Looking at the history of South Africa in relation to the Christian Church, there are three main Christian alignments that were facing up against each other, namely: Africans, Afrikaans-speaking whites and English-speaking whites. The influence of Christian beliefs and the institutional church on national and political identity and aspirations is most strikingly obvious in the case of the Afrikaners and the Dutch Reformed Church, which formed the backbone of Christian Nationalism and the National Party (NP). But there is also ample evidence of Christian belief and the institutional Church playing a significant role in the aspirations and actions of black Africans and English-speaking whites, which we will explore. And, while Christianity helped to forge social divisions, it also provided a bridge across racial, national and class cleavages in South Africa. In

addition, some of the institutional Churches and individual Christians that were influenced by a transcendent aspect of Christian beliefs, formed a significant part of the opposition to apartheid in the 1970s and 1980s. It is therefore not possible to stereotype the articulation of Christianity and other areas of social life, especially politics; which will become increasingly evident in the course of this study. But let us first sketch a brief history of South Africa - from the arrival of the first settlers until the latter, dying years of the apartheid state in the late 1980s - focusing on religion within that story.

An historical background to contemporary South Africa

Christian influence in South Africa began with visits by Portuguese mariners early in 1488. In 1652 the Dutch East India Company established a supply station at the Cape en route to India. Thereafter, Christian French Huguenot refugees arrived, and finally, the British from 1795 onwards "with their own characteristic blend of pulpit, rifle and empire" (Prozesky, 1990:1-2).

The Calvinist Afrikaans-speaking Christians, who founded the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), constituted the official denomination of the Cape colony, into which the Protestant French Huguenots were assimilated. The early German Protestant Lutheran settlers retained their independence. These Churches focused on the settler community. It was only in the early 1800s, after the British occupation of the Cape, that Protestant missionaries from other denominations started to arrive in earnest from Europe and America "to Christianise the heathen" (De Gruchy, 1979:2). This missionary activity, however, brought them into conflict with the wishes of the settler community when they identified with the interests of the coloured slaves and the indigenous people.

The Roman Catholic Church was largely excluded from this early history owing to the historical animosity between the Catholics and the Protests. Catholics were prohibited from public worship until 1804, and were only allowed their first bishop in 1837 (De Gruchy, 1979:97).

The increasing waves of British settlers from 1820 were very different in culture and language to the original Dutch settlers who were mostly farmers living in remote areas and who were moulding the language and traditions of the Afrikaner. From about 1834 the original settlers started to move inland, away from British rule. The quest for the survival and shaping of an identity of the Afrikaner was ignited:

Their struggle against imperialism, an alien culture, liberalism, and interfering

missionaries was about to begin, and it would not end until it had produced an Afrikaner Nationalism equal to the task of subduing the land and reshaping society. All of this had significant ramifications for the DRC, for if it was to be relevant to Afrikaner fears and aspirations, it could not stand aloof from the Afrikaner struggle (De Gruchy, 1979:11).

On the other hand, in the main, the European Christian denominations that became established in the Cape in the nineteenth century were the Anglicans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Methodists. From the outset, the British Churches, which kept their allegiance to Britain, arrived at the Cape in two forms: to minister to the settlers, and as missionaries to the indigenous people. According to De Gruchy (1979:15), it was the goal of many of the missionaries to establish self-governing 'Native' churches. But this only started to happen at the beginning of the twentieth century. While these missionaries, in general, served to advance the establishment of the British Empire, European missionaries also sometimes challenged the 'white supremacist' customs of the settlers (Paton, 1979:x).

Thus the institutional church was, from the early days of the Colony, divided both in terms of settler and mission churches and in terms of the DRC Afrikaans-speaking Churches and the "English-speaking' Churches of British origin. These 'English-speaking' Protestant denominations are so-called because they retained a close allegiance to their denominational headquarters in England, formed themselves into an ecumenical movement, ascribed to liberal democratic principles, and shared a similar attitude towards apartheid (De Gruchy, 1979:85).

Meanwhile, during the 1820s, and some 2,000 kilometres up the East Coast from Cape Town, a group of white traders were allowed by the Zulu kingdom, under the reign of King Shaka, to establish a settlement on the Port Natal bay of what was to become known as Durban. In the 1840s, following closely on the arrival of Boer trekkers from the Cape, the British Government annexed Natal as a colony. From 1849 thousands of British immigrants began to arrive in Durban in an attempt to escape an economically depressed Britain and to take advantage of the climate and opportunities for land and labour offered to them by the British Government. Sugar farming, which is to this day the major agricultural enterprise of the region, was started in the 1850s. In 1860 the first shipload of indentured Indian immigrants arrived in Durban. The importation of Indian labour arose out of the need of the burgeoning sugar farms for labour, which was not willingly forthcoming from the Zulu people of the region, This practice, which resulted in the growth of a large Indian population, was to have a significant effect on the history of Natal.

Durban Bay also provided an ideal berth for the importation of troops and munitions by the British Government in preparation for the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 against the 'rebellious' Zulu King Cetshwayo, who was seen as an obstacle to its plans for federation in Southern Africa. The economy of Durban again benefitted from its busy port during the South African War, between 1899 and 1902 (Duminy, 1995).

The South African War between the Afrikaners and the British, Christian against Christian, served to cement the historical division between the DRC and the English-speaking churches (De Gruchy, 1979:23). The Afrikaner people lost their territory (the Boer republics), and their independence from colonial rule, through this war. They were deeply embittered against English-speakers.

At the time, Africans were, in general, supportive of the British victory against the Afrikaners in 1902, believing that the British government would provide a better life for them (De Gruchy, 1979:23). However, this was not to be. In 1910 the Union of South Africa was established excluding the indigenous population from full political participation, and shortly thereafter, in 1913, the infamous Land Act was promulgated, assigning, ultimately, only 13% of the land to black Africans.

After the news that the Union Constitution Act had been passed, an editorial piece written in 1909 in *Imvo Zabantsundu*, newspaper entitled "Latest Developments" revealed a recognition of a significant shift in the political landscape, and yet does not give up on multi-racialism:
The Native and Coloured people must now realize that an entirely new chapter in South African history is opening ... [they] must work for the creation of a new political party in the state which will unite the religious and moral forces – European and Natives – of South Africa upon lines of righteous legislation, justice and fairplay irrespective of race or colour (*Imvo Zabantsundu*, 1909. Cited in, Karis and Carter, 1987:57).

Imvo Zabantsundu, meaning 'native opinion', marked the beginning of African political journalism in South Africa. It was started in King William's Town in 1884 by John Tengo Jabavu to express African concerns (Karis and Carter, 1987:5).

In 1914, the aggrieved Afrikaners launch the National Party in Bloemfontein with the goal of developing a separate nation within the Union, stressing its own language, culture and institutions (De Gruchy, 1979:28). The NP did not, however, represent the political aspirations of all

Afrikaners. A different group of Afrikaners formed the South African Party, which later became the United Party, and which worked for unity between Afrikaans- and English-speaking South Africans.

Somewhat parallel with the establishment of the National Party in 1914, in Bloemfontein in 1912, a group of African chiefs and leaders founded the precursor to the African National Congress, an inter-ethnic association pledged to defend the rights and represent the interests of Africans as a whole to the Union government (Gerhart, 1979:12). Such a pan-South African coming-together of African people would not have been conceivable without the propagation of a common English language, and a liberal Protestantism, by the Christian missions.

In its early history, the ANC was not nationalist in the full sense of the term because it sought to win rights for Africans within the existing parliamentary arrangement – an integrationist goal. African solidarity became less an end in itself than a means for exerting pressure on reluctant whites. The ANC stood for African rights in a pluralist democracy until the end of its legal existence in 1960. According to Gerhart (1979:12), 'nation' for the ANC was the multi-racial community of all people born in South Africa.

However, the settler communities were not responsive to the overtures of the ANC. In 1948 the National Party was elected to power; and in 1961 the Republic of South Africa was established: an industrialised, capitalist economy with a white power structure under the control of Afrikaner Nationalism. The Government, according to Hope and Young (1981:1), viewed itself as a Christian theocracy, and in the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act (1961), God is credited with giving white South Africans "this their own" land.

But was it rightfully the land of the Afrikaners? With the beginning of mining and industry in South Africa the indigenous people were forced off their land and into cheap wage labour. Despite its dominant Christian culture, Hope and Young (1981:1) describe South Africa as a republic that deliberately denied human rights to the majority of its citizens. Numerous laws were passed to separate the races and to control access to residence, employment, education and all other facilities and services. Fundamental to separate development was the Population Registration Act (1950), which classified inhabitants according to race. Africans were also divided into ethnic tribal groups and ultimately assigned to ethnically-divided areas. The system of pass laws meant that Africans had no freedom of movement or domicile and were the victims of forced removals, arrests,

imprisonments and being endorsed out of areas. Further divisions between population groups in urban areas were ensured through the Group Areas Act. Job reservation, the migrant labour system and the Mixed Marriages Act prevented freedom of association and work opportunities. The Bantu Education Act ensured that Africans would receive inferior schooling.

After 1948, the ANC resisted the increasingly repressive measures of the NP Government by used strategies of mass action, such as economic boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience and non co-operation, which culminated in the Defiance Campaign of 1952. A post-1994 ANC parliamentarian who is an important custodian of ANC history, Pallo Jordan (2007), believes that it was the 1952 Defiance Campaign that enabled the ANC to redefine itself as a mass national liberation movement, willing to employ all the means necessary to attain freedom.

In June 1955 the ANC was joined by four other race-based organisations to form the Congress Movement to adopt the Freedom Charter manifesto, which provided a vision for a democratic and people-centred South Africa and a call for political and civil rights for black people (Hay, 1998:23). This was a prime example of the way the ANC fostered popular demands for a multi-racial, unitary, economically-redistributive democracy (Marx, 1992:262). Here again, many prominent Christians were involved. In particular, Father Trevor Huddlestone, an activist Johannesburg-based priest who was deported by the NP Government, was honoured at Kliptown in 1955.

According to Jordan (2007), the Freedom Charter, which was adopted by the ANC during Chief Albert Luthuli's presidency (Luthuli was awarded the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize - Africa's first laureate), constituted the start of a strategic alliance between the black labour movement, the Communist Party and the ANC. It was an attempt to provide a rough blueprint of the type of society that was envisioned.

But while the Freedom Charter forged new alliances, it also became the focus of an acrimonious internal dispute. In April 1959 the Africanists split from the ANC to form the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which loosely subscribed to a form of African socialism. African socialism is founded on the notion of an extended African family which "… served as the fountainhead of the basic principles of equality, freedom and unity on which the African society was founded" (Motshologane, 1979:227). Community here was characterised by the sharing of land and resources, an emphasis on the group, solidarity and communion, and a flat social structure. (In his

exposition on African socialism, Motshologane drew heavily on the writing of Julius Nyerere *Freedom and unity: Ujamaa – the basis of African socialism,* 1962. - He believes that Nyerere, in turn, drew heavily on Marxian socialism).

On 21 March 1960 the police fired on a PAC demonstration against the pass laws in Sharpeville, killing 69 and wounding 186 Africans. The Government declared a state of emergency and banned the ANC and the PAC. The leadership not in detention either went underground or into exile to create guerrilla movements (Hay, 1998:23).

But though the government practiced increasingly harsh and oppressive measures of social control, the resort of Africans to civil war was slow and reluctant. In February 1962, Nelson Mandela addressed a Pan-African conference in Addis Ababa: "Can a government bent on using the utmost force to crush the freedom struggle be forever countered by peaceful and non-violent means?" (Cited in Miller, 1972:285). Two years later, in April 1964 at the Rivonia trial, Mandela admitted that he had helped to form Umkonto We Sizwe in 1961. He said the ANC was forced into a military option by the intransigence of the apartheid State, the nature of government policy and the way in which all means to express opposition had been curtailed (Mandela, 1964:772).

In 1964, Chief Albert Luthuli released a statement on the outcome of the four-year Rivonia trial in Pretoria, which had led to the sentencing to life of eight ANC members including Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. He assessed the results of the moderate approach of the ANC, and the inevitability of a violent backlash:

> Over the long years these leaders advanced a politics of racial co-operation, of goodwill, and of peaceful struggle that made the South African liberation movement one of the most ethical and responsible of our time… But finally, all avenues of resistance were closed…
> The ANC never abandoned its methods of a militant, non-violent struggle, and of creating in the process a spirit of militancy in the people … [cannot blame them] for seeking justice by the use of violent methods (Luthuli, 1964:798-799).

But even these fighting words, Boesak and Brews (1987:57) believe, did not reveal a radical change of ANC policy:

> The violence of white South Africa had created the conditions under which counter-violence was inevitable. The intention was not the violent overthrow of the government

but the more moderate aim of creating a climate of urgency that would emphasise the necessity of a negotiation process.

South African political scientist, Tom Lodge (1987:4-6), confirms the significance of the military, MK option as symbolic and inspirational rather than military. It was also highly unlikely for the ANC to be able to affect a military seizure of power. This pointed to the importance of the popular mobilisation that often begins around local community issues and that assumed increasing importance from the mid-1970s.

Gerhart too believes (1979:309), that the way the ANC favoured a policy of non-violence was in part a perception of political reality, as outlined by Tom Lodge - a view that violence would always fail, given the government's overwhelming monopoly on state power - but that it was also a result of the Christian and liberal traditions of the African middle class. The strategies of political opposition will be explored in more detail in chapter five. For the moment I will continue to provide an historical context.

The 1970s ushered in a deepening of institutional violence with the use of such government strategies as detention without trial, police torture of political prisoners and the widespread use of forced removals. African resistance to apartheid increased apace, with the 1976 Soweto uprising symbolic of that direction.

From early in 1976 there had been protests by African School Boards and strikes by pupils in Soweto against the enforced use in post-primary schools of both Afrikaans and English instruction. The wide-spread uprising, which started in Soweto on 16 June, had extended to black townships country-wide by August. Black frustration and anger went much deeper than the language-medium issue that had triggered the revolt (Race Relations Survey, 1977:5).

The role of religion in the history of South Africa
Now that we have a broad view of South African history up to the 1970s, we can turn to a more detailed exploration of how the cultural and institutional manifestations of Christianity evolved within South Africa. The role of religion in the formation of the South African state is emphasised here because of its bearing on the thesis of this dissertation, namely, that religious belief is a significant variable in social change.

For much of the second half of the twentieth century it was the DRC, with a membership of at least 63% of all Afrikaners, which held a powerfully influential position in South African society, and within the Afrikaner community, according to Meiring (1983:303). In De Gruchy's opinion it was the institutional Church and DRC theology - enabling the unity of church, nation and party - that allowed for both the growth of Afrikaner identity and Afrikaner nationalism, and that provided the framework for the racial policy of apartheid (1979:31).

Martin Prozesky (1990:129), went so far as to claim: "Apartheid shows just how easily even a devout believer in a heavily Christian culture can unwittingly make their faith into an effective component of group self-interest in the form of national domination and economic repression."

Thus was born what Moodie (1975:296) called the 'Afrikaner civil religion':

> Civil religion as I define it, denotes the religious dimension of the state. As such it is invariably associated with the exercise of power and with the constant regeneration of a social order; it provides a transcendent referent for sovereignty within a given territory.

In addition, many Afrikaners in particular believed that the indigenous people were culturally inferior heathen, destined by God to be the "hewers of wood and the drawers of water" for their masters (De Gruchy, 1979:177). Christianity thereby provided a rationale for the oppression of the indigenous people.

But Moodie points out that a civil religion can serve both to support and challenge the status quo:

> Civil religion ... provides both a justification for power, and, at the same time, a potential basis for criticism of those who exercise power. It serves as a symbolic universe, within the boundaries of which articulation may take place for a body politic, however defined (1975:298).

And while the DRC pursued strict racial separation, the so-called English-speaking churches held together their mission and settler ministries under a common denomination and synod. Black Africans were free to choose to attend a mission church or a settler church, and hence began a growing racial integration within this sphere of society (De Gruchy, 1979:18).

Africans were also able to establish independent churches. The black independent churches, from their inception in South Africa at the end of the nineteenth century, experienced a spectacular

growth. While the black independent church groups varied a great deal, they had in common an assertion of African cultural practices, and they generally remained largely apolitical (De Gruchy, 1979:47). In addition, a black African Christian solidarity emerged across denominations and dogmas. This was expressed, for example, in the formation in 1915 of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association, which began in the Transvaal, becoming a national movement in 1946 (De Gruchy, 1979:50). By the 1970s, membership of the independent churches stood at about five million or 20% of the total population, according to Meiring (1983:325).

But what of the Roman Catholic Church, feared and referred to as 'die Roomse gevaar' (the Roman danger) by the National Party (De Gruchy, 1979:97)? Until 1947 the Catholic Church generally kept a low political profile and was on the defensive. According to Bates (1999a), its focus in South Africa was on missionary activity. It saw itself as the true church of Christ and worked to establish Catholic social structures as an alternative community to the secular world. In 1947 the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) was established as the governing body of the Catholic Church, made up of the Bishops from the Southern African region. This marked a change in orientation towards a more inclusive multi-racialism and a clearer, bolder stand against apartheid policy (Bates, 1999a:9). It was Vatican II in the 1960s and the social pressures exerted by the anti-apartheid struggles that pushed Roman Catholics towards ecumenical and social involvement.

Up until the 1960s, the Catholic criticisms of apartheid were generally on the basis of the danger of breeding communism as a result of the injustices caused by segregation and job discrimination. Communism was closely identified with a Godless, authoritarian Stalinism which denied the individual and religion. The Church did not advocate universal suffrage but rather the extension of political rights to Africans, referred to as 'non-Europeans', through a qualified franchise. The thinking was liberal, working from the assumption that the root cause of apartheid injustice was racial discrimination (Egan, 1999:322). The early focus of the SACBC was to appeal to whites by means of logical argument about the mistakenness of apartheid. The hope was that whites would see this and vote against apartheid. This strategy however, did not succeed (Bates 1999b:157).

During the tenure of the National Party, the SACBC produced six documents on apartheid and 57 statements which were either critical of the status quo or which set out to outline alternatives. Perhaps the most important was the 1957 *Statement on Apartheid*, which marked the first time that apartheid was called 'intrinsically evil' by a Christian body (Bates, 1999b:156).

According to Bates (1999b:159), the first Catholic document to express activist opposition to the government was the *Call to conscience* in 1972, which appealed to Catholics "... to do our share in creating a just, stable and peaceful Christian society in our country". Bates claims this document marked a significant move away from making general statements on human rights to an articulation of the social and political issues. It dealt with the need for a redistribution of wealth, the iniquity of the migrant labour system, the lack of higher education for Africans, trade union rights for Africans, and criticism of the Government for the banning and imprisonment of those with different views.

It was in 1977 that *The declaration of commitment on social justice and race relations* appealed for the eradication of all differences on racial grounds and moved the SACBC to the front lines of the anti-apartheid struggle (Bates, 1999b:158). It identified the need for coherent pastoral planning as follows:

1. Eradicate discriminatory social attitudes and customs in Catholic schools, hospitals and churches.
2. Implement affirmative action in its human resource practices.
3. Implement equal opportunity practices and staff upliftment, and actively put structures in place to promote black consciousness, justice and reconciliation.
4. Support conscientious objection to military service.

This growing activism was largely influenced, in the opinion of Bates (1999b:166), by the pressures exerted by Catholic black activists within the Church, and their critique of white leadership and priorities. Nevertheless, beginning in the early 1970s, a vocal conservative block persisted and organised nationally in South Africa as the Catholic Defence League.

The English-speaking Protestant Churches kept in step with the Roman Catholics between 1948 and the 1960s; in that while they were critical of National Party apartheid policies, they failed to move beyond making statements opposing government laws and practices, according to Meiring (1983:318). This supports Cochrane's (1990:95) argument for a developmental character to the resistance to apartheid in the Churches that is directly related to the form and quantity of social pressure placed upon them. As a result, they could only lag behind the forces of popular resistance: "The extent to which such people can influence and utilise their resources prophetically or

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radically will be directly related to the extent to which the secular resistance movement gains credibility within the Churches".

The Sharpeville massacre in 1960 created a significant shift, and a hardening of attitude toward the NP government.

Shortly after the events at Sharpeville and the subsequent banning of the ANC and PAC, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Joost de Blank, appealed to the World Council of Churches to initiate a meeting of South African churches in order to build a united Christian witness to injustice. Eight Protestant churches, including the DRC, met with the WCC in December 1960 at Cottesloe in Johannesburg. At the conclusion a joint statement was issued.

The Cottesloe statement was a carefully-worded call for adaptation of the white power structures in the direction demanded by gospel values. The Churches publicly addressed the issues of justice and not simply the demands of charity and went beyond strictly church matters in the eyes of the State (Walshe 1983:13). The participation of DRC delegates met with a storm of condemnation, causing most to withdraw from this new ecumenical politicisation. The Cottesloe Conference was the last truly ecumenical conference of the Protestant Churches. It caused a deepening rift between the English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking Churches.

Beyers Naudé was one of the DRC delegates at Cottesloe who was conscientised concerning the brutality of the state. In 1962 he was a major influence in the initiation of the Christian journal *Pro Veritate* which facilitated ecumenical debate on church and society. In 1963 he was one of the Church leaders who established the Christian Institute (CI) with the aim of bringing together Christians of all denominations to work for social justice and Christian unity (Walshe, 1983:22). The CI did not try to unite different denominations as such, but rather individuals from different denominations. The CI went beyond simply criticising apartheid, to express a commitment to justice and equality. And while the CI remained suspicious of Communism, it came to espouse a form of democratic socialism, according to Walshe (1983:xiv):

> It was the Christian Institute that became a thoroughly disturbing prophetic voice: describing the full impact of apartheid on blacks, condemning the structures of injustice, assailing complacency, struggling to articulate an alternative vision for society, and trying to discover appropriate methods to bring something of that vision into being (Walshe 1983:42).

The CI was largely unsuccessful in getting whites to see and accept that black people required justice in South Africa and Naudé began to realise that the only way to achieve change would be for Africans to win rights for themselves. He therefore shifted the focus of the CI to facilitating the growth of black leadership and black consciousness and had a great deal of influence on the SA Council of Churches in this regard, until the banning of the CI in 1977. Archbishop Denis Hurley, in his individual capacity, was one of the churchmen who were closely aligned with the CI (The Catholic Church still shunned ecumenical involvement).

Cochrane (1990:41) viewed the CI as a powerful force in shaping Christian political resistance and the growth of the black consciousness in South Africa, through its direct sponsorship of young black intellectuals. It was during the 1970s that the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) emerged alongside the emergence of black trade unionism. These movements, which will be discussed in more detail below, greatly challenged the status quo in the Churches.

But the most significant player in church-state relations from the 1960s was the South African Council of Churches. The English-speaking, multi-racial, Christian Council of South Africa was restructured and renamed the South African Council of Churches in 1968, when it became a significant organisation and the largest Christian grouping in South Africa, representing millions of Christians. The original member churches were the Methodist, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches. They were joined by the Lutherans and three black 'daughter' churches (the African, coloured and Indian denominations) of the DRC. The SACC did not include the Catholic Church and the African Independent churches, although individuals such as Archbishop Denis Hurley, worked closely with many SACC initiatives (De Gruchy, 1979).

In September 1967 an inter-denominational Theological Commission, set up by the SACC, published the *Message to the people of South Africa*, which brought it into growing conflict with the Government. It was a six-page document which attempted to show how separate development was contrary to Christianity, and had become a false belief (De Gruchy, 1986:117-119). In the following year, Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated, and the Civil Rights Act was passed into law in the USA. The armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe was making itself felt in South Africa, largely through acts of sabotage. It was a time of growing agitation and resistance to the apartheid State.

The *Message* challenged Christians to respond to the injustices of apartheid, and in 1969, gave rise to the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (SPRO-CAS), initiated jointly by the CI and the SACC. SPRO-CAS II (renamed the Special Programme for Christian Action in Society) followed on from SPRO-CAS in 1972. SPRO-CAS formed part of a growing opposition to government policies in English-speaking universities and churches (Morphet, 1980:xxi).

SPRO-CAS and SPRO-CAS II were the most significant attempts by South African, multi-racial, English-speaking churches to formulate visions and strategies for change. Denis Hurley was an active participant, and Diakonia can be said to arise out of SPRO-CAS II. I will therefore describe SPRO-CAS and the book written by Richard Turner, first published in 1972 as part of the programme, to explore the growing political literacy of the institutional Church.

The CI grappled with developing a South African 'theology of liberation'. Walshe claimed (1983:84) that the CI believed "... the church's mission involved a social and political struggle to bring humankind into harmony with God's plan. This meant working for reconciliation between people on the basis of an ever-deepening understanding of justice". The purpose was to examine the economic, educational, legal, political and social implications of the *Message to the people of South Africa*. It was a focused attempt to make the Church an active collaborator in social change, shifting the focus to a 'radical liberalism' (Randall, 1985:165).

SPRO-CAS was made up of six commissions working over five years until 1972. It was directed by Peter Randall and co-directed by the Bill Burnett, General Secretary of the SACC, Beyers Naudé, Director of the CI, and Allan Paton, the liberal Christian activist author of *Cry the beloved country* (Walshe,1983:108).

Apartheid, with its structural patterns of discrimination, inequality and domination, was identified as a form of structural violence (Randall, 1973:66). Social order was being enforced by the State. Apartheid was not negotiated; it had been imposed unilaterally on the majority by a powerful, minority group in pursuit of its own interests and self-preservation (Randall 1973:54). This in turn created a "… laager mentality which breeds values that are the antithesis of love, compassion and humanity" (Randall, 1973:63).

Randall (1973:16) cited the disparate infant mortality rates vastly in favour of whites, unequal education, unequal incomes and economic access, and legal, political and religious discrimination.

Socio-political change would require changing all of the inter-dependent structures of society and would involve conflict and confrontation.

> No one who is concerned for human decency, no one who professes any of the great religious faiths, no one who claims to be concerned about the future of our country, can be complacent or apathetic in the face of this picture of white power and black poverty and frustration (Randall, 1973:37).

In its Strategies for Change Commission, directed by the social scientist and political commentator, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, the emphasis was on the importance of reducing the intensity of the conflict, which it saw as inevitable. This could be done if white structures of power were prepared to bargain with the black majority on basic issues of power, wealth and land (Randall, 1973:74). The Church was in a unique position to promote the sort of dialogue required to facilitate negotiated change. The Church could also look to changing itself from within, both in terms of its institutional support of discriminatory or oppressive structures and in terms of its way of operating. This included the issue of providing chaplains and other forms of support to the armed forces. But no specific recommendations were made in these respects.

The form of society that was envisaged was one with equality of education, people-centred development, social justice, eradication of poverty and inequality, power sharing in all spheres, the rule of law, guaranteed civil rights and participative government (Randall, 1973:94).

Patrick Laurence and Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert (1973:16-17) (two eminent South African political commentators) affirmed a commitment to human rights in their ethical principles for the new society, to which the Churches could subscribe:

1. Equality - the emphasis was on equality of economic, religious and cultural opportunity.
2. Freedom – both freedom from coercion which would guarantee civil liberties, the freedom of belief, expression and association, and freedom to access political and social change processes.
3. Justice – fair government policy: distributive and retributive justice.

They saw the rule of law as being vital to a just political order because it serves as a check to arbitrary government power and ensures that any conflict between the individual and the state is settled in a fair and impartial manner. The rule of law required fixed standards, announced

beforehand, for government. It should be ensured by a Bill of Rights written into the constitution and enforceable by the courts, and by a system of participative democracy.

An important outcome of the first phase of SPRO-CAS was the commissioning of the highly respected Natal academic political philosopher and activist, Richard Turner, to write a book, which he entitled, *The eye of the needle. Towards participatory democracy in South Africa,* first published in 1972. He set out to produce a theory of social change for South Africa that would be broadly accepted, would have clearly defined goals, and would seek the means to create value.

Turner advocated the need for a participatory democracy (Turner, 1980:82). For him, participatory democracy involves the replacement of private ownership of the means of production by worker-control of both industry and agriculture; and with maximum decentralisation of power to the local level (Turner, 1980:83). There is no evidence that the Churches took up his Socialist vision

Turner also looked at the major impediments to change. Firstly the problem of socialisation was identified. A new worldview was required, which would involve three factors, namely: a belief that the world could be changed; a belief in one's personal ability to effect changes in society; and a commitment to co-operative, group action. This empowerment, in turn, grows out of social action (Turner, 1980:85). We see in his approach to social change a belief in the role of human agency, and the ability of people to transcend their social-structural circumstance. In these respects he held views compatible with political theology.

For Turner, a major impediment to radical change is the ownership of economic resources by whites, enabling a white government to run an army, a white citizen force, a large police force, and a formidable secret police. The State thereby held the power to win in any straight black-white confrontation. Turner also identified other mechanisms of social control, namely, a legitimating ideology, which justified apartheid; and the manipulation of divisions among the population, thereby deflecting attention from the true source of frustration and aggression. On the basis of the balance of power in South Africa, he proposed that it was strategically unwise to promote direct violent confrontation, or the taking up of arms, as the means to achieve social change (Turner, 1980:101). Instead he looked for non-violent methods of social change. The far-reaching and insightful qualities of his opinion, especially in the early 1970s, are striking.

In 1972 SPRO-CAS II was launched after the six commissions of the first phase had published their reports. This gave rise to the Programme for Social Change, which adopted a more humble and listening relationship with black South Africans than did the first phase (Walshe, 1983:103). It marked the beginning of an acceptance of black leadership in the Church and of majority rule as a desirable option for South Africa:

> ...the country was entering a new stage in the long struggle to end white supremacy, a struggle in which there was every prospect of escalating violence and a major church-state confrontation. Having interposed themselves between established white interests and the organisation of resurgent black dissent, the CI and the SPRO-CAS were in the vanguard of that struggle (Walshe, 1983:110).

At the heart of SPRO-CAS II were the black and white programmes. The White Programme was a renewed attempt to conscientise whites to a more radical understanding of the biblical call for justice (Walshe, 1983:134). The Black Programme expressed a commitment to give power to the poor and oppressed by supporting the Black Consciousness Movement. A Black Community Programme was launched and staffed as a separate initiative to assist leaders who were already active in their African, coloured or Indian communities to become more effective (Walshe, 1983:140).

During the same period, in 1970, the Protestant World Council of Churches, (to which the SACC was affiliated), moved to the left of the SACC and established the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR). The radicalisation of the WCC began at a conference on Church and Society in Geneva in 1966 at which the call was raised for Christians to participate actively in the political struggles of the time (De Gruchy, 1979:117).

At its inception, in 1970, the PCR decided to give financial aid for humanitarian purposes to liberation movements fighting in Southern Africa. This move, to directly support insurrection movements against so-called legitimate governments, challenged the more liberal, ecclesiastical politics of the SACC. De Gruchy (1979:130) recorded how the SACC was critical of this stance, rejecting violence in principle, whether in support of the status quo or in fighting to change it.

The SACC had been disapproving of the WCC Consultation on Racism held in Nottinghill in 1969, which led to the formation of the PCR: "We are disturbed by the way in which the Churches and the World Council … are called upon to initiate the use of means usually associated with the

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civil power in the struggle against racism. These are the weapons of the world rather than the Church" (SACC executive mimeographed letter, 6 August 1969. Cited in De Gruchy, 1979: 130). In other words, the WCC was seen to be moving outside of its proper ecclesiastical role. Nevertheless, during this difficult period, none of the South African member Churches withdrew from the WCC, despite pressure from both government and some of the membership to do so.

The WCC's PCR launch boosted the debate about the role and limits of the Church in politics. Before this, the dominant institutional church position was at pains to stress its acceptance of government authority. Only fringe groups such as the CI had begun to act in clear support of the liberation struggle and to challenge the legitimacy of government policy. However, in response to the PCR, a significant shift took place in the English-speaking and Catholic Church leadership. Cochrane (1990:91) records a changing focus from identification with suffering to solidarity with the struggle against apartheid.

The WCC was becoming progressively more open to acknowledging the legitimacy of the resistance movements. However, while it refused to condemn the use of violence by oppressed groups, it drew a line at making an alliance with any one movement. The Central Committee of the WCC meeting in Addis Ababa in January 1971, made a statement with regard to the role of the Church in South Africa, which reveals that there were limits to its radicalisation:

> … the churches must always stand for the liberation of the oppressed and of victims of
> violent measures which deny basic human rights … nevertheless, the WCC does not and
> cannot identify itself completely with any political movement, nor does it pass judgment
> on those victims of racism who are driven to violence as the only way left to them to
> address grievances and so open the way for a new and more just social order (*SA
> Outlook,* Feb 1971:17).

In a statement on methods for achieving social change also adopted at Addis Ababa in January 1971 the WCC judged the issues to be ill-served by posing the question in a simplistic way as violence versus non-violence. "Because violence permeated the structures of society and was well established in human history, the question was not whether it could be avoided by Christians...the problem was to reduce the sum total of violence in the situation and to liberate human beings for just and peaceful relations with each other" (WCC, 1971. Cited in Walshe, 1983:117).

The WCC condonation of the use of violence as a means to social change was in keeping with the dominant Just War thesis of the Church. The WCC Central Committee's sub unit on Church and Society conducted a two-year study entitled: "Violence, non-violence and the struggle for social justice". The resulting report was adopted by the WCC conference in Geneva in August 1973, with the following statement:

> We believe that for our time the goal of social change is a society in which all the people participate in the fruits and the decision-making processes, in which the centres of power are limited and accountable, in which human rights are truly affirmed for all, and which acts responsibly toward the whole human community of mankind [sic], and towards coming generations (*SA Outlook*. Aug 1974:127).

Meanwhile, in South Africa, WCC influence was being felt in church circles. For example, in a significant move towards demonstrating its opposition to the NP Government, the Anglican Consultative Council, held in Kenya in 1971, adopted the definition of violence as the destructive imposition of power, made by the Uppsala Assembly of the WCC in 1968. It resolved that effective action against violence requires the co-operation of Christians and all those who were working for liberation and justice to develop more varied and effective tactics for ways to create the more humane society towards which the struggle is directed (*SA Outlook*, April 1971:49).

In a significant distancing of itself from the Government, in 1974 the SACC passed a resolution in support of conscientious objection at its Annual National Conference at Hammanskraal. Militarisation and insurgency were escalating with South African troops also active in Angola and Namibia. The resolution on conscientious objection meant that the Church would no longer condone the use of violence in defence of the status quo. Members were called to obey God, not humans, especially where the government failed to represent all of the people. In the Hammanskraal preamble it was maintained that the Republic of South Africa was a fundamentally unjust and discriminatory society and was therefore a direct threat to peace, which is rooted in justice (De Gruchy, 1979:140). The SACC statement on conscientious objection recognises the phenomenon of a spiral of violence – action and reaction intensifies – and declares that it was injustice and discrimination on the part of the state that had provoked the counter-violence (De Gruchy, 1979:234). However, contrary to the WCC position on violence, the SACC would not condone the use of violence on the part of liberation movements. It understood that this cumulative process of violence also applies to the means used in violent civil war: that the outcome from

violent resistance was unlikely to be a just peace. At some point the vicious cycle had to be broken and this was the vocation of the Christian Church.

In December 1977, the WCC published an article entitled "South Africa's hope – what price now?" which directly supported the use of violence by opposition movements in South Africa. Lamola (1986:248) proposes that this marked a substantial shift towards the Just Revolution theory, which was built on the traditional Just War position of the institutional Church, as a model for bringing about change in South Africa (the Just War position will be explained below). It also marked a growing polarisation of thinking on violence in Christianity. In order to clarify its position, in 1978 the SACC established a Commission on Violence and Non-violence. However, the Commission was disbanded in 1985 because it was believed that it had become anachronistic and irrelevant. Lamola supported the WCC position. He provided further justification for the Just Revolution thesis by quoting the thesis on grace by Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Bonhoeffer, who was executed by Hitler Germany during the Second World War, after a failed assassination attempt on the Nazi leader, believed that if you have to do an evil to avoid a greater evil then you become more guilty if you do not do it (Lamola,1986:245).

In South Africa there were also a number of conservative evangelical churches, including the Baptist, Free Methodists, African Evangelicals, Church of England in SA, the Apostolic Faith Mission of SA and the Pentecostal churches that did not join the SACC. In general these churches were pietistic in theological approach and viewed the individual's relationship with God as fundamental and primary. However, the influence of the so-called new evangelicalism awakened a social and political awareness which caused many of these churches to participate in the Durban Congress on Mission and Evangelism (1973), the Lausanne Congress (1974), the Pan-African Christian Leadership Assembly, Nairobi (1976) and the SA Christian Leadership Assembly, Pretoria (1979) (Meiring, 1983:318). These meeting called for reconciliation and peace.

The Black Consciousness Movement
But this story of the Christian Church in South Africa would not be complete without an account of the Black Consciousness Movement.

In 1966 the University Christian Movement was formed as an ecumenical, multi-racial, anti-apartheid organisation committed to justice. The organisation was short-lived but it helped pioneer Black Consciousness. It was soon replaced by the exclusively black, South African Students'

Organisation (SASO), started by Steve Biko, a Christian student activist who died from inflicted injuries in detention in 1977. The BCM, and Black Theology, were developed, in the main, by black Christian workers, priests and Christian students. Black Theology emerged as a new, ecumenical theology, which rejected white colonialism and hierarchical structures and explored an African spirituality and identity, asserting self-reliance (Egan, 1999:332). It will become evident later in this dissertation that CI and SPRO-CAS were intrinsically involved in nurturing the BCM.

The BCM had its beginnings in the Africanist strain of nationalist thinking that had been present in South Africa alongside a multi-racial nationalism (later espoused by the ANC), since the close of the nineteenth century (Karis and Carter, 1987:8). SASO leaders drew from the writings of black intellectuals from Africa and elsewhere. They wanted to avoid accommodating themselves to white control, which could lead to the erosion of black political power. They called for a new understanding of South African history that emphasised the early attempts of Africans to repulse white colonialism and to nation-build (Karis and Carter, 1977:686).

Of all the causes leading to the June 1976 confrontation in Soweto, Black Consciousness was the most important in accounting for the determination and resilience of the youthful militants who spearheaded the anti-government demonstrations. Awakening late to the connection between the defiant mood of the townships and the BC movement, which had become entrenched in black schools and universities over the preceding few years, the NP Prime Minister, John Vorster, began a concerted drive in late July to detain known leaders of BC organisations (Gerhart, 1979:2).

Sam Nolutshungu (1982:73) acknowledged the political significance of the BCM. He argued that attempts to mobilise the population around class interests were severely limited by the racial nature of the South African state, which meant that the social division of labour was not unified. Within this context, the emergence of the BCM in South Africa between 1967 and 1976, reflecting both the political and economic circumstances in which it arose, was the single most important political development. And it was not only because of the forces of protest and rebellion it unleashed but also because of the questions it posed about the nature of politics in South Africa and its relationship to the nature of society.

For Nolutshungu (1982:148), Black Consciousness was a mass movement – an activation of militant feelings and ideas across a wide social spectrum towards the apartheid State and its structures of legitimisation – which developed independently of the ANC and PAC and which

enabled its key organisations, such as SASO, the Black People's Convention and Black Community Programmes, to attract a broad and enthusiastic following. The movement emphasised its role as a broad umbrella of resistance to apartheid. The principal assertion was that the term 'black' denoted all who on racial grounds were denied the rights and privileges enjoyed by whites. Blacks also should do things for and by themselves. The notions of self-reliance, self-liberation, conscientisation of the people, communal effort, and solidarity were strongly emphasised.

However, Black Consciousness was primarily a transitional philosophy. It was too limited once a more searching analysis of political and economic problems, and a new social order, became a requirement of the struggle (Gerhart, 1979:311). But what it had done, as Nolutshungu points out, was to shape the activism of many.

The Soweto uprising in 1976 and beyond

At the time of the Soweto uprising in 1976 it became clear that African youth were rejecting the status quo and Christianity as a "tool of colonial imperialists" (De Gruchy, 1979:181). Some were also moving towards Marxism as an attractive alternative to apartheid capitalism. Many black religious leaders expressed deep suspicion of the institutional Church:

> Many black people question deeply the Christian faith which was used as a theological justification for apartheid… The Church in this country reflects the painful division in our society, division of ecclesiastical tradition, race, and class; whilst doctrinal differences constitute the failure of the Christian community to bear witness to unity in our situation… It is a church in ideological captivity (Goba, 1988:95).

The *Survey of Race Relations* described 1976 as one of the most eventful years in the history of South Africa (1977:1). Among the significant events of 1976, besides the Soweto uprising, are the following:

- Civil war in Angola with South African troops entering Angola from its military bases in South West Africa to support the Unita/FNLA alliance;
- Illegal South African military bases in South West Africa were attempting to repulse attacks by the South West African Peoples' Organisation (SWAPO), which were aimed at national liberation of that country;
- The United Nations Security Council branded South Africa as an aggressor in South West Africa. It called for South Africa to accept free elections for the territory;
- A Constitutional Conference on South West Africa held at Turnhalle;

- There was a sharp escalation of the guerrilla war being waged in Rhodesia from across the Mozambique and Zambian borders;
- South Africa suffered economic recession, high inflation and rising black unemployment, and more security measures were introduced and;
- Transkei was made an independent homeland.

The survey also reported "... calls for government to end injustices created by the policy of separate development" from both English and Afrikaans community leaders, the Churches and the commercial sector (*Survey of Race Relations*, 1977:6). There was a growing awareness of the "seriousness of the times" and of the need for substantial change (*Survey of Race Relations*, 1977:9).

After 1976, among liberal whites, De Gruchy detected a growing hopelessness and cynicism about the prospects of peaceful change: "Violence seems to be the only alternative… Whites have a sense of living in a world that seems by definition to be against them, simply because they are white South Africans … they feel despair, a mood of hopelessness and helplessness intensified by a sense of isolation from the rest of the world" (De Gruchy, 1979:191). This gave rise to fatalism: "History is allowed to become a dark, menacing force that must overtake us, irrespective of what we do." It is instructive that this was the social and political context in which Diakonia was established, seemingly against all hope, in 1976.

In addition, the Soweto uprising forced many whites to start the process of redefining themselves in relation to black aspirations (De Gruchy, 1979:192). The average white person had confused law and order with general peace, and was caught by surprise when violence erupted throughout the country in 1976. Over the years people had been banned, detained, imprisoned without trial, and had died, all for the sake of maintaining order. Most whites refused to acknowledge the frustration and fury that lay beneath the surface in the black community, according to De Gruchy (1979:173).

The growth of grass roots political consciousness and activism, and the death of many young Africans after 1976, marked the beginning of an era of greater identification by the SACC and the SACBC with the poor and with those fighting apartheid. There was also greater collaboration between the Catholic Church and other groupings of Christians, especially the SACC, with which the SACBC began to issue documents, such as: *Declaration of commitment on social justice and*

race relations within the church; *The current situation and citizenship rights for blacks*; and *On conscientious objection*.

On the other hand, conservative racial policy prevailed. In the 1970s 85% of the bishops and 90% of the clergy were white and largely foreign-born, while 75% of the membership of the Churches, that constituted the SACC and the SACBC, was black African (Hope and Young, 1981:160). Nevertheless, black African voices became increasingly audible and in 1977 the Anglican Desmond Tutu took up the reigns as its first African leader of the SACC.

After the banning of several opposition organisations in 1977, the multi-racial Church was one of the few institutions left where the political protests and aspirations of Africans, coloureds and Indians could be given expression (Hope and Young, 1981:2). And the SACC, according to Richard Neuhaus (1986:20) provided a significant platform for anti-apartheid religious activism, which was greatly enhanced by its close ties to the WCC. The SACBC was swept along on the same tide.

In 1979, National Party supporters were expressing concern about the swelling resistance and instability. The Government adopted a national strategy, also termed a Total Strategy, designed to unite moderates across race groups in a military and socio-economic offensive on the common enemy of 'Marxism' (*Survey of Race Relations*, 1980:1). A positive political development in 1979 was the legalisation of trade unions (Marx, 1992:18).

South African workers

Rob Lambert, a Catholic activist who worked closely with Denis Hurley, in writing a brief history of trade unionism in South Africa (1982:1), argued that the South African economy was built on cheap labour, controlled and maintained in worker compounds, and by means of separate development, influx control, and the migrant labour system. He paints a picture of inhuman conditions for workers nation-wide and of how the workers did not fail to organise themselves to mobilise for better conditions. In the 1950s and 1960s, however, the black unions were effectively destroyed by government heavy-handedness. It was in the 1970s, under the additional burdens of high inflation and rising unemployment, that the union movement experienced resurgence with the establishment of a number of new independent unions.

The growth of the political power of the black trade unions in the 1970s, along with a weakening economy - with the concomitant need for foreign capital - and the increasing lawlessness of black youth from 1976, forced the government to make concessions. In 1979 black trade unions were allowed to register to negotiate, but only for wages and labour conditions. It was hoped that this strategy would neutralise the political power of the unions while improving the image of the State in international forums. But the Government underestimated the organising power of workers and the Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu) was formed in the same year to represent organised workers throughout South Africa, with 100,000 members by 1982. The South African Allied Workers' Union also took on a national, organising role to promote worker interests (Lambert, 1982:1).

For the next three years, until 1982, there was a significant increase in strike actions. Lambert wrote that in 1981 there were more than 200 reported strikes, while in the first half of 1982, more than 342 strikes were reported (Lambert, 1982:1). One of the important strikes in the early 1980s was the Frame Textile strike in Durban involving 8,000 workers from Clermont Township.

Marx pointed out that, as a social change agent, the unions' ideological focus on class was reflected in their goals and strategies. Economic position and interest in improving wages and working conditions provided the basis for union organisation. Work stoppages were the primary collective action by which unions pressed their economic agenda. But, nevertheless, unions also paid attention to the wider political and racial constraints on their members' opportunities (1992:19).

Along with the legalisation of black trade unions in 1979, the Government made a number of other concessions in an attempt to neutralise the mounting opposition to its policies both internally and from the international community. However, in Paddy Kearney's opinion (2009:208), these reforms had the opposite effect. The changes to the Mixed Marriages, Immorality and Separate Amenities Acts did not go far enough because the Group Areas and the homeland policies remained. The Koornhof Bills that created black local councils in townships did not placate the residents who saw these bodies as government stooges, implementing government policy. And then in 1983 a tricameral parliament was established to provide separate, but smaller, chambers for coloureds and Indians. This pretence of democracy still excluded the African population and was rejected as inadequate and distasteful, and it ignited a political backlash.

South Africa in the 1980s

Meanwhile, in 1982, under the Presidency of Allan Boesak, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in Ottawa, followed by the WCC and the black Dutch Reformed Mission Church in Belhar, Cape Town, declared apartheid a heresy. While for many this was a bold expression of opposition to the Government, Cochrane (1990:82) believed that the 1982 proclamation reveals that much of Christian social analysis was still embedded in dogmatic theology. The Church was largely still caught up with the DRC's theological support for apartheid instead of looking at the broader structural economic, social and political issues.

And then, in 1983, alongside the ANC and PAC low-profile guerrilla warfare, the United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed as an alliance of about 500 organisations of all types. It set out to campaign against the tricameral constitution and the Koornhof Bills. Soon many more political, civic, church, youth, student, women and trade union organisations of all races joined the UDF. At its largest, it was believed to have about 2,5million members (*Survey of Race Relations*, 1988:773). The UDF constituted a popular internal opposition movement. It called for a government of all the people and for the disbanding of apartheid (*Survey of Race Relations*, 1988:776).

In May 1983 Diakonia became an observer member of the UDF and in December it took on full membership. The reasoning behind these decisions, according to Kearney (2009:277) was that Diakonia participated in campaigns on local issues with organisations affiliated to the UDF and shared its opposition to the tricameral parliament and the Koornhof Bills. However, the UDF was considered to be the 'internal wing' of the ANC and was therefore a major threat to the Inkatha Freedom Party, which I shall discuss in more detail below. A strategy to make South Africa ungovernable involved violent attacks on officials who were seen to be collaborating in implementing government policies. It also involved forcing township residents to participate in its campaigns. Violent clashes between UDF and Inkatha supporters increased apace.

Its membership of UDF clearly created a rift between Diakonia and Inkatha. As a result, in April 1985, Diakonia reverted to observer membership of the UDF (Kearney, 2009:279).

In the first year of its existence the UDF was able to campaign quite freely, and very effectively, against Prime Minister PW Botha's reforms. But in September 1984, in the Vaal Triangle, rent increase protests were countered by Police brutality and the protestors violently turned on their

black councillors. The violent uprising rapidly spread to townships and rural areas throughout South Africa and had increased substantially by July 1985, when the Government declared a State of Emergency in parts of South Africa. In 1986 the entire country was included in the State of Emergency (Kearney, 2009:209).

The mid 1980s saw state resources being employed to smash any resistance to its policies. Detention without trial, torture, murder and harassment from the police were common occurrences. Hit squads and vigilante groups terrorised black communities throughout the country. The township youth became increasingly anarchic and violent (Hay, 1989:25). The statements being issued by the SACBC and the SACC in the 1980s showed up the brutality of apartheid, providing an important source of alternative information. They also attracted significant international attention.

In 1985 the Kairos Document was published. It represents a radical departure from traditional Christian discourse in South Africa (its content will be discussed in chapter five). In November 1985 the WCC convened an ecumenical meeting of 85 religious leaders from South Africa, Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States of America in Harare. This meeting gave rise to the Harare Declaration, which was influenced by the Kairos Document. The Harare Declaration called for greater international economic pressure on South Africa and for churches to support movements working for political change (Cochrane, 1990:81). The Lusaka Statement, issued in May 1987 by a wide spectrum of churches meeting in Zambia at the invitation of the WCCs PCR, made this statement, which built on the Harare Declaration of 1985:

> It is our belief that civil authority is instituted by God to do good, and that under the biblical imperative all people are obliged to do justice and show special care for the oppressed and the poor. It is this understanding that leaves us with no alternative but to conclude that the South African regime and its colonial domination of Namibia, is illegitimate.

Twenty-five church leaders, along with 500 clergy and laity, in what for Jim Wallis was an unprecedented display of ecumenical unity, marched to Parliament in Cape Town in February 1988 carrying a petition, which demanded the right of peaceful protest (Wallis and Hooyday, 1989:2). This was in response to the government's banning of 17 organisations, including the UDF. The plan was to mobilise church membership *en masse* to join their leaders in a new

campaign of non-violent resistance. Thirty thousand people had been detained since a State of Emergency was imposed on 12 June 1986. Additional to that was a slew of assassinations, disappearances, random killings, and detentions (Wallis and Hooyday, 1989:17). In May 1988 the SACC convened a convocation of more than 200 church leaders who voted to launch a new campaign of non-violent direct action to remove the system of apartheid.

It was six years later, in 1994, that the ANC government was elected into power in South Africa.

A brief history of KwaZulu-Natal

However, for the purposes of this dissertation, the history of South Africa would not be complete without at least a brief mention of the political developments taking place in the KwaZulu homeland in Natal during the 1970s and 1980s, as these impacted directly on Diakonia.

The KwaZulu reservation was declared by the NP Government in 1970 as a homeland for the Zulu people. It comprised many separate pockets of mainly hilly and stony land scattered throughout the province of Natal, some of it abutting the 'white' cities, such as Durban. In 1975 Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, started Inkatha, which was later renamed the Inkatha Freedom Party, and became, effectively, its president for life. While it was punted as a "Zulu national cultural liberation movement", it was also a political party (Kentridge, 1990:8). Inkatha dominated the legislative assembly of the self-governing, but non-independent KwaZulu homeland. Thus, while Buthelezi rejected independence for KwaZulu, his party ran the administration and effectively collaborated with the NP Government. Inkatha's pyramid structure, with members at the bottom, local Inkatha branches in the middle, and President Buthelezi at the apex, ensured his personal control (Kentridge, 1999:9).

While at its inception, Inkatha enjoyed close relations with the ANC, its decision to take on political power and administrative functions under NP government separate development policies, soon caused a breakdown in this relationship. Kearney also described a breakdown in the close friendship that Buthelezi enjoyed with Denis Hurley and the Catholic Church from the early 1970s (2009:275). The reason given for the breakdown was the disparity between their political strategies, which closely followed the profile of the demise of Buthelezi's relationship with the Liberation Movement.

The rift between the Liberation Movement and Inkatha was cemented in 1980 with the schools boycott, part of a national campaign against appalling conditions, by pupils in Durban's KwaMashu township. Because Inkatha administered the schools in its areas, the actions of the pupils directly confronted the Inkatha administration. Inkatha members used violence to force the pupils to return to school and this was the beginning of many such violent confrontations between community groups and Inkatha (Kearney, 2009:276). Also in 1980, a German visitor was taken by Diakonia staff to its community project in Malukazi, a peri-urban area in KwaZulu, on the southern border of Durban. In a newspaper article she criticised Inkatha's role in the area. She complained that the local Inkatha leaders resisted every new community development initiative if it was not under their direct influence, and many residents resisted their control. The matter got back to Buthelezi who, in the KwaZulu legislative assembly, lashed out at Diakonia (Diakonia's support for the boycotting scholars, and the Malukazi experience, form part of the case study on Diakonia in chapters seven and eight).

The relationship between Inkatha and Diakonia worsened with the establishment of the UDF in 1983. As we have seen, the UDF campaigns against community councils brought it into direct conflict with Inkatha structures that were administering and controlling the African areas.

Chapter 5

Opposition politics in South Africa until the 1990s

The relevance of South African politics for this dissertation

The South African political landscape during the 1970s and 1980s was complex and turbulent. The National Party government was forcing its brand of Christian nationalism on the population, on the one hand, while, on the other hand, large sectors of the population were grouping and, in some cases, forming alliances to resist the NP's brand of authoritarian apartheid. Diakonia was a small and regional player within the hurly-burly of the socio-economic and political forces at play. But it was still a product of its time and place, seeking to affect social change. In order to better understand the organisation, we will benefit from locating Diakonia within the political terrain.

While in chapter four the aim was to provide a broad historical background, to gain a general understanding of the environment, the purpose now is to focus on opposition political strategies, and social change theories, in South Africa during the period of this study. The overview is geared to identify the most important political issues and deliberations at the time. In addition, and, more importantly, to identify what constitutes effective activism and political programmes for the establishment of a socially just and peaceful South Africa. The debates taking place in the institutional Church, concerning the role it should play in resistance politics, will be surveyed in chapters six.

However, before we turn our attention to South African 'politics', it is useful to ask what is meant by the term. The definition of politics put forward by South African political scientist, Nolutshungu (1982:8–9) will be adopted for this study: "Politics is a distinct field of action consisting in the relations of domination and subordination, and of freedom and self-government". He refuted the common belief that there is a straightforward, causal relationship between economics and politics and he believed that what counts as significant change in politics, and the nature of politics, is not always easy to define. Every political order is a more or less distinct combination of coercion and consent, which means that the source and nature of ideology in politics is an important question (1982:60), which is indeed the case in this study.

In broad agreement with Nolutshungu's position, Leatt (1979:337) argued that a society cannot hold together without a worldview and a sense of purpose: the goals which integrate its members and motivate them to achieve collectively defined ends. But he saw this as a particular challenge in

South Africa's plural society of the 1970s with different groupings distinguishing themselves according to their own particular interests that were frequently in opposition to each other. This was the complex and contested ideological landscape in which Diakonia was established in 1976 – the year of the Soweto uprising, which ushered in increasing resistance to apartheid in African communities nation-wide.

Christians are, as individuals and social groupings, products of society. In fact, it is clear from the many schisms in institutional religion, reflected in the history of South Africa, that Christians held a full spectrum of political and ideological positions. And John de Gruchy confirms that while roughly 80% of South Africans identified themselves as Christian, this did not lead to a common identity or understanding of social justice. In fact, in general, the class, race and national (or cultural) lines of division among Christians cut across denominations and reflect those of society (1985:85).

Using the concept of 'ideology' in terms of its ability to create consciousness, identity and solidarity, Gerhart (1979:3) outlined the range of competing political viewpoints, or ideologies, which arose out of South Africa's unique historical circumstances, post 1948. She acknowledged that these categories were being used as analytical, ideal-types and that in reality their boundaries were permeable.

She differentiated between ideologies that reinforced the status quo: the ideologies of Christian nationalism of the NP, and that of white trusteeship, proposed by the United Party and the Progressive Federal Party; and those ideologies that aimed at varying degrees and forms of social transformation – liberalism, Marxism, African Nationalism, and an ideology of a 'Fanonesque apocalypse' (Gerhart, 1979:4).

Gerhart's typology provides a useful framework to describe the major contending positions and to open a discussion on theories concerning the nature and direction of social change in South African politics in the 1970s and 1980s. This will be complemented by Anthony Marx's exploration of the social-structural categories of race, nation and class, both as means of oppression and as focal points for activism and analysis. The opposition strategies of the ANC and UDF during the 1980s, as they relate to the role of the churches, will be outlined. I will then turn to the institutional Church to sketch the major debates concerning the role that the Church should play in resisting the apartheid State. This exploration is important in locating Diakonia and the

theological approach it brought to its brand of Christian social action; and by extension, the role that religion can play in social change. I have left the discussion of political theology and Diakonia itself for later chapters.

Approaches to social change in opposition politics

According to Gerhart's typology of ideological positions in opposition politics in South Africa, a small minority of whites subscribed to a vision of a common multi-racial society. Depending on the nature of their opposition they were grouped as liberals or radicals (or the far Left, with 'communists' becoming a regular label). Liberals, while standing for sweeping changes in race relations and for the elimination of the worst forms of racial exploitation, were often paternalistic and, in general, did not direct their attacks against the basic structure of the South African system (1979:6). It was liberals who set the tone for much of African political thought in the years before 1936 (Gerhart, 1979:8). What then constitutes the ideal liberal notion of the social order?

South African liberalism has its philosophical taproot in Europe and in Christian and democratic traditions. It has tended to view apartheid as the chief impediment to ushering in a social democracy. The prevailing English-speaking Christian and Catholic standpoint was liberal capitalism - a notion that social democracy provides a viable political alternative in South Africa. Speaking at a Christian leaders' study programme on the ideologies of change, political scientist, Raphael De Kadt (1979:205), defined social democracy, broadly speaking, as seeking social and economic reform to benefit the less privileged within a framework of democracy, liberty and the parliamentary process. Liberalism, for De Kadt, is characterised by a commitment to non-violent means of social change towards equal opportunity; bourgeois political liberties; a parliamentary system; and amelioration of class inequalities.

While liberals were optimistic that a social democracy could be achieved. For Nolutshungu (1982:19–22), the impotence (rather than the optimism) of liberal theory in South Africa stemmed from its view of political change as constitutional reform and effective representation of the excluded. Within this paradigm, capitalism was implicitly associated with liberty and democracy, although it has been contradicted in many capitalist countries. Nolutshungu (1982:31) identified the chief weakness of liberal democratic theory as the absence of a concern for development. It disregarded questions of economic difference and structure and the process of large-scale social change and it was, therefore, unable to deal with the nature of the political demands and configurations of alignment that might have been appropriate to different development situations,

particularly in Third-World class formations, which imposed very definite constraints on democratisation.

De Kadt (1979:207) also argued that South Africa lacked the necessary conditions for the growth of a social democracy, in that class interests, and not racial and ethnic identity, are the basis for groups to articulate their interests and mobilise. Hence, a substantial liberalisation of the political system and the development of a strong working class would be necessary precursors to a social democratic movement.

In contrast to white liberals, radicals looked at South Africa from a Marxist perspective. They stood for the destruction not only of racial inequality but also of the capitalist-leaning economic system in South Africa, from which the inequality and exploitation were seen to have sprung (Gerhart, 1979:8). Small numbers of African intellectuals embraced socialist consciousness and the PAC and SASO movements pledged themselves to a vague notion of African socialism, according to Gerhart (1979:10).

While Sam Nolutshungu (1982:53) called for a 'Marxist non-reductionist' discussion of politics and political change, the lack of a theory of political change, he believed, had also vexed Marxism, both in relation to understanding the processes of social change and in regard to the status of rights in post-revolutionary societies. This is interpreted to mean that there was a lack of practical application and adaptation of Marxism, which was advanced to explain a more developed, European, class-based society, to the racialised, underdeveloped conditions in South Africa. The competing interests and ideologies within South Africa, and how social justice could be established, were also significant components of the social change debate. While Marxism addressed the structural inequalities of capitalism it tended to focus on the overthrow of the State. It thereby did not adequately take into account the complexity of what constitutes each particular nation and the importance of meaning and agency in social change.

Atkinson argues that the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s led to a far-reaching re-evaluation of the terms of Marxist intellectual debate and the dislodging of the state as a centre piece of political theory. For Atkinson, Antonio Gramsci's conception of civil society is also an acknowledgement of the complexity of political power: that government power was not always coercive, and that it was diffused throughout society and its cultural practices (1992b:12).

The third type of resistance politics, is 'African nationalism'. Gerhart (1979:10) concurred with Anderson (1983), as discussed in chapter three, that 'nation' refers to an imagined political community which is difficult to define because the form that nationalism takes depends on the place and time. But whatever its culture, nationalism seeks expression through the creation or maintenance of a nation-state as a polity dedicated to the protection of its identity and interests.

Gerhart (1979:16) described the history of post Second World War African political thought as a protracted process of tearing loose from a liberal worldview and the rise of increasingly radical forms of nationalism. She identified the most important factor in the growth of collective African morale to be political consciousness, or an understanding by individuals of their relationship to their society and how the parts of that society function in relation to one another. Another component of African collective morale was solidarity or a sense of a shared position in society and common interests (1979:18).

There is a distinction between the 'black power' nationalism of the PAC and the liberal or multi-racial nationalism of the ANC. The first is defined as a racially-defined majority rule view with Africans winning power to control the state and, ultimately, the economy through the state. It rejected alliances with anti-apartheid whites. Multi-racial nationalism, on the other hand, had favoured such alliances (Gerhart, 1979:13).

The fourth, and most extreme approach to social change would be anarchic, all-out violence against the elite and their social structures. Franz Fanon, in his classic treatise, *The Wretched of the Earth*, called for an anti-colonial revolution in which the colonised use cathartic violence to assert their rights. He believed that violence and the elimination of the oppressor was the only thing capable of breaking the colonisers' power and that violence is a cleansing force, freeing the 'native' from an inferiority complex and from despair and inaction. This brand of apocalyptic thinking did not, however, take hold widely in South Africa, according to Gerhart (1979:14).

Oppression and ideology in opposition politics
Thus we see that, in South Africa, the major political ideological positions opposing Christian Nationalism were those of Liberalism, Marxism, and African Nationalism, with the English-speaking and Roman Catholic Churches in the liberal camp, with some exceptions. This however, is a somewhat descriptive approach. Anthony Marx took a different analytical approach, from that of Gerhart, to the nature of South African opposition movements. He took as his point of departure

how they redefined state-enforced categories of racial, national and class identity, and how this in turn gave form to the various brands of opposition ideology (Marx, 1992:9). This is an informative approach to understanding opposition politics, providing us with some insight into the complex way the ideas are formed and recruited to causes.

Marx (1992:5) starts out by identifying the types of state oppression and the forms of opposition that grew in response to these. We have previously noted that he took up Ruth First's analysis, as outlined in chapter one. That is, that white South Africans oppressed black Africans over three centuries through an overlapping combination of racial discrimination, national domination, and economic exploitation.

Both political analysts and activists have tended to focus on race or nation or class as the major locus of political domination and hence, the locus for opposition. For example, the Black Consciousness movement concentrated largely on ending black acceptance of their own racial inferiority and thereby excluded whites from the struggle for liberation. The ANC envisioned a more inclusive South African nationhood, attempting to unify supporters of all classes and races (Marx, 1992:5). Socialists and unionists promoted an opposition movement led by the black working class to challenge apartheid and the economic order of capitalism with which it has been associated.

However, this schema of race, nation and class as distinct rallying points for the opposition movements does not take account of the complexity of South African politics. For example, in South Africa the ideological category of race was the primary means of political differentiation for the State, which in turn determined who had power to coerce and who was to be coerced. Race performed a double function. It functioned both as legitimisation of the unequal relations, and for providing a practical principle of political organisation of the state and the social division of labour. In this manner, race obscured class (Nolutshungu,1982:60). This had important implications especially for Marxist theory because class loses its dynamic, dialectical power and social change theories needed to be able to take this complexity into account in order to achieve an accurate insight into the structural dynamics of social change possibilities.

Thus, we see emerging a picture of a complex and nuanced South African context with a peculiar blend of nationalism, and a developmentally-uneven and racial form of capitalism. Without denying the valid role of any type of opposition strategy that advances the interests of the

dispossessed, it was a broad-based, multi-racial, multi-class, and nation-wide coalition of opposition forces that was ultimately able to confront and weaken the powerful National Party Government.

Another example of the complexity of South African politics was provided by Nolutshungu (1982:178–183), who argued that after June 1976 most Black Consciousness leaders saw a need for armed struggle. But the very nature of the BCM - working in public as a broad umbrella movement to raise black consciousness - prevented it from publicly espousing or engaging in violent subversive acts. Thus, the public espousal of non-violence was viewed as largely tactical. In addition, although the BCM focussed on the politics of race, for Nolutshungu (1982:200–201), the BCM was an effective opposition movement. It was effective because it played a subversive role in upsetting the rationalisation for racial domination and it provoked violent repression by the state that in turn fuelled the uprising of militant black youth in Soweto in June 1976, and thereafter.

Broad-based opposition politics
There is also evidence that the ANC was often tactical and pragmatic in its use of opposition strategies. The ANC re-emerged in the 1980s as a significant player in opposition politics and its broad-based approach incorporated the church-based opposition, which we shall now survey.

While Diakonia was not directly aligned to the ANC it was loosely part of the opposition movement in the way that it challenged the legitimacy of government policies and practices and took up the concerns of the marginalised. It was also active in promoting and facilitating the mobilisation of civil society to work for social justice and reconciliation. The fact that Diakonia initially joined the UDF in 1983 - although it soon withdrew to an observer status because this made it too party-political, and alienated other sectors - revealed their close collaboration.

As the term 'Congress' suggests, the ANC was perceived as a 'broad church' or 'parliament of the people'. Nelson Mandela, writing in the Congress newspaper at the time of the adoption of the Freedom Charter at Kliptown on 26 June 1955, described the situation as follows:

> The democratic struggle in South Africa is conducted by an alliance of various classes and political groupings amongst the non-European people supported by white democrats, African, coloured and Indian workers and peasants, traders and merchants, students and teachers, doctors and lawyers, and various other classes and groupings, all

participating in the struggle against racial inequality and for full democratic rights

(Mandela, 1955. Cited in *Review of African Political Economy*, 1990:100).

An editorial, with no name attached, in the *Review of African Political Economy* confirmed that the ANC undertook campaigns, besides the mobilisation of the townships and the union movements, in alliance with a variety of groupings, utilising a pluralist vision and a non-sectarian approach (1990:102).

The ANC-aligned UDF was the umbrella organisation for what became, in the 1980s, the most popular internal opposition movement in South Africa. In the opinion of Marx (1992:14), the movement was defined by a strategy of collective action against the apartheid State, more than by an ideology, such as racial identity. To attract all possible allies, the UDF remained deliberately vague in its specific policies and adopted the ANC's inclusive Freedom Charter.

There is much evidence, during the turbulent 1980s, of an upsurge of a broad-based and diverse form of resistance politics in South Africa aimed at undermining the apartheid State so that a new, and more just social structure could be established in its place. This resistance worked at both conscientising and galvanising into action all of the sectors of civil society; and at minimum, at breaking the ideological grip that Christian Nationalism had on much of the population. It was, in the main, a non-violent strategy, which did not rely on military intervention, against a militarised state; and the institutional Church, as a significant component of civil society, formed an important part of this resistance strategy.

In addition, despite an eschewal of specific policies, the working of the Congress movement, and in particular the UDF, revealed a commitment to democracy, individual liberty, pluralism and diversity, which are liberal notions, shared by the SACC and the SACBC. Despite the violent clashes and intimidation that marred political activity, especially in the townships, the executive members adhered to a notion of participative democracy. This was both in its political style and for a future multi-racial South Africa: calling for an extension of the sphere of politics to the whole of society and the creation of a more complex and multi-dimensional civil society. "These multiple linkages into the marrow of South African civil society provide a different insight into ANC strategy in the 1980s so often portrayed as mere undifferentiated slogans and rhetoric" (*Review of African Political Economy*, 1990:104).

As the prime example of the inclusive, resistance strategy of the ANC, the *Review of African Political Economy* (1990:103) cited its engagement over two decades with the churches. During the 1980s the crucial political role of Allan Boesak, Desmond Tutu and Beyers Naudé, as some examples of church leadership, provided evidence of the close working relationship between the Churches and the Congress movement. Heribert Adam supported this view, revealing that the ANC came to recognise the importance of the Christian Church, known in ANC parlance as 'the religious front' for social change, and that it established a special Religious Department to 'infiltrate' the churches in order to establish 'ANC units' (1988:111).

An active agency of civil society in the 1980s, which was aligned to the UDF, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac) (1988:28) also claimed that the overthrow of the apartheid State could only be affected once the 'democratic movement' became powerful in relation to the State. It pointed to the increasing dissidence in the church sector as a positive indication of greater fluidity and division amongst whites, which in turn, should weaken state power. "Work in the middle ground is strategically critical if the politics of the democratic movement is to win hegemony and undermine the social base of the present order" (Jodac, 1988:32). Jodac also saw this work as important in order to create the broadest possible social base for a government by the people and to ward off reactionary social forces, which might hijack a post-apartheid government.

Taking a different view, Tom Lodge (1987:4-6) believed that local struggles did not directly challenge state and political power. However, he conceded that the popular movements that mushroomed in the townships in the mid 1980s won a succession of local struggles, compelling state representatives to recognise and negotiate with blacks.

Stephan Zunes (1999:202) went so far as to advocate that non-violent community action was a major factor in the overthrow of the National Party Government and the establishment of a black majority government in South Africa in 1994; and this despite the fact that there was a highly industrialised, powerful state. In his view the non-violent resistance succeeded because of a system of internal colonialism, with a white minority comprised of less than one fifth of the population exercising control, making it both powerful and vulnerable. For Zunes (1999:204), the strategy succeeded because it avoided challenging the South African State where it was strong, and concentrated its attacks where it was weak. A violent strategy, on the other hand, would have given the State a strategic edge.

Zunes (1999:212) referred to a 1984 statement by the ANC President to the effect that the ANC recognised that mass non co-operation, which would make the country ungovernable, would topple apartheid.

The means and ends of social change

Within the inclusive, democratic strategies of the Mass Democratic Movement, Anthony Marx identified a debate over strategy centred on the long-term relationship between means and the ends of the struggle. On the one hand is the belief that the means and ends must be consistent, even if they slow change, for otherwise more expedient means will cause undesired ends. Charterists argue, 'We must live as democrats and non-racially now … to plant the seeds of the future". On the other side are those who contend that the ends justify any means, that without more expedient means, the primary goal of liberation will not be reached; and that the resulting frustration will bring consequences graver than any means used to gain liberty (1992:269).

The citizen and civil society in social change

But a commitment to socially-inclusive peace and social justice necessitates a deep concern with the means of social change and the importance of the citizen; and how best the citizen can be empowered, which leads me to a discussion of the role of non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

Fowler (1996:24) described democracy as a condition where people effectively control those who exercise authority in their name. In other words, those in power have gained a mandate and hence have earned legitimacy with the polity. He identified two ways that NGOs could make this legitimacy, and hence, democracy, stronger through civil society. Firstly, to make the political process more inclusive, and, secondly, to make the government more accountable: increasing both people's appreciation of what they want from government and their capacity to assert themselves to achieve the required standards; to increase civic awareness, participation and skills.

Another writer on civil society, Jørgensen, defined a 'Civil Society Organisation' (referred to as an NGO in South Africa), broadly, as any non-profit organisation which is not directed by the state. The political function of NGOs include operating as a means for citizens to define and articulate their interests, meet their needs and to make demands on government. They provide a training ground for civic participation, recruit new political leaders, stimulate political participation and educate the public on issues of public interest. They perform a watchdog role on the state, along

with the press, keeping it accountable and transparent, according to Jørgensen (1996:37-38). Both churches and their social agencies would qualify as NGOs in terms of this definition.

Specifically within the South African context Mark Swilling (1992:82) also argued the importance of a vibrant civil society. He stressed the importance of creating social spaces to expand and harness the creative energies of the citizenry. He warned against the replacement of the apartheid State with a populist authoritarian state, which would produce yet another African failure: stagnant, unimaginative and fear-driven.

The Church as an agency of civil society

But how do debates on the means and ends of opposition politics relate to our focus of interest, which is the role of religion in social change? Religion has two distinct aspects to its potential role as a social change agent of civil society: the role of the ecclesiastical, institutional structures of the Church as an agency of civil society; and its nature as a belief system, which provides an ethical and moral frame of reference. Within the context of our discussion of civil society in resistance politics, the first of these potential roles - that of the Church as part of civil society – will be explored here. Religion as a belief system will be investigated in greater detail in chapter six.

The Church with its ecclesiastical and institutional structures is part of civil society and we have seen how a strong and vibrant civil society is necessary to place a check on the effect of state power. The institutional Church, as a relatively independent and powerful organ of civil society that is not class, race or nation specific, can act as a countervailing influence to the State and can hold the State accountable to the citizenry. It can also provide a source of transcendent social ethics that can motivate attitudes and actions towards social justice. But we must keep in mind that while these two functions are analytically distinct they are intrinsically inter-connected.

In my view, the core challenge of any social change strategy is for the economic and political structures of society, which shape and determine the quality of human life, to be tested and weighed against values that favour social justice. The question we are asking is what role can religion play to facilitate social justice? In the words of Rick Turner: "A Christian society is one in which we prefer people to things, a society based on freely expressed love. Our problem is to work out what kind of institutions, social, political and economic, would be needed for such a society" (1980:34).

While it is generally accepted that in the pre-industrial era, religious ideas formed part of the fabric of the political, social and economic arrangements, Donald Smith (1974:23) questioned whether, in a contemporary industrial society, the major religious systems could significantly influence the motivation and behaviour of large numbers of people towards the tasks of social justice and development. He identified the three major themes in modernisation as differentiation, equality, and capacity. Systems undergoing modernisation become more differentiated in terms of governmental and political structures, place increasing emphasis on equality of citizens in political participation and the allocation of benefits, and increase their capacity to bring about socio-economic change (Smith, 1974:3).

It is only in the first of these processes that institutional religion is directly involved, and in a negative manner. But for Smith (1974:6), church structures, because of their institutional coherence, along with their relative independence from the State, are well equipped to become one of the political players in civil society, even though their core function is not concerned with political power.

Perhaps it is precisely because the contemporary Church is not primarily concerned with political power that it can, using its institutional structures and relative independence from the State, as an agency of civil society, provide a positive influence for social justice in the way that it strengthens civil society, helping to create space for social participation.

It is from within this perspective that Rick Turner (1980:94) advocated in 1972 that the Christian Church could help to break down apartheid and that a positive future could be built by embracing Christian values. While Turner was certain that it would be black South African workers who were the chief agents of change, this did not prevent him from harnessing the potential involvement of whites in order to create a political climate that would be amenable to making concessions, and thereby avoid a bloody conflict. He identified in the English-speaking community three institutions that could potentially help to facilitate peaceful social change in South Africa. These were the English-speaking universities, the press, and the Churches. However, of these three institutions, the Churches were the most significant, for two reasons: because they were more closely integrated with the international community and, therefore, more sensitive to social pressure; and, secondly, because they had a large black membership. As a result of their multi-racialism, he identified their potential for the growth of black leadership (Turner, 1980:111-138).

Hope and Young (1981:230) also saw in the multi-racial nature of the English-speaking churches in general, and their governing bodies such as the SACC, an important means of demonstrating that the different race groups could work together and that Africans could exercise leadership and wisdom towards social change. This was an important aspect of challenging the apartheid project, and showing that alternate realities were possible, in South Africa.

Hence, a dynamic civil society, inclusive of churches, is significant in terms of providing a countervailing locus of power, and alternative practices and identities (such as multi-racialism), to that of the State. A vibrant civil society can hold the State accountable and can influence the nature of social development. This assumes an empowered citizenry that can discern and articulate what it wants from its social, economic and political structures. It is here that social meanings, values and ethics come strongly into play. It is here where we connect with the significance of religion as a value system.

It is in the role of the Church as an NGO that it can play a political role. And in chapter six we will look in more detail at the ways in which the Church grappled with its role a potential agency for social change and justice.

Chapter 6

Christian political theology and Archbishop Denis Hurley

It is now opportune to turn our focus to religion and the Church, within the landscape of South Africa that was sketched in the previous two chapters, in order to move closer to an understanding of Diakonia, and its nature as a particular expression of Christian opposition politics.

It was revealed in chapter four how sectors of the institutional Churches, and individuals, influenced by transcendent aspects of Christian belief, formed a significant part of the opposition to apartheid in the 1970s and 1980s. Sheena Duncan, who was the national president of the Black Sash for 14 years, and the Anglican representative on the SACC Justice and Reconciliation Division, saw a clear role for the Church in social change. For while the Church was not united in its politics, it was on the frontlines of the political struggle in South Africa as a result of the huge numbers of Christians who were seeking socio-economic and political change. "Perhaps it is impossible in Africa to make a sharp distinction about what is secular and what is religious. Religious and daily life are inextricably intertwined" (Duncan,1991:29).

In chapter five the nature of the political change options that were current in South Africa during the period of this study were explored, and within this, a role for the Church, in relation to these dynamics, gained importance.

The importance of values and meaning in social change

In chapter six the significance of value systems to social life, and the manner in which Christianity helped to shape and justify the identity, values, and aspirations of social groups, will be investigated. Directly related to our value system is our choice of strategy, or the means to social change. Here we enter the realm of politics; and both the nature and extent to which the institutional Church should engage in opposition politics is raised. We will therefore explore the very lively discussions that took place in the Church on the means and ends of social change strategies, and the non-violence debate, which was central to these deliberations.

In chapter two, a case was made for the role of agency and ideas in social change, and how societies are held together by rules and roles, which are in turn based on norms, values and interests. Society is not a thing but a process of structuration: "… society just is the dynamic

working through of rule and role-governed patterns of interactions among agents whose identity and relative position change constantly partly on the basis of the way these agents interpret the rules and roles" (Fay, 1999:65). It is when religion or other value commitments are mobilised or contested within institutional settings that it becomes clear that what is at issue is an ideological struggle over power and social control (Thompson, 1986:66). And this is the stuff of social change.

It was also argued that religion is an important aspect of ideological contestation in society because of its nature, as a primary 'value orientation' as defined by Glock and Stark (1973:9). Humans, as agents in social change, must, firstly, be able to discern discrepancies in social arrangements and to visualise the possibility of something better, in order to be motivated to act against existing social structures (Frueh, 2003:16-19). Religion can, in this manner, motivate and justify attitudes and actions, both in the maintenance of a society, as it is, or towards change.

Christianity forms part and parcel of the history of the establishment of the Republic of South Africa and the character of its nation-state. We have noted how approximately 80% of the population called themselves Christian during the period of this investigation; and how the various alliances, facing up against each other in the political and social dynamics, all shared Christianity. But, even more importantly, how Christian beliefs played a significant role in the motivations, attitudes and actions of the social agents.

The influence of Christian beliefs and the institutional church on national and political identity and aspirations is most strikingly obvious in the case of the Afrikaners and the Dutch Reformed Church, forming the backbone of Christian Nationalism and the National Party. But there is also ample evidence of Christianity playing a significant role in the aspirations and actions of the other interest groups.

In fact, the use of religious justification by African opposition movements in South Africa, Graybill believed, demonstrates that humans are nearly incapable of claiming some desired object without seeking to prove that it is desirable in terms of some wider system of values. The "value of the end," Niebuhr wrote, "is necessary to sanctify the fact that it is desired" (Niebuhr, 1937. Cited in Graybill,1995:6). Advancing the cause of black political rights became, thus, a Christian duty. The liberation of black South Africans was seen as having wider implications: the liberation of humankind. Likewise, the tactics employed – non-violent or violent, multi-racial or exclusivist –

were presented within a moral framework, appealing to values beyond mere pragmatism (Graybill,1995:6).

Two examples from early African resistance politics reveal the way Christianity shaped their discourse. An early organiser of political structures to promote a united African voice, Mr PI Seme (1911:72), wrote:

> There is today among all races and men [sic] a general desire for progress, and for co-operation, because co-operation will facilitate and secure that progress. This spirit is due, no doubt, to the great triumph of Christianity, which teaches men [sic] everywhere that in this world they have a common duty to perform towards God and toward one another.

An example is also drawn from the year 1935, in the context of mounting African united resistance to the impending removal of Cape African voters from the common voters' roll in 1936, and to the imposition of increasing restrictions. It was also the start of the Italian-Ethiopian War. The editor of the short-lived newspaper, *The African Liberator*, Gilbert Coka, wrote an editorial calling for Africans to organise and co-operate in the quest for freedom and justice. He directly made claims of divine direction, and indirectly quoted a biblical passage that was used by Jesus to convey his role in ushering in the Kingdom of God to imply a Messianic role for African resistance: "Wars and rumours of war are in the air. But the divinity that shapes our ends has also brought forward the opportunity of liberty to the captive, freedom to the oppressed and opportunity to those who struggle" (Coka, 1936:16).

Approaching the issue from a different angle, Berger (1977:76) maintained that citizens should participate in the fundamental choices that need to be made in social development, choices that hinge not only on technical expertise but on moral judgments. In other words, it is not appropriate to leave core human values out of the equation when making choices about social structures and functions.

The key questions are: who benefits and what are the costs? There are fundamental value alternatives involved, for example, in the two models of Capitalism and Communism, which cannot be answered by 'social scientific' analysis (Berger, 1977:121). Both Capitalism and Communism were relevant sets of ideas in offering different ideas about 'the good' and the processes of social change during this period.

Berger (1977:251) proposed that his main point was about the 'calculus of meaning': "All material development is, in the end, futile unless it serves to enhance the meanings by which human beings live." And because of this, he warns against trashing traditional values and institutions. He stressed the need for an ethic of social development approach which cuts across ideological dividing lines in the search for new perspectives that take into account divergent groups and which lay emphasis on the calculation of pain and of meaning.

On the same theme, in Christian academic thinking, the basic questions are neither economic and political nor technological, but moral, claimed a South African theological writer in the 1970s, James Leatt (1979:339). Moral choices presuppose ethical criteria for analysing the content of potential economic systems, and ethical criteria for assessing the means towards those ends. Who decides? Who benefits? What are the human costs involved? Who pays? Do the results achieved by the 'success' of these strategies justify the means used to achieve them? Which of revolution or reform is the best way of achieving a more just society in South Africa?

Leatt (1979:346) warned that there is a significant difference in motive and strategy between working towards the construction of better structures and systems and working to tear down the existing system. If you wish to tear down, the motive will be discontent, or Marcuse's 'revolution of disgust', and the focus will be on encouraging discontent. Reconciliation is ruled out. The discontinuation between past and future will be emphasised, which breaks with the Christian notion of providence. In other words, in his view, it is the role of the Church to work for social justice as opposed to working in direct opposition to an unjust government. And, in principle, I share this belief that this should be the dominant church position.

But in working for social justice, Christianity can challenge all accepted values in the interests of placing people before things, as quoted from Turner (1980:34), in chapter five. Duncan Greaves (1987:36) found that while Turner was not a Christian, in his work for the Christian SPRO-CAS project, Christ's injunction to do unto others as you would have them do unto you established, for Turner, a radical principle of justice.

Jann Turner (2007:47) recalled her father's life and his politics on the 30th anniversary of Rick Turner's violent death at his home in Durban on 8 January 1978:

> The act of thinking in a utopian manner, that of envisioning a new society, is an
> important one, because that vision can form the blueprint of change and, therefore, of

the new society. As Eddie Webster has said, Rick Turner took seriously the injunction that it is the task of the intellectual not merely to understand the world, but also to change it.

As part of the intellectual project, Rick Turner was concerned about the quality of both the means and the ends of change. Jann Turner (2007:46) quoted Tony Morphet as writing about Rick Turner that he was concerned with the "value-creating processes" of social change movements. Morphet explained that in Rick Turner's critique of the Zimbabwe conflict he found "Violence, uncontrolled by any sense of ends ... In the absence of any coherent grasp of ends and means, violence was likely to become endemic."

De Gruchy (1995:274) also affirmed the importance of being able to strive for a better society. He pointed out that we need to make a distinction between democracy as a vision for society and as a system of government. While the ideal state of freedoms, equality and fraternity, peace and justice is not realisable, we need this utopian vision to spur us on and to provide a goal.

Referring to Rick Turner's untimely and violent death, Morphet wrote: "Turner revealed to a society caught in the defeating logic of oppression the shape and substance of life conceived in freedom and lived out through the enactment of rational choices" (Turner, 2007:51). Jann Turner concluded her description of how she believed her father would have conducted himself in contemporary South Africa thus: "Reason and imagination. Critical and visionary thinking. Those are the forces he would have deployed. Powerful forces that need to be nurtured and safeguarded. Forces that are eroding and will fade if we let them" (2007:51).

Thus, Rick Turner, along with Berger and Leatt, quoted above, also affirmed the importance of values and meaning in social change: that it should be not simply about overthrowing the Government, but about the form of social justice that is desired and how best this can be attained. This, in turn, allows a role for religion in so far as it moulds our value orientations and provides a transcendent morality against which the nitty-gritty of day-to-day political choices can be evaluated.

Religion and the shaping of resistance politics

We have already explored, in chapter four, a little of how Christianity helped shape apartheid South Africa. Let us now move on to look in more detail at how religious belief itself featured in resistance politics.

Graybill (1995:125) argued that Christian ideals served as an ethical critique of apartheid, as a source of righteous anger that inspired action, and as a well-spring of confidence in eventual victory. He went further to claim that the Christian values of resistance leaders inspired and shaped black political protest over the twentieth century and, in no small measure, were instrumental in ushering in a new democratic era.

Let us first look at the role of Christian belief in the rise of African nationalism. Both De Gruchy (1979:48-49) and Walshe (1995) recorded how many of the leaders were ministers within the mission and English-speaking churches and had received their education and training at missionary institutions.

Peter Walshe, provided examples of the influence of Christianity on the inclusive, multi-racial, liberal nature of ANC policy. John Dube, a Congregational minister, and the first President of the ANC after its formation in 1912, who twice visited the United States, was quoted as saying that the path was "Onward! Upward! Into the higher places of civilisation and Christianity" (1912. Cited in Walshe, 1995:15). Zacheus Mahabane, a Methodist minister, and the President of the ANC in the late twenties and thirties, believed that "…the universal acknowledgement of Christ as common Lord and King [would] break down the social, spiritual and intellectual barriers between the races" (1925. Cited in Walshe, 1995:15).

In addition, Walshe argued that the close relationship and shared religious ethics of black and white believers counteracted a radically separatist form of black nationalism. Dr AB Xuma, President of the ANC from 1940 to 1949, pointed out that the ANC was "working for the good of all South Africans, working to promote the ideals of Christianity, human decency and democracy" (Xuma, 1944. Cited in Walshe, 1995:15). Chief Albert Luthuli, who was elected President of the ANC in 1952, was dismissed from his Chieftainship of the Abase-Makolweni Tribe in Groutville, Natal, by the Governor General earlier in 1952 because of his involvement in the ANC. The statement that he issued in response to his dismissal clearly revealed his faith and his commitment to moderation and multi-racialism: "... viewing Non-Violent Passive Resistance [of the ANC] as a

non-revolutionary and, therefore, a most legitimate and humane political pressure technique for a people denied all effective forms of constitutional striving" (1952:487). He pointed out that the Campaign was not intended to overthrow the State "... but only urges for the inclusion of all sections of the community in a partnership in the Government of the country on the basis of equality" (1952:488). He justified the right to equality of opportunity on the basis of the equality of humanity in the eyes of God and went on to justify resistance to government behaviour that transgressed the higher law of God, with reference to the New Testament biblical injunction: "Shall we obey God or man?" (1952:488). He ended the statement with the rousing words: "...the Road to Freedom Is Via The Cross" (1952:489).

But despite the liberal and multi-racial attempts at inclusion in parliamentary politics by the early ANC, Graybill (1995:2) denied that Christianity could be accused of hampering an assertive form of African nationalism. At no time did black South Africans accept the conditions of oppression as an expression of the will of God. Counter theologies arose that enabled Africans to "pierce the myth of racial inferiority" and to see themselves as equal before God.

Even the South African Government recognised that Christian theology could be put to the service of radical politics. The Schlebusch (1972) and Eloff (1981-84) commissions, were appointed to investigate the CI and the SACC respectively because of the potential danger they posed to the State. It was even claimed that Christian theology was capable of launching a "dangerous and subversive attack … on the existing political, social, and economic order in the Republic" (Regehr, 1979:212. Cited in Graybill, 1995:2).

Admittedly, in the early days of the ANC, religion did play a somewhat moderating role. The 'white brother', it was believed, could be petitioned on the basis of a shared Christian morality to play fair. Other tactics were prohibited: one could not justify illegal methods against a God-ordained state nor employ violent means against a neighbour one was enjoined to love. By the time of the Defiance Campaign in 1952, however, African resistance had become more assertive, motivated in part by Christian beliefs that pushed in the direction of active resistance. For Graybill, Christianity was never a static dogma but was continuously reinterpreted in the light of new exigencies (1995:3).

Politics tended to gravitate towards two poles, or two opposing views of nationalism. Crudely speaking, Albert Luthuli and Desmond Tutu, operating in different times and under different

conditions, represented the inclusive multi-racial approach towards a democratic future, sometimes called the Charterist position (after the Freedom Charter's call that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white"). Robert Sobukwe and Steve Biko typify the exclusive blacks-only approach, referred to as the Africanist position. These were distinct approaches around which much of twentieth century African politics gravitated. In Graybill's opinion, religious belief was used to justify both positions (1995:8).

Graybill demonstrated how African thought was not uni-linear or uniform. For example, as we have seen above, the politics of the Charterists (ANC and UDF)) and the Africanists (PAC) diverged widely even though, in most respects, their leaders shared a comparable economic position, social status and religion. Hence neither material circumstances nor religious belief determined the dominance of one idea over another in a straight forward way (Graybill, 1995:4). And Christianity did not compete with political ideologies, such as black consciousness and nationalism (1995:9).

The institutional Church and resistance politics

During the period of this study there was a growing controversy within the Church concerning the role it should play in opposition to an unjust and authoritarian state. There are three possible ways, according to Bonhoeffer (1972. Cited in De Gruchy, 1984:91), that the institutional Church can respond to the State: it can help the victims of state actions; it can question the ethics and legitimacy of state actions; and, thirdly, it can challenge the State directly by means of political activism when it sees it fail in its function of creating conditions of law and order for all of its citizens.

The history of the Catholic and English-speaking, Protestant, multi-racial Churches in South Africa, as presented in the previous chapters, showed the Churches playing all three of these roles; but while the first two functions of the Church in relation to the State were widely accepted, the third, a political activist role, challenged the Church to its core.

Throughout the history of the Church it had placed much emphasis on the first response to the State: of providing social services both to its own members and to the wider society as part of its missionary activities. The Church in South Africa established schools, hospitals and many other social services, and in this way played a significant developmental and educational role.

When it came to the second potential role of the Church in relation to the State, it is the most important task of the Church, in the view of Johan Heyns of the DRC (1991:173), to remind the State of its limitations, that it cannot make itself into a God by arrogating for itself all power and authority and by insisting on the unconditional obedience of its subjects. In addition, it is necessary that the State should go beyond ensuring that basic needs are met, and law and order are maintained, to the promotion of social justice.

According to Heyns (1991:174), along with Willie Jonker from the University of Stellenbosch too, (1991:95), it is the proper role of the Church to condemn any form of discrimination and exploitation or oppression in society. De Gruchy (1991:116) also believed that the church could not be neutral when it came to matters of justice and equality in society. The church should be part of the political struggle, but not for domination and power, rather for truth, justice, human rights, and equality: the way to peace and reconciliation.

Jabulani Nxumalo expressed the standard Christian orthodoxy when he wrote that the Church should be "a bearer of a message and not a system", that "Christians are invited to humanise revolution by recalling its humane purposes."(1982:47). He understood the Church's role as bringing about an internal transformation in people that would lead to changes in social behaviour.

Louw Alberts *et al* place a clear limit on the political task of the church: it should stay out of party politics specifically in order to be able to play an independent, critical and social-ethical role in ensuring social justice for all (1991:96). Nürnberger (1979:36) took the same position: that the church should never identify with a political, economic or social pressure-group working in opposition to other groups because by its nature the church should provide a safe space for the rich and the poor, the radical and conservative. Neuhaus (1986:23) went so far as to claim that once the church took sides with a particular political party or movement, or became partisan, it became apostate because it lost the critical reservation that is made imperative by transcendent faith in Christ and his eschatological promise.

While, in the opinion of South African Christian academic, JA Van Wyk, Christian eschatology (or theology) presupposes the denial of any particular social, economic or political theoretical system that lays claim to constituting the truth, Christians still have what he calls the 'prophetic task' (1979:315) of finding the best way to respond to any given circumstances in communion with God and with other human beings as part of God's creation. But this task implicitly involves

the eschewal of violence and the adoption of hopeful and open communication as the means to social change.

The prophetic task of the Church

The 'prophetic task' moves the role of the Church outside of its ecclesiastical, into a political, terrain. Clearly, the different social and economic interests of Christians made finding a balance and an integration of the religious and the political a difficult balancing act for theologians and the institutional Church in South Africa.

We have seen how the growing worldwide politicisation and mobilisation of the institutional Church in the 1960s and 1970s was also evident in South Africa. However, the Christian opposition was by no means uniform in its approach. In regard to the role of the Church in South African politics in the 1970s and 1980s, Jonker (1991:93) identified a tension between two conflicting views: of 'reconciliation' on the one hand and 'resistance' on the other. According to Jonker (1991:94), the way of political activism espoused by Liberation Theology saw the mainline Churches' concern for taking a middle way of reconciliation as naïve and ultimately supporting the interests of the status quo. The activist school of thought was in turn rejected by the reconciliation lobby as highly politicised and a threat to the core identity of the Church.

Villa-Vicencio (1988:136) asked a pertinent question: if when Christians express their social concern, are these actions religious or political? Where does the one end and the other begin? Which demands the most allegiance? The integration of religious and political beliefs and functions brought socio-political alliances into the heart of the Church, challenging traditional institutional arrangements and the theological understanding of Christians.

For De Gruchy (1979:234), the integration of religion with politics gives shape to the vocation of the Christian Church: to attempt to break the cycle of violence fundamental to violent political change, or violent maintenance of the status quo. This is why it should stay away from the specifics of party politics, "for in such relations moral motives are invariably submerged in a struggle for power". The breaking of the cycle of violence requires social justice, which is a central biblical principle of 'shalom'. This insight was the basis for the Christian opposition to apartheid and racism, which were seen to require violence to enforce them and to provoke violence from their victims. This is why the Church witnessed to human rights and opposed state brutality:

"All churches do not disagree that human rights are integrally related to the Kingdom of God … there is a form of consensus, even including the Dutch Reform Church" (De Gruchy, 1979:235).

On the other hand, Holloway (1986:31) warns that the dilemmas of power and the agony of hard choices, create enormous problems for Christians, and many of them, knowing little about the realities of political conflict, are prone to give soft answers and seek sentimental solutions.

Nolutshungu (1982:2–5) argues that the problem of political change takes its form and significance from the overall theoretical and ideological framework within which it is raised, which I take to mean that we cannot entirely escape from the structures of power and inequality in society. For example, David Welsh (1978:38), pointed out that because race and class overlap and reinforce each other and because racial conflict is fundamentally about the allocation of material and non-material resources, viewing apartheid simply in moral terms was not helpful. In other words, it is not simply racism or prejudice that causes discriminatory behaviour. It is also social structures and conflicts that create prejudices and the resultant racial behaviour. And because of this type of complexity in social dynamics, the Church was not always able to find an accurate and effective political voice.

In addition, the institutional Church had, historically, been slow to challenge state power. Francois Houtart (1971:ix. Cited in Cochrane, 1990:97), asked why it was that Christianity, which proclaims human liberation, tended to be associated with state power and the status quo in society. He believed the institutional Church saw the state as important in facilitating the performance of its religious function. Revolution tends to threaten all of the institutions of the State, including the institution of the Church. Thus, it could be influenced by the desire to preserve and enhance its institutional structures and functions.

In the same vein, Hurley (1979:363) accused the Church of being too caught up with its own affairs and that of its full-time workers, to give meaning to citizens in everyday life. And Meiring (1983:301) confirmed the tendency of much of the Church to stay out of political conflict. A number of studies in both the United States of America and in South Africa found that churches in the main tended to accentuate their comforting role, of providing spiritual succour, and that they tended to view a political role as unimportant or even unacceptable. This was confirmed by social comment in the *SA Outlook*: "The fact that some Christians are acting violently for justice and peace whilst others are acting non-violently is a problem. But the greatest problem is that most of

those who name Christ as Lord are not consciously acting on the matter at all" (*SA Outlook* Aug 1974:131).

Thus, while Christianity was clearly the dominant religion of all groups in South Africa, no defined pattern emerges of a Christian commitment to love of one's neighbour and to social justice, nor to non-violence. In fact, Christians subscribed to varied political positions and it appears that too often the biblical injunctions to peace, love of neighbour and social justice got drowned out by other more material interests.

The violence/non-violence debates in the Church

A major controversy within the Church centred around the issue of violence-versus-non-violence change strategies. The question of whether to embrace violent or non-violent means to overthrow the apartheid State was a source of fierce debate. The nature of this debate is important to an appreciation of the position taken by Diakonia on non-violence. But before we turn to these debates, let us first take a glance at the history of the Christian position in relation to war.

Charles Lutz (1978: 181) described three basic types of response to the reality of war in the Christian tradition, and each has appealed to the scriptures for support:

1. Pacifism – war is always wrong;
2. Crusade or holy war position – a particular war is not only moral, it is the very will of God and;
3. Justifiable war position.

The dominant position in Christian ethics since the fourth century has been the just war doctrine. Bax (1987:147) writes that by 324 AD Constantine ruled the entire Roman Empire and Christianity was becoming the state (or civil) religion. It was Augustine of Hippo, between 354 and 430, who systematised Christian thinking on the 'just war' position. Only in extraordinary circumstances, when the injustice of the other side made war the lesser of two evils, could war be tolerated as a means to restore justice and peace. The empire at the time was on the defensive against 'barbarian' invasions (Bax 1987:153). The attitude behind a deed is viewed as more important than the deed: "The real evils in war are the love of violence, revengeful cruelty, fierce and implacable enmity, the lust for power and such like" (Bax 1987:154).

Since the 1950s, however, the focus shifted from a concern with just war in the context of international relations to that of just war or 'just revolution' on the part of oppressed communities and national groups against an unjust state in the Third-World.

The Catholic Church took a lead in defining an institutional church response to the widespread mobilisation of the indigenous poor and marginalised peoples in Third World countries, and in particular, in Roman Catholic South America under the banner of Liberation Theology. In 1968 Pope Paul VI told the Latin American bishops that revolutionary insurrection could sometimes be legitimate, while recognising that revolution often gives rise to its own injustices. At the 1982 Day of Peace mass, Pope John Paul II declared that Christians have a right and even a duty to protect their existence and freedom by proportional means against an unjust aggressor. In 1986 the Vatican Magisterium stated that "in the extreme case" armed struggle was allowed "to put an end to an obvious and prolonged tyranny" (Society for the proposition of the faith, 1986. Cited in Villa-Vicencio, 1990:199).

Charles Villa-Vicencio claims that "Given its minimal support within the history of Christianity, the theology of non-violent resistance must be regarded as part of an alternative theology for the church" (1990:202).

In South African colonial history, authentic Christian pacifism was largely absent. According to De Gruchy (1979:143), there was a small band of Quakers in the Cape in the early 1800s and the Society of Friends had a number of small meeting houses scattered around the country. The Jehovah's Witnesses and the Fellowship of Reconciliation were minority groups that opposed participation in the military.

The debate on non-violence was ultimately a debate that was taking place beyond theology because the church did not have a common mind on the nature of the problem it was confronting, according to Villa-Vicencio (1990:205). Hope and Young (1981:231) also found that while the institutional Church in South Africa was one place where non-violence was discussed and where some non-violent action originated; there was much confusion about what non-violence meant and many differences on strategy.

Besides the differences in the Church on non-violence, there was a small minority of Church leaders who directly espoused violence as the only viable means to oppose the apartheid State. For example, Walter Wink (1987) quoted Catholic priest, Buti Tlhagale (1986:45–49):

> That the gospel or the life-history of Christianity makes no room for the use of violence to right the wrongs of society remains a massive scandal among the oppressed … raises fundamental questions about the validity of the gospel itself and more and more blacks are moving to Marxism for answers.

On another occasion Tlhagale (1987:80-81) rejected the Christian call to non-violence and reconciliation: "... when blacks resort to violent means to redress the wrongs of apartheid it is perceived not only as a right to resist but also as a duty to resist the crushing oppression of the racist regime."

John Lamola (1986:239) was also critical of what he called a soft Christian pacifism, which could lead to non-action and prayer, focusing on moral and spiritual considerations, to the exclusion of the practical ends, or the hard political choices and outcomes for society. The Gospels do not provide practical strategy or method, as Jesus Christ lived in a very different socio-political and historical context, and did not directly address political issues. In addition, for Lamola, pacifism did not necessarily take into account the messiness of the real world where, on the one hand, non-violent actions can give rise to bloodshed, while violence can be used constructively to bring about a more just order. In such a context, where violent means might be called for to achieve the greater good, he asks whether a Christian is truly employing the ethic of love by taking a pacifist stand and thus allowing the injustice to continue (Lamola, 1986:240).

Lamola (1986:244) took a far left position which was clearly influenced by Liberation Theology. He claimed that a 'just revolution' was permissible if it was against a tyrannical, aggressive system, towards justice and peace, with humane means and with popular support. The proponents of a just revolution emphasised the need for social analysis in the determination of social change as opposed to a bible-based ethical model that did not take account of the context: "Underlying the development of this theological construction is the imminent rising of Liberation Theology with its reflection on God's character and mission as being in favour of the political, social and economic liberation of the oppressed." Here we see an example of a biblical justification for insurrection, in sharp contrast to the Christian pacifist position.

For the WCC, even if the direct violence of both sides was considered equal, concern was expressed: "How can acts of oppression, injustice and domination be equated with acts of resistance and self defence? ... it is simply not true to say that every possible use of physical force is violence and that no matter what the circumstances may be it is never permissible" (WCC, 1985:20). On the other hand, it was pointed out that the institutional Churches gave tacit support to the growing militarisation of the South African state by appointing chaplains to the army and by allowing conscription. The same support was not being offered to the liberation struggle. Neutrality allowed the status quo to continue and was, therefore, not a true neutrality in a context like South Africa. Politics could not be avoided. The emphasis on other-worldly spirituality that had been dominant in church history, viewing politics and social problems as outside of the sphere of the spiritual, served the interests of privilege and individualism.

A dominant theme of Liberation Theology grappled with the social, structural underpinning of injustice and violence. The structure of power and privilege had to be challenged and changed radically in order to benefit the majority. "This is a situation of civil war or revolution. There are two conflicting projects here and no compromise is possible" (WCC, 1985:24).

It can be argued, according to Christian tradition, that if the regime is tyrannical it forfeits the right to govern, and the people acquire the right to resist. There are, however, differences of opinion about the means that are acceptable. While we must love our enemy, the most loving thing to do for both the oppressed and 'our enemies', is to remove them from power and establish a just government for the common good of the people (WCC, 1985:27).

> The conflict and the struggle will have to intensify ... there is no other way to remove
> the injustice and oppression. But God is with us. We can only learn to become the
> instruments of his peace, even unto death. We must participate in the cross of Christ if
> we are to have the hope of participating in his resurrection (WCC, 1985:27).

Villa-Vicencio (1990:200), in apparent agreement with the WCC, claimed that the theology of the Lusaka Statement and the Kairos Document followed a Christian tradition that questions the relative evil of violence rather than rejecting violence in total. The Lusaka Statement of May 1987, in the opinion of Villa-Vicencio was the closest Christians came in a formal statement to legitimating armed struggle in South Africa. He quoted the statement thus:

> While remaining committed to peaceful change we recognise that the nature of the
> South African regime, which wages war against its own inhabitants and neighbours,

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compels the movement to use force along with other means to end oppression. We call upon the Churches, and the international community, to seek ways to give this affirmation practical effect in the struggle for liberation in the region, and to strengthen their contacts with the liberation movement (1990:200).

Leading SACC cleric and UDF activist, Frank Chikane, (1987:301-304) argued that the space to debate non-violence had been 'squeezed out',

> ... where meetings are prohibited and discussion about non-violent strategies outlawed; where peaceful protests and non-violent demonstrations are forbidden by law, strikes by workers are crushed and where boycotts are seen as sabotage. It is a state of war in which townships and schools are occupied by the apartheid army, some areas are under siege, the sound of gunfire has become part of daily life and teargas fills the atmosphere at regular intervals. It is a situation where hit squads and 'balaclava-men' attack the community indiscriminately... Faced with this reality one can either run for one's life or fight back in self-defence."

Chikane (1987:305) accused the Church of being too concerned about the morality of the use of violence instead of focusing on tackling the root causes of violence; that the churches' stance on non-violence was subtly weighted against the victims of the system because it tends to accept the legitimacy of the existing authorities. Once the state is proclaimed illegitimate, "... the church would then have to take appropriate action in solidarity with others to ensure that the tyrants would be removed from power ... it would have to lead the way in proving that non-violence could be effective in removing an illegitimate regime from power" (Chikane 1987:308). If it does not do this, it would forfeit any legitimate right to condemn those who resort to violence.

Although the Anglican Archbishop, Desmond Tutu, who was the first black African President of the SACC, was a firm supporter of non-violence, in the mid 1980s even he revealed some doubt when he wrote that non-violence as a means towards ending an unjust system presupposed that the 'oppressor' showed a minimum level of morality. He saw the South African situation as inherently violent and that the primary violence was the structural state violence. In the light of this, while he did not advocate the use of violence, he believed that it would be hypocritical to criticise black resistance (1987:72-76).

For African cleric, Malusi Mpumlwana (1987:90-91), the church's standard position on violence needed to be viewed against the backdrop of the history of South Africa: a state that was established by means of the violent conquest of the indigenous people; the Act of Union in 1910 by means of which whites took ownership of the country and relegated other races to subject status; the use of 'law and order' to violently maintain and perpetuate tyranny. "Blacks ... believe they have a right to defend their destiny at all costs." In the opinion of Mpumlwana (1987:93-99), the church needed to become fully partisan to the cause of 'national liberation' and 'social revolution', but he also believed that it could take the lead and demonstrate the power of non-violence in South Africa.

Adams (1988:112) pointed out that the radical redemptive politics of bodies like the WCC and certain South African clergy, as expressed in the Kairos Document, contradicted the political strategy of the ANC. For him, the Kairos Document defined the conflict between the oppressed and oppressor as irreconcilable and called for a holy war leading to the eradication of the oppressor, regardless of the costs. This stance excluded a strategy of negotiation. According to this perspective, politics cease, since conflicting interests are not open to negotiation or compromise until the elimination of all oppression is eradicated. This perspective contradicts the more pragmatic approach of the Congress Alliance.

On the other hand, while the Kairos Document marked a substantial shift towards a militant position, the Director of the WCC Programme to Combat Racism, Anwar M. Barkat, believed that it did not go far enough: "The document does not address itself to how tyranny and oppression is to be overthrown. People are not only obliged to disobey, or passively resist, but must fashion possible actions and instrumentalities for hastening the demise of the enemy government" (WCC, 1985:7). Barkat called for a 'spirituality of combat': "Churches need to unequivocally take sides and enlarge the liberation struggle" (WCC, 1985:8).

But Liberation Theology, which eschewed liberalism, also had its limitations. It did not attempt to promote a particular political dispensation, but it did, unwittingly, take up a definition of the political that was bound up with the view that the fundamental form of power is domination and its corollary, violence. This view remains caught up in the struggle for power and the politics of the day and does not offer a truly liberating Christian political alternative, warned Linden (1997:33). "The politics implicitly adopted by Liberation Theology does not express the quality of God's power as service, love and gift" (Linden, 1997:33). Neuhaus (1986:24) concurred with this

critique. For Neuhaus, while apartheid had made out that the different racial groups were irreconcilable, the radical Left had made out that the oppressed and the oppressor, capital and labour, were irreconcilable. He asked how the second view differed materially from the first and therefore, how could it offer a means to social justice as would be required in terms of Christian social ethics?

Linden also found that, although it attempted to use sociological theory and structural analysis, Liberation Theology tended to offer an imprecise and inadequate social analysis. It was also utopian in that it looked to a monolithic, ideal notion of social harmony that had no relation to the real world (1997:41). He believed that Liberation Theology was discredited; that as post-modernism gained ground in the 1980s, so did large-scale, optimistic programmes with utopian endings lose credibility in favour of pluralism and cultural relativism: "Liberation Theology looked like two grand stories caught in bed together – Socialism and Christianity" (Linden, 1997:42). Sanders (1974:299), was also critical of Liberation Theology for having no programme except a concern for liberation, the end of injustice, conscientisation of the masses, and participation in the secular movements leading to change.

In critique of the growing Christian militancy of the 1980s, Neuhaus (1986:23) argued that both the Kairos Document and the Harare Declaration appeared to assume and reinforce the claim that there was no alternative to a revolutionary overthrow of the State. And that the assumption that there was no alternative to violent revolution was an act of premature closure against more hopeful possibilities and increased the possibility of a civil war that could lead to much blood-shed and end in a new tyranny, more oppressive than the apartheid State.

Despite the concerns raised against a radical politicisation of the Church, the Catholic intellectual, Albert Nolan (no date:3), asserted that in a situation of extreme conflict, such as in South Africa during the 1980s, it was wrong for Christians not to take sides or to remain neutral because of a Christian emphasis on reconciliation, forgiveness and peace. He attributed this common error on the part of Christians to three possible misconceptions:

1   Reconciliation is viewed as an absolute principle that must be applied in all situations because conflicts are based on misunderstandings and there is always blame on both sides, or;
2   Neutrality in conflict situations is possible, or;
3   Christians should always seek harmony and reconciliation because tension and conflict are the worse evils.

Nolan attributed this misperception about reconciliation to a lack of love and compassion for those who are suffering and from ignorance of the structural causes of inequality and injustice. "The only effective way of loving our enemy is to engage in acts that will destroy the system that makes them our enemy … side with the poor and oppressed and confront the rich and powerful. One has to take sides" (Nolan, no date:11).

For example, SACBC activist and leader, Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa (1991:146), called upon church leadership to risk everything in pursuit of social justice and to encourage township residents to form themselves into civic structures to build unity and leverage. He emphasised that there could be no true reconciliation and genuine peace without justice and restitution.

It was Mkhatshwa's contention that while we can never be certain that we are right when we choose some ideology or political philosophy, we can be certain we are right when we take the side of the poor, because of the way in which Jesus so clearly identified himself with the outcasts of society. In this light, Mkhatshwa challenged the prevailing belief that the gospel was exclusively personal, private and spiritual with little or no bearing on socio-political and economic issues, except to condemn blindly everything associated with communism (1991:142).

Thus, while the notion of the Church as an alternative, reconciling society remained the dominant position in South Africa, there was evidence that the understanding of the role of the Church changed, along with the escalation of social conflict, towards increasing radicalisation. Controversy raged among church leaders concerning the most important and proper role for the institutional Church in the face of an undemocratic and unjust state. The pressing issues were political and economic and could no longer be addressed only in terms of traditional Western theology. This pushed the Church leadership into the fray of opposition ideologies and politics. How could church-based opposition both stay true to its ecclesiastical roots and be effective in its opposition to state oppression?

To balance religion and politics in a functional liberal social democracy that enjoys a reasonable standard of social equality and civil liberties is one thing. It was an entirely different matter in the violent and polarised context of South African apartheid and escalating state repression in the 1970s and 1980s. The Churches were increasingly challenged to move directly into the political fray.

It is also clear, from these debates in the Church, that the political stance of the Church was not uncontested. On the one hand, it gave rise to calls for substantial, structural, socialist-leaning change, in the form of Liberation Theology; while the majority position the Church, on the other hand, did not reject the liberal democratic notion of capitalism, and human rights, as the ideal.

In the main, Christian thought, enunciated through the SACC and SACBC, stayed true to a non-violent, reconciling role for the Church. The SACC meeting at Hammanskraal in August 1974 passed the "Hammanskraal Resolution', which Walshe, (1983:120) described as

> ...an effort to find a 'third way' – not that of defending the status quo as 'law and order'
> nor that of countering the violence of unjust social structures and repression with
> revolutionary force."

Naudé seconded the motion and the conference, which was two-thirds black, passed it overwhelmingly. The SACBC, led by Archbishop Denis Hurley, accepted the Hammanskraal analysis and offered the most vigorous support of all, according to Walshe (1983:122).

After Hammanskraal the CI's modest white membership diminished. This, Naudé suggested, was ...simply because many whites who are willing to be 'liberal' are unwilling to be liberated." In other words, liberal whites would not relinquish control. They balked at the risks involved in empowering the poor and oppressed majority. The Institute, Naudé argued, nevertheless had "… no option...but to continue to portray to the Church and society its understanding of liberation as proclaimed and exemplified by Christ" (Naudé, 1974. Cited in Walshe, 1983:122).

Despite its waning influence on Church life in general, the work and theology of the CI and the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (SPRO-CAS) and the Special Programme for Christian Action in Society, according to Walshe (1983:143), were a major formative influence in the establishment of Diakonia in 1976. Diakonia, was advocated by Hurley to the Synod of the Archdiocese of Durban (1974:2) as "...an endeavour to give direction and drive to the church's duty to respond to human need according to the conditions and circumstances of the time."

Denis Hurley and the contemporary history of Durban

We earlier gained a glimpse of the early history of Durban, which is the location of this case study. It is helpful to a full appreciation of Diakonia to find out more about Durban and the founder and leader of the organisation, Denis Hurley.

When Denis Hurley arrived in Durban in 1940, during the Second World War, to take up his post at the Emmanuel Cathedral, the city was becoming well-known for both its busy harbour and as a seaside holiday destination. It was also a thriving industrial area, and the centre of a prospering sugar cane industry, with about 800 factories employing more than 30,000 people. In 1940 the city's population comprised 69,913 Africans, 8,073 coloureds, 87,719 Indians, and 92,406 whites (Kearney, 2009:42). This population profile revealed a diverse racial mix. However, it does not include the surrounding areas of KwaZulu, which made up the greater Durban area, and which would substantially increase the African population numbers.

Durban has been characterised by its rapid population growth, industrialisation, and large-scale African urbanisation. The city also reflects the uneven development that characterises South Africa's cities with a wealthy, First-World infrastructure and development sector, populated by whites, surrounded by sprawling townships, squatter slums and the peri-urban, semi-rural settlements of the KwaZulu reserve.

Although Durban was largely English-speaking, and was affectionately referred to by some as the last bastion of the British Empire, it pioneered separate development in the late nineteenth century in order to control its burgeoning Indian population. Ultimately, the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 restricted the Indian acquisition of land and property (Kearney, 2009:43). In January 1949, in the market area adjoining the city centre and situated in the shadow of Emmanuel Cathedral, where Denis Hurley was stationed, an everyday incident involving an Indian trader and an African boy who stole from his shop, caused the African bystanders to react in anger. The mood mushroomed and increasing numbers marched into the Grey Street commercial area. Looting and property damage was rife. The violence spread further afield, and the Cato Manor informal settlement close by was severely affected. According to Kearney (2009:58), the incident left 142 people dead, 1,000 injured and 2,250 buildings damaged or destroyed.

Denis Hurley believed that the racial anger and frustration underlying the violent backlash by Africans on Indians was largely created by the ways in which Africans were suffering under the

implementation of apartheid policy (Kearney, 2009:58). The Urban Areas Act was greatly increasing the hardships experienced by Africans who were forced out of the central areas and into peri-urban slums.

Diakonia, the agency, is inseparable from the person of Archbishop Denis Hurley who conceived it as a vehicle to put into practice, in Durban, his understanding of Christian social action. Let us therefore briefly look at this man who always stood for the values of human dignity, neighbourliness and liberty.

The social conscience of Denis Hurley

In one of his earliest sermons as a young Priest at Durban's Emmanuel Cathedral, in 1942, the 26 year-old Hurley revealed his deep concern for the stark social inequalities in South Africa and about how little had been done to address them. He called upon Catholics of all races and circumstances to come together to seek insight and a way forward to address these social problems (1942. Cited in Kearney, 2002:1). In quoting from his early sermon on the need for social justice, Paddy Kearny shows how the foundations of his life's work had already been established with an "... enthusiastic challenge to the Church to bring the transforming power of the Gospel into the social situation" (Kearney, 2002:2).

It was at the age of 31, in 1947 – the year before the National Party was elected to power - that Denis Hurley was consecrated as Roman Catholic Bishop of Natal. This young white, middle-class, South African-born man was the youngest Catholic Bishop in the world. Amoore (1997:212), in a brief biography of Denis Hurley to commemorate 50 years of service, wrote of the years since 1947:

> From this time on his public addresses, his writings, his actions bear witness to his profound appreciation of human dignity, his convictions that the Christian faith must bear strong witness in social, economic, and political life and that God is to be sought among the persons of the poor and the oppressed.

Denis Hurley was an intellectual with a respectable bibliography of published papers, having graduated from the Gregorian University in Rome. He actively participated in the Second Vatican Council (1962 – 1965), which had an extremely important modernising influence in the Catholic Church. It culminated in the publication of the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et Spes*, which stressed the importance of involvement with humanity, especially

with those who are poor or afflicted. Hurley, speaking on the occasion of his 70th birthday, credited Vatican II as a major influence on his understanding of the role of the Church: "... the Church must love the world, must be involved in the world and exist for the world, here to enlighten, evangelise and sanctify the world" (1985. Cited in Amoore, 1979:218).

According to Egan, Hurley is considered to be the most outspoken Catholic defender of human rights in South Africa during National Party rule (1999:327). Besides his duties as Archbishop of Natal, from 1951 to 1992, he was an active campaigner against apartheid and for social transformation, both among Catholics and ecumenically with other Christian denominations. He was President of the regional Catholic Council, the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC), from 1952 to 1961 and from 1981 to 1987, and we have seen something of his influence on the SACBC. It was Denis Hurley who drafted the 1957 pastoral letter, published by the SACBC, which called apartheid 'intrinsically evil'. Kearney (2002:4) pointed out that this was many years before the World Alliance of Reformed Churches declared apartheid a heresy. Kearney sited other examples of Hurley's increasing politicisation. The Bantu Education Act, introduced in 1953, which attempted to wrestle control of African education away from the Churches galvanised Hurley into action. The 'Bishop's Campaign' raised enough money to maintain 600 Catholic schools for Africans for a few more years. This was seen, in retrospect, as a significant act of defiance (Kearney, 2002:3). When, in 1957, the Government attempted to outlaw mixed worship, the opposition was so strong from church leaders that the Government abandoned the legislation (Kearney, 2002:4). Hurley was also actively involved in the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) and in 1965 he was elected president of the Institute. The annual surveys of the SAIRR revealed the effects of the Group Areas Act, separate development policies, and the security regulations of the NP Government. Hurley was particularly moved by the human suffering caused by the forced removal of hundreds of thousands of people under the provisions of Group Areas from the late 1950s, according to Kearney. His first of many forays against forced removals was in 1959 when he strongly denounced the Group Areas removals from the vibrant multi-racial, Cato Manor area in Durban (2002:4).

The forced removals from Cato Manor, on the edge of Durban suburbia, in the late 1950s was also the first activist involvement by Denis Hurley recorded by Kearney (2009:85). Large numbers of Africans, living among a wide-spread Indian market-gardening community, had already been moved to KwaMashu to the north and Umlazi to the south of Durban. Plans were afoot to move about 40,000 Indians to allow for the expansion of white suburbs. Hurley got deeply involved in a

bid to retain Cato Manor as an Indian area. A compromise plan was put forward to the Durban City Council to save at least a large part of the area. The plan did not succeed against the will of central government however, and the Indian families were forcibly removed.

One of the many areas of involvement was his consistent and strong support for conscientious objection to military service by young white men. In 1974 the SACC national conference, for the first time, publicly opposed the Government practice of conscription into military service for all white males. Denis Hurley came out in support of conscientious objection (Kearney, 2002:8). He went on to become an ardent campaigner against military conscription, personally coming alongside many of the objectors, calling for conscientious objection to be allowed on moral and ethical grounds (Amoore, 1979:223).

Kearney provided examples of how workers also gained the support of Denis Hurley. In 1971 the hard-pressed dock workers in Durban approached Hurley for support through the Catholic unionist, Rob Lambert, who was the National Secretary of the Young Christian Workers at the time. Hurley immediately pledged his full support and the workers organised a successful and significant strike in October 1972 for better conditions and higher wages (Kearney, 2009:185). Armed with growing confidence and experience, large-scale strikes nation-wide, involving about 100,000 followed in 1973. During the Frame Textile Group strike in Durban, in 1980, he formed part of an ecumenical delegation attempting to end the deadlock between the company and 6,000 workers, and he allowed the striking workers to hold meetings in a Catholic church. He also got involved in mediation of the SARMCOL rubber plant strike in 1985 near Pietermaritzburg, involving 900 workers. When the workers were dismissed he continued to support their cause and provided for them church land for a farming project. At an SACBC meeting in 1982, he also encouraged the Church to provide unequivocal support to the unions and their just cause (Kearney, 2002:12-13).

We have already seen how Denis Hurley was instrumental in moving Catholics towards increasing ecumenical involvement with other denominations. He obtained observer status for the Catholic Church at the SACC, and was also actively involved, as an individual, in both the SACC and the CI. In 1971, Hurley presided at a meeting of the CI and the SACC at which its Black Community Programme was established (Amoore, 1979:224). His politics were deeply influenced by the Black Consciousness Movement and he did much to promote the de-racialisation of the Catholic Church and its educational institutions and to advance the development of Black Consciousness. He did

this by protecting and advancing the space in which Black Consciousness could be developed both in communities and in Church structures.

Walshe (1983:143) remarked that Archbishop Denis Hurley provided a rare example of the type of follow-up SPRO-CAS II hoped for. In 1974 Hurley approached the Natal Council of Churches and with their co-operation, launched Diakonia in 1976, to continue the dual thrust of SPRO-CAS II's white and black programmes.

Although I could find no evidence that Denis Hurley was directly influenced by Rick Turner, who was a contributor to SPRO-CAS (and Paddy Kearney, the first Director of Diakonia was not aware of a direct influence), he definitely aligned himself with SPRO-CAS and there is a clear correspondence between SPRO-CAS, the ideas expressed by Turner, and the political thinking of Hurley.

For example, Hurley held an enduring belief that social attitudes (through what Turner called 'socialisation'), were the main obstacle to church-directed social change. He understood that understandings, motivations and actions are largely conditioned through ones up-bring as a member of a social group (1979:138): "Social attitudes produce institutions and institutions in turn perpetuate attitudes."

As with Turner, for Hurley (1979:370), a major impediment to social change in South Africa, was the fact that the elimination of inequalities involved a radical change in the white way of life. He saw that whites were in general locked inside their social habits, and blind to the injury that they inflict. He viewed Christian social action as integrally based on education, which would relate the Gospel to facts of experience. He believed that in small groups, or communities, believers could train themselves to see, to notice, to discuss, to share, to assess in the light of the Gospel and then to act. He was also deeply concerned to reveal to the white population "...what it inflicts on others just by living the life it thinks it has a right to live and doing the things it thinks it has a right to do" (1974b:7-8).

Even though he realised, along with Church activists like Beyers Naudé, that whites would not provide the political solution, Hurley, in line with thinkers like Steve Biko and Turner, never gave up trying to conscientise them. Speaking at an SACC conference, he declared that it was the attitude of the white community in South Africa that had caused the conflict: "So the responsibility

of the Church is to work at changing that attitude sufficiently to render it no longer a cause of violent conflict" (Hurley, 1976:66).

Besides the formation of Diakonia in 1976, Hurley was instrumental in the establishment, in 1979, of the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (PACSA) – an ecumenical organisation similar to Diakonia (Kearney, 2002:8). He also established the secular NGO called the Human Awareness Programme (HAP) in Johannesburg in 1977. HAP arose from a call to churches to undertake a "great mobilisation for peace" made by Hurley, at the SACC national conference in 1976. He was concerned to both conscientise whites to accept the need for majority rule, and to prepare the majority to take on these challenges (Kearney, 2002:9). HAP laboured for nearly 20 years at helping organisations working for change to become more effective. Denis Hurley was also a director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA), established by Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine, former opposition members of Parliament (Kearney, 2002:9). In the late 1980s, IDASA was able to play an important role in initiating the negotiation process that led to peaceful transition to majority government in South Africa in 1994.

But while Denis Hurley became a political activist, the source of his inspiration was not in political theology, as with many of the adherents of Liberation Theology. This was the assessment of Ian Linden (2002:106), the Director of the Catholic Institute for International Relations, an activist Roman Catholic think-tank in the United Kingdom: "He led the Church opposition to apartheid out of compassion and love for the people of South Africa, and in particular the Zulu-speaking people of his Archdiocese, as the necessary consequence of the vision of the Church that stemmed from the Second Vatican Council".

He was an untiring advocate for the application of the values of the Gospel to social life. A Denis Hurley website was created in 2009 under the auspices of the St Joseph's Theological Institute in Cedara, outside Pietermaritzburg, to showcase his work and his writings. In an introduction to his work for social justice, his appreciation of the document *Justice in the world*, which came out of the Vatican Synod of 1971, is recorded. The document is summed up in the rousing words, which sum up the obligations of the Gospel: "Action on behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of the world fully appear to us as a constitutive dimension of the preaching of the Gospel" (www.archbishopdenishurley.org).

As a direct outcome of his theological understanding of social change, Hurley was deeply committed to peaceful change in South Africa and was influenced, along with many others of his contemporaries in opposition politics, by Gandhi's non-violent popularist campaigns against the British Empire in India. On his seventieth birthday, he told of how while he had earlier resented Gandhi for disturbing the peace of the British Empire, he had come to regard him as a hero. His admiration of Gandhi went so far as to inspire the opening of a Peace Library, in his honour, in Durban in 1982 (Amoore, 1979:223). He recognised that peace without justice is not possible and he therefore promoted the papal encyclical entitled *Peace on Earth* published by Pope John XXIII in April 1963: "...that all the great problems of the world that threaten peace must be the concern of the Church" (Hurley, 1981:3).

Denis Hurley was also influenced by the Liberation Theology of South America. He pointed out how Latin American countries provided a model of how masses of people could be helped to relate their faith to their daily lives (1981:7). Archbishop Hurley did not however join the ranks of the progressive Kairos Liberation Theology Church leaders in South Africa. He came under criticism from Left Wing Christians for not signing two important statements of Liberation Theology, under the auspices of the WCC, namely, the Kairos Document (1985) and The Road to Damascus (1989) because he detected in them a leaning towards the use of violence (Kearney, 2002:14). He was particularly influenced by an approach to social mobilisation called the 'see-judge-act' methodology, of the Catholic theologian, Joseph Cardijn. Hurley discovered the approach as a young man, in the 1930s, while undertaking a degree in theology at the Jesuit-run, Gregorian University in Rome. Cardijn was at the time helping young workers in France and Belgium, both men and women, in an organisation called the Young Christian Workers to 'emancipate' themselves: "... learning by seeing, discussing and taking action to bring about change" (Kearney, 2009:32).

According to Hurley (1981:9), this method was adapted by Paulo Freire in South America for "...the development and liberation of oppressed Third World populations." The approach was introduced to Southern Africa in the form of a Catholic programme called Christian Development Education Service (CDES) and as the approach used by the Young Christian Workers. The 'see-judge-act' methodology also formed Diakonia's approach to its work.

As a result of his commitment to see and understanding his social context, in his social outreach he was motivated by an understanding of structural violence and its consequences:

Unfavourable political or economic conditions are probably the cause of the greatest

ills among people – physical evils that produce the moral evils of discontent,

resentment, envy, hatred and desire for revenge. The outcome is all too often a spiral of

conflict, violence and bloodshed, productive of further physical and moral evil (Hurley,

1981:2).

He also challenged Christians of all denominations to demonstrate in unity the ethic of love

in their socio-economic arrangements, questioning how Christian love can be demonstrated

in a situation where a minority of the population own most of the land, wealth, and

opportunities, while the majority black population had been dispossessed (Amoore,

1979:225).

In tackling the role of the Church in promoting social justice, Denis Hurley started out by addressing whether the Church had a legitimate political role in society and the nature of that role. This raised the question as to the nature of the Church, which he defined as "... the community founded by Christ to promote the Kingdom of God." The values associated with the Kingdom are listed as love of God and of neighbour; truth; justice; and chastity. But these are not simply personal morals, they are also social ethics, which must be expressed in social life; and this is where Christians struggle to apply their faith (Hurley, 1986:1). 'Social life' is in turn defined as incorporating the cultural, political and economic spheres of society. This lead to the question of the role of the Church in politics, and the broad answer was to promote the Kingdom of God by means of moral influence and Christian conscience, based on a set of social teachings developed by the Church. In this regard, Hurley (1979b:108) understood the role of religion in politics as what he called a 'prophetic' role as opposed to an 'institutional' role. However, this function could bring the Church into conflict with the State if "...the Church is forced to defend human rights to life, peace, a just distribution of wealth, or a true social, cultural, and political freedom."

In this context, what was the relationship between morality and politics, for Denis Hurley? As we have seen, for Hurley religious convictions shape our social ethics, which are, in turn, exercised by conscience. Politics involves the application of human understanding and decision-making, which are informed by our 'ultimate' beliefs. As a result, faith cannot be divorced from politics (Hurley, 1964:63). Because he acknowledged the important implications of politics for social life, moral

conscience is crucial in countering the negative pull of political power: "... political life involves the use of power and nothing is more tempting or more dangerous to man [sic] than power" (Hurley, 1964:65).

Denis Hurley continually challenged Christians to apply their social ethics to their life world in an inclusive and practical manner that views all humans as equal in the eyes of God:

> Although we are great believers in human dignity and liberty in theory and for ourselves, we do not see why these attributes should be shared with non-Europeans... And yet we proclaim ourselves Christian – 94 per cent Christian. This is the crisis of the Christian conscience in South Africa (Hurley, 1964:71).

Hurley (1974b:7-8) also stressed the importance of recognising and responding to, social, as opposed to individual, needs: "...problems that require corporate endeavour and an organised, specialised approach ... to give effect to our Christian concern... the relevance and significance of the Church in the modern world depends on how this concern is manifested."

The Church is guided by an understanding of the meaning of justice: that everyone has access to a reasonable share in society. This needed to be translated into "... reasonable opportunities in the matter of work, income, homes, education, health care, welfare, security in old age, mutual support and freedom of religion, speech, movement, sojourn and association". While 'peace' referred to the social outcome of a just society (Hurley, 1995:1). Why then does the Church not embrace justice when we are called to love God and our neighbour? Advancing justice is a means to express this commitment. But the reality is that most people cannot look beyond their own needs, and working for justice and peace requires moving beyond one's own immediate concerns to understand and address the structures of society, such as the State and the economy. Hurley recognised that this is neither an easy nor an appealing task (1995:3).

Denis Hurley's vision for Diakonia

Two years prior to the establishment of Diakonia in 1976, and directly in line with the thinking of SPRO-CAS, which was being closed down by the Government, Hurley (1974a:3), already had a clear idea of what he wanted to achieve. We will see in the following chapters that he was able to accomplish all the tasks envisioned for Diakonia, which were to:

1   Educate white church congregations and the white public in general about the social and economic plight of the other race groups. Diakonia would emphasise the role of accessing and disseminating information from other research sources such as the SA Institute of Race Relations.

2   Encourage Churches to undertake community projects that would serve to uplift, educate and assist under-developed community groups.

3   Influence commerce, industry, government and administration in the form of advocacy on behalf of disadvantaged communities, towards obtaining facilities and services.

4   Provide self-help for disadvantaged communities to promote development with self-reliance and empowerment. Areas of concern were transport, housing and services, childcare and education.

His specific aim was to get the churches and their members directly involved in both understanding and meeting the needs of the local communities. He recognised that social welfare was only appropriate within a functional social context, while development through education, training and the provision of equipment, was necessary in under-developed communities; and where development was blocked, 'liberation', in terms of "... the removal of political, economic, social and cultural obstacles to development" was necessary, although he called for 'indirect liberation' that was "...critical and educational but not activist" (Hurley, 1974a:2).

At a meeting of local churches held in Durban on 19 March 1975, called 'Diakonia consultation: joining forces to meet the social challenges of the Durban area', Denis Hurley motivated the establishment of Diakonia "...as an endeavour to sensitise the church in one small geographical area to a keen sense of corporate responsibility and a deeper corporate involvement in social problems" (Hurley, 1975:3).

It was Denis Hurley's emphasis on the conscientisation and mobilisation of ordinary Christians towards an inter-denominational, church-based civil action aimed at addressing local social issues of all kinds that made Diakonia a distinct approach to Christian social action. Typically, other Christian agencies in South Africa were either made up of concerned individuals from various churches, or were agencies set up by a particular denomination, to work on behalf of the church, to address particular development and/or political issues.

And now, writing 30 years later about Diakonia, we turn to the question: what sort of organisation was this remarkable man able to create to give expression to his deeply-held social concerns? This will form the content of Chapters seven and eight.

Chapter 7

A case study of Diakonia in relation to social justice

In 2006 Diakonia Council of Churches celebrated its 30th anniversary with the publication of an Annual Report in Durban, the title of which captures the essence of the project: *Thirty years of service and action for justice 1976 – 2006. Never again will human rights be forgotten* (Britton, 2006). But what do we know about this remarkable NGO (originally called simply 'Diakonia'- meaning service), and especially about it first eight years of operation, the period of this case study?

On 25 March 1976 a number of Christian denominations in the Greater Durban area joined together as a result of the inspiration and hard work of Archbishop Denis Hurley, in a context of deep social inequality overseen by a powerful, Christian Nationalist state, "… to form an ecumenical agency that would help Christians – and all those of goodwill – to speak out and to act prophetically as the evil of apartheid strengthened its grip" (Britton, 2006:2).

Chapter seven provides a general description of Diakonia's structure, its aims and objectives and its work between 1976 and 1982. Our chief purpose is to identify the insights and approaches contained in Diakonia's social action to establish what it meant by the claim to be seeking social justice. There is no intention to present a detailed or complete account of the early years because it is not required to achieve my purpose.

A broad overview of the work of the organisation in 1979 and 1980 is provided by a summary of Denis Hurley's Chairperson's Report at the 1980 AGM. Diakonia will then be described in relation to the content of the minutes of the Council, the Executive, the Patrons' committee and the project committee minutes, that I found in the Diakonia archives for this period. Thus equipped with a general idea of the organisation and its social justice work, in chapter eight Diakonia will be analysed in relation to theories of non-violence. Finally, the nature of the organisation will be exposed in even more depth through the minutes of a Diakonia-sponsored workshop on non-violent action for justice and change held in 1982.

Diakonia and social justice

Diakonia revealed in its work a strong commitment to social justice, non-violence and peace, and hence you will find an emphasis on these areas in this case study of Christian social action. It was noted in chapter three how Tanner (1992:225-257) acknowledged that Christian theology cannot provide practical, detailed guidelines for social change. What it can provide is an optimistic belief that social change can, and should, occur as a result of human agency, to further the biblical principles of the equality and dignity of all persons and their rights to social justice. I will argue that Diakonia reveals the outworking of this transcendent, prophetic Christianity.

We also established that social justice is generally regarded as an aspect of distributive justice. For the purposes of this study we are interested in the rights of citizens and the distributive principle of equality, as described by Miller (1999:4-7). In other words, that all members of the nation have the same basic rights as citizens to access to the resources that are available and required to live, resources such as housing, water, education, transport, employment and food. We have seen how in apartheid South Africa, access to these resources was severely limited or curtailed for all race groups beside whites. Diakonia at times challenged the agencies of the State on behalf of those who were not afforded equal or adequate access to representation and resources. In this manner it was directly addressing issues of social justice.

Paddy Kearney, writing on the death of the 88-year-old founder in the Diakonia newsletter, *Inselelo* (which means challenge)*,* March 2004, stated that he saw Diakonia as "…an ecumenical organisation to promote justice, peace and development in the Durban area". However, it needs to be clarified that peace was seldom the focus in itself for Hurley, it was rather viewed as the natural outcome of a more just society, which needed to be brought about by non-violent means.

Kjell Nordstokke (2000:2) revealed, in his short book on Diakonia, the larger vision of justice and peace that underlay the practical work of the organisation:

> Through its way of operating, the organisation sent a message about the vision
> underpinning all its efforts in the struggle for dignity, equality and justice. The social
> theoretical term describing this is 'empowerment'. This term refers both to a desired
> goal in a context where people have become powerless and excluded from the benefits
> and privileges of the community, as well as to the process of getting there… It links up
> to the vision of the reign of God in a way that motivates people in their efforts to serve
> others. It adheres to the dignity which is given to every human being created in the

image of God and which also implies the talent to play an invaluable role as God's co-worker in the struggle for peace and justice. Through all this, 'diakonia' is about action with a purpose: what has been broken can be restored; wounds can be healed; injustice can cease and, through reconciliation, be turned to peace and justice.

These reflections occur in a country very different from that in which Diakonia was formed, but a society still in need of much of what it proposed at its formation.

The structure and functions of Diakonia

Before we look at the operation of Diakonia in more detail, let us first understand better the basic structure and functioning of the organisation.

At its formation, a group of Churches joined together to form Diakonia and elected representatives onto its Council and Executive committees. The Church membership consisted of the Evangelical Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Anglican, African Methodist Episcopal, Congregational, Methodist, and the Presbyterian churches (Kearney, 2009:197). The Diakonia Council was the controlling body, consisting of between two and five delegates nominated by each member church. It met at least quarterly. The Executive Committee of Council consisted of nine of the delegates elected by the Council from its members. At least five of the Executive Committee members had to be black. This Committee met regularly (about every six weeks during the period of my investigation).

A brief report by Margaret Nash (1976), a Black Sash activist around forced removals in the Cape, on Diakonia's inaugural seminar, entitled "Christian ministry in a time of crisis", held in Durban 3-5 August 1976, is informative. She wrote that the coming together of black and white Christians across denominational lines to draw up a list of tasks to be tackled by Diakonia, vindicated Denis Hurley's hard work in persuading other denominations to co-sponsor, with the Catholic Church, an experimental project for Christian social action in the Greater Durban area.

From 1980, a committee of patrons made up of the head of each member church of Diakonia was to meet once annually. The primary purpose of this committee was as a bulwark against harassment by state agencies (Diakonia Patrons' meeting 11 November 1980).

At its inception, and in line with its structure that clearly distinguished between its ministry to whites and blacks, which copied the Christian Institute and SPRO-CAS models outlined in chapter

six, one black and one white organiser plus an administrative assistant were appointed. Paddy Kearney, a young Catholic, activist, lay person member of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, and who had worked closely with Archbishop Hurley to establish Diakonia, was the first White Programme organiser. He was subsequently appointed as the first Director of Diakonia in 1981, a position he held until he resigned in 2004. Elizabeth Mkame from Pinetown was another founder member who worked as an organiser in both of the programmes until she retired in 1999.

In addition to establishing Diakonia, Archbishop Hurley was actively involved as the chairperson of Council for the first four years.

By 1982 Diakonia had grown and diversified its programmes. It employed a director, and organisers for each of its five distinct programmes, namely: the Black Development Programme; the White Development Programme; the Church and Industry Programme; the Housing Programme; and the Communications Programme. (Planning for 1982 at the Executive Committee 28 April 1981, and an interview with Paddy Kearney 9 August 2007).

The most detailed description of Diakonia during the period of this study, that I was able to find, was the Chairman's Report from Denis Hurley to the 1980 AGM. I will summarise his report on the activities over the previous year to give a better insight in to the organisation. The Report is a useful supplement to the minutes of Diakonia meetings for two reasons: it provides much more detail than the minutes, which were cryptic; and, it confirms that despite their lack of detail, the minutes do provide an accurate reflection of the nature of Diakonia.

We gained a sense of the unequal and hurting anatomy of apartheid Durban in the previous chapters. The Report and the minutes together reveal that Diakonia energetically worked at harnessing all the resources at its disposal – human, institutional and financial – to address the issues and needs experienced by weak and marginalised individuals and groups. For Diakonia, this was the meaning of social justice. In addition, it sought to express Christian values: values such as reconciliation, social equality, social development, and peace.

The programme of action for 1977 recorded at the Diakonia Executive committee meeting of 6 December 1976 provides a good summary of its early priorities, which will be described in more detail below:

- Work with the African youth.

- Promotion of Black Consciousness and Black Theology.

- Community development.

- Stimulation of awareness of problems of factory workers and unemployed people.

- Helping people to understand those actions which will ensure a peaceful future for South Africa.

- Helping to co-ordinate efforts in the areas of justice and reconciliation

The Work of Diakonia in all of these areas, besides that of the promotion of Black Consciousness and Black Theology, are clearly revealed in the records of its work. I was however struck by the dearth of information from the Black Development Programme in the minutes at my disposal. The 1980 AGM report provides more information in this regard but does not mention Black Consciousness and Black Theology. In addition, there is little indication of successful work with African youth. Beside the plan to work with youth in 1977, only the Lamontville Youth Workers project is mentioned in the Executive Committee minutes of 2 August 1977. Diakonia supported two young Christian men from Lamontville to start community education classes for Lamontville youth. They were taking back into their community what they had learnt at Methodist Christian youth leadership courses. Nevertheless, my interest is not so much in the details of the work as it is in the themes and underlying motivations of the work and what it has to say about Christian social action. As I stated above, the work of Diakonia can be summed up in item 6 of its programme for action in 1977 above, namely, working for justice and reconciliation.

The advertisement for a director (after functioning with a staff committee in its early years), featured in *South Africa Outlook* (1978:143), conveys its conception of how best to undertake Christian social action for justice:

Diakonia is a project which assists the Churches to become more aware of the societal problems of the Greater Durban area and to involve themselves in responding to these problems. In concentrating on such problems as housing and unemployment, the

project has sought to create greater awareness in the white community, has promoted self-help projects in the black community, and has attempted to play a co-ordinating role amongst churches and other organisations involved in these issues.

Thus, within ones local community the requirements of social justice are for as many groups and individuals as possible to work together to grasp and comprehend the social problems; to work out plans of action; and to respond accordingly. It incorporates co-operative investigation, analysis and activism in response to 'societal problems'. In other words, the aim is to galvanise civil society, in whatever shape or form, to social action for a non-discriminatory society.

This approach to social action was noticeably based on the see-judge-act method of Catholic theologian, Joseph Cardijn, which was discussed in chapter six. The methodology both underlay its style of operation and gave rise to a specific programme focus. Paddy Kearney (interview on 9 August 2007) confirmed that Diakonia emphasised the use of the see-judge-act approach as the best way to express its commitment to a participatory, inclusive, experiential and learning model for peace, justice and development; and as the means to develop 'contextual theology' in and for the Churches.

At Diakonia's inaugural Executive Committee, held on 26 April 1976, one of its core purposes was said to involve the churches in social justice programmes by initiating projects, calling for involvement and stimulating independent action. In addition, at the 3rd Annual meeting of the Diakonia patrons held on 5 October 1982 there was discussion on the establishment of special groups in parishes to undertake social action. It is recorded: " … in the first meeting of a group, members are encouraged to brainstorm the problems and prioritise them. The problems are then tackled according to the see-judge-act method."

But, in practical terms, how could civil society be roused to action, and what was the nature of these societal problems? The answers, for Diakonia, to these questions will become clear from a description of the work.

Diakonia's chief focus areas
It will be helpful to summarise some of the important areas of Diakonia's work.

In the area of housing and community development, Diakonia worked with its member churches in the townships, squatter areas and peri-urban traditional-settlement areas in the greater Durban area on a variety of issues that would empower and assist these communities. In particular it worked for the provision of secure housing, adequate infrastructure, services and a voice for community groups; and helping communities, both rural and urban, to oppose forced removals.

The housing problems in the greater Durban area were identified as the most pressing of the problems facing marginalised communities, and a housing programme was to be established in Diakonia to address housing issues (Executive Committee minutes of 4 October 1976). Housing issues were also identified as one of the factors leading to the school boycotts of 1980 (Executive Committee minutes of 29 April 1980). Community development projects were also undertaken. The Malukazi project will be discussed in detail below. Community development project was one of the core functions identified for Diakonia (Executive Committee minutes of 6 December 1976).

Diakonia supported the needs and rights of workers, and their strike actions. For example, support for the Frame strike (Executive Committee of 16 June 1980). A Church and Industry department was established to research and publicise the plight of workers and to support them in strike actions (Executive Committee of 29 April 1980). Unemployed workers also received assistance. A Labour Bureau and Self-Help Programme were established in 1978 to help unemployed people both to seek employment and to become self-reliant (Executive Committee of 24 August 1978 and Council meeting of 28 November 1978).

Diakonia campaigned for the provision of adequate, equal education for all races, with an emphasis on exposing the problems in Bantu Education (Executive Committee on 26 January 1982). It also provided support for expelled and boycotting students who were protesting against Bantu Education (Executive Committee on 29 April 1980). Diakonia also campaigned for prisoner rights to education (Executive Committee on 24 April 1979).

Conscientious objection against forced military service and the needs of the objectors was an active focus area. On 29 January 1980, Diakonia Executive committee agreed to sponsor a conference on the establishment by the SACC of a national organisation for conscientious objectors at Koinonia 10-14 July 1980. It worked with the Conscientious Objector Support Group (COSG) and local Durban objectors such as Charles Yeats and Billy Paddock, who were tried by Military tribunal for their stance, on an ongoing basis.

Support for political prisoners, and people under banning orders, was an enduring service area. Diakonia frequently came out in support for political detainees and activists who were banned – depriving them of normal civil liberties. It came alongside the individuals and families concerned through organisations such as the Dependents' Conference of the SACC and the Detainees Support Committee, and prisoner's rights to see a Chaplain. It also attempted to conscientise the community and the Government about instances of death in detention, and the rights of detainees to fair treatment. Some examples of its work in these areas are found in the Executive committee minutes of 1 November 1976, 24 April 1979, 23 February 1982, 25 May 1982, 26 October 1982, and 30 November 1982.

Elizabeth Mkame pioneered the establishment of community resource centres in church buildings in African townships surrounding Durban. The first of these centres, which were originally called Advice Offices and based on the Black Sash Advice Office model, was established in Claremont in 1982 in a bid to make Diakonia felt in the townships. By 1993 there were 14 centres with 22 permanent staff. These centres were staffed by trained locals plus law students and church ministers in training. They were geared to help township residents through the maze of government, consumer and labour legislation. They also provided a source of information to Diakonia on the problems encountered by township residents.

The work of Diakonia

Let us first look at a summary of Denis Hurley's report to the 1980 AGM. With reference to the committee minutes from the period, I will then draw out what it reveals about Diakonia's understanding of social action for justice and reconciliation.

Summary of a Report on Programmes Provided by Archbishop Hurley at the 1980 AGM

1. Black Development Programme - organiser, Thami Dumisa,
1.1 Courses for domestic workers
    Leadership courses were run for domestic workers in collaboration with the Domestic
    Workers' and Employers' Project (DWEP)

1.2 Phambili Savings Club – Umlazi

Young employed people of a member church, St Augustine's Anglican Church in Umlazi, were assisted to establish the first Savings Club of the Durban region in collaboration with the Agency for Industrial Mission and the Coady International Institute: "...savings clubs and the co-operative movement ... appear to be one of the most effective ways of enabling people to rise above the crippling effects of poverty" (Hurley, 1980:8).

1.3 Lindley Zamani Community Project

(The report does not describe the project but rather points to the difficulties of its second year of operation). Paddy Kearney and Elizabeth Mkame could not recall the details of what occurred to this short-lived project.

1.4 Zakheleni Fund

The Zakheleni Fund was set up and administered by Diakonia, with a grant received from Oxfam, to give start-up financial assistance to small self-help community-based projects. Twelve such projects had thus far received funding amounting to R6393 in total. A need to provide more support to the projects had been identified.

1.5 Co-operation with other groups

The Black Development Programme organiser, Thami Dumisa, had worked in various capacities with a number of groups, namely: DWEP, the Inter-Church Aid Committee, National Youth Leadership Training Programme 'Urban Plunge' courses, the student South African Church in Leadership and Action committee and the Church of the Province of South Africa Department of Missions.

1.6 Church group visits

Five church groups were visited in order to form collaborative links in churches for Diakonia.

2. White Development Programme – organisers Paddy Kearney and Elizabeth Mkame

2.1 Women's church group visits

Six women's church groups were visited and considerable support for Diakonia projects (the Malukazi Project in particular – see more information below) was obtained.

2.2 Other church group visits

Five other church groups were visited to attempt to involve parishioners in the concerns of Diakonia.

2.3 Quarterly meetings for representatives from white parishes

Meetings were held with active parishioners, 'concerned about justice' to provide a forum to reflect and to share concerns and ideas (Hurley, 1980:10).

2.4 Strategies for attitude change

A two-day workshop was conducted with a small group of church workers and members on strategies for attitude change by Marian Nel, National Director of the Human Awareness Programme (HAP), and Dr James Moulder, Chaplain and Ombudsman of Diakonia from 1978 until August 1980. "Taking risks in working for attitude change is a lonely and sometimes hazardous undertaking: Diakonia needs to devise ways of providing support of an ongoing nature and possibility for exchanging ideas among those who do" (Hurley, 1980:10). HAP was established in Johannesburg in 1977, at the instigation of Denis Hurley. It attempted to influence the attitude of whites of the need for a participative, multi-racial democracy. It acted as a consultative body for organisations involved in social change (SAIRR, 1979:45).

2.5 Alternative National Service

Diakonia, at the request of Professor Paul Hare, a Quaker living in Cape Town, sponsored a Durban-based committee to promote the idea of alternative forms of National Service. Andrew Smail had undertaken research on behalf of the committee that was to be published by Diakonia. The four research papers would assist with "... counselling the increasing number of young men faced with a crisis of conscience about military service" Hurley, 1980:10).

2.6 Alternatives in Education

 "Inequalities in the schooling system are one of the principal cornerstones of injustices in South Africa generally" (Hurley, 1980:10). Paddy Kearney gave talks on alternatives to the existing system of schooling at universities and at the National Youth Leadership Training Programme.

3. Housing Programme

3.1 Malukazi Community Programme

According to the SA Institute of Race Relations survey of 1982, 60,000 people were living in 'appalling conditions' in the KwaZulu territory of Malukazi, a shanty-town adjoining Umlazi township (SAIRR, 1983:330).

3.1.1   Squatter upgrading

The original intention of developing a squatter upgrading project was abandoned because the community were to be relocated to allow for the extension of formal housing from Umlazi into the area. However, the viability of working in the area of squatter upgrading was still being explored.

3.1.2   Establishment of a Malukazi Sub-Committee

A sub-committee of the Diakonia Executive was set up to help the Malukazi Project to become autonomous from Diakonia.

3.1.3   Temporary Withdrawal of Community Worker

The Malukazi community worker had been withdrawn from the area briefly until the respective roles of the local Inkatha Committee and Diakonia had been clarified. There were ongoing attempts to find ways to collaborate with the Inkatha Committee (this issue is described in more detail below).

3.1.4   Malukazi Creche

A crèche was the most important of a number of self-help projects established in the area. The crèche was being run by a committee of residents with the aim of establishing a co-ordinating committee of residents to oversee all the projects in the area.

3.1.5   Provision of Water

A proposal for the increase of water services in Malukazi had been prepared and it was to be presented to the relevant authorities. Some funding had already been raised for the installation by the Anglican Church at Amanzimtoti.

3.2   Assistance to Richmond Farm Squatter Area

"Richmond Farm is a squatter area situated between KwaMashu and Ntuzuma townships. The community has suffered increasing harassment in terms of the Illegal Squatting Act" (Hurley, 1980:12).

3.2.1   Legal Defence for Arrested Squatters

Legal defence was provided for squatters arrested in dawn raids in late 1979 and their bail was paid by means of a loan. Advocate Chris Nicholson and Mr John Copelyn got the charges withdrawn.

3.2.2   Survey

Diakonia collaborated with Black Sash in undertaking a survey of residents to provide information to use in negotiations with the authorities. The resulting report with a

memorandum were sent to Dr P Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, "...calling for an end to harassment of this community, and requesting the Minister to guarantee that the people will not be moved before adequate alternative accommodation is made available" (Hurley, 1980:12).

3.3 Workshop on the Church's Response to Squatters in the Greater Durban Area

A workshop, attended by church leaders and workers (but few ministers), was held to explore the issues around squatters and the role of the Church. Papers were presented by Sheena Duncan, Rommel Roberts and Errol Haarhoff.

The Assumption Parish (RC Church) made use of a suggestion to use a squatter shack instead of the traditional Christmas crib. This had led to greater involvement by members of the Parish in the Malukazi squatter community.

3.4 Representations to City Authorities on Behalf of the Newlands East Community

The Newlands East community of about 4000 residents was "...desperately short of such vital facilities as schools, shops, telephones, community halls and recreational facilities" (Hurley, 1980:13). A delegation was led by Denis Hurley to the Deputy Town Clerk, the Chairman of the Health and Housing Committee and other City officials to present a memorandum outlining the major grievances of the community.

3.5 Chatsworth Housing

Diakonia went alongside the Chatsworth Housing Action Committee in its protest against prices set by the City Council for the sale of sub-economic houses in Chatsworth. Diakonia assisted by getting representatives of concerned organisations to attend a mass protest meeting in Chatsworth and in helping with liaison with City Councillors. A meeting was organised for Action Committee members to present their case to City Councillors and other stakeholders.

3.6 Rural Resettlement

Diakonia's involvement and increasing focus in rural resettlement began as a result of the influence of Neil Alcock of Church Agricultural Projects and Bishop Desmond Tutu. Diakonia had joined the Association for Rural Advancement (AFRA)and was in the process of establishing a Durban Committee to expose the issue in Durban "... and rally support for those thousands of people whose lives are shattered by resettlement schemes which have no purpose other than the fulfilment of the thoroughly-discredited apartheid ideology" (Hurley, 1980:13). The AFRA estimated at that approximately 745,000 Africans had been forcibly removed from 'white' Natal over the previous 30 years (SAIRR, 1983: 454).

3.7 Inanda Community Project

Diakonia has played an advisory role in the Inanda Community Project, supported by several Durban North groups. Hurley praised this project as an ecumenical way of working that could be used to involve parishioners in other areas.

4. Labour and Self-Help Programme

The main aim of this programme was to help unemployed people to become as self-reliant.

4.1 Labour Bureau

The Labour Bureau was redefining itself to become a co-ordinator of other local initiatives, and to help the unemployed to seek employment and to create self-help projects. In its 18 months of operation the Bureau had found about 3500 odd-jobs for people.

4.2 Odd-Job Schemes

Diakonia was helping the unemployed to form self-help groups to find work opportunities in the trades and services. Thus far, three groups had become self-reliant and five other groups were working towards independence through training and support.

4.3 Courses

An educational programme was being run with the unemployed, project workers, social and community workers. The aim of the course was to promote the development of self-help projects and human development.

5. Support for Workers in Industry

5.1 Church and Industry Research Project

Mr Rob Lambert, a former National Secretary of the Young Christian Worker movement, and at this juncture, a lecturer in Industrial Sociology at the University of Natal, was running the Church and Industry Research Project. In the early 1980s he became a researcher for the Church and Work Department of the SACBC. Over the course of 1979 Lambert had interviewed forty ministers from the Diakonia member churches. He had found that there was no linking of the Gospel with working class or worker concerns. Diakonia was considering, in the light of these findings, the establishment of a Department of Church and Industry to grapple with these issues.

5.2 Support for Fatti's and Moni's Strikers

Diakonia collaborated with a number of other organisations to support the strike and product boycott by Fatti's and Moni's workers at Bellville in the Cape. Diakonia helped to publicise the issues and recruit boycotters. "We are very grateful to those churches who lent their support to this campaign, and were delighted to learn that the strike and boycott were basically successful in their purpose – quite a victory for the use of non-violent strategies!" (Hurley, 1980:16).

6. Assistance to Restricted People

Diakonia collaborated with the Dependents' Conference of the SACC in ministering to the needs of those restricted by the Government because of their political convictions and activities.

Diakonia had helped restricted people to access bursaries and had promoted the support and compassion of its member Churches for them. In addition, Diakonia had supported a national campaign for prisoners to have a right to study. A petition with several thousand signatures was given to the relevant Minister to have the Regulations to Prisons Act amended. The campaign was conducted in all the main centres of South Africa.

7. Support for Community Work

7.1 Community Workers' Forum

Diakonia had initiated a Community Workers' Forum to help community workers to network and reflect on their work.

7.2 Print Media and Community Action Course

Three courses had been sponsored by Diakonia and the Inter-Church Media Programme of the SACC to promote the use of newsletters as a way of developing community awareness.

7.3 Drama and Community Action Course

A course was run to promote the use of drama in community work.

Diakonia revealed

What does 1980 AGM report, along with the committee minutes of Diakonia, reveal about the agency?

It has already been shown how there is much evidence of Diakonia took on an advocacy role in assisting the weak and marginalised to pursue their interests, and that this work was viewed as the means to promote justice and reconciliation. At the Executive Committee meeting of 1 November 1976, a decision was made to recommend to the Natal Council of Churches that its Justice and Reconciliation sub-committee should cease to exist as its functions were being performed by Diakonia. At the Diakonia Annual General Meeting held on 22 February 1977, it was recorded that the general theme of the Diakonia programme for 1977 was an effort to help churches to serve 'marginal' or 'fringe' groups. Examples of this work include: assisting township residence groups to both formulate and articulate their problems to the City Council; working with squatters both urban and rural to obtain secure and decent housing and infrastructure; providing support and advocacy on behalf of restricted people and political prisoners; and supporting the cause of boycotting black scholars, striking workers, and conscientious objectors.

The wide diversity of the interest groups, with which Diakonia worked, is striking. They varied in age, racial, gender and economic criteria. They were also diverse in the nature of the problems and the type of assistance they required. The very scope of the assistance offered reveals a deliberate openness to the needs expressed in the greater Durban area.

It was a distinctive attribute of Diakonia that it set out to become informed about the social and political problems confronting the surrounding communities. In other words, it did not approach its work as the all-knowing expert with a particular axe to grind, but rather emphasised the need to listen and hear the nature of felt needs. At the Executive Committee meeting of 26 April 1976, it was resolved: "To obtain information about political and social situations in the greater Durban area and to present this to the local churches as a basis for action to be undertaken by them." It participated in one way or another in a number of community surveys and research projects. It also organised various forums and workshops of local stakeholders geared to uncover the issues and strategies for actions around issues. We see in the AGM report examples of research into worker issues, conscientious objection, as well as the conditions facing rural settlements, squatters and township residents. These were not merely academic exercises however. Sometimes the information was used to lobby the authorities. Other times it was geared to mobilise the local social agencies in general, but, in particular, its member churches (Diakonia Council 2 November 1982), for 'change' and 'liberation' (Diakonia Executive Committee 26 April 1976).

Community development was one of the back-bones of Diakonia's work, but it struggled with the difficulties of this work, which was evident in the Malukazi project (described below). In the process of evaluating its work, on the 24 May 1977, the Diakonia Council listed the pros and cons of employing community workers, before it made a decision to continue to run community development projects:

Negatives

- Their work could be very superficial if they treat symptoms and not underlying causes.
- There is a low ceiling in what can be achieved by community workers in the South African political system.
- There are a number of organisations geared to self-help but so few organisations will to say "We take a definite stand on definite issues".

Positives

- The Churches need concrete demonstrations of what is meant by community work.
- The Malukazi and Lamontville projects have been strategically chosen to give assistance to two groups with especially urgent problems: squatters and the youth.

That Diakonia promoted African self-reliance is evidenced in projects to empower domestic workers by means of leadership courses, youth development courses; poverty alleviation projects in townships; and helping interest groups, such as the unemployed, with skills and self-help projects.

Social development projects, according to Marsden *et al* (1994:10), seek to give support to self-reliant strategies, to promote more effective participation, to build local capacity, and to develop skills for more sustainable development. Empowerment is, therefore, the fundamental principle at the heart of social development, which has the aim of building the resources particularly of the poor and the marginalised in society. Jørgensen took a more directly political approach when he identified the NGO as an organisation that is attempting to engineer certain social changes in certain areas for a particular target group. This, for him, is a political activity and these organisations have to take account of government policies and sometimes come into conflict with the State (1996:39).

The promotion of collaboration, skilling and networking with other stakeholders is another distinctive characteristic of Diakonia's work. It promoted the work of, and linked up with, a range of activists and organisations locally, nationally and internationally in its many collaborative projects. The assistance of concerned individuals with professional expertise was frequently harnessed on behalf of the weak and the marginalised, as we see in the example of providing legal defence for squatters; and collaboration with Rob Lambert on worker issues, and with Neil Alcock on rural forced removals. It also set out to facilitate the work of local social development agencies, and to form partnerships around projects with allied organisations. At the Diakonia Executive Committee on 2 August 1977 it was reported that Community development co-ordination meetings were being held with all the people involved in community development in the greater Durban area, and that plans were afoot to get the old St Joseph's Convent School building (where Diakonia Council of Churches is now located), to house 20 agencies for social change that were seeking office accommodation. In the 1980 AGM report we noted the establishment of the forum to formalise this work started in 1977. In addition, Diakonia developed the skills and knowledge of leaders, development workers and activists by means of various training courses, talks, forums and workshops.

Diakonia worked at gaining the backing and involvement of congregations in its member-churches – both black and white. At the Diakonia Council meeting on 19 August 1980 it was recorded that "The best methods of mobilising black and white congregations for involvement in social action need to be identified." Diakonia ran the White Development Programme as a deliberate attempt to conscientise white Christians, to the impact of the harsh, oppressive nature of government and municipal policies on local communities and to provide them with the means to address these issues. It simultaneously ran what it called a Black Development Programme to empower the local black communities and interest groups, to promote black consciousness, and community development.

The difference in strategy between the white and black programmes, which Diakonia picked up from the way in which the Christian Institute worked, reflected the divergence between the life experiences of its black and white church goers. While black Christians were directly confronting the harsh realities of apartheid and the unequal allocation of resources, and were thereby subordinated; white Christians were generally living in well-resourced and secure settings, in a dominant power position in relation to black South Africans. For blacks, resistance was therefore both needed and dangerous. For whites it was optional, privileged and on behalf of the weak and

marginalised. South African whites tended not to even notice the inequality and suffering of their fellow citizens, and were therefore in need of conscientisation as a first step towards mobilising them to social action. Africans, Indians and coloureds, however, were already conscientised by their life experiences under apartheid. They instead needed to find the confidence, skills and resources to act on their own behalf, and for expert and more privileged individuals and groups to provide expertise and resources, or to advocate on their behalf.

Diakonia did not avoid addressing structural inequalities and undertaking open confrontation with the authorities in its role as mediator for the disenfranchised and in support for political prisoners. For example, at the Executive committee meeting of 21 March 1980, a statement was written calling for the release of political leaders in prison in order to avoid the bloodshed of Zimbabwe. And because of the radical nature of its commitment to social justice and human rights for all citizens, it came into conflict with the laws and practices of government authorities and with the sentiments of the majority of the white Christian congregants. In 1982 the Diakonia premises were raided, and the financial records and media resources were confiscated by the South African Police (Council 2 November 1982). Paddy Kearney himself was arrested at Diakonia and detained under the Security Act in August of 1985, after the focus period of this study. At the Executive committee meeting of 24 April 1979 it was recorded that:

> Diakonia cannot expect to enjoy a high level of popularity because it acts as a sort of conscience for the churches. A survey of ministers' opinions found that many ministers see Diakonia as something outside of the churches. Because they lack enthusiasm for its projects they do not pass on information to their congregations.

Conflict with the Inkatha Freedom Party

But despite its altercations with the State, Diakonia remained deeply committed to peaceful, non-violent methods. It also attempted to remain non-partisan in the contentious resistance politics of apartheid South Africa, although it was not easy to both represent the interests of the oppressed and remain impartial. At the Diakonia Patrons' meeting on 5 October 1982 it was recorded that the churches should avoid too close an identification with any political movement and that Diakonia should be continually vigilant and prudent in this respect. But we have seen in chapter six how it could not avoid getting caught up with the Mass Democratic Movement of the 1980s and to have altercations with the Inkatha Freedom Party, which was active in the same communities. The brewing conflict with Inkatha started in the first years of Diakonia, in 1977 in the course of its work in communities.

In Malukazi, an Inkatha-controlled, peri-urban slum area adjoining Umlazi, Diakonia came up against the local Inkatha structures and was not able to put in place the planned basic facilities of a creche, a clinic and water taps. This area of Diakonia's work was well documented in the Malukazi Project Management Committee minutes, available in the Archives. It reveals some of the flavour of one of its major community projects, which started early in its history as a squatter area upgrade project (Executive Committee on 6 December, 1976).

According to the Diakonia minutes of the Malukazi Project Management Committee, put in place on 11 May 1978 to help address the complexity of issues, the Diakonia community worker, Theresa Mthembu, was continually frustrated in her attempts to move forward with her work because the local Inkatha officials would not co-operate and blocked development. On 19 September 1979 Diakonia decided to withdraw from the area pending negotiations with Inkatha.

At the Malukazi Project meeting held on 14 November 1979, the experiences with Inkatha at both Richmond Farm, which were not specified, and at Malukazi, were discussed. It was recorded that: "Diakonia is a Church-based organisation, thus we work with all people and not only with a particular group of people". Therefore, it was decided to take all possible steps to work constructively with Inkatha structures. That Diakonia followed through on this policy decision is made clear. But the outcome was not positive.

Ms Mthembu joined Inkatha in an attempt to facilitate co-operation, but this did not work because ongoing problems in attempting to meet with, and work with Inkatha structures dogged the project, despite many recorded attempts by Diakonia to break the log-jam, up until the last minutes I was able to find dated 8 December 1980.

On 22 October 1980 Hildegard Lenz, a resident of Frankfurt, Germany, who had been visiting Diakonia, sent a letter to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* critical of Inkatha:

> Here in Malugasi [sic] 30,000 people tap water from only two water taps. When the
> SACC wanted to install a better water supply with water taps at different places, the
> local district committee of the Inkatha Movement prohibited the move, reasoning that a
> School was more important. Well, to date there is neither a school nor a better water
> supply."

She also claimed that the community worker and local women had been forced to join Inkatha in order to enjoy any benefits from the organisation.

Dr Frank Mdlalose, Minister of the Interior, Ulundi, responded with a letter to the same paper dated 29 January 1981 denying the claims. The *Natal Mercury* of 12 May 1981 reported on a statement made by regional Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi (now referred to as Mangosuthu Buthelezi) in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to the effect that employees of Diakonia were adopting an anti-Inkatha and anti-KwaZulu Government stance in their acts in Malukazi. In *Ilanga* of 14-16 May 1981, Dr Mdlalose challenged the SACC and Diakonia to justify themselves for being "abusive" of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. While it was clear from the Diakonia minutes, (Executive Committee on 25 September 1979, 29 January 1980, 26 February 1980, 29 April 1980, 31 March 1981, 26 May 1981 and Council minutes of 19 August 1980), that the organisation was distressed by the conflict that had arisen between itself and Inkatha, and that many attempts were made to meet with Inkatha officials at various levels, over the years of the project and in relation to the newspaper statement made by Ms Lenz, it does not appear that a reconciliation was affected.

Diakonia's activism

Diakonia took a left liberal position in that it attempted to work constructively within the existing constitutional structures of its local context for social development, social justice and change, without calling for the overthrow of the Government or of capitalism. Diakonia embraced the multi-racial nationalism of the ANC and UDF, briefly becoming a UDF affiliate in 1983 – after the period of focus of this dissertation. It supported the workers' struggles through its very active Church and Industry Programme. At the Diakonia Council meeting of 4 August 1981 it was recorded: "The white congregations remain unmoved by Diakonia's efforts. They regard Diakonia as too involved in social matters – 'too political', 'too communistic', 'nothing but subversion' from staff". While Diakonia was accused by conservatives within the church and government on more than one occasion of being 'communist', it did not come close to being Marxist in ideology. The definition of 'Communism' in SA was, however, incredibly wide, and was used as a convenient label for much opposition to apartheid.

While Diakonia directly targeted the ignorance, apathy and helplessness of its constituencies - targeting integrative power - it chose to do this by wielding the organisational power of churches and other groups and individuals in civil society. The Executive Committee minutes of 26 April 1976 sum up its objective: "To awaken the Churches to an awareness of her role in working for

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change and liberation. To involve the Churches in social justice programmes by initiating projects, calling for involvement and stimulating independent action." In the revised constitution of 21 October 1981, Diakonia set out its desire to influence Christian churches and independent organisations in a more practical and concrete manner: "... activating their concerns in the social field and focussing their concerns in problem situations and on welfare and development projects relating to the greater Durban area".

Diakonia's work expressed Denis Hurley's enduring belief in the importance of conscientising South Africans about the true nature of Christian Nationalism as propagated by the National Party (Hurley, 1976, 1979, for example). The Communication Programme Committee of Diakonia, which was established on 17 November, 1982, recorded the following discussion about the importance of information in the South African context:

> For the South African State to survive in its present form it is necessary that it is accepted by the people of South Africa (as well as the rest of the world) as being just, democratic, Christian, civilised, etc. If it is not accepted as such then its system of 'laws' will be held in disrespect and a rebellion against 'order' will appear to be justified... There are various means through which this war 'to win the hearts and minds' is waged. Crucial in this effort is the system of communications: schools, religious institutions, the family, etc are established institutions, which are used to communicate the ideas of the state. The most direct (blatant) means include the press, radio and TV. How can we participate in the communication 'struggle'?

Thus we can see that Diakonia not only tackled concrete circumstances but also placed much emphasis on the importance of the realm of ideas – beliefs and ideology – in affecting social change.

Diakonia also found time amongst the hurly burly of social action to hold worship services around themes of current issues. The spiritual commitment to hope and non-violence is exemplified, for example, in the holding of a dedication service with the theme: "It is better to light a single candle than to curse the darkness" (Diakonia Council 2 February 1982).

Armed with a general overview of Diakonia's work during its early years, we will now turn to a more detailed exploration of Diakonia in relation to non-violence and peace.

Chapter 8

A case study of Diakonia in relation to non-violence and peace

Diakonia was unequivocally committed to non-violent social transformation, both in its vision for society and in its way of working. But despite this focus, the material that I found was not analytical about its methods in relation to the theoretical and political debates, as I will attempt to be in this chapter. However, it was not an academic body and nor was it a political or ideological movement. Therefore, theoretical analysis of its strategies was not part of its function.

Rather than holding to a political ideology, Diakonia's vision and strategy, with its focus on service – the meaning of 'diakonia' - arose from Christian faith: "Serving the suffering Christ means working to remove crucifying human attitudes, social and economic systems and laws – those structures of society which put shackles upon people and prevent them from being all that God wants them to be" (Diakonia News, 1979:3). In other words, its social action was both motivated and guided by religion, and aimed at releasing people from all that restricts and binds them.

It is precisely this confluence of a prophetic, activist Christianity with social justice and peace work that inspired Diakonia's particular brand of social action. However, in Chapter eight we will not concentrate on the inspirations of religion. The task here is to put a spotlight on Diakonia's non-violence and to analyse its work in relation to some of the theoretical writings on non-violence. It is my hope that this will further our understanding of the ways in which non-violent methods can be used to promote change towards social justice and peace.

The correspondence of Diakonia's work to theoretical models of non-violence
I did not find it to be a straightforward task to categorise Diakonia's work by means of the theoretical writings on non-violence. For example, Miller (1972:47) identified three principal historical areas of non-violent social action, namely: non-resistance (pacifist yielding and doing good to the enemy, normally from religious conviction); passive resistance (pragmatic resistance for a cause of justice); and active non-violent resistance or non-violent direct action (moving proactively into the problem area). Diakonia cannot be neatly or clearly located into any one of Miller's historical categories of non-violent action, probably because it neither set out to be a

purely spiritual pacifist organisation, described in the first category, nor a purely political social change agency, which the last two categories imply.

Diakonia certainly did not profess to practice passive resistance nor active non-violent resistance, as described by Miller. Non-violent direct action was referred to as a focus area: at the Diakonia Executive Committee meeting of 26 October, 1982, Paddy Kearney reported a highlight of the period had been a workshop on active non-violence attended by 35 people at Mariannhill Mission (which is analysed in detail below). It had provided a link and follow-up to an alternative 'celebration' in August of the Christian Nationalist-inspired, Independence Day, which was renamed, by Diakonia, Luthuli Day, with a strong emphasis on non-violent change. It commemorated of the 15th anniversary of ANC leader, Chief Albert Luthuli's death. This event was in turn followed up by a workshop on non-violent action run by Rob Robertson (a Presbyterian minister and convenor of the SACC commission on non-violence) on 16 October. But this did not translate into Diakonia self-consciously taking up non-violent direct action as its style of operating (we will discuss this issue in more detail below). And while we will also see below some tactics of passive resistance utilised, these did not represent a dominant focus or strategy.

The significant non-violence theorist, Gene Sharp (1979:243), also divides non-violent actions into three classes, which reveal only some correspondence to Miller's categories above, namely: non-violent protest and persuasion of the milder forms; non co-operation, including boycotts and strikes (similar to passive resistance); and non-violent intervention (similar to active non-violent resistance). Within Sharp's categories of action he lists 198 non-violent methods.

An analysis of the committee meeting minutes from 1976 to 1982, housed in the Diakonia archives in relation to Sharp's 198 methods of non-violent action (1993:129-134) is instructive. Activities largely fall into the first of Sharp's areas, that of non-violent protest and persuasion of the milder forms. I have provided examples in some detail so as to indicate both the context within which Diakonia operated, and the spread of its concerns.

1.   Methods of non-violent protest and persuasion.
1.1 Formal statements, including public speeches, letters of opposition or support, signed public statements, and mass petitions. Examples of protest and support by formal statements are the following:

- A letter was sent to the City Council to request the removal of insulting racist (apartheid) signs over the entrance to the Durban library (5 July 1976).
- A joint statement was issued to all churches as a result of a meeting of church leaders held on 16 September 1976 to formulate a response to the national situation. This was in the aftermath of the June 1976 Soweto uprising (30 August 1976).
- The Attorney General of Natal was urged to further investigate the death in detention of Joseph Mdluli and financial assistance was provided to his widow to take up a legal case (1 November 1976). A week before the inaugural meeting of Diakonia, Mdluli, an activist from the Durban township of Lamontville, died in security police custody and it was suspected that he had been tortured to death. Hurley called for a full judicial inquiry (Kearney, 2009:198).
- A statement on deaths in detention was issued by Denis Hurley and the other member-church leaders (26 January 1977). From March 1976 to November 1977 at least 19 people had died under detention in terms of security legislation (SAIRR, 1978:150).
- Diakonia undertook to co-ordinate and plan the making of representations to government concerning forced removals (2 August 1977). The SAIRR Survey of 1977 reports "Widespread indignation was caused when Bantu Affairs Administration Boards in the Western Cape and Port Natal areas decided to bulldoze the illegally-built shanty dwellings of thousands of African squatters, during a particularly cold winter" (SAIRR, 1978:4).
- The City Council and the Natal Bantu Administration were urged to create employment opportunities (2 August 1977). There were reports of rising unemployment, particularly for Africans, reaching crisis proportions (SAIRR, 1978:217).
- A press statement was issued on the inequities of long restriction periods suffered by banned activists in the greater Durban area and their need for humanitarian assistance (24 April 1979). As at November 1979 the SAIRR recorded that there were 152 banned people in South Africa (1980: 137).
- A telegram of support was sent to Bishop Desmond Tutu "in view of the various efforts made by the government to intimidate him" (30 October 1979). In his capacity as General Secretary of the SACC, Tutu came into open conflict with the State on a number of occasions but things came to a head in September 1979. While on a visit to Denmark, he stated that Denmark was disgraceful in buying South African coal, in disregard for the suffering of the African people. His statement, viewed as a call for a trade boycott, was widely criticised. Tutu was summonsed to a meeting with the Ministers of Justice and of

Co-operation and Development in October and threatened. The Minister of Police also attacked the SACC (SAIRR, 1980).

- Support for a Cape meat workers' strike included printing and distributing two thousand information leaflets (29 July 1980).

- A press statement was issued stating that Diakonia wholeheartedly supported the call made by the SACC for the release of ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, from prison on Robben Island (21 March 1980). Throughout 1980s the SACC actively promoted the 'Free Mandela' campaign started by the *Sunday Post* (SAIRR, 1981:615).

- A press statement was released in support of the school boycotts (29 April 1980). In 1976, and again in 1980, there had been an upsurge of revolt by African scholars nation-wide under the banner of the Azanian Students' Movement and the Congress of South African Students. The youth were rejecting the imposition of Bantu education and the apartheid system of government in general (SAIRR, 1980:503-519).

- A press statement was released and religious leaders held informal discussions with one of the managing directors concerning the Frame strike (16 June 1980). The giant Frame strike of 1980/81, involving 8000 workers from Clermont township in Durban. The Churches came alongside the workers and provided them with church facilities (Lambert, 1982:1).

- A statement was made regarding the disparity in old age pensions and their poor administration, with clear proposals (28 October 1980). The maximum monthly pension for a white was R109 and for an African R33. There was widespread dissatisfaction over the new pensions. They were viewed by Africans as both humiliating and dehumanising to pensioners (SAIRR, 1981:580).

- A letter was sent to the City urging the Council to reconsider its decision to spend R100,000 on decorations for the 20th anniversary Republic Festival, considering that the majority of Durban's citizens saw no cause to celebrate, and the money could have been put to much better use (24 February 1981).

- Diakonia co-ordinated a letter from supporters of Charles Yeats who was imprisoned for his conscientious objection stance (26 May 1981) – COSG and Yeats will be discussed in more detail below.

- 28,000 copies of a leaflet in Zulu and English, protesting the St Wendolins forced removals, were distributed to Durban churches during the Church calendar Month of Compassion (28 July 1981). St Wendolins, located 12km outside Pinetown, experienced mass removals. By the end of 1981 1100 families had been moved to KwaZulu areas. A

petition by residents, co-ordinated by Diakonia and sent to the Department of Co-operation and Development, claimed the community should be considered as falling within the 'official policy of permanency of urban blacks' (30 June 1981). Widespread appeals against the removals were made by religious and lay groups (SAIRR, 1982: 278).

- A statement was issued to the effect that there would be chaos in black education as long as it was separate and unequal (26 January 1982).

- A telegram was sent to the Mayor and the Minister of Community Development protesting the practice in Cato Manor of selling parts of it back to the Indian community at inflated prices. Petitions were distributed at member-churches. A delegation visited the Mayor and pressure was placed on the City Council (25 May 1982). The land had been expropriated from its Indian owners by the Department of Community Development in 1980. In December 1981 the Durban City Council offered 92 residential sites back to Indian buyers. Twenty organisations, including the Cato Manor Residents' Association , the Durban Housing Action Committee and the Natal Indian Congress, campaigned for the City Council to scrap its plans and to develop Cato Manor for low cost housing (SAIRR, 1983: 346).

- A letter was sent from the chairperson expressing horror and asking for a full enquiry to be made, without apportioning blame, concerning the Beirut massacre (28 September 1982). Over four days, from 15-18 September, more than 300 Palestinians and Lebanese at the Shatila camp in Beirut, Lebanon were killed by Christian militia, with the apparent collusion of the Israeli army.

- A petition against the bread price increase was circulated and 80,000 signatures were collected (26 October 1982). Inkatha had called for a boycott of bread as a result of a price increase (SAIRR, 1983:38).

1.2 Diakonia communicated with a wider audience by means of slogans and symbols; banners, posters and displays; and through the use of leaflets, pamphlets, books, newspapers, radio and television, as can be seen in the description of its work provided under the other methods.

1.3 Diakonia spent a large proportion of its resources in various attempts at persuasion, according to Sharp's typology of non-violent actions, include the following:

- A survey was conducted into the plight of the Happy Valley coloured community in Wentworth for presentation to the Municipality, in an attempt to galvanise it into action, and report-back meetings with the community were held (5 July 1976).
- A course entitled *Facing the Future* was planned, along with a brochure and newsletter, in an attempt to conscientise Christians in the wake of 16 June 1976 (5 July 1976).
- An anti Republic Day advert was placed in the *Sunday Tribune* and a letter was sent to the principals of Christian schools in Durban asking them to consider carefully the implications of any involvement of their schools in Republic Day celebrations (26 May 1981).
- Member churches were encouraged to support Charles Yeats and publicise his conscientious objection stand (30 June 1981).
- A resource book entitled *Christians, make peace* was published for wide distribution to member churches (29 September 1981).
- Diakonia with the Dependents' Conference of the SACC, and the Detainees Support Committee, produced a booklet which compiled people's rights under the Internal Security Act, including the right to have spiritual ministration (30 November 1982). Security detainees were generally held in solitary confinement, and interrogated harshly, with minimal rights. A right to visitors was viewed as one means of providing some protection and sustenance (SAIRR, 1978:164-167).
- A pamphlet was distributed on Good Friday, the commemoration of the crucifixion of Jesus, on the theme of suffering humanity (30 March 1982).
- A telegram was sent to the Magistrate of Verulam urging him not to proceed with the evictions from the area of Hlungwane (or Hlungwani), in Inanda. Newspapers were asked to publicise the threatened evictions more strongly (30 March 1982).
- The *Natal Mercury* was encouraged to improve its reporting on labour issues (25 May 1982).
- The Diakonia staff put together a strategy for Christian ministry in the current situation, keeping the focus on social action as part of every Christian's ministry (26 October 1982).
- An abbreviated version of Billy Paddock's statement to his military tribunal was co-published with COSG (26 October 1982). Paddock was a Durban-based Christian conscientious objector who was sentenced in October 1982 to one year in military detention barracks for refusing to serve the initial training.
- Letters were sent to the *Sunday Tribune* and *Ilanga* expressing concern about the problems

in black schools (30 November 1982).

- A banner was produced with the wording: "Each worker is worth more than all the gold in the world" (30 November 1982). Hurley had held a study day for the SACBC in January 1982 focused on the situation of workers and trade unions. After the session Hurley made a press statement that "We want to throw the moral weight of the Church behind their struggle" (Kearney, 2009:228).

1.4 Diakonia also made use of deputations and group lobbying. Examples include the following:

- A deputation by Denis Hurley and delegates to the Mayor concerning rentals (31 March 1981). The Minister of Community Development admitted in the Assembly in 1980 that the incomes of the poor could not meet the cost of even the cheapest dwellings (SAIRR, 1981:347).

- A request was sent to the Minister of Police from leaders of Christian, Muslim, Hindu and Jewish faiths in Durban to allow their representatives to visit detainees to minister to them spiritually (23 February 1982).

- A further approach was made to the Minister of Law and Order through Denis Hurley for Mrs Gordhan to see her husband, Pravin Gordhan, in detention (20 April 1982). Gordhan, who was banned after his release from detention in 1982, went on to become the Commissioner: South African Revenue Service (1999-2009); the Chair: World Customs Organisation (2000-2006); and the Minister of Finance (since 2009).

- Diakonia met with various groups and organisations to discuss the problems of black education with special emphasis on the leakage of examination papers and to suggest action in this and other areas (25 May 1982).

1.5 Diakonia used symbolic public acts especially through prayer and worship services and the alternative commemoration of days of remembrance. Examples include the following:

- A special service was held in Emmanuel Cathedral on 5 April 1976 to spotlight the death in detention of Joseph Mdluli. More than 1000 people attended this first Diakonia public event (Kearney, 2009:198).

- Member churches were encouraged to observe 30 July 1978, as a National Day of Prayer for the Crossroads squatter camp (25 July 1978). Crossroads, then housing approximately 20,000 people near Nyanga on the Cape Peninsula, had been established legally as an emergency camp in 1976. But in 1978 the Government decided to demolish the camp. A police raid had occurred which had turned violent and protests against the demolition had

continued throughout the year. The Churches in the area had held a prayer service at Crossroads, attended by about 4500 people (SAIRR, 1978:352-354).

- A special service was to be held to provide an alternative to the Afrikaaner, Day of the Covenant. For the alternative 'covenant meal', Hindus, Moslems and Jews were to be invited to participate, with the theme *The dignity of man* [sic] (26 September 1978). This 16 December public holiday commemorated a vow made by trekkers, with God, in 1838. About 470 Boers with their ox wagons were confronting a very much larger group of Zulu warriors near Vryheid in Natal. They promised God that the day would always be commemorated if He would deliver them from the Zulus. They defeated the Zulus, killing about 3000, and celebrated the victory each year as the Day of the Covenant, or Vow, and the Battle of Blood River.

- A service of intercession was held for Charles Yeats' court martial (28 April 1981).

- A service was held in solidarity with the St Wendolins community's threat of forced removals (30 June 1981).

- A call was sent out to observe Saturday, 13 March as Detainees Support Day (23 February 1982).

- In the Month of Compassion (August) a focus was held on Inanda and the 96% of residents living there illegally who were threatened with forced removal (20 April 1982).

- Heroes Day on 21 March (Sharpeville Massacre of 1960) and Soweto Day 16 June 1976 were special days taken up by the churches to conscientise people about what happened on these days (29 June 1982).

- Member churches were encouraged to commemorate Luthuli Day on 1 August, to honour the past ANC leader (27 July 1982).

- A Dependents' Conference Sunday was held each year from 1976 at several parishes. The sermons, prayers and collection were focussed on the need of the dependents of political prisoners and political exiles. They were also marked by special prayers for political prisoners, those banned, under house arrest or detained, all prisoners of conscience, and their families (9 August 1976 and 26 October 1982);

- The use of church facilities and the ringing of church bells to mark times of crisis were actively encouraged (26 October 1982);

- The Namibian situation was commemorated on 14 November as a day of prayer (26 October 1982) – Namibia will be discussed in more detail below.

1.6 Diakonia held vigils, used singing and processions. Examples include the following:

- An ecumenical all-night vigil on 12 March and a fast on 13 March where pamphlets were distributed and a workshop was held, and churches were asked to pray for detainees on Sunday 14 March (23 February 1982);
- A vigil was held in conjunction with Black Sash, the National Council of Women and Women for Peaceful Change Now on the threatened eviction of people from Hlungwane on 1 April (30 March 1982).

2. I was able to find examples, in Diakonia's work, of the second of Sharp's categories, that of methods of non co-operation. Examples include the following:

2.1 Social non co-operation:
- The offer of sanctuary in its churches to activist community and worker groups (Council 2 November 1982).
- A racially unsegregated coffee bar was established at the Ecumenical Centre, which later became the Diakonia Centre, in contravention of apartheid law and convention (1 November 1976).
- Diakonia backed conscientious objectors (29 January 1980);
- An Anti-Republic Day festival committee, on which Diakonia was represented, drew up a 'blacklist' of people collaborating with the apartheid system (28 July 1981).
- Alternative, multi-racial community living was encouraged.

2.2 Economic non co-operation in the form of consumer boycotts and strike actions. Diakonia itself only appeared to use, during this period, two methods of economic non co-operation.
- It withdrew from a social institution, Barclays Bank, because of its purchase of defence bonds issues by the Government to fund military activity (26 January 1977).
- It encouraged churches to participate in the consumer boycott of products in support for the Fatti's and Moni's strikers in the Cape, also mentioned in the AGM report above (30 October 1979).

2.3 Methods of political non co-operation, such as the withdrawal of allegiance to government apartheid laws and practices, advocating resistance, boycott of elections, boycott of government bodies.
- encouraging people to consider whether to vote in the South African Indian Council elections. It was minuted that the SAIC was an advisory body with no powers, and no real democratic rights, and that it is not taken seriously by the Government. Though people

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were obliged by law to register as a voter, there was no legal obligation to vote. (Council 27 October 1981). The SAIC was a precursor to the tricameral system introduced in 1983. It had been created by the Government to give the Indians a semblance of limited participation in government. African's were still excluded.

3. I could not however identify any actions that would fall under the thirty-three methods of non-violent intervention or direct action that were listed. Some examples are, self-exposure to the elements, fasting, sit-ins, non-violent invasions, establishing new social patterns and institutions, non-violent land seizure, overloading of administrative systems.

We learnt in chapter three that Ralph Summy (1985:230-241) describes a diversity of views in the non-violence camp. As with Miller and Sharp above, they range from the religious pacificist stance through to a pragmatic approach where non-violence is simply regarded as an effective method of action. The differences in approach emerge in eight types of action: non-resistance, active reconciliation, moral resistance, selected principled non-violence, non-violent revolution, tactical method, strategic method, and satyagraha.

The work of Diakonia, to some extent, falls into Summy's category of 'non-violent revolution': "... seeking to develop an ideology, through enquiry and action that relates fundamental social change to non-violence" (1985:234). Inherent in this form of non-violent action is the process, on the part of individuals, of identifying the ways in which we contribute towards the violence and exploitation of our society. It is true that Denis Hurley explored, and exposed in his writings, the particular role of the Church in promoting social justice by non-violent means (Hurley 1976, 1979, 1982, 1997a, and 1997b serve as some examples). His enduring adherence to the significance of the 'see, judge, act' method of the Catholic Cardinal, Joseph Cardijn, is another example of the importance of mobilising Christians to see the true nature of structural inequalities and to act on these understandings, and we will discuss this further below. But, in general, Diakonia attempted to conscientise Christians, by exposing the injustices of the state and the plight of the weak and marginalised, largely in order to rally Christians to work, in a practical manner, for social justice. Hence the development of a non-violence ideology, itself, was not a major focus for Diakonia.

Summy's category of 'active reconciliation' (1985:231) comes closest to capturing the flavour of Diakonia's politics: a non-violence deeply rooted in religion, but the social interaction having a dynamic and 'this worldly' quality. Active reconciliation is based on three assumptions:

- 'humility' (the need to take personal responsibility and to look at personal lifestyle);
- universal human dignity; and
- progress - in that every human being or group of people is capable of changing towards peace and justice.

All three of these qualities of active reconciliation are evident in Diakonia's goals and work and can be illustrated with extracts from the committee minutes.

- It showed a concern for personal responsibility and change. For example, Diakonia staff delivered a conference paper entitled: *The cost of Christian discipleship for whites* (Executive Committee, 28 July 1981).
- A belief in human equality and dignity was frequently expressed by Diakonia. An example, already mentioned above, was the alternative commemoration of the Day of the Covenant, with the theme of the dignity of humanity, clearly meant to affirm our human equality before God (Executive Committee, 26 September 1978). Its press statement in support of the African student schools boycott against the inferior Bantu Education, gives a clear indication of its stand on human dignity: "This system causes the majority of people in South Africa to suffer conditions that are totally unworthy of human beings made in the image and likeness of God" (Executive Committee, 29 April 1980). As mentioned above, a banner for its church and industry programme was produced with the wording: "Each worker is worth more than all the gold in the world" (Executive Committee, 30 November 1982).
- Diakonia's commitment to progress, its hopefulness about the future and its belief in the power of human agency to affect change, were not directly expressed in the minutes but I believe they are clearly implied in its programmes of action. For example, the press statement in support of the student schools boycott ended thus: "To all the members of our member churches, we urge earnest prayer that the boycott will lead to rapid, fundamental and peaceful change" (Executive Committee, 29 April 1980). And, we have seen how, at its inaugural Executive meeting, on 26 May 1976, a core objective was to awaken the churches to an awareness of her role in working for change and liberation.

But Diakonia went beyond 'active reconciliation'. It was mostly characterised by its commitment - as a Christian agency of civil society as distinct to a liberation movement or political party - to non-violent change towards a just and peaceful society. The major focus areas were:

- Conscientisation and activation of white Christians to remedy instances of social injustice in their community.
- Empowerment of black communities to remedy instances of social injustice in their communities, and to improve their living conditions.
- Support and provision of services to various weak and disenfranchised groups and individuals – such as African workers, African school children, political prisoners and banned persons, squatters, those facing forced removals, and military conscripts.
- Facilitation of dialogue between various groups.
- Confronting those in power with the injustices of apartheid. But its use of non-violent direct action was not geared to confront the state in the interests of opposition politics, but rather as targeted, planned actions designed to bring about changes to promote social justice and peace, in a non-violent manner.

It is evident that Diakonia's social action was geared, not only towards those with political power within the racialised order, but also towards empowering the weak and disenfranchised to resist unjust treatment on the part of the authorities. This visible solidarity with socially disempowered sectors was viewed as an ethical dictate of Christian religious belief. Diakonia epitomises the definition of non-violence provided on the invitation to the Diakonia-sponsored workshop on non-violence in 1982: "An ethic of solidarity, love and tenacious commitment to struggle for justice becomes the central force for change."

Sheena Duncan, who had leadership positions in the SACC and Black Sash and was closely allied to Archbishop Denis Hurley and Diakonia from its inception, was also committed to non-violent direct action using the 'see, judge, act' method. She believed in the power of non-violence: "Pacifism can be an option for peace but we are all too reluctant to make the necessary commitment. There is no power on earth that can force us to do what we refuse to do" (Duncan 1987:279).

Duncan uses the term 'pacifism' instead of the more commonly used term 'non-violence'. Hetherington (1990:56,57) described pacifism as applying the principles of individual morality to the problems of politics, and therefore, for pacifists there is a very close relationship between the personal and the political. Pacifists believe that if we want a peaceful, free and just world then we can bring it about only by acting in a peaceful, free and just manner. This is a broader understanding than the commonly-held notion of pacifism as being, simply, anti-warfare.

For Sheena Duncan, nothing could shake her belief in non-violence. However, this does not give Christians the right to be passive: "...it has to mean committed and sacrificial action to build a just and righteous society, to prevent violence where possible and to intervene in violent confrontations" (1987:271). Her words capture well the spirit of Diakonia.

Diakonia's work for peace

A search for the word 'peace' in the Diakonia minutes between 1976 and 1982 resulted in 15 hits: two in the 29 Council meeting minutes and 13 in the 55 Executive committee minutes. I will list these to provide something of the flavour of its concerns with peace.

1. In the Diakonia Council minutes of 25 May 1976 a symposium was to be held in conjunction with the SA Institute of Race Relations, Govan Reddy, an activist journalist who went on to become CEO of the SABC under an ANC government, being the main speaker, with the title: *The Internal Security Bill – its implications for peaceful change.* The Government had extraordinary powers granted to it in terms of the security legislation. In August 1976 the Minister of Police began to apply the preventative detention clauses of the Internal Security Act. The banning of organisations and individuals was also undertaken under this act (SAIRR, 1978:122)

2. In the Diakonia Council minutes of 23 November 1976 a press statement was issued concluding: "In the interests of peaceful and orderly change in South Africa, we believe it is essential that black trade unions be allowed to register, and that the campaign of harassment against them be swiftly brought to an end". It was only in 1979 that government allowed black trade unions to register.

3. In the Diakonia Executive Committee minutes of 6 December 1976, item five of a list of priorities for Diakonia was: Helping people to understand those actions which will ensure a peaceful future for South Africa.

4. In the Diakonia Executive Committee minutes of 25 July 1978 it was reported that a seminar on War and Peace would be led by Professor Paul Hare, sociologist from the University of Cape Town, a peace activist, and co-author of a book entitled: *Liberation without violence,* and Dr James Moulder, a philosopher from Rhodes University and an expert on conscientious objection.

5. In the Diakonia Executive Committee minutes of 21 March 1980 in its press statement supporting the SACC call for the release of ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, from prison, it was stated that:

We believe that the Church in its role as peace maker must help the people of South Africa to avoid needless suffering and bloodshed …[which]... can only be avoided if Mandela and other leaders in prison, or in exile, or banned, are enabled to participate fully in the shaping of a unitary South African society more conformed to God's desire for justice and peace.

6. In the Diakonia Executive Committee minutes of 29 April 1980 a statement in support of a schools boycott ended: "To all the members of our member churches, we urge earnest prayer that the boycott will lead to rapid, fundamental and peaceful change".

7. In the Diakonia Executive Committee minutes of 28 October 1980 two staff members were granted permission to attend a peacemakers' seminar in Swaziland.

8. In the Diakonia Executive Committee minutes of 31 March 1981 a weekend course entitled *Christian Action for Peace* was to be held 24-26 April to explain the contributions white Christians can make in South Africa.

9. In the Diakonia Executive Committee minutes of 29 September 1981 the White Development Programme was printing a resource book entitled *Christians, make peace* It was jointly published with the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (PACSA), SA Outlook (a Christian journal publication) and Diakonia.

10. In the Diakonia Executive Committee minutes of 23 February 1982 a *Christian Action for Peace* weekend course was offered for a marriage encounter group in a member church.

11. In the Diakonia Executive Committee minutes of 30 March 1982 Denis Hurley opened a Peace Library, as an ecumenical community resource centre of material relating to non-violence.

12. In the Diakonia Executive Committee minutes of 20 April 1982 a copy of the SACC film *This you can do for justice and peace* was obtained for distribution to member churches.

13. In the Diakonia Executive Committee minutes of 29 June 1982 a Peace Evening was held at St Olav's Lutheran Church on the Berea

14. In the Diakonia Executive Committee minutes of 28 September 1982 collaboration with the organisation, Women for Peaceful Change Now, (allied to Women for Peace), on a human rights programme was mentioned. Women for Peace was a broad-based attempt to unite

women, of all political and racial hues, to work for peace nationally. It was formed in 1976 shortly after the Soweto uprising (Spink, 1991:242).

15. In the Diakonia Executive Committee minutes of 30 November 1982 it was recorded that two thousand *Christians Make Peace* booklets had been sold.

Diakonia working against militarisation

We have seen in its work how Diakonia combined a strong stand against the increasing militarisation of the South African state with its commitment to social justice. This was one of the ways it stood for reconciliation and peace.

Denis Hurley, in his position as Chairperson of the SACBC, visited South West Africa (Namibia) in 1981 to investigate disturbing reports of atrocities by the South African Defence Force, which had illegally invaded the country in 1974 to quell an uprising by the South West African Peoples' Organisation (Swapo). A bishops' report was published on 14 May 1982 which documented atrocities and drew the following conclusion:

> There is a universal consensus, with South Africa virtually the only dissenting voice, that South Africa has no right to be in Namibia. To dismiss as biased or irrelevant the decision of the United Nations and the opinion of the International Court of Justice is to discard everything, however imperfect, which has been slowly built up in mankind's [sic] agonising search for institutions designed to promote and safeguard peace (SACBC, 1982. Cited in Kearney, 1992:219).

Hurley went on to advocate economic sanctions against South Africa (Kearney, 1992:220).

A particular emphasis in Diakonia's anti-militarisation campaign, however, was its advocacy and support for the right to conscientious objection on the part of young white males who were drafted into the army.

The COSG was formally constituted in 1980 when friends and family came together to support individual conscientious objectors (Connors, 2007:20). Connors uses Gene Sharp's term 'generic non-violence' to characterise the work of COSG: "The reason this broad umbrella term – generic non-violence – is particularly helpful in this study is that it neatly encapsulates not only the wide range of motivations behind the objectors' decisions to refuse military service in South Africa, but more importantly the motivations that drove people to participate in the cause of the COSG over

the years" (Connors, 2007:118). She goes on to add that this ability to contain diversity was one of COSG's chief strengths.

Conscientious objection is mentioned eight times in the Executive committee minutes and twice in the Programme committee minutes for the period that I am examining. Most of these instance have already been mentioned above in other contexts and will therefore not be listed again.

Diakonia's search for non-violent social change strategies
While the preceding audit of the Diakonia committee minutes during the period of this study clearly reveals that peaceful change was one of its core principles, in 1982 it became evident that Diakonia was becoming more self-conscious about non-violence as a strategy for social change. The agenda and proceedings from an important workshop in 1982 on non-violent action for justice and change was, according to Paddy Kearney in an interview with the writer on 9 August 2007, an important milestone in its search for a non-violent strategy.

The agenda and proceedings entitled the *Second workshop on non-violent action for justice and change* was jointly sponsored by the Natal Catholic Bishops Conference and Diakonia. It took place at the Khanyisa Pastoral Institute, Mariannhill, for four-and-a-half days from 28 September – 2 October 1982. The facilitators were Jimmy and Joan Stewart of Transformation, a resource centre for justice and new community in Southern Africa, based in Maseru, Lesotho.

The invitation to the workshop dated 22 July 1982, stated that it would explore the theological basis, and the methods and techniques of non-violent action, for justice, specifically in the field of labour and trade unions. Fairly detailed minutes of the proceedings, running to 20 pages were produced with the papers attached. There were 33 participants drawn from throughout Natal, most of whom were nuns, priests and Catholic lay activists.

Of interest to our understanding of Diakonia is that the conference combined the themes of justice and liberation. 'Liberation' was a politically-loaded word in South Africa. It was directly associated with political organisations like the ANC, which was commonly know as the Liberation Movement. Small groups were asked to share the injustices they had experienced themselves. It was therefore politically provocative and oppositional to use this terminology and placed Diakonia firmly within the resistance movement.

In addition, the examples of injustice that were cited at the workshop made it clear that the liberation envisioned was of a radical, structural nature. They included:

- inequality of wealth and poverty;
- imprisonment and detention without trial;
- resettlement with subhuman living conditions and huge transport costs;
- unemployment and retrenchment, including dismissal as a result of protest action;
- racial tension and an authoritarian, unresponsive government.

Hence, the tone of the workshop points to an activist non-violent intervention or active non-violent resistance, rather than the gentler, more conciliatory tone of Diakonia's early work. At the workshop Jimmy Stewart was quoted as saying that the contemporary non-violent movement "… makes a prophetic statement of the value of the person, of truth and respect for life, and of the power of a determined community to win justice … it is a new means of social struggle". 'Social struggle' being the operative words.

That Diakonia was committed to the rough and tumble of social struggle becomes evident in its commitment to working class issues. On the third day of the conference, Diakonia staff introduced the theme of work and labour with a series of case studies from trade unionists on the labour struggle in Natal. Alec Erwin, General Secretary of the Federation of SA Trade Unions (FOSATU) who went on to become a Minister of Public Enterprises (2004 – 2008) in the post-Apartheid government, followed the case studies with a talk on how the Church could become involved. He said that the unions were the largest organised body of oppressed people opposed to the State, who have borne the brunt of apartheid, and that they needed the assistance of the churches in their 'struggle for liberation'. Some of the ways the Churches could help were:

- To provide meeting venues;
- To provide financial assistance for strike actions;
- To provide moral support at pickets;
- To take a political stand for structural economic justice; in protest against acts of intimidation against workers and, in support of the rights of unions.

Diakonia was already engaged in all of these areas of worker-support.

Participants were asked to recall non-violent methods that had been used in South Africa. Activities that were listed tended to contain more activist militancy than the Diakonia strategies and reveal the limitations of Diakonia's work in this early period. Some examples were of fasting,

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especially of the Nyanga squatters in the St George's Cathedral in Cape Town; and protest marches. Two cases of symbolic intervention were mentioned – David Russel and Margaret Nash lying down in front of bulldozers at Crossroads, and Rob Robertson camping on the pavement with an evicted family in Pageview. Civil disobedience, for example in St Wendolins, where houses were painted to show refusal to move, and at Matiwane's Kop there was refusal to board trucks. Other civil disobedience was ignoring the Group Areas Act and setting up mixed schools, student houses and novitiates; and packing municipal council meetings to publicise the proceedings.

This important conference on non-violent strategies for change marked an auspicious end to the first six years of Diakonia's existence, and the period of interest of this dissertation. Clearly, Diakonia had grown and matured into an important regional player in the area of non-violent social action for justice and peace.

We have nearly reached the end of our journey of discovery: that of seeking to understand what Diakonia has to say to us about the role of religion in social change. In order to do this, we have taken a long route through the history of South Africa, with its peculiar relationship between the Church and State. Opposition politics in South Africa, both secular and religious, as well as the concerns of political theology, have been explored. And lastly, an exposition of Diakonia from 1976 – 1982 has been provided in order to uncover its brand of Christian social action for justice and peace. It now remains for me to draw all of these strands of information together in the final chapter to derive some conclusions on the role of religion in social change.

Chapter 9
Conclusion

In order to conclude this Master of Arts dissertation, which attempted to be a social scientific, qualitative, historical and theoretical investigation and case study, I will draw on the discussion presented in the previous chapters.

Dialectical social enquiry

We learnt early on that a major impediment to traditional social science is the predominance of what Fay (1999:223) describes as a dualistic way of thinking. Dualism sets up a confrontation between two entities and forces one to choose, for example, culture versus structure, or religion versus politics. An alternative would be to hold the opposites in tension, or to question the presuppositions, instead of answering the question on its own terms. Fay's notion of dialectical social enquiry (as opposed to dualistic social enquiry), has informed the research presented here, both in its method, and in its appreciation of Diakonia's dialectical approach to social action.

A simple 'either-this-or-that' type of treatment of Diakonia was therefore ruled out, and I was challenged to explore the deep roots of the concepts and understandings upon which the case study would rest. As a result, the dissertation has a rather odd structure that finds the case study perched at the end of a long series of exploratory chapters. In many respects, the case study became a stimulus to a much broader investigation of the role of religion in social change, which is what really fascinated me about the recent history of South Africa.

The role of religion in social change

But this broader interest does not minimise the utility of grounding the research in a study of Diakonia within its social and historical context, focusing on the meaning of its role as an agency for Christian non-violent action for social justice and peace.

As a Christian, I hoped to discover that the Church was able to play a significant and dynamic part in the birth of multi-racial democracy in South Africa. This is a relevant topic of exploration because Christianity was interwoven into the very fabric of society. I also hoped to find a theoretical perspective on social action and change.

In my view, the core challenge of any social change strategy is for the economic and political structures of society, which shape and determine the quality of human life, to be tested and weighed against values that favour social justice. The important question here is how can religion facilitate this process, providing standards against which the present can be evaluated, and forms of action formulated to reach the goals of a just society?

Religion has two aspects to its potential role in social change: the ecclesiastical, institutional structures of the Church in society; and its nature as a belief system, or ideology, which provides an ethical and moral frame of reference.

The Church with its ecclesiastical and institutional structures is part of civil society and it was argued that a strong and vibrant civil society is necessary to counter the power of the State. The institutional Church, with a membership that is not class, race or nation specific, can act as a countervailing influence to the State, holding it accountable to the citizenry. It can also provide a source of transcendent social ethics that can motivate attitudes and actions towards social justice. But we must keep in mind that while these two functions are analytically distinct they are intrinsically inter-connected.

It has been established that when the two broad features of religion are combined, there are three possible ways that the institutional Church can respond to the State: it can help the victims of state actions; it can question the ethics and legitimacy of state actions; and, thirdly, it can challenge the State directly by means of political activism when it sees it fail in its function of creating conditions of law and order for all of its citizens (Bonhoeffer, 1972).

The history of the Catholic and English-speaking, multi-racial Churches in South Africa, as presented in the previous chapters, showed them taking on all three tasks. But while the first two functions in relation to the State are standard, accepted practice, the third - a political activist role - challenged the Church to its core.

It is clear from our discussion of Diakonia that it took on this third, more radical task – along with the other two roles. But the question arises as to what drove the white, middle-class Christian leadership of Diakonia, and the affiliated Durban Churches, to stand up to an authoritarian, Christian government and to take sides with the weak and marginalised of other racial, national

and class groups? This question in turn raises the necessity of exploring the operation of religion as a belief system within the particular configuration of the historical context.

Ideology and agency in social change

Diakonia's mission and operation certainly contest a simplistic, dualistic separation of religion and politics in the social change debate. It elicits the question of how human societies generate worldviews, which in turn affects ways of understanding and acting in and on the world: the exploration of ideology and agency in social change.

It was established that the impact of religious beliefs on human agency is evident if we understand the social structure to be composed of agents and not mere interrelating components (Fay, 1999:64). Agents are performers who consciously learn their parts and sometimes alter them in pursuit of their goals within a system of rules and roles, which are either regulative or constitutive. Except, for old social rules and arrangements to be under stress, actors must notice problems and believe that they are related to these rules. For change to occur, actors must believe that an alternative system is available that could solve these problems better (Frueh, 2003:16). This is the role of resistance (Frueh, 2003:18). Resistance can be divided into four distinct and progressive levels: noticing, questioning, causing trouble, and working for a specific alternative (Frueh, 2003:19). It is interesting to note the similarity of this definition of resistance to the Catholic see-judge-act method adopted by Diakonia

However, we are not only dealing with agents with divergent interests arising from their different locations in society. Brian Fay (1987:10) tells us that humans do not see their true situation, and consequently, they engage in social arrangements which are frustrating and unsatisfying. "Humans are not only active beings; they are also embodied, traditional, historical, and embedded. These other dimensions of their nature limit activity, mitigating the effectiveness of the capacities which comprise it" (1987:209).

But despite these very real limitations to human transcendence, it does still occur at times, and social transformations are made possible. In this context, it is warranted to look at the function of religion, as ideology and belief and an aspect of culture. It can provide insight into the way that social relations evolve through a continuing, and complex, interplay between material (structured) experiences and new ideas, which inform each other. The history of the institutional Church, opposition politics, and Diakonia, demonstrate that there is indeed a dynamic interplay of

structures and culture at play in creating human agency. In South Africa, Christianity was the shared dominant religion of the conflicting social alignments with their differences of race, class, language, political power, institutional arrangements and national identity. While Christian belief at times served to emphasise and buttress these divisions, it also served to challenge and bridge social structural divisions and to motivate work for social justice.

South Africa during the turbulent 1970s and 1980s was characterised by both authoritarian oppression and vibrant resistance, which allows some of the social dynamics at work to be identified. In particular, a significant battle in South Africa was for the hearts and minds of the people, waged by the impositions of the State, on the one hand, and by the defiance of certain citizens, on the other. We have also seen how intellectuals, such as Denis Hurley, played an important part in formulating, interpreting and communicating meanings in such a context.

Religion as belief and ideology
The Diakonia case study does illustrate that Christianity can be a positive motivating factor for non-violence and social justice in society. Nevertheless, this direction of causality cannot be generalised in order to demonstrate a straightforward directional relationship between religious belief and specific types of social change. I believe this is a result of the many complex variables at play within South African society. In other words, although a correlation between religious belief and human agency is verifiable in the history of Diakonia, it is not possible to generalise the hypothesis to all Christian institutions. But what does this have to say, more broadly, about the way religion operates in human society?

It appears that religion is influenced by the competing interests that arise from the life circumstances and the ideological 'subjection-qualification' (Therborn, 1980:18) of human agents. At play are socially-generated structures such as race, class, national identity, as well as other cultural, personal, family and historical factors. Therborn (1980:22-25) described the four analytical dimensions of human subjectivity, of our 'being in-the-world'. That 'being' a human subject is something existential and something historical. And being 'in-the-world' is both inclusive (being a member of a meaningful world) and positional (having a particular place in the world in relation to other members of it). But despite the complexity of human ideological subjection-qualification, the history of Diakonia and Archbishop Denis Hurley, within the context of Christian political theology of the time, supports Kathryn Tanner's argument (1992:4) to the effect that Christian beliefs about God and the world can be used to question social and political

practices. This corresponds to Therborn's (1980,26) inclusive-existential ideological discourse, which provides meanings related to being a member of the world, and which includes religion.

Religious beliefs, albeit in a complex and indirect manner, both help make sense of, and motivate, every day attitudes and actions. Tanner also found the potential for a positive relationship between Christian belief and social justice. She acknowledged that theology cannot provide practical, detailed guidelines for social change. What it can provide is an optimistic belief that social change can, and should, occur as a result of human agency. It may also further the biblical principles of the equality and dignity of all persons and their rights to social justice (1992:225-257). Thus, religion is a particular kind of perspective, as an ordered view of one's world – what is taken for granted about the attributes of various objects, events, and human nature.

Religious belief has a transcendent quality because of its nature as a primary and comprehensive value orientation that has an authority larger than individual and parochial concerns. It has the potential to provide a value system against which existing social arrangements can be evaluated. Turner (1980:34) argued that Christianity can challenge all accepted values in the interests of placing people before things.

Richard Turner spoke of a 'transcendent' morality because he believed that Christianity (like all of the world's great religions) calls for a consideration of the other and how they are impacted by behaviour. This, in turn moves the behaviour into the realm of politics, into the arena of social identities, structures, and norms. It calls on me to comprehend the justice of social arrangements and to act accordingly (Turner 1980:19).

South African theologian, James Leatt (1979:339), also made it clear that underlying economic, political and technological questions are moral choices, which presuppose ethical criteria. Who decides? Who benefits? What are the human costs involved? Who pays? Do the results achieved by the success of these strategies justify the means used to achieve them? Is revolution or reform the best way of achieving a more just society?

Religion and politics
Despite these functions of religion in informing attitudes and actions, the brief history of South Africa outlined earlier revealed that, in the main, the struggle of the Churches for social justice

tended to lag behind, or at most, to move alongside, the major thrusts of social change. Nevertheless, its tendency to trail the major social movements does not, in itself, deny a place for the Church in social change – what is called its prophetic task. It is the character of political parties, trade unions and liberation movements to form the vanguard of political change. The Church does not need to usurp their function.

It must also be kept in mind that political resistance involves an ideological struggle over power and social control. Political contestation leads to religious, and other value commitments, or ideologies, being mobilised within institutional settings (Thompson, 1986:66). In fact, it is clear from the many schisms in institutional religion reflected in the profile of society. Christians held a full spectrum of political and ideological positions. And John de Gruchy confirmed that while roughly 80% of South Africans identified themselves as Christian, in general, the class, race and national (or cultural) lines of division among Christians cut across denominations (1985:85). This is the turbulence and conflict that characterise politics and social change.

What was the character of South African politics? Anthony Marx (1992:5) summarised thus: White South Africans oppressed black Africans over three centuries through an overlapping combination of racial discrimination, national domination, and economic exploitation. He proceeded to demonstrate how both political analysts and activists tended to focus on either race or nation or class as the major locus of political domination and hence, the locus for opposition. However, Nolutshungu (1982:60) proposed that a schema of race, nation and class as distinct rallying points for the opposition movements did not take account of the complexity of South African politics. For example, in South Africa the ideological category of race was the primary means of political differentiation for the State, which in turn determined who had power to coerce and who was to be coerced. Race performed a double function. It functioned both as legitimisation of the unequal relations, and for providing a practical principle of political organisation of the state and the social division of labour. In this manner, race obscured class. This has important implications especially for Marxist theory because class loses its dynamic, dialectical power and social change theories need to be able to take this complexity into account in order to achieve an accurate insight into the structural dynamics of social change possibilities.

Hence, a picture of a complex and nuanced social formation emerged, with a peculiar blend of nationalism, and a developmentally-uneven and racial form of capitalism. How, then, could one chart a strategy and a vision for the future?

Non-violence as a means to social change

Despite the fierce controversies around violent versus non-violent change strategies during the 1970s and 1980s, we have seen how there is evidence that non-violent community action was a factor in the weakening of the National Party Government and the establishment of a black majority government in South Africa in 1994; and this despite the fact that there was a highly industrialised, powerful state in opposition to such a future.

According to American sociologist, Jean Sharp (1973:8), all types of struggle, and all means to control governments, or to defend them against attack, are based on certain basic assumptions about the nature of power. Non-violent action is based on the view that governments depend on people for their power; that power is pluralistic, and that political power is fragile because it depends on many groups for reinforcement of its power sources. This in turn points to a significant role for civil society in social change.

Within the non-violence debate, the work of the Church as reconciler was one of the active and controversial subjects during the struggle against apartheid. While it was a dominant position that the institutional Church should function as a reconciler in social conflict, the brutal and adversarial nature of apartheid policy meant that this could be viewed as supporting the system. Clearly, the meaning of reconciliation is crucial to this question, because if reconciliation is about transforming dehumanising situations and their personal and social consequences, it is not a soft option in favour of the status quo.

On the other hand, progressive, faith-based civil society organisations would be hard-pressed to justify taking on an adversarial, us-and-them approach more reminiscent of factional interest groups, but would rather need to be all-encompassing. This was partly because of the inclusive, love-based message of the Gospel but also because Christianity in South Africa spanned racial, national and class divides. The Church was therefore called to work for social justice in a non-violent manner as opposed to working in a partisan and conflictual manner to overthrow an unjust government. However, in its prophetic role the Church entered the terrain of politics and, by its nature, politics tries to address issues that were important to specific sectors of society in relation to other sectors. As a result, politics involves power relations and could sow division and promote conflict. Clearly, there were no easy answers.

The ecclesiastical versus the political role of the Church

Villa-Vicencio (1988:136) legitimately asked if when Christians express their social concern, were these actions religious or political? Where did the one end and the other begin? Which demanded the most allegiance? The integration of religious and political concerns and functions brought socio-political alliances into the heart of the Church, challenging traditional institutional arrangements and the theological understanding of Christians.

Thus, while the notion of the Church as an alternative, reconciling society remained a dominant position, there is evidence that the understanding of its character changed, along with the escalation of social conflict, towards increasing radicalisation. Controversy raged among church leaders concerning its most important and proper tasks in relation to an undemocratic and unjust state. The pressing issues were political and economic and could no longer be addressed only in terms of traditional Western theology. This pushed the Church leadership into the fray of opposition ideologies and politics. How could church-based activism both stay true to its ecclesiastical roots and be effective in its opposition to state oppression?

It is evident that as a result of its prophetic, transcendent responsibilities, the Church is taken outside of its ecclesiastical environment, and into a political terrain. In addition, this political territory had a form and content that was distinct to South Africa of the mid-twentieth century. There were, therefore, no obvious precedents to follow. Clearly, judging by the contradictory positions taken by the Church, finding an integration of the religious and the political was a difficult task.

To balance religion and politics in a functional liberal social democracy that enjoys a reasonable standard of social equality and civil liberties is one thing. It was an entirely different matter in the violent and polarised context of South African apartheid, and escalating state repression in the 1970s and 1980s.

Frequently the debate was framed in dualistic and simplistic terms that did not allow for a more nuanced and strategic style. Diakonia steered a path – in line with the Christian Institute before it - between two extreme positions. It took an approach that was not afraid to take sides with the weak and disenfranchised in open confrontation with the State. It was a position that recognised the need for significant structural change while retaining a dedication to non-violence in its approach and methods. Diakonia eschewed a radical, socialist, utopian vision of the future, characteristic of

Liberation Theology in favour of a courageous commitment to working in the present for social justice with its local communities and social change agencies.

It was only a minority of clerics, such as Archbishop Denis Hurley, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev. Beyers Naudé, who were able to hold the complexity of issues together in a more holistic, and perhaps, dialectical manner. Denis Hurley was clearly a man who made every attempt to live out his faith within his social context and to influence other Christians to do the same. But he was also a man of his times who was deeply influenced by the social, political and religious currents of the day. As a church leader he always spoke from within the context of his religious faith, from a theological orientation. This he had in common with most other church leaders. In other words, although he was an activist, he did not become an insurgent.

Harnessing the institutional and integrative power of the Church

How, then, did Diakonia make sense of its role within a complex and contested political terrain?

It appears to me, based on the study presented here, that the nature of Diakonia can be condensed into two analytically distinct, but integrated, major prongs, which correspond to the role of the Church in society: On the one hand, the harnessing of the transcendent, prophetic power of Christianity to the ideological struggle; on the other hand, the harnessing of the institutional power of the Churches. The areas of power utilised were integrative power - the power of legitimacy, persuasion, loyalty and community (this is the realm of ideology); and organisational power – the power of institutions of the State and civil society.

Institutional power

We have seen how important is the sphere of ideas, or ideology, to the maintenance and change of society. However, in the realm of organisational power, the nature of civil society and opposition politics in relation to the State and social change must be addressed to ascertain if this is indeed a viable enterprise. It is my contention, that we should follow the dictate published anonymously in the *Review of African Political Economy* that "A sphere of civic freedom must … be woven out of the historical and political, social and cultural reality of the existing society" (1990:105).

Civil society is where everyday life is experienced, discussed, comprehended, contested and reproduced. Building civil society, therefore, is about building 'voice' at grassroots level, it involves the structures of social movements, community agencies and development organisations

which mobilise collectives and communities around immediate local interests. It is a radical notion of citizenship that, without becoming party-political, pushes for equality and social justice for all.

A dynamic civil society is significant in terms of providing a countervailing locus of power, and alternative practices and identities (such as multi-racialism), to that of the State. A vibrant civil society can hold the State accountable and can influence the nature of social development. This assumes an empowered citizenry that can discern and articulate what it wants from its social, economic and political structures. It is here that social meanings, values and ethics come strongly into play. It is here where we connect with the significance of religion as a value system.

Diakonia: an agency of civil society, promoting human rights

Diakonia was an agency of civil society in this respect: it deliberately harnessed civil society to hold the State accountably to its active citizens – as opposed to its passive subjects. In general, Diakonia set out to facilitate the participation of the citizens of the Greater Durban area in the identification and the solution of their social problems and in development projects that would improve their quality of life; it also acted as a political pressure group to protest against administrative and legal injustices on behalf of its constituencies; it provided alternative symbols and rituals, and an alternative approach to social development, to that advanced by the State. In these ways it served to build civil society.

Civil society also goes together with a culture of human rights and social justice, which provides the milieu, according to Van der Ven *et al* (2004:81), in which citizens can debate with each other on an equal footing, and the strength of their arguments determines the outcome of the debate.

While human rights do not specifically feature in the Diakonia minutes that were used for this dissertation, I have revealed by means of the case study that social justice and the rights of the citizen, as described above, were major foci of its work. Stripped to its essence, justice is a social virtue, which tells us how we should treat each other. Miller (1999:18) described the principles of justice, in terms of which the distribution of social goods can be evaluated, as need, desert, and equality. The form of society that was envisaged was one with equality of education, people-centred development, eradication of poverty and inequality, power sharing in all spheres, the rule of law, guaranteed civil rights and participative government (Randall, 1973:94). The classical triad of human rights: equality, freedom and justice were core values.

During the period of the case study, Diakonia functioned as a progressive and dynamic agency of civil society striving to put Christian social ethics into practice within its local constituency. It did not shy away from confrontation and conflict in tackling aspects of racist, nationalist and class oppression. The nature of the socio-economic and political dynamics of the time were exposed. Citizens were assisted to engage with agencies of the State, in order to communicate and assert their civil rights.

While Diakonia was clearly partisan in the way it sided with the weak and the marginalised, it revealed an ability to cross boundaries of race, nation, class and ideology in its quest for social justice. It was open to engaging with whatever project or organisation was working to advance social participation, and a better life experience for more of the population. It always had a developmental focus and remained open to dialogue and co-operation. It did not simply attempt to tear down and undermine as one political opponent of another.

Diakonia's use of creative conflict

This approach was born out of a commitment to non-violence. Bruyn (1979:16) provided a helpful description of non-violent action as creative conflict that attempts to treat the causes of violence and to offer a direction to human development. Diakonia operated on the assumption that the only true alternative to violence is conflict resolution on the basis of justice, and that reconciliation and justice cannot be separated. In fostering human development, it attempted to empower individuals and communities.

Denis Hurley recognised that social welfare was only appropriate within a functional social context, while development through education, training and the provision of equipment, was necessary in under-developed communities; and where development was blocked, 'liberation', in terms of "... the removal of political, economic, social and cultural obstacles to development" (1974a:2) was necessary. Note here the three potential functions of the Church in relation to the State mentioned above.

The promotion of human development in the local context

Diakonia's programme could be described as far-reaching because it was concerned with the direction of human development. Its chief aim was establishing normative, operable justice in its local context. It always emphasised the requirements for social development, peace, justice and reconciliation, and it worked at empowering its constituencies to advance these goals.

Because Diakonia deliberately kept a local focus, it did not attempt to launch large-scale national campaigns. This does not mean, however, that it was inconsequential and did not wield some power. Surely any and all initiatives that empower people on the ground are significant? In addition, during the bleak latter years of the apartheid State, Diakonia functioned as a beacon of hope to the Church both nationally and internationally. Through its many collaborative projects it had a relatively wide influence. And, most importantly, it demonstrated that human transcendence is indeed possible.

Integrative power

What of the second strand of Diakonia's work, that of addressing integrative, ideological power?

Diakonia had the specific intention of getting the Churches, and their members, involved directly in their local communities so that the congregants would become aware of the cruel circumstance, and thereby be conscientised into further action. Hurley (1974b:7-8) was always deeply concerned to reveal to the white population "...what it inflicts on others just by living the life it thinks it has a right to live and doing the things it thinks it has a right to do." He had an enduring commitment to expose the harsh realities of apartheid to Christians in the hope that they would be inspired to work for social justice.

In the black member-churches the strategy was different because the congregants were already exposed to the brutality of apartheid policies. Here the emphasis was on empowerment, education and skills development.

It was Denis Hurley's emphasis on the mobilisation of ordinary Christians towards inter-denominational, church-based civil action, aimed at addressing local social issues, which was a distinguishing characteristic of Diakonia.

In conclusion

In conclusion, the vision and work of Diakonia reveals a significant and a positive role for religion in social change. Religion impacts society in two broad ways: in its institutional arrangements as part of civil society; and as an ideology that informs agents and motivates actions. We have also seen how the transcendent and prophetic qualities of Christianity can promote social justice. But

this does not give rise to a necessary or contingent relationship between Christianity and social justice. The complexity of ideology and human agency evade any simple or clear-cut causality. Nevertheless, the occurrence of a positive correlation, even if only in rare instances, such as Diakonia, and the Christian Institute, which informed its operations, is significant. This positive correlation reveals that religion can be a significant factor in social change and it can also have a positive influence on both the direction and the course of change.

Appendices
Executive Committee Minutes
Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's inaugural Executive Committee, 26 April **1976**
Chairperson: Rev. DE Hurley
Vice-chairperson: Mr Bill Zondo
The executive committee consisted of representatives from the following six denominations:
Evangelical Lutheran; Roman Catholic; Anglican; African Methodist Episcopal; Congregational
and; Methodist.
Full-time personnel: Mr GP Kearney and Mr IB Gumbi (organizers). Ms EM Mknae
(administrator).
The executive first shared the purpose of Diakonia as follows:

1. To obtain information about political and social situations in the greater Durban area and to
    present this to the local churches as a basis for action to be undertaken by them.
2. To suggest to the churches ways in which they can be involved in finding solutions to the
    problems.
3. To awaken the churches to an awareness of her role in working for change and liberation.
4. To involve the churches in social justice programmes by initiating projects, calling for
    involvement and stimulating independent action.
5. To get to know the churches and to help the churches to know one another.
6. To create a network of talents and resources that can be useful in the solution of social
    problems.
7. To bring the influence of the churches to bear upon the world of city governments, industry
    and commerce and to the people who are not Christians.
8. Paddy Kearney was requested by the SA Catholic Bishop's Conference (SACBC) to produce a
    training manual for the formation of Justice and Reconciliation groups. The booklet was
    ecumenical in approach and will therefore be useful to the work of Diakonia.
9. Run a programme for Christian Unity Week. The programme proposed would involve
    Diakonia organizing home meetings of an ecumenical and inter-racial nature at which prayers
    would be offered for Christian unity. This programme could be organized around the Day of
    the Covenant instead because there was no time to organize it in time for Christian Unity
    Week.
10. The "gravity and urgency of the situation" in a number of squatter settlements in the greater
    Durban area was expressed. It was agreed that there was a need for a thorough study of the
    situation and strategic planning on how to respond.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 2ⁿᵈ Executive Committee, 17 May 1976

1. Agreed to run a course 3 – 5 August 1976 for ministers on 'The Christian Minister in a time of
    crisis' to help ministers to respond on an ecumenical basis to the present crisis in South Africa.
2. Agreed to hold regional reconciliation meetings in order to bring together lay members of all
    the member churches in a frank interchange of views on the South African predicament at this
    time.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 3ʳᵈ Executive Committee, 5 July1976
A representative of the Presbyterian Church of Africa was co-opted onto the committee.

1. An appeal was made to Diakonia by representatives of 500 squatter families living in
    Richmond Farm.
2. A survey had been undertaken in the Happy Valley community in Wentworth to present to the
    Municipality and to report-back meetings to the community. There was a need to communicate
    their needs to the local churches.
3. It was agreed to look into the establishment of a Housing Agency.
4. An additional course entitled 'Facing the Future' has been designed along with a brochure and
    newsletter.

5. Action in relation to the Soweto Riots. A meeting of Natal church leaders was held on 21 June. A statement was issued to the churches. The two important aspects of the statement, from Diakonia's viewpoint were that leaders had decided to 'mobilise all our resources for this urgent cause" and to call upon their members to participate fully in whatever initiatives the churches took to meet the crisis.
6. Diakonia will run a programme around housing shortages in the Greater Durban region.
7. A handbook on the available local service and community agencies will be produced.
8. A lunch hour forum will be held at the St Andrews Centre. The first was held on 1 June on 'The Internal Security Act' and 35 people attended.
9. The petty apartheid campaign - a letter was sent to the City Council to request the removal of "very insulting signs that are placed over the entrance to the Durban library".

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 4th Executive Committee, 9 August 1976
1. The Self-tax movement: it was agreed to promote the idea.
2. It was agreed to activate the churches to protest petty apartheid.
3. It was agreed to take on organizing a Dependants' Conference Sunday to focus the sermons, prayers and collection on the need of the dependants of political prisoners and political exiles.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 5th Executive Committee, 30 August 1976
1. It was agreed to employ two young Lamontville men to make a survey of Ward One in Lamontville towards formulating community action.
2. The establishment of a Housing Office was provisionally approved.
3. It was agreed to hold a meeting of church leaders on 16 September to formulate a response to the present national situation and to issue a joint statement to all churches.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 6th Executive Committee, 4 October 1976
1. A Housing Office is to be established to activate the churches to a greater involvement in the social problems of the greater Durban area. The housing problem is regarded as perhaps the most urgent of these problems.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 7th Executive Committee, 1 November 1976
1. It was agreed to establish an open door (unsegregated) restaurant from January 1977 at the St Andrews Centre.
2. A Christian Ministry follow-up day was held on 12 October with an attendance of 40 people. The two main suggestions raised were:
2.1. That an effort should be made to co-ordinate the pastoral care and support for dependants of detainees.
2.2 That Diakonia should investigate the possibility of establishing an "experimental parish" where, under the guidance of social scientists various pilot projects for changing racial attitudes could be tried, and the results communicated to all churches in the greater Durban area.
3. It was agreed to take up the death of Joseph Mdluli, to urge further investigation by the Attorney General of Natal and to provide financial assistance to his widow to take up a legal case.
4. It was agreed that it would be recommended to the Natal Council of Churches that the Justice and Reconciliation sub-committee of the Natal Council of Churches should cease to exist as its functions were now performed by Diakonia.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 8th Executive Committee, 6 December 1976
1. St Joseph's Convent may be available as a multiracial center.
2. Programme for 1997. Emphasis will be given to:
   1. Contact with youth
   2. Promotion of black consciousness and black theology
   3. Concentration on community development.
   4. Stimulation of awareness of problems of factory workers and unemployed people.

5. Helping people to understand those actions which will ensure a peaceful future for South Africa.
6. Helping to co-ordinate efforts in the areas of justice and reconciliation.

The following ongoing responsibilities are:

1. Experimental parish or pilot programmes in parishes.
2. Working towards a community center
3. Open Door restaurant at St Andrews Centre
4. Malukazi squatter upgrading project.
5. Opening of a housing office and the development of its programme
6. Action on recommendations of Lamontville survey.
7. Church leaders' meetings in response to particular crises.
8. Co-ordination of efforts by the Justice and Reconciliation groups of the various member churches and encouraging their establishment in churches which do not have such groups.
9. Make resource material and information available.
10. Respond to requests to visit parishes and groups for sermons and discussions.
11. Promoting Christian community living.
12. The Chairman asked for more "Facing the Future" courses.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 9th Executive Committee, 26 January1977

1. It was agreed that a statement on deaths in detention should be issued by Denis Hurley and the other member-church leaders.
2. Because Barclays Bank has decided to buy defence bonds, an alternative bank account for Diakonia will be investigated.
3. Organiser, Eric Gumbi, needs to be replaced by a Christian African.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 10th Executive Committee, 29 March 1977

1. Diakonia is represented on the Council of the SA Institute of Race Relations, the Natal Council of Churches and it has membership of the National Council of Women.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 11th Executive Committee, 26 April 1977

1. Denis Hurley expressed concern that Diakonia was not getting through to ministers in ways essential to its work. A programme of intensive contact to be initiated.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's Executive Committee, 12 June 1977 (no quorum)

1. The self-tax fund has changed its name to the Community Development Fund and Inter-church Aid (Natal) agreed to administer the fund.
2. It was agreed to establish a fund for emergency charitable assistance.
3. It was agreed to establish a sub-committee to look at problems of unemployment.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 12th Executive Committee, 2 August 1977

1. A survey of church buildings and their usage patterns will be undertaken. An application for a grant to finance the exercise is being made.
2. An evaluation of Diakonia has been completed.
3. A group of parishes on the Berea collaborated in a special programme for the Month of Compassion. Four evening meetings were held on squatters, unemployment and migrant labour and a Christian response to these issues.
4. What is Diakonia's role concerning forced removals? It will undertake co-ordination and planning in making representations.
5. A number of projects have been planned concerning unemployment. To conduct a survey, workshops, leaflets on strategies for churches, distribution of information to work seekers, to urge the City Council and the Natal Bantu Administration to create employment opportunities.
6. Diakonia has received more than 20 requests for office accommodation from agencies involved in social change. It is negotiating with the Archdiocese to get St Joseph's Convent.
7. The squatter upgrade project is continuing.
8. The Lamontville Youth workers project is continuing.

9. Community development co-ordination meetings are being held with all the people involved in community development in the greater Durban area.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 13th Executive Committee, 24 January 1978
1. A survey will be undertaken of church building usage.
2. Contact with ministers is being made. It is aimed to target four white and four black ministers a month.
3. Planning for the 1st five months of 1978:
    1. Lenten programme for Durban north parishes.
    2. A meeting will be held with Pinetown Ministers' Fraternal.
    3. A discussion lunch with ministers will be held.
    4. An introductory course on community development will be held.
    5 A "Facing the Future" weekend will be held.
    6. A community development co-ordination meeting will be held.
    7. A follow-up day will be held for participants in the 1977 "Urban Plunge" course.
4. The first birthday of the Open Restaurant sandwich bar will be held.
5. The addresses given at the memorial service for Rick Turner will be published.
6. Diakonia to become a member of the S A Council of Churches.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 14th Executive Committee, 28 March 1978
1. It was agreed to reduce the target of visiting ministers to twice a month.
2. Action in relation to vagrants: it was agreed to attempt to involve the inner city churches and to make representations to the City Council.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 15th Executive Committee, 25 April 1978
(nothing of interest to report in terms of programme activities)

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 16th Executive Committee, 27 June 1978
1. Inanda project. Agreed to provide bridging funds for water shortage project.
2. A survey of Springfield will be conducted.
3. Zakheleni community fund: funding is required for six projects aimed at creating jobs at Wentworth, KwaMashu, and Inanda.
4. Malukazi project. Ministers were approached to see how they could minister to the community. The establishment of a crèche and community center building are being investigated.
5. Individual assistance. How can Diakonia help with rental arrears? A labour bureau for small temporary jobs could be established.
6. A concern was raised on ways in which the member churches could minister to factory workers.
7. Membership of the SACC approved.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 17th Executive Committee, 25 July 1978
1. A War and Peace seminar will be led by Prof Paul Hare and Dr James Moulder of UCT on two evenings plus a weekend on 14 and 15 October.
2. It was agreed to encourage member churches to observe 30 July, as a National Day of Prayer for Crossroads squatter camp.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 18th Executive Committee, 24 August 1978
1. To hold a seminar on Needs and Resources for church leaders, which will include looking at Diakonia's own survey on buildings and land.
2. With the expansion of staff and projects and the establishment of a labour bureau, there is a need for extra office space.
3. It was questioned whether the basic aim of the Day of Covenant service was to convert Afrikaners.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 19th Executive Committee, 26 September 1978

1. Day of the Covenant. It was agreed to link the covenant meal with the service. Hindus, Moslems and Jews will be invited to participate, but the gathering would not be presented as a service. The theme will be "The dignity of man".
2. To host a talk by Dr Wolfran Kistner, Director of the Dept of Justice and Reconciliation of the SACC who will be visiting Durban on 18 October.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 20th Executive Committee, 31 October 1978
1. A "Christian and Violence" workshop led by Prof Paul Hare and Dr James Moulder of UCT was attended by 30 participants. There had been some criticism that both course leaders were totally in favour of pacifism.
2. A seminar on legislation relating to conscientious objection will be held.

A Special meeting of the Executive Committee of Diakonia was held on 7 December 1978 to look at staff and structure and the employment of a director.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 21st Executive Committee, 30 January 1979
(Nothing to report)

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 22nd Executive Committee, 27 March 1979
1. The Reformed Church in Africa was granted observer status on the Diakonia Council to help it decide whether full membership was desired.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 23rd Executive Committee, 24 April 1979
1. Diakonia cannot expect to enjoy a high level of popularity because it acts as a sort of conscience for the churches. A survey of ministers' opinions found that many ministers see Diakonia as something outside of the churches. Because they lack enthusiasm for its projects they do not pass on information to their congregations.
2. Statement on assisting banned people in the greater Durban area. The following statement was approved for publication in the secular and religious press; "There are numerous instances of cruel actions undertaken by the South African government. One thinks, for example, of pass raids, statutory racial discrimination, demolition of squatter shacks even in the middle of Winter, large scale removals of people with totally inadequate preparation. But we would like to bring to the attention of all the members of Diakonia's member churches one particular cruelty, which is causing us concern at the present time, and that is the number of people being restricted (under banning orders) for periods of five years to some part of the greater Durban area.

Church leaders, church councils and synods have very frequently condemned the system of

banning which is used in South Africa to silence opponents of the government. The reason

given for this condemnation is that banning orders are imposed upon people without their

having been found guilty of any crime in a court or after having served a sentence of up to 10

years for political offenses. This is in direct conflict with the concept of Christian civilization

which we are frequently told South Africa is upholding.

Strenuous efforts should be made to relieve their loneliness and isolation: Christian people

have a special duty to ensure that banned people and former political prisoners do not have a

sort of pariah status in the community. Many banned people also need help to find suitable

employment and they and their families may require financial assistance during the time they

are unemployed.

The Dependents Conference has been established by the SACC as an agency to assist such

people. We appeal to all members of our member churches to make greater efforts to assist

this organization."

3. A donation will be given to the Prisoner's Education Committee.
4. A meeting was held with church leaders about prisoners' right to study.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 24th Executive Committee, 26 June 1979
1. A research project conducted on the topic Church and Workers will form the focus of the 1980 AGM.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 25th Executive Committee, 31 July 1979
(nothing to report)

Special meeting of the Diakonia Executive Committee was held on 28 August 1979 to resolve staff problems.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 26th Executive Committee, 25 September 1979
1. The Malukazi project. A problem has arisen because of the relationship between the Diakonia workers and the Inkatha committee is unclear. As a result the sub-committee has withdrawn the services of Theresa and Mayu temporarily subject to the approval of the executive committee.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 27th Executive Committee, 30 October 1979
1. Few churches had given their support to Fattis and Monis strikers and their boycott of products.
2. Diakonia is represented on the Committee for Alternative National Service. It was agreed to sponsor an application for funding for research on various matters relating to conscientious objection from the Quaker's Fund of Cape Town.
3. The issue of a lack of ministers' support for Diakonia was raised. An effort will be made to visit all the ministers of member churches in the greater Durban area early in 1980 to seek their support.
4. To send a telegram of support to Bishop Desmond Tutu "in view of the various efforts made by the government to intimidate him".
5. The theme of the 1980 AGM will be Christian duty to be involved in societal issues. The speaker will be Desmond Tutu.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 28th Executive Committee, 29 January 1980
1. The Malukazi project. A series of meeting had been arranged with local Inkatha officials, but on each occasion these officials had not attended. A more successful meeting was held with Mr Oscar Dhlomo and other top officials in Ulundi, after which it was decided that Theresa Mthembu should recommence work at Malukazi. It was suggested that a further attempt should be made to hold a meeting with local officials.
2. Committee for alternative service. Very thorough research has been done by Andy Smail on the following:
    Provision for alternative to military service.
    The incidence of conscientious objection in South Africa.
It was agreed to publish this research. Diakonia to sponsor a conference on the establishment by the SACC of a national organization for conscientious objects at Koinonia 10-14 July 1980.

3. Diakonia and Christ Church, Addington, have jointly sponsored research into the living conditions of domestic workers in the Addington area.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 29th Executive Committee, 26 February 1980

1. Malukazi. Theresa will be meeting with the Malukazi Inkatha secretary to arrange for a meeting with the local officials. No further problems have been experienced with Inkatha officials.

Special Executive Committee meeting, 21 March 1980

1. It was agreed to change the Diakonia constitution to invite the Heads of the Churches in the greater Durban area to become patrons of Diakonia with an ex officio status.
2. The executive of Diakonia agreed to issue a press statement stating that it wholeheartedly supported the call made by the SACC for the release of Nelson Mandela from prison. "We recognize the unique leadership role accorded to Nelson Mandela by very many South Africans and we note the calls being made in many quarters in South Africa for the recognition of our natural leaders. We believe that the church in its role as peace maker must help the people of South Africa to avoid needless suffering and bloodshed such as have been endured by the people of Zimbabwe. Such suffering can only be avoided if Mandela and other leaders in prison, or in exile, or banned, are enabled to participate fully in the shaping of a unitary South African society more conformed to God's desire for justice and peace. We therefore call on local congregations to give their full support to the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela, especially by promoting the signing of a petition for his release".
3. The election of Rev Dr DC Veysie to the executive and as Chairperson of the Board was discussed. There were five black representatives on the Executive committee.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 30th Executive Committee, 29 April 1980

1. Dr Veysie was elected as the new Chairperson of the Board.
2. Malukazi. A meeting had been held between Jay Williams, Theresa and some Inkatha officials. A plan had been drawn up for collaboration between Inkatha and Diakonia in Malukazi.
3. Church and Industry Department. The 1st meeting of this committee had been held. It was agreed that Diakonia establish a Church and Industry programme to focus upon the establishment of worker groups (which will use the 'action – reflection' method) within some parishes. It was agreed to employ an organizer.
4. Statement on schools boycott. "We want to express our full support for the action undertaken by students, and to praise them for their courage, determination and non-violence. In our view, God's spirit is at work amongst the students causing them to protest about unequal education and indeed about the whole apartheid system. This system causes the majority of people in South Africa to suffer conditions that are totally unworthy of human beings made in the image and likeness of God, and made his sons and daughters by Jesus' death and resurrection. The students' stand has not been undertaken lightly. In fact it comes after an endless stream of letters, memoranda, deputations and even the Theron Commission, have failed dismally to make any impact on the government.

   Already the search has begun for 'agitators' and a number of people have been detained but we believe that the real 'agitators' are quite easy to find: they are such factors as poverty, hunger, unemployment, inadequate housing, high rentals, racial discrimination, second class schools, and the deprivation of democratic rights. These are the 'agitators' which must not only be curbed and curbed rapidly, but must be banned from our society.

   We commend those local congregations of our eight member churches which have indicated moral and financial support for the students, and urge others to do likewise.

We make a special appeal to all ministers of our member churches to give a correct interpretation of the student's actions to their congregations so as to counteract misinformation provided by radio and television which are preventing especially white people from understanding the events of these past two weeks. In this respect it may be helpful on Sunday 4 May to exchange pulpits with ministers from areas where students are boycotting, or to ask representatives of the students to address the congregation on that day. Diakonia is willing to assist in this regard.

To all the members of our member churches, we urge earnest prayer that the boycott will lead to rapid, fundamental and peaceful change".

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 31st Executive Committee, 16 June 1980

1. Frame strike. A press statement has been released and religious leaders held informal discussions with one of the managing directors. A meeting of ministers and church workers with the General Secretary of FOSATU was held and it was agreed that a special message concerning the strike would be sent to all churches to be read at services. Diakonia will try to find alternative employment for the 178 dismissed workers and a fund has been established to give crisis relief to the dismissed workers.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 32nd Executive Committee, 29 July 1980

1. It was agreed that Diakonia needs to work hard to overcome the ignorance and apathy among ministers concerning Diakonia's aims, methods and activities. It was agreed to establish a 'white development programme committee' and to write a manual for social action groups to help them to reach white parishes.
2. Schools boycott. It was agreed to ask KwaMashu clergy to make churches available to organize special additional classes.
3. Support for Cape meat workers. It was agreed to establish a co-ordinating committee to direct fund raising for the striking Cape meat workers. 20000 information leaflets to be distributed in Durban and R1000 has been sent to the support fund in Cape Town.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 33rd Executive Committee, 30 September 1980

(Nothing to report)

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 34th Executive Committee, 28 October 1980

1. Permission was granted for two staff members to attend the Peacemakers seminar in Swaziland 3-16 January 1981.
2. It was agreed to make a statement regarding the disparity in old age pensions and their poor administration, with clear proposals. Members of the executive were urged to attend a payout of pensions in Inanda on 11 November to see whether pensions are actually paid out on that day as promised.
3. The Reformed Church of Africa discontinued their observer status at Diakonia and instead joined the SACC. They will be asked to reconsider.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 34th Executive Committee, 28 November 1980 (an error appears to have been made with a repeat of the '34th')

1. A consultation with member churches was held on 25 September 1980. The issue of the entrenched white control of multi-racial churches was raised. This should be considered in relation to Diakonia itself and is an important consideration for member churches when they nominate their representatives to serve on the Council. Diakonia should not simply challenge people to be involved, but should give them clear guidance as to how they can be involved. Some members of the executive have noted a tendency on the part of Diakonia to take over from churches the responsibility for projects and other forms of activities. This is a deviation

from our original aim and had led to the organization growing larger then it might need to be. Out role should be to identify needs through research and then go to church groups and offer them special programmes in which they might like to be involved. This would require spending time with such groups and we should guard against the dangers of white domination and patronage if it was a white group we were asking to be involved with a black group.

2. A workers and church workshop jointly organized by FOSATU and Diakonia was run on 27 November 1980.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 35 Executive Committee, 27January 1981

1. It was suggested that the aims of Diakonia need to be rephrased so that there can be no confusion as to the emphasis of the work of Diakonia. The statement of aims are clear but the problem is that we may not be using the correct methods to achieve the aims and to keep abreast of developments in the greater Durban area.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 36th Executive Committee, 24 February 1981

1. It was agreed to hold a study day on liberation. It should deal with there aspects: what is the objective of liberation?; what are the options?; what is/should be the attitude of the churches?

2. Decorations for Republic Festival. It was agreed to send a letter to the City urging the council to reconsider its decision to spend R100 000 on decorations in the light of the fact that the majority of Durban's citizens see no cause to celebrate, and the money could have been put to much better use.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 37th Executive Committee, 31 March 1981

1. It was agreed to cease involvement in the Malukazi project because Theresa was going away for a 1-year course in Canada.

2. White development programme. 80 people were taken on a bus tour of townships. A six-week Lenten course entitled 'Crisis' was held for Christian university students.

3. A weekend course entitled 'Christian action for peace' will be held 24-26 April in Walsingham. It will explain the contributions white Christians can make in South Africa.

4. An attitude survey will be conducted in pilot white parishes to gauge the attitude of Christians in Durban and to provoke discussion.

5. Natal rates working committee. This committee has been established to look into making a contribution and to encourage churches to do so.

6. A deputation by Denis Hurley and delegates to the Mayor concerning rentals was disappointing.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 38th Executive Committee, 28 April 1981

1. Study day on liberation. It was decided rather to hold a half-day programme on non-violent resistance plus to produce a statement on the Frame strike.

2. A service of intercession will be held for Charles Yeats court martial.

3. For the 1982 to 1984 period it has been decided to apply for funds for 12 posts for Diakonia, namely: a director, five regionally-based organizers for the black development programme, 1 organiser for the white development programme, 1 organiser for the church and industry programme, 1 organiser for the housing programme, a PR secretary, an administrative secretary and a messenger/clerical assistant.

4. The Christian action for peace course had to be postponed as there were not enough people interested.

5. R1584 has been collected towards a relief fund for rental boycotters for reconnection of electricity in Phoenix, Newlands East and Sydenham Heights.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 39th Executive Committee, 26 May 1981

1. Malukazi project. Tension with Inkatha reported.

2. The defence costs for Charles Yeats. A donation was recommended. A letter will be sent from the executive committee to Charles expressing sympathy on his imprisonment and also indicating how proud we are of the splendid stand he took – stating that his faith in Christ and his deeply religious motives have made a considerable impact all over South Africa. Acts 21: 14-15 should be quoted.

   Patty Geerdts will co-ordinate a letter per month from people to Charles.

3. Inaccuracies in a letter by Hildegarde Lenz to the *Frankfurter Algemeine Zeitung* have caused problems for Diakonia. A deputation was made to Chief Buthelezi, Dr Mdlalose and Dr Dhlomo to discuss the statement made in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

   An article entitled "You're no angels" *Natal Mercury* 12 May 1981.

   "Ulundi – Some employees of Diakonia, the Durban-based church welfare agency, were adopting an anti KwaZulu Government and anti- Inkatha stance in their acts in Malukazi, the slum area near Umlazi.

   This statement was made in the KwaZulu legislative assembly yesterday by Chief Minister of the region, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

   … Mr Paddy Kearney said that the full text of Chief Buthelezi's statement would be studied by the Diakonia executive which would decide what form of response would be appropriate"

4. An anti Republic Day advert has been placed in the *Sunday Tribune.* A letter was sent to the principals of Christian schools in Durban asking them to consider carefully the implications of any involvement of their schools in Republic Day celebrations.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 40th Executive Committee, 30 June 1981

1. A meeting was held concerning how the member churches can support Charles Yeats and how his conscientious objection stand can be publicized.

2. A service is to be held in solidarity with the St Wendolins community and the residents' petition to the Department of Co-operation and Development on the threat of relocation.

3. Amanzimtoti informal settlement fire. It was agreed to approach local churches to see what they were doing and what kind of support they needed from Diakonia.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 41st Executive Committee, 28 July 1981

1. The only activity of the housing programme is in St Wendolins. 28 000 copies of a St Wendolins leaflet in Zulu and English were distributed to Durban churches during the month of compassion.

2. White development programme. Diakonia was visited by Jim Amstutg, an American Mennonite who specializes in courses on conscientious objection. He conducted a meeting on this topic.

Diakonia staff delivered a talk at an ASF conference entitled: 'The cost of Christian discipleship for whites'.

3. Diakonia participated in the Anti-Republic Day festival committee which had drawn up a 'blacklist' of people collaborating with the apartheid system. A letter of complaint has been received from one of those listed, Mamoo Rajab. The matter was referred to the patrons.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 42nd Executive Committee, 25 August 1981

1. A guided tour and ecumenical service were held at St Wendolins. The housing committee is anxious to extend the campaign against resettlement to other areas.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 43rd Executive Committee, 29 September 1981

1. A high-powered committee of church men has been established to run the black development programme.

2. White development programme. A resource book entitled *Christians, make peace* is being printed. Jointly published with PACSA, SA Outlook and Diakonia.

3. A day of reflection and planning was held.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 44th Executive Committee

(nothing to report)

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 45th Executive Committee, 26 January 1982

1. Problems experienced in black schools. A statement is to be issued to the effect that there would be chaos in black education as long as it is separate and unequal. That it was totally unacceptable for thousands of students to be penalized on account of state ineptitude.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 43rd Executive Committee, 23 February 1982

1. White development programme.

1.1 A Christian action for peace weekend course was offered for a Marriage Encounter group.

1.2 A document has been developed for distribution to parishes on the kind of action people could become involved in and how to set up parish action groups.

2. Action concerning detainees.

2.1 A request has gone out from leaders of Christian, Muslim, Hindu and Jewish faiths in Durban to request the Minister of Police to allow their representatives to visit detainees to minister to them spiritually.

2.2 Fundraising has been undertaken for the detainees support committee.

2.3 A call has been sent out to observe Saturday, 13 March as Detainees Support Day. Diakonia will organize an ecumenical all-night vigil on 12 March and a fast on 13 March. Pamphlets will be distributed in the morning and a workshop will be held in the afternoon. Churches have been asked to pray for detainees on Sunday 14 March.

3. The Diakonia annual report, in its visual form, to be taken to appropriate structures in the various member-churches.

4. Denis Hurley will preside at the opening of a Peace Library on 1 April 1982.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 47th Executive Committee, 30 March 1982

1. Action concerning detentions. Paddy Kearney reported that Diakonia needs to ensure that detainees, prison chaplains and ministers are aware of the policy that detainees have the right to see a chaplain. The attention of the member churches to be drawn to the type of ministry that was called for in respect of detainees.

2. Black development programme. Social action groups was being developed for training and development and advice offices would be opened in black areas.

3. A pamphlet was distributed on Good Friday on the theme of suffering.

4. Housing programme.

4.1 A vigil to be held in conjunction with Black Sash, the National Council of Women and Women for Peaceful Change Now on the threatened eviction of people from Hlungwane on 1 April. Heads of churches and congregations asked to attend.

4.2 The executive to send a telegram to the Magistrate of Verulam urging him not to proceed with the evictions.

4.3 The newspapers will be urged to publicise the Hlungwane situation more strongly.

5. Church and industry programme.

5.1 A workshop has been planned with all churches as the 1st step in formulating a charter of worker rights.

6. It was agreed for Diakonia to become a member of AFRA to support them in their work of research into relocations throughout Natal.

7. On 21 March two meetings were held to commemorate Sharpeville.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 48th Executive Committee, 20 April 1982

1. Action concerning detainees.

1.1 A further approach was made to the Minister of Law and Order through Denis Hurley for Mrs Gordhan to see her husband but this had once again been refused, although he had been in detention for such a long period.

1.2 Paddy Kearney would still draw attention of the Heads of member-churches to the type of ministry that was called for in respect of detainees for consideration in appointing prison chaplains.

2. August is the Month of Compassion. A focus on Inanda and the 96% of residents living there illegally who are threatened with forced removal.

3. White development programme

3.1 A copy of the SACC film *This you can do for justice and peace* had been acquired and promoted for use with white parishes. This provides a more balanced view of the SACC than that normally portrayed through the media.

3.2 Pinetown Anglican Social Action Committee meeting was held with the Roman Catholic Clermont Social Action Committee. This is seen as a significant move forward in mobilizing parish groups and opening channels of communication between them.

4. Black development programme

4.1 A two-day workshop on urban rights was run by Sheena Duncan of Black Sash to help people set up advice offices.

5. Diakonia to become a corporate member of PACSA Christian social action agency in Pietermaritzburg.

6. A request has been received on behalf of 55 blind workers who were dismissed because of a dispute. A donation will be made and information will be distributed to the dioceses.

7. Merebank Parents' Committee needs help with the legal costs of R10 750 concerning the school boycott held in 1980. A donation will be made and additional funding will be raised.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 49th Executive Committee, 25 May 1982

1. Diakonia will meet with various groups and organizations to discuss the problems of black education with special emphasis on the leakage of examination papers and to suggest action in this and other areas.

2. Pravin Gordhan has been released from detention but immediately banned. He had been visited twice by Father Hahn during his detention. None of the detainees recently released had been informed of their rights to call for a minister.

3. Black workers. The use of the available leatherworking equipment is being explored for a possible project for the fired blind workers, with a possibility of selling a product through the churches. Church groups could be taken on visits to the factory.

4. Church and industry project.

4.1 The *Natal Mercury* has been encouraged to improve its reporting on labour issues.

4.2 The Assumption Parish called a meeting to look at issues of consumer boycotts.

5. Housing

5.1 Diakonia was partly responsible for the establishment of the Inanda support group.

5.2 Cato Manor is also an area of concern. The City Council is attempting to sell parts of it back to the Indian community at inflated prices. It was agreed to send a telegram to the Mayor and the Minister of Community Development protesting the practice. Petitions will be distributed at member-churches. A delegation to visit the Mayor and to place pressure on the City Council.

5.3 Diakonia to give evidence at the Group Areas Board hearing on St Wendolins.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 50th Executive Committee, 29 June 1982

1. White development programme. Heroes Day 21 March and Soweto Day 16 June were special days to be taken up by the churches to allow the ordinary person to participate and to be involved and to conscientize people about what happened on these days.

2. Black development programme.

2.1 An advice office was being set up in Claremont.

2.2 A social action group had been established at the Lutheran churches in Umlazi.

2.3 A Peace Evening was held with the members of St Olav's Lutheran Church on the Berea.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 51st Executive Committee, 27 July 1982

1. Member churches will be encouraged to commemorate Luthuli Day on 1 August.

2. Rev. Roger Sparks expressed concern at the clenched fist being given during the worship at Diakonia functions. Was this appropriate within the context of Christian worship?

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 52nd Executive Committee, 31 August 1982

(nothing to report)

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 53rd Executive Committee, 28 September 1982

1. White development programme.

1.1 All-day workshop on non-violent direct action planned for 16 October. The Conscientious Objectors' Support Group helping to plan the event.

1.2 A seminar on the Year of the Aged planned for 24 November for ministers, pastors, workers and others engaged in the care of the aged. Questions relating to the aged were not normally covered by the Churches.

1.3 The White Development Programme was investigating the most effective ways to publicise conscientious objection and militarisation issues.

1.4 Diakonia worker, Sue Britton, presented a programme on violence/non-violence at the Federal Theological Seminary.

1.5 A non-violent action workshop held at Marianhill Mission was jointly sponsored by Diakonia.

1.6 A meeting was planned to explore what could be done about the bread price increase.

1.7 Women for Peaceful Change Now has invited Diakonia to be part of the planning for a programme to be held on Human Rights Day on 11 December.

1.8 It was agreed to send a letter from the chairperson expressing horror and asking for a full enquiry to be made, without apportioning blame, concerning the Beirut massacre.

Special meeting of the Diakonia Executive committee held on 4 October 1982

1. The Commercial Branch of the SAP visited Diakonia on 29 and 30 September and removed a number of records relating to fundraising.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 54th Executive Committee, 26 October 1982

1. Fort Hare situation. The chairperson commented on the tragedy for the country of a misunderstanding of the basic concepts. On issues of this importance Diakonia needed to express its own mind while identifying with what others were saying. Over a 1000 students had been expelled: "We need on principle to confront people with evidence we have obtained but allow space for finding out the truth if it differs. It was agreed to reply to the letter in a Christian spirit in order to encourage dialogue, giving the facts as we had been able to obtain them and the relevant sources.

2. Police action regarding films and slides. A telex had been sent to the Minister of Law and Order pointing out what had happened and requesting return of the media which was needed for our work.

3. 1983 Conference planning. The team will put together a total picture of a strategy of Christian ministry in our current situation, keeping the focus on social action as part of every Christian's ministry, involving every group and person in the churches, not just social action groups.

4. Bread price increase. A petition against the price increase have been circulated and 80000 signatures have been collected. Community activities have been generated and funds have been raised.

5. Communications. The programme committee was working on a preamble to its aims which attempt to outline the part communications has to play in the struggle for a just society.

6. The conscientious objectors' support group has collaborated with the communications programme committee in publishing an abbreviated version of Billy Paddock's statement to his military tribunal.

7. A workshop held on non-violent direct action was attended by 40 people. The SACC portfolio holder on violence/non-violence ran the workshop. Twenty people committed themselves to meeting again to do a further workshop on this subject.

8. A Dependents' Conference Sunday was held in several parishes, marked by special prayers for political prisoners, those banned, under house arrest or detained, all prisoners of conscience, and their families.

9. Paddy reported a highlight of the period had been a workshop on active non-violence attended by 35 people at Marianhill Mission. It had provided a link and follow-up to the Independence Day (Luthuli Day) held in August, and was in turn followed up by the workshop on non-violent action run by Rob Robertson on 16 October.

10. A Diakonia patron's meeting was held on 5 October. One important discussion had been about Diakonia's 'political allegiances'. One grouping seems to expect the automatic allegiance of the churches. However, a rival group appears to take all the initiative and asks how it is possible for Diakonia to remain out of campaigns about rentals, the price of bread etc. The question was raised as to whether it is ever possible to remain neutral. The use of church facilities and the ringing of church bells to mark times of crisis were both discussed and referred to Council for proforma resolutions to member churches.

11. It was agreed to set up a trust to buy St Joseph's Convent in St Andrew's Street. The three major tenants will be Diakonia, The Legal Resources Centre and the Lutheran Publishing House.

12 The whole organization would need to focus more narrowly and with discipline on our aim of mobilizing the church at congregation level. Training and social action groups would enjoy priority. Conferences, synods and assemblies pass relevant resolutions but these have remarkably little effect upon the real life of the church. This is the gap where Diakonia needs to come in.

13. A letter of support for the Klaarwater residents' opposing a rental increase of 50 – 70% was issued. Residents drew up a six-page petition.

14. The executive will encourage the observance of the Namibia Prayer Day on 14 November as a day of prayer.

Extracts from the Minutes of Diakonia's 55th Executive Committee, 30 November 1982

1. The Rev. W Mabuza was elected as Chairperson.

2. Problems experienced in black schools. Letters had been sent from the steering committee to the *Sunday Tribune* and *Ilanga* expressing concern.

3. Action concerning detention. It should be suggested to both the Dependents' Conference and the Detainees Support Committee that a booklet should be produced which compiled people's rights under the Internal Security Act, including the right to have spiritual ministration.

4. A booklet on the presentation on *Christians make peace* to a Roman Catholic conference has sold 2000 copies. A reprint was being considered.

5. An attitude survey was conducted in a white parish. The key findings were that a substantial minority wanted exposure to issues of social justice, that parishioners generally do not see

social justice as part of the gospel, and that the parish is seen as more concerned with social justice than with the personal issues affecting its members.

6. A Church and industry banner had been produced with the wording: "Each worker's worth is more than all the gold in the world".

7. A kombi tour of Inanda had been planned.

Council Committee Minutes
The 1ˢᵗ meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 25 March 1976
(nothing to report)

The 2ⁿᵈ meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 25 May 1976
1.   A public meeting was held at Emmanuel Cathedral to commemorate the death in detention of Mr J Mdluli. The meeting was attended by approximately one thousand people. A collection was taken for his widow and other help with accommodation and employment was offered. Another letter will be sent to the Prime Minister urging him to hold a judicial inquiry on how he had died.

2.   A symposium is to be held in conjunction with the SAIRR with Govan Reddy as the main speaker entitled: "The Internal Security Bill – its implications for peaceful change".

3.   The housing situation. The housing shortage in the Durban area is a clear priority for Diakonia. There was a need to clarify its role in this regard through research and consultation with experts.

The 3ʳᵈ meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 17 August 1976
(nothing to report)

The 4ᵗʰ meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 23 November 1976
1.   Moorton Ratepayers' Association thanked the Diakonia Council. The Council, in evaluating Diakonia's 1ˢᵗ year saw the action taken in response to the request by the Morton ratepayers as a strength. The idea of helping people to 'hear each other' was a very suitable role for Diakonia to play.
2.   Press statement on the banning of trade unions. The press statement concludes with "In the interests of peaceful and orderly change in South Africa, we believe it is essential that black trade unions be allowed to register, and that the campaign of harassment against them be swiftly brought to an end".

Diakonia Annual General Meeting held on 22 February 1977
1.   The general theme of the Diakonia programme for 1977 is an effort to help churches to serve 'marginal' or 'fringe' groups such as factory workers, migrant labour, unemployed people, squatters etc more effectively.

The 5ᵗʰ meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 22 February 1977
(nothing to report)

The 6ᵗʰ meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 24 May 1977
1.   Evaluation of Diakonia activities.
The main trends of the work done are:
1.1 An increase in ecumenical activity.
1.2 Diakonia has a white image due to the lack of a black organizer.
1.3 A dissipation of effort due to responding to too many issues.
1.4 There is a focus upon talks, consultations with heads of churches, clergy, committees, which may be appropriate at this stage in the life of the project, but it is insufficiently directed at the grassroots.
Gaps or imbalances:
1.1 Black organizer.
1.2 Absence of clear direction. Council needs to establish a clearer focus for Diakonia work.
1.3 More grassroots involvement needed.
Suggestions:
1.1 Courage to refuse invitations which do not fall within the scope of Diakonia.
1.2 There is a need for evaluation.
1.3 Follow up on contacts made.
1.4 The appointment of a black co-organizer urgent.

1.5 Parishes should take the initiative of inviting Diakonia full-time staff to address them.
1.6 There is a need to stress the rights of workers and of coping with the unemployment situation.
1.7 To set up a scheme by which homes and institutions in townships could be 'adopted' by richer parishes.

Pros and cons of Diakonia employing community workers:

Negatives

1.1 Their work could be very superficial if they treat symptoms and not underlying causes.
1.2 There is a low ceiling in what can be achieved by community workers in the South African political system.
1.3 There are a number of organizations geared to self-help but so few organizations will to say "We take a definite stand on definite issues".

Positives

1.1 The churches need concrete demonstrations of what is meant by community work.
1.2 The Malukazi and Lamontville projects have been strategically chosen to give assistance to two groups with especially urgent problems: squatters and the youth.
2.   A service of intercession for all people in detention will be held at the City Hall on 6 June.

The 7th meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 30 August 1977
The 8th meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 13 September 1977
The 9th meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 29 November 1977
The 10th meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 28 February 1978 plus
The AGM held on 28 February 1978
The 11th meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 30 May 1978
The 12th meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 17 August 1978
    (nothing to report)

The 13th meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 28 November 1978
1.   The following structure was established for the governance of Diakonia:
Council
Executive Committee
Director and a chaplain
An ombuds committee, or staffing committee
A finance and administration committee
A black development programme
A labour burea and self-help programme
A housing programme
A white development programme

The 14th meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 27 February 1979and
3rd AGM 27 February 1979
    1.   A church representative drew attention to the degree of collaboration Diakonia enjoys with other organizations. The problem was with getting people involved at local congregation level.

The 15th meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 29 May 1979
1.   A press statement will be issued in support of the Prisoners' Education Campaign.

The 16th meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 28 August 1979
1.   Dr James Moulder offered to explain ways North American and South African members of the Mennonite central committee could assist and support Diakonia's life and work.

The 17th meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 27 November 1979
(nothing to report)

The 18th meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 23 March 1980 and the
4th AGM held on 23 March 1980

1. Archbishop Denis Hurley stood down as the chairperson of Council 1976 – 1978 and as Acting Chairperson in 1979. Dr OC Veysie, head of the Methodist Durban region, was elected as chairperson.

The 19th meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 20 May 1980
(nothing to report)

The 20th meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 19 August 1980
1. Malukazi Project community worker, Theresa, took membership of Inkatha because her position in the Malukazi project was very difficult without such membership. An evaluation is needed to assess the relationship of the project with Inkatha.
2. Staff maintenance meetings should focus more on team work. Could call these group development meetings in order to change the focus to team work.
3. A consultation has been called by staffing committee on 25 September and over 100 invitations have been sent out to member chuches and local organizations to look at Diakonia's priorities in the light of the ever-changing socio-political situation.
4. The best methods of mobilizing black and white congregations for involvement in social action need to be identified.
5. Are self-help programmes viable in an urban area?
6. How can Diakonia Council members become more involved in the work of the organization?

The 21st meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 9 December 1980
1. White development programme. Charles Yeats has agreed to take over the area of non-violent action.
2. Evaluation report and recommendations
2.1 Archbishop Hurley presented a paper in which he stressed the need for Diakonia to develop a simple and systematic method which could be used to involve both privileged and underprivileged groups in social action, firmly based on the Christian faith, and drawing its inspiration from the Bible. Once such a method has been developed it would need a training programme and centers for communication to as wide a group of people as possible. This was referred to a special ad hoc committee to consider.

The 22nd meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 17 February 1981
1. It was agreed to establish a black development programme committee to co-ordinate and give direction to the work.
2. The black development programme and the white development programme will meet fortnightly, separately, as groups.
3. Paddy Kearney appointed Director of Diakonia as from 28 January 1981.

The 23rd meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 5 May 1981 and
The 5th AGM held on 5 May 1981
1. Diakonia benefits Durban parishes in the following ways:
1.1 Alerts them to local crisis situations and helps them to make an appropriate response.
1.2 Provides Diakonia resources in terms of people and programmes.
1.3 In previous years Diakonia has alerted churches to issues such as the Frametex strike, rental boycotts and the rural drought situation.
2. The Catholic Justice and Reconciliation programme has an office in the same building as Diakonia which has resulted in a mutually beneficial relationship.
3. Archbishop Hurley was voted in as Chairperson.

The 24th meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 4 August 1981
1. The white congregations remain unmoved by Diakonia's efforts. They regard Diakonia as too involved in social matters – "too political", 'too communistic", "nothing but subversion" from staff. There were a number of 'hostile' parishes.

The 25th meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 27 October 1981

1.   The title of 'chairman' will be changed to 'chairperson'.
2.   A statement will be issued concerning the SA Indian Council elections, setting out a number of considerations in considering whether to vote. The SAIC was an advisory body with no powers, it is an illusion that they enjoy democratic rights and they are not taken seriously by the Government, thus there is no real choice being offered to the community. Though people were obliged by law to register as a voter, there was not legal obligation to vote.

The 26ᵗʰ meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 2 February 1982 and
The 6ᵗʰ AGM held on 2 February 1982 (part 1) and 16 May 1982 (part 2)
1.   The outgoing chairperson, Archbishop Hurley, welcomed the new chairperson, Rev. W Mabuza.

2.   A service of dedication was held with the theme: "It is better to light a single candle than to curse the darkness".

The 28ᵗʰ meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 3 August 1982

The 29ᵗʰ meeting of the Diakonia Council held on 2 November 1982
1.   On 2 August all Diakonia media resources were taken by the police from the Narcotics Bureau and on 29 September all financial records were taken by the Police from the Commercial Branch. A request was sent to the Minister of Law and Order to return them because they were needed for our work.
2.   Proforma resolutions. The patrons had considered two matters on which they had suggested that the Council consider proforma resolutions to be passed on to the decision-making bodies of all member churches.
2.1 Church facilities. This synod/assembly/etc, bearing in mind
   i)   that the church is meant to be a sign and instrument of God's care for society;
   ii)   the churches consequent need to identify with communities which are experiencing problems and the time-honoured customs of religious buildings acting as a 'sanctuary' (1 Kings 1:49ff, Exodus 21:12-13);
   iii) the shortage of facilities for community meetings, especially in the townships;
   iv) the fact that many halls are not made available for community meetings, especially if they relate to socio-political issues and worker problems in particular, urges all ministers and church councils to respond favourably where ever possible to requests for the use of their church premises for such meetings.
2.2 Concerning ringing of church bells. This synod/etc, bearing in mind:
   i)   the churches duty to indicate publicly its opposition to injustice and to be allied with all people of goodwill who wish to make such opposition known;
   ii)   the fact that legislation is steadily narrowing the opportunity to make such protests, urges all its ministers and the church council to treat sympathetically requests that church bells be rung on certain occasions as a mark of public protest.

Patrons' Committee Minutes
1st Annual meeting of the Diakonia patrons held on 11 November 1980
The patron's intention was to give heads of churches who were not members of the Diakonia Council an opportunity to be more directly involved in the work of Diakonia, and also to provide a group with status and influence who could come to the assistance of Diakonia in a time of crisis. One annual meeting will be held.
In a discussion which followed an evaluation report on Diakonia, these points were made:
1. Because Diakonia had failed to make a significant impact at congregation level, it had tended, like the SACC, to develop a life of its own. It was a very high priority to develop a method of increasing the involvement of the parishes.
2. Because there is a certain missionary element in what Diakonia is doing, we will have to accept that overseas funding will be necessary for some time because there isn't local understanding of the need for such work.
3. Charles Yeats regards work at Diakonia as an alternative form of non-military national service. He will possibly have to appear before a military tribunal and could be sentenced to a year in detention barracks.

2nd Annual meeting of the Diakonia patrons held on 11 June 1981
1. Drought. Archbishop Hurley drew attention to the impending mass starvation in areas of

    KwaZulu and stressed the need for a large-scale response using the best methods of publicity

    and co-ordination of the appeals of various organizations and churches. It was agreed to hold a

    meeting to co-ordinate the launching of such an appeal.

3rd Annual meeting of the Diakonia patrons held on 5 October 1982
1. There was discussion on the establishment of social action groups in parishes.
    Methods: …in the first meeting of a group members are encouraged to brainstorm the problems and prioritize them. The problems are then tackled according to the see-judge-act method. Inter-group meeting are encouraged.

2. Comments about Diakonia in the KwaZulu legislative assembly. The churches should avoid too close an identity with any political movement and Diakonia should be continually vigilant and prudent in this respect.

3. St Wendolin's situation. It was reported that a joint letter signed by all the patrons had been sent to Dr P Koornhof and that a service of solidarity had been held. These appear to have played some part in the reversal of the decision that people would have to move.

Programme Committee Minutes
1st meeting of the Diakonia Programme committee held on 23 June 1982
Diakonia established a programme committee, according to Paddy Kearney, for the following reasons:
1. The need to find the most effective ways of communicating Diakonia's message.
2. The need to relieve the Director of many tasks relating to communication.
    3. The need to ensure better co-ordination between the various efforts at communication by Diakonia.

2nd meeting of the Diakonia Programme committee held on 29 July 1982
1. Among the aims of the committee is to develop a network of responsible people and resources to help the churches communicate social issues.

3rd meeting of the Diakonia Programme committee held on 26 August 1982
1. Bobby Marie said that he could see the programme being actively involved in the promotion of justice as media was an effective weapon against injustice.
2. The programme scope of operations would then be
    i) a service programme to assist other programmes in Diakonia
    ii) a programme with its own special task ie opposing injustices within the media, and promoting media that authentically reflect the views of the people.
3. Archbishop Hurley requested a brief summary of current events like Inanda, Cato Manor etc as a kind of fact sheet to be distributed to the clergy in his diocese. It was agreed to commission a fact sheet to be prepared on Inanda.
4. Diakonia Oganization Guide published in 1978. It was decided not to continue to update this publication as it took too many resources.
5. It was agreed to commission a publication on conscientious objections matters.

4th meeting of the Diakonia Programme committee held on 21 September 1982
1. An exhibition on Diakonia's work was being shown at various churches.
2. Detention conference papers. It was decided to put them in a box in the Peace Library. Should Diakonia organize a workshop for ministers on the topic?

5th meeting of the Diakonia Programme committee held on 20 October 1982
1. Rev Roger Sparks raised a question as to the target groups of *Diakonia News*, which, in his opinion, should be the churches rather than the oppressed community. It was pointed out that the majority of the churches' membership were the poor and oppressed and that it was impossible to create a dichotomy. Roger Sparks also expressed his concern about *Diakonia News* being biased.
2. A comic book on conscientious objection was being commissioned.
3. Billy Paddock's statement will be published while he is in prison. This should be a publication of the Conscientious Objectors support group and not of Diakonia.

6th meeting of the Diakonia Programme committee held on 17 November 1982
1. Communication Programme preamble
1.1 Why do we need a communication programme? In the way we have identified the black community, white community, workers and housing as areas of conflict and areas in which we are struggling for justice, we now identify the area of communication as an area of such struggle.
1.2 The communication struggle in South Africa. For the South African state to survive in its present form it is necessary that it is accepted by the people of South Africa (as well as the rest of the world) as being just, democratic, Christian, civilized, etc. If it is not accepted as such than its system of 'laws' will be held in disrespect and a rebellion against 'order' will appear to be justified. In this event the actions of its courts, police force and army will be seen as pure repression, not 'law enforcement'.

To prevent such a situation the state feels it has to ensure that apartheid – in all its forms – migrant labour, homelands, influx control, removals, group areas, etc is seen as a policy of development, not political oppression.

The consequence of apartheid laws must be explained away as unfortunate, unavoidable, or if possible, these consequences should be entirely hidden from the people.

The economic system must be seen as being based on freedom of the individual not exploitation of the politically oppressed masses. Strikes for living wages and better working conditions must be interpreted as the actions of communist agitators and not as an indication of the degree of conflict between workers and management.

The state has built up a massive war machinery and continues to sink increasing millions of rands to build it up further. However, the lessons of failures in other parts of the world, including Africa, have forced the state to recognize that 80% of their war against the people is for control of their minds. The war has become one of ideas.

There are various means through which this war 'to win the hearts and minds' is waged. Crucial in this effort is the system of communications: schools, religious institutions, the family, etc are established institutions which are used to communicate the ideas of the state. The most direct (blatant) means include the press, radio and TV.

How can we participate in the communication 'struggle'?

The churches have a vast potential resource as a communication network of which at present they are largely unaware.

Steering Committee Minutes
1st meeting of the Diakonia Steering Committee held on 4 April 1975 at the home of Archbishop
Denis Hurley with representatives from the Presbyterian, Anglican, Roman Catholic,
Congregational, African Methodist Episcopal, Evangelical Lutheran and Methodist churches.
Chairperson: Archbishop D Hurley
Acting secretary: Mr P Kearney
It was agreed to redraft the constitution in accordance with the second Diakonia consultation on 19
March. It was agreed to employ two organizing secretaries, one black and one white. Their job
descriptions were approved.

2nd meeting of the Diakonia Steering Committee held on 24 April 1975
(nothing to report)

3rd meeting of the Diakonia Steering Committee held on 3 June 1975
A representative from the Congregational Church was added.
   1.   The heads of the churches were asked to outline the position of their churches in relation
   to Diakonia.

   African Methodist Episcopal: the church had accepted the idea of Diakonia in principle.
   Anglican: the matter is still to be promoted and discussed in the Durban region.
   Congregational: the matter is still to be promoted and discussed.
   Evangelical Lutheran: the matter is still to be promoted and discussed.
   Methodist: There is a fear that Diakonia will have political overtones and will duplicate the
   efforts of the existing Justice and Reconciliation and Circuit Christian Citizens' Department.
   Presbyterian: There is a distinct move away from enthusiasm for strong ecumenism and a new
   rise in the Pentecostal movement. There is a great caution about whether it might cause the
   church to be seen in an unfavourable light by the authorities.
   Roman Catholic: Unanimously accepted.
2.   Diakonia and conflict
   Rev. Dludla stated that he wondered whether some would see Diakonia as the promotion of
   conflict. Diakonia's purpose is in fact to lessen conflict by working for genuine reconciliation.
   Care will have to be exercised in the choice of executive personnel to find people who can
   reconcile rather than divide.
3.   Ecumenical involvement
   The importance of ecumenical involvement was stressed. Archbishop Hurley stated at the
   Natal Council and Churches in 1974 that the Roman Catholic Church might go ahead with
   Diakonia even if the idea could not find ecumenical support.

3rd meeting of the Diakonia Steering Committee held on 3 June1975
(nothing to report)

4th meeting of the Diakonia Steering Committee held on 19 August 1975
1.   Ecumenical involvement
   The African Methodist Episcopal office accepted the idea of Diakonia.
   The Anglican diocese supported it in principle.
   The Methodist authorities has some sympathy for the idea but were concerned that it will
   simply duplicate various efforts being made by the Methodist Church.
   The Congregational Church has decided to participate.
   Inter-church Aid will contribute.

6th meeting of the Diakonia Steering Committee held on 20 November 1975
1.   The Presbyterian Church was unable to join in the Diakonia project because of shortage of
   funds.
 2.   The SACC will provide a grant.

7th meeting of the Diakonia Steering Committee held on 10 December 1975

1. The applications for two executive officers and a secretary/typist were reviewed.
2. Some changes were made to the constitution.

8th meeting of the Diakonia Steering Committee held on 14 January 1976
1. The full-time staff appointments were approved.
2. The inaugural meeting of Diakonia will be held on 25 March 1976

9th meeting of the Diakonia Steering Committee held on 11 February 1976
1. Priorities were discussed in the black and white communities respectively.

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