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**THE THEOLOGY OF PEACE AND RECONCILIATION
AS MANIFESTED IN THE MINISTRY OF REV. DR.
MMUTLANYANE STANLEY MOGOBA OF THE
METHODIST CHURCH OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.**

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Systematic Theology and Ethics in the University
of Durban - Westville.**

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Year 2000

THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer is deeply grateful to the following special people who helped him produce the Thesis:

1. Dr. M.R. Mthembu for his profound supervision that saw this thesis arriving to its desired end. Thanked also is a retired Prof. N.C.A Heuer for his initial guidance.
2. Rev. Dr. Mmutlanyane Stanley Mogoba, for his resourcefulness and moral support.
3. Mrs. Candy de Vos, for her patient typing and retyping of the thesis.
4. My family: my wife Zandile, my son Vusi, my daughter Nosipho, and my nephew Mpumelelo for their moral support.

CHRISTIANITY - 21ST CENTURY

DECLARATION

**THIS IS MY OWN
WORK. DUE
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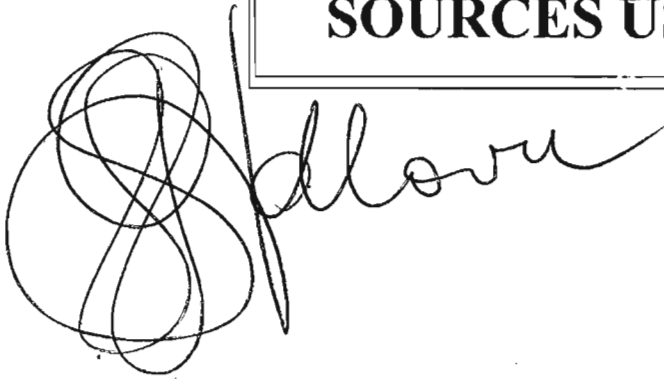
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PREFACE

As a Methodist Church Minister, the writer has been impressed by Rev. Dr. Mmutlanyane Stanley Mogoba's Theology of Peace and Reconciliation which is in Mogoba's addresses and books, that he decided to study it with the aim to illustrate its relevance in South Africa. This project gives the writer not only an opportunity to research Mogoba's theology, but also the type of man Mogoba is. It is essential for the writer to know the background of this man who, when other people talk war, talks peace and reconciliation.

At a time when many black people talked about war with the regime, and when many were afraid of being labelled as sell-outs, a label which was given to any person who spoke of peace and reconciliation, Mogoba became the only light shining in the darkness as he confronted all people for peace and reconciliation. Many people, even those in the Church, justified violence and war as the last resort to fight racism. He believed that violence and war is no answer to democracy. He advocated peace and reconciliation, and did not change his stance because for him, freedom, justice and equality could be attained by peaceful settlement. A bloodbath was imminent and had therefore to be prevented at all cost.

God uses the right people at the right time. When violence and war ravaged South Africa, God used Mogoba to exercise the ministry of reconciliation to facilitate peace talks. He really deserved the Peace Award from the

Foundation for Freedom and Human Rights in Switzerland.

The writer refers to God's providence with clear knowledge in mind that war destroys everything including a generation of future leaders. Mogoba secured the future for our children as well. This man of God in condemning violence and war, did not align himself with any political organisation. He condemned even the P.A.C. for the St. James Church massacre in Cape Town.

The writer is assured of the fact that Mogoba's contribution to peace and reconciliation will help even the future generations.

METHODOLOGY

The writer deems it fit to present here the method of research that will make his dream come true.

Oral communication with Mogoba will be the writer's task. The writer will not lose sight of the fact that he is researching somebody who is alive, and as such, has the right to know what is being said about him. The writer will critically research all that Mogoba has written, including his articles that might happen to be in the books written by other people. The writer will also research books by other scholars in order to find out whether Mogoba is not alone on the whole idea of negotiation, and not war, for a peaceful political settlement. Journals, Magazines and Newspapers will also help the writer.

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The reason why the writer writes about Mogoba's peace and reconciliation theology.

Humanity is grounded in the realisation that God is the centre and meaning of human existence, therefore the relationship between humanity and God is the crux of existence.

Humanity can only be defined in relational terms because it is grounded in love. The problems faced by humanity today are relational problems. Nations are rising against one another. The invention of nuclear weapons is an indication that humanity is on the brink of destruction and catastrophe.

From researched material, the Draft, "Decision making in a nuclear age",¹ one is horror-stricken to realise the very high technology in the manufacture of missiles.

India and Pakistan also serve as good examples of nuclear

1 **Decision making in a nuclear age : 1983**

problems. Since 1847, these two countries have fought three wars. Recently in May 1998, India tested new atomic weapons at the expense of the World's Non-proliferation agreement.

India's new atomic might allayed Pakistan's fears that the Pakistanis were forced to match India's nuclear challenge. War may be ignited at any time.

India and Pakistan have been warned by the United Nations Security Council to cease nuclear tests and renounce their atomic weapons programmes.²

It is therefore upon this context that the writer deems it expedient to discuss the contribution of Mogoba towards the making of peace in South Africa and in the global village as an international figure.

1.2 The Contemporary Theologian : Mogoba

1.2.1 His early life as a student and teacher

Mmutlanyana Mogoba was born on the 29th March, 1933 at Phokwane in Sekhukhuneland in the Nebo Magisterial District. Mmutlanyane was born a twin. His sister passed away at the age

2 (i) **The Mercury, Wednesday 03.06.1998**

(ii) **Time Magazine, 08.06.1998**

of five years. Her name was Sehlabane Georgina.

Both his parents were Christians. His father Sethulane was a Society Steward at Phokwane Methodist Church, and his mother Reneilwe, meaning 'we have been given'³, was a staunch member of the Lutheran Church.

Mmutlanyane attended a Methodist School, which later became known as Phokwane United Christian School. When the writer spoke with him, he said that this school went up to Form 1.⁴

This school was one of the first ecumenical schools with two traditions, Methodism and Lutheranism blending together very well.

In 1947 Mmutlanyane continued his education at Kilnerton, the very Kilnerton which was closed down when Bantu education came into being. Kilnerton was a Methodist Church Institution. It has now been resumed as a College that trains Methodist Church probationer -

3 Phatshwane H. R. : Mmutlanyane Stanley Mogoba: From Prison to Presidency: 1988, Craft Press, Hammanskraal.

4 Oral Communication with Dr. Mogoba - 11/04/97.

ministers.

Kilnerton happened to be a family school, because Mmutlanyane's father Sethulane completed his teacher-training here. This was because Kilnerton was both a High School and Teacher Training College. Sethulane even taught at Kilnerton, but was later transferred to Phokwane in Sekhukhuneland.

After he matriculated at Kilnerton, Mmutlanyane furthered his studies at Pretoria Bantu Normal College. Here he completed his Transvaal Teacher's Diploma Course. This Course was very important, because it credited the students with nine degree courses. This Course enabled him to complete a B.A. Degree in 1954. He then completed a U.E.D. with Unisa in 1956.

He started teaching at Makopane College in 1954 till 1957. Makopane College was housed together with Sefakaola High School in Potgietersrust. The headmaster of both institutions was Mr. Clater M. J. Madiba who later became a Doctor of Education, and a Senior Official of Education.

At Makopane, Mmutlanyane was appointed boarding master in spite of

his youthfulness. That was a position of integrity and responsibility. He discharged his duties with diligence and earned himself the respect of both the staff and students. He was held in high esteem even in the community and especially in Church circles.

Mmutlanyane left Makopane and went to teach at Kilnerton in Pretoria from 1958 - 1960. He taught History, the subject he loved very much. His students learnt from him that a teacher, who knows his subject matter and is self-confident, enters the classroom with a piece of chalk and a duster in his hand. He never reads his lessons to the students.

Whilst a teacher at Kilnerton, he was also a full preacher of the Methodist Church. Students and staff loved his sermons, which were always relevant to the Apartheid era in South Africa.

1.2.2 Mogoba on Robben Island and his call into Ministry

From 1961 to 1963 Mmutlanyane taught at Mamelodi High School. It was during this time that he served as an executive member of the Teacher's Association. He became active in Transvaal United African Teacher's Association and served as its Editor.

During his period as a teacher at Mamelodi High School, the

students became involved in "POQO". POQO was the name that was used in the Cape before Sharpeville Campaign against the Pass Laws in 1960 in speaking of PAC members. In the Xhosa phrase it meant AMA-AFRICA POQO – The real owners of Africa. When late in 1961, the movement sprang up in the ghettos of Cape Town, linked with its growth in the Transkei, the phrase became shortened to POQO, translated as Our Own or Pure. It was totally for blacks. POQO was PAC's underground guerrilla movement. It intended to overthrow the Apartheid Government by revolutionary means.⁵

There was a moment when the students planned to burn the Dutch Reformed Church in Mamelodi. The reason was that they associated it with the Apartheid Government. When their anger reached its peak, they consulted Mmutlanyane, who discouraged them from burning the House of the Lord. The students adhered to his advice and the Dutch Reformed Church building was saved.

Later on when the student leaders were interrogated by the police, they told them that Mmutlanyane disrupted their plans.

⁵ **Pogrud B. Sobukwe and Apartheid : 179 - 180**

He was there and then suspected of being the mastermind behind the uprisings and was arrested and taken to a cell in Pretoria.

Whilst he was detained in Pretoria Prison, his five year old daughter died. His wife, Johanna, and the Mamelodi School Headmaster came to tell him. He had to carry his bereavement alone in a cell, a painful experience.

After a period of eight months in Pretoria Prison, he was found guilty.⁶ It was alleged that he had been working for the Aims and Objectives of the Pan Africanist Congress. He was jailed from 1963 - 1966 on Robben Island, together with people like Nelson Mandela and others.

In prison he had no books to read, because the police had confiscated his English Bible. Denis Brutus⁷ brought him a book called "The Human Christ". From the book, the story of the rich young man who came to Jesus (Luke 18:18-23) touched him deeply. In the story, the author focuses on Christ's sadness when he saw the young man going away without taking the final

6 **Bern/Schweiz: Preistrager 1990 - page 12.**

7 **De Gruchy John: Cry Justice: 1987: 107**

step to true fulfilment.

Mmutlanyane struggled with the call of this young man during his meditation until he was deeply challenged personally. He felt that he was called to take the final step, which was to serve Christ in a new way. This was a call he was prepared to respond to once he was released from Robben Island Prison.

In prison he was later given a Xhosa Bible which he could not read nor understand. He was fortunate to get Mark's Gospel from someone which was in English. Using Mark's Gospel, he was able to translate the other Gospels from Xhosa to English. Finally, he was able to read the whole Xhosa Bible.

During his stay on Robben Island, he passed the first year of the Diploma in Theology with Unisa. He eventually completed it a year later after his release.

1.2.3 Mogoba, a Methodist Church Minister

Mmutlanyane candidated for the Methodist Church ministry in 1968. After being accepted by the Conference, he was stationed at Dobsonville Circuit. Because of his previous record, he did not stay there for long. He was "endorsed out", of the Roodepoort Magisterial area by the Influx Control Officer.

The Church made representation without success. The President of Conference transferred him to Middelburg in the Transvaal. The Church there did not want their minister to swop with Mmutlanyane. He was then transferred to Sekhukhuneland, Phokwane. The whole of that year 1969, he remained in Sekhukhuneland until the beginning of 1970 when he was sent to the Theological Seminary, John Wesley College in Alice in the Eastern Cape Province. He was at the Federal Theological Seminary from 1970 - 1972. He was enrolled for the Associateship of the Federal Theological Seminary (A.F.T.S.).

The Seminary was not allowed to confer degrees, and as a result it adopted a pattern of British Seminaries of awarding licentiates (diplomas) and associates.

During his time as a student at the Seminary, he was an able student who portrayed qualities of leadership. This was proved when he was elected chairman of the Student Representative Council.

At the completion of his studies, he was appointed a member of staff and a lecturer in 1973. It was unique to appoint a student to the staff. It was a challenge to him to teach his former fellow students, and he rose to the challenge.

As a lecturer at the Seminary he treated the students carefully and lovingly. He would not be happy to see relationships breaking down among the students and staff. He would quickly volunteer to preside over a meeting in order to resolve differences among either students or staff.

When the Seminary moved from Alice to Pietermaritzburg (Natal), Mmutlanyane organised that huge and complicated move of the Seminary Community. He was still on the staff. Mmutlanyane was ordained by the imposition of hands at the 1973 Conference held in Pretoria, his home city. The President of the Conference was the late Rev. Jotham Mvusi, the second black President after the late Rev. Seth Mokitimi, who was the President of Conference in 1964.

Mmutlanyane was at one time chairman of the Black Methodist Consultation. The B.M.C. was started in Bloemfontein in 1976. The Primary aim of the B.M.C. was to fight racism within the Methodist Church. Dr. Lizo Jafta, the UNISA professor in the faculty of Church History states in the Forward of Dr. Balia's book on the history of the B.M.C., how much racism was entrenched in the South African society. He says that racism, which was in the country was reflected within the Methodist

Church.⁸ Mogoba was therefore leading the movement that was in the struggle for real integration in the so called One and Undivided Church.

In 1980 at the Welkom Conference it was not surprising to see Mmutlanyane, being chosen to become the next Secretary of Conference after Rev. Cyril Wilkins. In 1982, after he had understudied Cyril, he took over and became the first black person to be the Secretary of this Church in Southern Africa. It was his outstanding qualities of leadership that made him to be elected Secretary of the Methodist Church by hundreds and hundreds of people.

It was during this time when Mogoba was the General Secretary of the Methodist Church that he joined the delegation of the World Methodist Church Leaders including its chairman Lawi Imathiu from Kenya to meet the State President, Pieter W. Botha on the 1st of November 1987 in Cape Town. Bishop Lawi Imathiu described that meeting as “The toughest, most depressing of his life.”⁹

8 **Balia D.M. Black Methodists and White Supremacy in South Africa 1991. Madiba Publications, Durban**

9 **Phatshwane H.R.: Mmutlanyane Stanley Mogoba: From Prison to Presidency: 1988: 14**

Last but not least, Mmutlanyane became the Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church for a record period of eight years; the World Council of Churches Central Committee member; Executive member of the South African Council of Churches; National Vice-President of the Dependant's Conference; Chairman of the World Methodist Conference and the International Concerns Committee; Chairman of the Board of Africa. Enterprise; President of the South African Institute of Race Relations; Co-Chairman of the National Peace Committee; Initiator of Peace Initiatives with King Goodwill Zwelithini and the Kwazulu - Natal Cabinet ,and Chancellor of Medunsa.

Other Degrees he held are M.A. Degree from Bristol University, and the following honorary Degrees: L.L.D. (Cape Town); Ph. D. (Medunsa); D.TH. (Stellenbosch); D.TH. (Durban-Westville); D.D. (Trinity, Connecticut).¹⁰

His children are Sethulane, Rebotile and Makakahlela the youngest.

**10 From CV Document Mogoba gave the writer in the interview
11.04.97**

CHAPTER TWO

THE THEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN MOGOBA'S MINISTRY OF PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS.

2.1 Introduction

Mogoba scrutinised this chapter and commended the writer for the line, which he has taken in interpreting the theological background of his ministry of Peace and Reconciliation.

This chapter seeks to explore the theological background of both Peace and Reconciliation. The goal is to discover whether Mogoba's career is Biblically based or not. Its aim is to enable the reader to grasp the subject right from the beginning. The following, therefore, are the questions that form the centre of interest of the present chapter; How does Mogoba explore the Theological background of Peace and Reconciliation from the Old Testament Prophets? What relevance has Mogoba's ministry to Christology and Soteriology and Pneumatology? What role does his ethics play in his Ministry?

2.2 The Theological Background of Mogoba's Ministry

2.2.1 How does Mogoba explore the theological background of Peace and Reconciliation from the Old Testament Prophets?

The Old Testament prophets were theologians.¹¹ The writer holds that Mogoba, as a theologian would not avoid this source, because it is about the history of Israel, which speaks of a God who calls his own people to himself.

This history speaks of the unbroken encounter, conversation and resultant communion between a holy and faithful God and an unholy and unfaithful people.¹² The source is in itself theology, because according to Karl Barth, theology is a human response to the word of God.¹³ This meaning, according to the writer, is relevant. The writer holds that Mogoba believed that God could speak afresh through the Oracles of the prophets of old. The Oracles, Mogoba pronounced, were derived from his deep zeal

11 **König Adrio 1978 : 2**

12 **Anderson R.S. 1979 : 33 1979 : 33**

13 **Ibid 1979 : 30**

for peace negotiations. He was the Prophet of the South African era of violence and war.

2.2.1.1 Peace and Reconciliation as Justice

Where there is injustice, destruction and violence prevail. This has an inference in what Mogoba says is a conversation between the Prophet Habakkuk and the Lord. He believes that the very conversation had been written for South Africa; “How long, O Lord must I call for help, but you do not listen? Or cry to you Violence, but you do not save? Why do you make me look at injustice? Why do you tolerate wrong? Destruction and Violence are before me, strife and conflict abound. Therefore the law is paralysed and justice never prevails. The wicked hem in the righteous so that justice is perverted.” (Habakkuk 1:1–4) (RSV Bible)

Mogoba states that this dialogue concludes on a note of hope. (Habakkuk 3:17 & 18)¹⁴ Mogoba had to reveal to

the South Africans, hope for the new life because God had made him to be the prophet of hope in an age of hopelessness.¹⁵

Mogoba as a Prophet of hope, believed that hope dispels fear, and there was fear all over South Africa because of violence and war. Hope is among the three theological virtues, which are central to the Christian life.¹⁶ Included also is Faith and Love.¹⁷

2.2.1.2 Peace and Reconciliation as Love and Life

Mogoba had deep longing to see a world of Isaiah's vision i.e. a world full of Love and full of Life (Isaiah 11:6–9). Mogoba draws much from Isaiah 11:6–9. He says that in this world, the wolf will live with the lamb.¹⁸ The writer interprets this world as the world of Peace and Reconciliation. In the same context i.e. when Mogoba

15 **Ibid 1992 : 1**

16 **Ibid 1992 : 15**

17 **Macquarrie John 1982 : 345**

18 **Ibid 1992 : 62**

appealed to the South Africans to fight against violence and the scourge of war in the words of Isaiah 11:6–9, he interpreted the world of love and life as the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom of God that Mogoba mentions here, is God's new age.¹⁹ During this new age, which God will bring about in South Africa, people of South Africa will convert their spears into pruning hooks.²⁰ Mogoba being convicted by hope that never disappoints, looked forward to the transformation of the era of violence and war where it is common for people to transform pruning hooks into spears, and the three-legged pot legs into gun-bullets of the home-made guns.

The Kingdom of God ethics, points to distinctive fact of God as God who is love and friend. He works through man to achieve the divine purpose and the co-operative common wealth on earth.²¹ Mogoba had a vision of what is possible with God.

19 **Ibid 1992 : 42**

20 **Ibid 1994 : 21**

21 **Beach W. and Niebuhr H.B. 1976 : 447**

2.2.1.3 Peace and Reconciliation as God's Gift

In Isaiah 32:16–20, Peace and Reconciliation is the gift of God which God bestows upon the hopeless situation. Mogoba quotes Isaiah saying “Justice will dwell in the desert ...” Mogoba quoted Isaiah as he looked to the South African situation which was sad, frightening and mad. Already, people who had been murdered were more than 15 000, those assaulted were more than 25 000, those who had been robbed were more than 61 000 and those who had been raped were more than 20 000.²² This data could be the reason why he quoted Isaiah 32:66 ff. A hopeless situation existed in South Africa.

When Mogoba challenged the South Africans to work for Peace and Reconciliation, he said that what God gives to us as gifts, has a corresponding task (or mission) for us. For instance: from God's justification of the unjust, there follows their mission to work for justice in the society; from the reconciliation of those who were not at peace

22 Mogoba's Speech at the World Council of Churches 1991 : 5

with God, there follows their mission to create peace in the conflicts of this society; and from those made righteous, there follows their mission to see to it that righteousness is done according to God's justice.²³

2.2.2 The relevance of Mogoba's Ministry of Peace and Reconciliation to Christology, Soteriology and Pneumatology.

2.2.2.1 Christology and Soteriology

2.2.2.1.1 Introduction

Christology and Soteriology cannot be separated. Christology is a matter of God, humanity and salvation. In Christology, we are concerned with God, humanity and the salvation thereof. Many Christologies inspired by Chalcedon, have a tendency to divorce Christology from Soteriology and hence to discuss the person of Christ as distinct

23 Ibid W.C.C. 1991 : 1 – 2

from his work of salvation. No distinction ought to be made between a person and his work. Man's various roles are what make him a person. This person is not to be divorced from his personal role or "work".²⁴ This argument found here is what the writer holds to be true. Christology and Soteriology is not to be divorced.

2.2.2.1.2 How relevant is Mogoba's Ministry to Christology and Soteriology.

Mogoba's ministry of Peace and Reconciliation is Theocentric. His Ministry is summed up in his Black and White Letters: "For we are not contending against flesh and blood but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the principal host of wickedness in the heavenly places ...". Mogoba concluded this scripture passage thus:

24 van Niekerk E. 1982 : 3 & 128

“Therefore take the whole armour of God that you may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand. (Ephesians 6:12-13).²⁵

The writer will not be tempted to write and interpret the above verses, because the aim here is to explore the theological background of Mogoba’s ministry of Peace and Reconciliation as related to Christology and Soteriology. But among the pieces of the whole armour of God, there is the Gospel of Peace. Matthew Henry says that this “piece” is called “the Gospel of Peace” because it brings all sorts of Peace.²⁶

Christian life according to Mogoba, is life which is founded on Jesus, the Prince of Peace.²⁷ In 1.2.2 it has been stated how Mogoba encountered the Prince of Peace on Robben Island. This means that

25 **Ibid 1992 : 4**

26 **Henry M. 1980 : 1858**

27 **Ibid 1994 : 21**

his Ministry of peace and Reconciliation is among other things, based on his experience. Amidst torture in jail, Mogoba received inner peace. Hope in his heart to serve God in a different way as Priest continued to grow.

It is the Prince of Peace that prompted him to strive for justice in our land. He had a vision of a society of “just sharing”, where poverty, unemployment and homelessness will be totally eradicated.²⁸

If Mogoba’s Ministry of Peace and Reconciliation is founded on God, and has focus on the Prince of Peace, Jesus Christ, it is therefore divine. As divine, it is theological. Mogoba himself says, “Reconciliation is a theological term”, and he further says that true justice and peace do not come about as a result of our effort only, but is a gift of God.²⁹ With his whole understanding of Peace and

28 Ibid 1992 : 44

29 Ibid 1992 : 64

Reconciliation as belonging to God, in his negotiations for peace settlement in South Africa, he summoned the South Africans to work with God so that peace and harmony exist.³⁰ Schreiter, too, testifies to the same fact, that “Reconciliation is ultimately the work of God and the gift of God.”³¹

In his peace negotiations, Mogoba was convinced that God, who invaded our darkness (Isaiah 9:2) will rescue us from the domination of darkness.³² He said this referring to violence and war. Salvation according to Mogoba as a black theologian, does not mean “a pie in the sky” when one dies, but an objective reality. It has a down-to-earth notion, and this notion of salvation is summed up in Micah 4:3. “They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up a sword against nation,

30 **Ibid 1992 : 78**

31 **Schreiter R.J. 1998 : 12**

32 **Ibid 1994 : 19**

neither shall they learn war any more.³³ The down-to-earth notion of salvation is “a here-and-now salvation”, though the fullness of salvation may lie in an eschatological future.³⁴

A here-and-now salvation, includes not only sin, but war, racism, economic exploitation and commitment to the struggle for a transformed social order.³⁵ The relevance of Mogoba’s Ministry to Christology and Soteriology is seen in the fact that both Christology and Soteriology are God-centred. This fact is attested to by John 3:16; “For God so loved the world that he gave His only begotten Son, so that whoever believes in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life”.³⁶ Son of God, according to Banks, denotes the Son of God “sent” as man, who was made subject to the law and died on the cross

33 **Ibid 1994 : 18**

34 **Nicolson R. 1990 : 79**

35 **Ibid 1990 : 80**

36 **The Gideon Living Memorial Bible**

to redeem all men.³⁷

The same author says Jesus' death imparted in us power that delivers us from a guilty conscience and from the burden of our sins. He goes on stating that St. Paul in his traditional confession, 1 Corinthians 15:3 states that the death of Christ is related to our sins. Paul's expression "for our sins" relates the death of Christ to our existence, which was burdened with sin and guilt. By his death our sins had been done away with, eradicated and atoned for.³⁸

Jesus became our free gift from God so that by his death on the cross we live forever. From the classic Protestant Theology of Reconciliation,³⁹ (Romans 5:6-11) we gather that Reconciliation was God's initiative.

37 Banks R.J. 1974 : 98

38 Ibid 1974 : 77 - 78

39 Ibid 1998 : 14

We were sinners when Christ died for us. Baillie looks at this Reconciliation and says “Here is the “Reconciliation” which wipes out our trespasses, but we contribute nothing to the process. “It is all of God,” who provides the means himself.⁴⁰ Mogoba is right when he says that salvation is from God. It is God’s action through Christ in order to justify the unjust and peaceless.⁴¹ The purpose of salvation is to give life to those who have been saved.⁴² The Eucharist is a model for sharing life in the community. The act of eating and drinking, which is there in the Eucharist is a most powerful paradigm for sharing life. It gives the new identity to the church, a new covenant in the body. In South Africa, the Eucharist has got to manifest the unity of the body of Christ.⁴³

40 **Baillie D.M. 1873 : 178**

41 **Ibid W.C.C. Speech 1991 : 1**

42 **Ibid 1994 : 19**

43 **Ibid 1992 : 84 - 85**

Salvation that is life-giving according to Mogoba, is the one that goes hand in hand with justice.⁴⁴ He bewails the salvation that fails to deliver the nominally white Christians from fear or from slavery of racial ideology. Mogoba criticised the fact that in South Africa, it is the Christians who oppress black people. He queried the saving power of such Christianity.

The writer believes that Mogoba invited the International Christian Community to come and build peace in South Africa,⁴⁵ because he realised that the South African Christians' belief is an empty shibboleth (Judges 12:5-6). He said Christians have Christ's shalom.⁴⁶ Christ suffered so that we can have peace.⁴⁷ Christ's suffering was not powerless, because it exploded all power systems. Power and

44 **Ibid Speech at SACC Conference 1983 : 3**

45 **Ibid Mogoba & Chaskalson 1990 : 51 – 52**

46 **Ibid Speech at SACC 1983 : 1 – 3**

47 **Ibid 1983 : 4**

and principalities are the same throughout time, but the Church ought not to be captive to the principalities.

The church should be a liberating church.⁴⁸ Beach and Niebuhr translates Mogoba's idea differently: that the church should know that God's will has a bearing upon personal and social life. It must preach the social gospel that is capable of redeeming the historical life of humanity from the social wrongs which perpetuate exploitation and slavery. Down-to-earth salvation must turn a person from self to God and humanity. A person must have the mind of Christ and be thus able to see all people as children of God with divine worth and beauty.⁴⁹

48 **Ibid WCC Speech 1991 : 4 – 8**

49 **Ibid Beach & Niebuhr 1976 : 461 – 462**

2.2.2.1.2 How relevant is Mogoba's Ministry to Pneumatology

Mogoba talks about the Spirit of God.⁵⁰ When he refers to the Spirit of God, he uses the word "POWER". Also in the Old Testament ruah (Hebrew) or pneuma (Greek) is generally an expression of God's power or the extension of himself whereby he carries out many of His mighty deeds (1 Kings 8:12; Judges 14:6 ff; 1 Samuel 11:6).⁵¹

Mogoba interprets this power as the power of an undying persistent love of God. Hatred, bitterness, arguments or any reproach can never overcome it. Mogoba in his interpretation goes further and says that by this power God rules and guides the world.⁵² Sometimes Mogoba talks about the power

50 Ibid 1992 : 78 : Ibid 1994 : 80

51 Elwell W.A. 1987 : 521 – 522

52 Malaysian Speech 1995

of the Holy Ghost.⁵³ Here the Holy Spirit is not referred to as power, but it has power.

Mogoba interprets power as salvation.⁵⁴ It breathes life into the whole creation. Gaybba gives the meaning of the phrase “the whole creation”, and says that it means humanity’s environment, which includes nature (the land, the sea, the sky, the trees, the animals, the stars, the entire physical universe which also includes the structures we ourselves have created (countries, cities, families, cultures, work communities, play communities, shops, buildings, newspapers, radios, governments, schools etc). All this as Gaybba puts it, comprise our environment.⁵⁵

Mogoba⁵⁶ says power transforms not only our

53 **Ibid 1995 : 10**

54 **Ibid 1994 : 80**

55 **Gaybba Brian 1987 : 260**

56 **Ibid 1994 : 64**

environment, but human beings and human society.⁵⁷ Mogoba says that it does not only transform man's environment, but brings about harmony.⁵⁸ Harmony according to Gaybba brings about inner fruits of love within each and every person.⁵⁹ Mogoba defines love and Christian love as a vehicle of life; to love forever is to live forever.⁶⁰ Gaybba says that this love which the Spirit of God puts into our hearts creates the community. It is reflected in actions that show the individuals concern for and unity with others. People feel loved and at peace.⁶¹

The same power according to Mogoba, raised Christ from the dead. From the resurrection, Mogoba says that we see the manifestation of the

57 **Ibid 1992 : 78**

58 **Ibid 1994 : 63**

59 **Ibid 1987 : 63**

60 **Ibid 1994 : 64**

61 **Ibid 1987 : 63**

Cross e.g. Jesus was nailed powerless, buried powerless, but on Easter Monday, people discovered that He was not in the tomb - the nothing continued to deal with the powerful. Mogoba talks about the powerlessness of the powerful.⁶² The powerless died for us when we were still powerless (still his enemies). His resurrection was for us hope of new life. Like resurrection, reconciliation is hope for the future. Reconciliation according to Mogoba is costly because Christ died for us. The testimony of God's love for us should make all South Africans face the issue of Reconciliation. Resurrection according to Hoskyns, is the new creation, which God creates.⁶³ Christology, Soteriology and Pneumatology in the whole section are interwoven.

62 **His Speech at the Methodist Young Men's Guild Triennial Conference in Mafikeng 01.05.98**

63 **Hoskyns Edwin 1983 : 294**

2.2.3 What role does Mogoba's Ethics play in his Ministry of Peace and Reconciliation

2.2.3.1 Introduction

Mogoba as a Christian is governed by Christian ethics in his life and Ministry. Christian ethics is better described as being derived from a certain shared faith about the nature of God as ultimate reality and man's proper response to him. The unity of Christian ethics lies in its God-centred faith by virtue of the kind of God it relies on as final, as being the Sovereign Power of the Universe, its Creator and Ruler and Redeemer, whose nature is made known in Jesus Christ. Christian ethics says in many different ways that the Christian life consists in the response of obedient love to God in whatever he wills. "This is the first commandment of all", and in the human sphere, what God wills is the love of neighbour after the manner of God's love to man. How and why the neighbour is loved, depends on how and why God is loved. Thus in Jesus' summary of the law, the second commandment to love the neighbour is described as like or

part of the first. ⁶⁴

2.2.3.2 His Faith and Ministry

Mogoba has got John Wesley's faith, which John Wesley was assured of, out of his experience of his warmed heart. John Wesley received power and assurance that Jesus saved him by taking away his own sins. In John Wesley's own words, "I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation and an assurance was given me: that He had taken away my sin, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death".⁶⁵

John Wesley's heart was strangely warmed as someone was reading from Luther's Commentary on Romans at a society meeting at Aldersgate. Before this experience he doubted salvation. When he left Aldersgate, he was a new person. His whole being was transformed. The power

⁶⁴ Beach & Niebuhr page 5 (Wesley quoted in Beach & Niebuhr)

⁶⁵ Ibid 1994 : 47

unleashed at Aldersgate carried him throughout his life.⁶⁶ It has been cited already how Mogoba experienced Christ changing the hopeless situation into hope under the sub-heading 1.2.2.⁶⁷ This faith in Christ who makes things new carried Mogoba right through his ministry. His unflinching passion for peace and Reconciliation is dealt with exhaustively in the next chapter, and much has been said in this chapter as well as in the next one that shows the depths of faith in which Mogoba's life is founded.

When Mogoba states for us the dynamic faith that carried John Wesley throughout his life, he even shows us Wesleyan statistics as follows: A ministry of 53 years, 250 000 miles on horseback and 40 000 sermons.⁶⁸

The writer records the following as Mogoba's credit, that Mogoba's Peace and Reconciliation ministry, was observed by the global community. From Connecticut

66 **Ibid 1994 : 4 – 49**

67 **Ibid 1994 : 47 – 48**

68 **Mogoba & Chaskalson 1990 : 11**

U.S.A., he received a Peace Medal as an award from Ploughshares Institute with an engraving “Beating the sword into ploughshares.” This citation honoured Mogoba for his reconciliation efforts in South Africa.

Again in 1996, Mogoba received the 1996 World Methodist Peace Award in Johannesburg on Tuesday 13th February. The award was conferred on him by the chairperson of the World Methodist Council, Rev. Dr. Donald English, together with the World Methodist Council General Secretary, Rev. Joe Hale. The two told the audience that Mogoba in the early eighties (1980’s) was a lonely voice in South Africa that called for Reconciliation and Peaceful negotiations to end hostilities in the land. It was brought forth again, that Mogoba’s prophetic voice was soundly rejected by people on both sides of the conflict. It was said that this occasion signify the fact that his challenge has been vindicated as national reconciliation has become the order of the day under a new government.

The award was conferred on him for his advocacy of Reconciliation in South Africa and his contribution to

World Peace. Mogoba, according to the citation demonstrated the three criteria of the World Methodist Peace Award, which are: courage, creativity and consistency in a superlative way. He had been courageous in being one of the first few leaders in South Africa to call for an end to hostilities through negotiated settlement and his attempts to bring leaders of various parties and persuasions together so that all the people might live in this land. He sought Reconciliation through meetings with the former Presidents P.W. Botha and F.W. de Klerk, as well as Nelson Mandela. His creativity had been apparent in his choice to work in the churches of South Africa as a Christian leader in seeking a way forward when there seemed to be little hope. He had been creative also in his appeal that warring groups pursue peaceful methods of resolving their differences. He was credited for his call to the World Council of Churches to consider mounting a "programme to overcome violence" in South Africa and the global village. Mogoba had shown consistency across the years in never advocating violence or taking sides for either African or White people, tribes or political parties in the struggle against apartheid. He was credited for his faith in God and his patience as a spiritual leader which

had both enabled him to consistently point forward to the Prince of Peace.

It was announced that it was with courage, creativity and consistency that he pursued the high calling of God in Jesus Christ who said, "BLESSED ARE THE PEACEMAKERS FOR THEY SHALL BE CALLED THE CHILDREN OF GOD." ⁶⁹

2.2.3.3. His Ethics and Ministry

Mogoba's theology is basically an extension of his personal life style (ethics). He loves peace, and his childhood background is from peace-loving parents. His father and mother were in different Churches, but there was never a discord in the family. Also the school he attended was an ecumenical school with two traditions of the Methodist and Lutheran Churches, and these blended very well. It is vividly clear that in his frame of mind, he is communal. The writer is made to believe that this is the

⁶⁹ **Methodist News Letter, March 1996**

reason why in his *Theology of Peace and Reconciliation*, he lays emphasis on harmony, unity, equality, Ubuntu, and sharing.

It has been mentioned that as a lecturer at the Seminary, he treated the students carefully and lovingly, and that he would not be happy to see relationships between the staff and students breaking down. Instead, he would quickly volunteer to preside over a meeting, which sought to resolve peace.

Mogoba grew up from the South African context, which was divisive. Racism had segregated the blacks from the whites and defined them as sub-humans. It had further divided the blacks into ethnic groupings. Mogoba's ethics and theology therefore, is so much influenced by this racial context.

Mogoba's ethics is normative i.e. it prescribes what is right and what is wrong with an implicit or explicit injunction, to do the right things and avoid wrong things.⁷⁰

2.2.3.4 Love as Mogoba's Ethics

In his address, he calls upon the South Africans of all colour and creed to love one another. To quote him verbatim "Dear friends, let us love one another, for love comes from God."⁷¹

This is agape love. Agape love according to Cox is the basis of the Community. It is a way of seeing the "other" not as enemy, but as a friend and neighbour. If that happens, we are able to talk of Agapeistic neighbour-love. Agapeistic neighbour-love according to Cox, affirms the inter-relatedness, mutuality and interdependence of humanity. It insists that we see our own wellbeing in the light of the wellbeing of others.

To sum up everything Cox says: "I can never be what I ought to be, until you are what you ought to be".⁷²

Love and justice according to Mogoba are closely linked.

71 Ibid 1992 : 30

72 Cox H. **God's Revolution and man's responsibility**

He says that justice can be spoken of as love is distributed equally to all members of the community. Of course, Mogoba's love knows no race. His ministry is founded on this love. It is good to know that love is the key word in Wesley's understanding of perfection. Christian perfection means being a good Christian as God can make us. It is a divine gift rather than a human achievement. It is God's love (agape) which motivates one's behaviour and action as well as one's obedience to God. Agape displaces self-interest as one moves from spiritual infancy to maturity.

Perfection is a status or process in which a forgiven sinner engages in a dynamic seeking to do the will of God or to live "the life of love." Wesley expresses this in his notes thus; "That I may know him – as my complete Saviour. And the power of his resurrection – raising me from the death of sin into all the life of love." ⁷³

Mogoba reiterated the theme of love in his addresses. The writer is convinced that Mogoba as Wesleyan theologian has followed on John Wesley's footsteps in life. In fact

John Wesley desired that Christian perfection be the practice of the Christian life.⁷⁴ Mogoba has not only followed on John Wesley's steps, but known Wesleyan tradition very well since he studied theology under Wesleyan missionaries like Cyril Davey whom he calls, "A beloved father of mine from Bristol days."⁷⁵

2.2.3.5 Mogoba's Humility

Humility is Mogoba's way of life. We are nothing but clay in God's hands.⁷⁶ We need to put on a sackcloth and repent.⁷⁷ Disobedience leads to death and repentance leads to life.⁷⁸ These are Mogoba's statements that show humble obedience before God.

74 **Ibid 1990 : 21**

75 **Ibid 1994 : 3**

76 **(i) Mogoba's Sermon at the Inauguration of the State President of South Africa 1994 : 2**

(ii) Ibid 1994 : 12

77 **Ibid 1992 : 74**

78 **Ibid 1994 : 2**

2.2.3.6 Mogoba and Prayer

Prayer too is Mogoba's way of life. He is among those church leaders who had a vision, when the IFP announced that it would not go to the polls for the 1994 General Election, that prayer can turn things upside-down. At the prayer known as "Jesus Peace Rally", he summoned the nation in the words of the hymn writer of 'Rock of ages cleft for me', saying the nation should say: 'Nothing in my hand I bring; simply to Thy cross I cling; naked come to Thee for dress; helpless look to Thee for grace; Foul I to the fountain fly; wash me Saviour, or I die'.⁷⁹

Mogoba, now in prayer, summoned the nation to humble obedience before God. It is with joy to mention that the writer of this thesis was among the praying nation at the Kingspark Stadium on that special day, the 17th April, 1994. As prayer went on somewhere in Durban at a certain conference

79 Ibid 1994 : 43

centre, the Meeting to resolve the issue of whether the IFP was going to vote or not, was in motion.

That very evening the IFP announced that it will go for voting. This did not happen as a result of the negotiating know-how of the International Mediator, W.J. Okumu, but the invoked power of God brought about the turning-point and a bloodbath was avoided.

2.3 Conclusion

2.3.1 Summary

God is the God of Peace and Reconciliation. The prophetic source reveals Him as the God who continued to have covenant-relationship with His people.

God's spirit creates the community of love. It transforms the whole creation. Also God's agape transforms the inner-self of each person. One is through Agape easily able to love others. The Fundamental Christological doctrine in this chapter, is that death did not eliminate Christ. The nothing defeated the worldly supreme powers and

principalities. The Christian Community vindicated Him as the Risen Lord. Christ's power of resurrection brought about divine faith in Him. It was a turning point from hopelessness into hope. Salvation brings in new life. Faith is what brings hope amidst hopelessness.

Christian ethics is Christian practice. Peace and Reconciliation depend much on the practiced Christian ethics.

2.3.2 Comment

The reader is now going to encounter the implementation of Mogoba's ministry to the divisive political situation of South Africa in the chapter that follows.

CHAPTER 3

MOGOBA'S THEOLOGY OF PEACE AND RECONCILIATION

3.1 Introduction

In 1956, the once existed franchise right for Blacks to vote was abolished. The vote in 1958 was given only to all Europeans over the age of 18 years. The registration of European voters was compulsory.

The parliament was given full power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Republic.⁸⁰

From this period onwards, there was an institutionalised apartheid system in South Africa. Two years after the loss of franchise rights, in 1960, the two major black organisations: African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress were banned under the Unlawful Organisation Act of 1960.

The Unlawful Organisation Act of 1960 had power to detain the State

80 Boyce A.N. Europe and South Africa; 1970 pages 729-730

opponents.⁸¹ In 1963, Stanley Mogoba was detained and he was on Robben Island during the time when the most notable political prisoners like Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe were there.

There has been an unending spiral of violence inherent in the Apartheid system that made South Africa become known as a violent society with violent laws defended by violence.

Spirals of violence invited counter violence from the revolutionaries.⁸² A revolution goes together with a slogan, "We must destroy in order to build."⁸³

The space here in the Introduction does not permit the writer to state numerous evil effects of Apartheid. Suffice to say that it is against this background that Mogoba worked tirelessly to set up his Peace and

81 **Mogoba , Kane-Berman J. and Bethlehem R; Sanctions and the Alternatives : 1988 pages 31 - 39**

82 **Manganyi N.C. and du Toit A.: Political violence and the struggle in South Africa 1990 : page 79**

83 **Lahey G.: Powerful Peacemaking 1987 : page 29**

Reconciliation process. He believed in the negotiation for a peaceful settlement.

In this chapter, the writer will illustrate how Mogoba sought to rally the people of South Africa to peaceful course. His deep insight and enthusiasm equipped him for this huge challenge.

3.2 Mogoba's Theology of Reconciliation

Christians believe that Christ died to defeat the power of sin on behalf of humanity. This is God's divine grace. Christ's death restored the relationship between man and God. Restoration of the relationship with God should not be an end in itself, but should be done one to another by those who believe in Christ as the Restorer of their relationship with God. In this thesis, this restoration of man's relationship to God is known as Reconciliation.

When you reconcile, you are negotiating peace with the enemy. Reconciliation precedes Peace. Reconciliation is the powerful force Mogoba used to bring about peaceful negotiations between the Oppressed and the Oppressor. What follows here-under is the manner Mogoba understood and applied this powerful divine weapon to influence the South Africans to come to a conference table.

3.2.1 Reconciliation and Détente

In 1975, when Mogoba became the first person to speak about reconciliation in South Africa, he made the meaning contextual to the spirit of “Détente”,⁸⁴ which as from 1973 had become news between the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

Détente became the defence policy for these two superpowers, their allies and others as 1973 unfolded. There were many events that suggested that détente was becoming a reality. Détente was the relaxation from nuclear war threats.

The Cold War confrontation was replaced by a more peaceful era. For example, a negotiated cease-fire was obtained in Vietnam in January. In addition the Russians and Americans said, that they desired to extend the limitations on strategic weapons established in the 1972 Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). Discussions were held between the United States and the Soviet Union and their respective allies on the possibility that the two super-powers

84 Johanson B. **The Church in South Africa, Today and Tomorrow : 1975 : 53**

would withdraw some of their military forces from Europe, and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei A. Gromyko, suggested that the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council cut their military budgets by 10%, with part of the funds thus saved to be used to assist developing nations.

The peaceful tenor suggested by these events, was amplified by U.S. President Richard Nixon in his welcoming remarks to Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev during his visit to Washington. The President spoke of "lifting the burden of armaments from the world and building a structure of peace."⁸⁵

Mogoba's theology of reconciliation has deeper meaning than "Détente". Détente describes the easing of tension in relations between the world states that are hostile to one another, and reconciliation calls for our experience of God. This was the very experience that has made us to be Christians.⁸⁶ Détente is not expected to last long due to the endemic arms race. Once the country has deployed the new nuclear weapons, it's neighbour does the same. They both claim that they are deployed for

85 **The American Peoples Encyclopaedia Year Book 1974 : 199**

86 **Ibid 1975 : 53**

defensive purposes alone, but the fact always remains that they are designed and deployed for use. The potential nature of such use is ever threatening with the continued appearance of new technologies.

3.2.2 Reconciliation and the South African Churches

Mogoba challenged the South African Churches to unite. They would only be able to face the issue of reconciliation if they do not allow themselves to be divided. He reminded all Christians, that Christians are the people who believe that in Christ they had been saved and redeemed at the great cost of His blood.

Mogoba said that reconciliation is in Christ.⁸⁷ He reconciled us to God. Therefore Christians have got to face the task of reconciliation as their challenge. He said these words as early as 1975.⁸⁸

Like St. Paul who has tendency to use different terms for the

87 Ibid 1975 : 54

88 Ibid 1975 : 54

same idea, Mogoba used "Détente" where he in fact meant reconciliation. For instance he warned the Christians that the alternative to Détente is too ghastly to contemplate. He said that failure to come to the Conference Table, will plunge all of us into an avalanche of agony and turmoil. He said that as Christians we should avoid this situation.⁸⁹

3.2.3 Mogoba's reconciliation in the midst of deaths in Soweto and in the whole country.

Serious uprisings started in Soweto in June 1976. Hundreds of black children were murdered by the South African police. The cause of this violence was, that the black students had been forced to be taught in Afrikaans. Afrikaners who had fought against English being imposed on them during the British Government in South Africa, were now enforcing Afrikaans on the blacks who regarded Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor. South Africa went up in flames.⁹⁰ According to Deborah Posel, flames aided and abetted the ideological depoliticalization of the crowd: the message conveyed was that crowds, like flames erupted

⁸⁹ Ibid 1975 : 54

⁹⁰ Tutu D.M. : *Hope and Suffering* : 1984 : 42

spontaneously simply because they were crowds driven by an inner force. Also when combined with the symbol of the crowd - for example, in the shots of crowds on T.V. dancing around a fire - the image of the flames was sacrificial.⁹¹

Destruction of property and the lives of the people who were either activists or supporters of the Status Quo was great. Kangaroo Courts pronounced the necklacing sentences, and in turn the leaders of the Kangaroo Courts would be necklaced by the Community Councillors.⁹²

When violence was ravaging the whole of South Africa, Mogoba's voice was heard as he criticised those who resorted to violence and death. He said that they lacked self-worth. Violence, according to Mogoba, dehumanises and kills black people's image.⁹³ Mogoba condemned violence as a means of liberation. Hereunder the writer sketches Mogoba's option.

91 **Ibid : 1990 : 161**

92 **Ibid : 1990 : 161**

93 **South African Institute of Race Relations : 1990 : 5**

3.2.4 Reconciliation and a collective Mediatorship

In 1988 when Mogoba addressed the Interaction Council in Harare, he made an urgent call for a collective mediatorship to help resolve the impasse in South Africa.⁹⁴

Mediators are neutral third parties who help adversaries open negotiations and (perhaps) end a dispute in a mutually satisfactory agreement. In many tribal societies, there are individuals who have the recognised and accepted role of trying to end feuds and disputes by acting as a “go-between”, or by getting adversaries together to talk on “neutral ground”.⁹⁵

When Mogoba spoke about mediation of this nature he was not at all talking on an abstract level. There is also a good example of the Mediation Commission which was set up by the Organisation of African Unity. After it had been established in

⁹⁴ South African Institute of Race Relations, 1988 : 11 and also Oral Communication 11.04.97

⁹⁵ Smoker P., Davies R. and Munske B.; A Reader in Peace Studies : 1990 : 26

1963, its task is to help resolve inter-African disputes.⁹⁶

In his proposal for a collective mediatorship, he asked Zimbabwe to facilitate such a group. It was their experience in bringing about democracy in Zimbabwe, that placed them in a unique position. They could influence change in South Africa.

One of the main tasks of a collective mediatorship would be to speak to the State President of South Africa, and to those who could influence him.

For a collective mediatorship, they would have to include President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, President Quett Masire of Botswana, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Great Britain and Lord Carrington the then British Foreign Secretary who settled the Rhodesian dispute. A balanced composition of this collective mediatorship would be the inclusion of the representative leaders from western and eastern countries.

96 **Ibid 1990 : 27**

Mogoba further proposed that all political organisations would also take part. They would do so without fear of losing face. A collective mediatorship would come with a programme that enhances prospects for peace, justice, mutual respect and universal human rights in South Africa.

He further called upon the Government to release all political leaders and unban political organisations, so that the exiled leaders and their political organisations would easily come back to their soil. He pleaded with the Interaction-Council to help him speed up the negotiations with the South African Government that would see the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners including those detained. He said that this would pave the way for the negotiations.⁹⁷

3.2.5 Reconciliation and war or violence

A collective mediatorship ruled out violence and war. According to Mogoba, violence is always senseless. Mogoba

97 a) **Ibid : 1988 :40-49**
b) **Ibid : 1988 : 10-12**
c) **Oral Communication : 11.04.97**

said that there is no need for violence or war if there is peaceful initiative. He said that no one would remain if we continue to kill each other in South Africa.⁹⁸

Indeed it was wrong to engage one's self in war or violence when there were the possibilities for reconciliation and peace. War is war. War can never be just, and the same goes for violence no matter what anyone else might say. The search for a just society can succeed when peace-loving men and women engage for peace and lasting solutions.⁹⁹

In his whole peace strategy, Mogoba is supported by Helgeland, Daly and Burns in their book titled "Christians and the Military". These authors say that we must resort to force only in cases where we may not avail ourselves of discussion. They rule out just war. They say that no war is just unless it is entered into when satisfaction for demand has failed.¹⁰⁰ Also Johan Galtung in "A

98 a) **Mogoba's Harare Speech : 1988.03.20 : 3**

b) **Ibid : 1990 : 3**

99 **Ibid : 1988 : 42**

100 **Helgeland Jn., Daly R.J. and Burns J.P. : Christians and the Military : 1987 : 3-5**

Reader in Peace Studies”, edited by Smoker, Davies and Munske, condemns violence by saying that it increases the distance between the potential (what could have been) and the actual (what is). He goes on saying that we should talk about violence when the level of potential realisation is lower than what it could have been.¹⁰¹

3.2.6 Reconciliation and Harmony

Reconciliation, according to Mogoba, means stretching out arms of love, care and compassion to all people.¹⁰² We are all challenged by reconciliation to unlock security doors that are erected around us. We are challenged to love one another with the understanding that we all belong to South Africa. Mogoba believes that harmony will be the end result, if South Africans do just this.¹⁰³

What Mogoba says is Mahatma Gandhi’s philosophy on

101 Ibid 1990 : 9

102 South African Institute of Race Relations 1989 : 8

103 Ibid 1990 : 5-7

peacemaking. He was therefore dead right as far as the writer's judgement. Mahatma fought against an illusion that each individual (or group) is separate from everything and everyone else, and has to look after its own interests first at the expense of others.

He said that we are not ultimately separate, but profoundly tied together in the unity of life. Gandhi devoted his life to this overriding truth. So in any specific conflict in which he became involved, he found it necessary to reveal the underlying truth of unity between human beings.¹⁰⁴ Mogoba quotes Mahatma Gandhi where he says that Mahatma was convinced that the power of love is stronger than a blow-to-blow encounter.¹⁰⁵

Also Walter Isard, the author of "Understanding Conflict and the Science of Peace", condemns nationalism which causes a person to have concern only for his own national interests to the exclusion of the rights of other nations and groups. Walter Isard says that we need to harness our different cultures and modify their competitive drives in ways that curb their divisive

104 **Isard W. 1992 : 200**

105 **Ibid Mogoba 1992 : 61**

tendencies in order to achieve harmony. We need not destroy cultural diversity because there will always be diversity among cultures.¹⁰⁶

According to the Bible, the hostility between man and God was slain in the Cross (Ephesians 2:16 and Romans 5:11-14). The Cross of Christ according to Mogoba is the most significant thing that should challenge us for the task of reconciliation.¹⁰⁷ What Mogoba says again in "Tears of Hope", adds much to the doctrine of the Cross of Christ. He says: "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten son, that whoever believes in Him may not die, but have eternal life". Mogoba states here that Reconciliation is a God-given gift. He took the initiative that we be reconciled to Him. There is therefore the possibility that we should be reconciled to one another.¹⁰⁸

106 Isard W., *Understanding conflict and the science of Peace*, 1992 : 14-15

107 *Ibid* 1975 : 53

108 Mogoba M.S., *Tears of Hope*, 1992 : 64

3.2.7 Reconciliation and Mogoba's experience in jail

Mogoba had an experience of "the way of peace",¹⁰⁹ when he was suffering on Robben Island prison. He knows what it is like to suffer. He carries the scars of beatings and brutality, which he sustained on Robben Island. The coldness of the cement floors that tortured him resulted in him composing a poem entitled "Cement". The writer records the first verse that reveals Mogoba's thoughts:

"An unprecedented abundance of cement
Below above and all around
A notorious capacity to retain cold
without an equal facility for warmth."¹¹⁰

Mogoba suffered excruciating pain in his stomach caused whilst tied to a pillar with wire.¹¹¹ He explains that when you are tied

109 **Mogoba's Speech at the SACC Conference, 1983 : 1-3**

110 **De Gruchy J., Cry Justice, 1986 : 107**

111 **Mogoba M.S. and Chaskalson A., Preistrager 1990, Bern/ Schweiz**

to a pillar in this fashion, with your hands behind the pillar, your shirt is forced to be pulled up and your stomach exposed. It was then that the warder hit him six times with a baton on the stomach. The reason for this sentence was that he was on 100 hours hunger strike.¹¹²

His sufferings were a hopeless situation, but it was in this hopeless situation in the dungeon that Mogoba discovered that God is able to transform hopelessness into hope. Christ visited him here. When he had read the story of the rich man (Luke 18:18-23), he felt Christ challenging him to serve Him. He got no rest until he said to Christ: "I am prepared to give my entire life to you and enter the ministry."¹¹³

Mogoba's experience on Robben Island made him have strong faith that God is able to transform hopelessness in South Africa into hope. Torture on Robben Island was very severe. It was indeed a hopeless situation. Fikile Bam, who was also sentenced on Robben Island on 15th April, 1964, states that the purpose of

112 Video Cassette, 15-06-96, Council for the Elders - Cassette from Paton Archives - University of Natal Pietermaritzburg

113 Ibid 1986 : 108

the prison and particularly of Robben Island was to punish and tame and not to please. She says the objects of imprisonment were retribution, deterrence and rehabilitation. Retribution and deterrence always went hand in hand. Retribution meant vengeance on the part of the state. There must be wailing and gnashing of teeth on the part of the prisoner. Robben Island had nothing to do with the prisoner's wellbeing, but wanted to see him suffer. Deterrence meant the prisoner would never do it again. It meant to remove the anti-apartheid feeling from the prisoner to a degree that he goes and tells his family and friends that they must never make the mistake of coming to the Island. The attempt was to crush the black spirit of liberation, black dignity and self-respect. This is rehabilitation into the world of the brainwashed people.

Fikile Bam goes on mentioning that swearing, dirty jokes and abusive language with racialistic overtones were so endemic in the prison warder's culture, that a prisoner ran the risk of being charged for being frivolous if he complained against their use.

Among the most famous names of people who suffered together with Fikile Bam were the likes of Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Zeph Mothopeng, Neville Alexander and the Rev.

Stanley Mogoba (whom Fikile calls Rev. Mogoba).¹¹⁴

3.2.8 Reconciliation and dignity

Dignity according to Moltmann means the worth of being human. This means that dignity and humanity are synonymous. The struggle for human rights world wide wants to restore dignity upon each individual. All that is inhuman is against God who created human beings.¹¹⁵

Dignity according to Mogoba is the self-worth, self-image, the mind and soul of a person as a human being.¹¹⁶ Reconciliation of these goes very deep, because they need healing. Apartheid had done an assault on the integrity of the black South Africans. The mind had been traumatised by psychological violence like detention, solitary confinement, torture¹¹⁷ and killings of the

114 **Monitor, The Journal of Human Rights Trust Port Elizabeth South Africa, 1988 : 51-52**

115 **Moltmann J., 1984 : Page X of the Introduction Section.**

116 **Ibid, 1990 : 5-7**

117 **Ibid, 1990 : 74**

beloved ones.

Mogoba saw the need to repair that damage which self-respect, self-worth, self-image, mind and soul had suffered.¹¹⁸ In this he is supported by Howard Marshall, who says that reconciliation means the restoration of all primary relationships that define authentic humanity.¹¹⁹

Mogoba saw the philosophy of black consciousness as the key element. Black consciousness would instil the need to feel proud to be black. It would bring about a strong sense of human dignity and self-esteem. African consciousness would repair the damage in the black people's mind and soul.¹²⁰

Mogoba said that all who belong to South Africa are Africans including whites. He developed this idea in his speech "Black and free", when he told Whites in Pietermaritzburg that the problem with Whites is that they do not see themselves as White

118 **Ibid, 1990 : 5-13**

119 **Marshall I.H., 1990 : 339**

120 **Ibid, 1990 : 7-8**

Africans. When they come to recognise themselves as Africans, they will be able to identify themselves with Blacks and the problem of reconciliation for peaceful settlement will be solved, because they hold the key. They will be able to see Blacks as human beings. They will stop believing in the lies that Blacks are not human. ¹²¹

Mogoba stated that when people choose to walk the lonely path that leads to violence and death, they do so because they have forgotten to see the good in themselves and one another; they do so because they are opting for another form of Apartheid; they do so because they deny not only the self-worth of others, but the self-worth in themselves.¹²² Through these words it becomes clear that he was instilling black nationalism into the hearts of all South Africans.

Black consciousness was Steve Biko's philosophy that brought back the dignity of the dehumanised Blacks. In the fabric of Apartheid, black consciousness reminded Blacks of their

121 **Video Cassette, Black and Free, 18.03.88, from Alan Paton Archives UNP.**

122 **Ibid, 1990**

cultural roots. It said to them, there is nothing inferior about the culture and identity.

Black consciousness made the blacks to be more aware that their culture and identity has potential to change the Apartheid situation they lived in. It reminded the youth of the oppression that has happened in their black community since the Sharpeville Massacre. The youth was determined to hold onto the struggle, and not to be divided by Separate Development. The younger generation in townships like Soweto, Umlazi, New Brighton in Port Elizabeth, and Langa in Cape Town, were bound by black awareness against the dehumanising power of Apartheid. This was awareness of their situation and identity as blacks, and of their potential to change their lot.

Black consciousness provided a bridge across ethnic divisions within the black community, binding in one all African, Coloured and Indian students who rejected separate development, and who were striving for alternative ways of combating apartheid.

Black consciousness started off mainly as a youth movement, but it soon gained adherents across the generation gap. It made tremendous impact upon both the South African society in

general, as well as the Churches and upon the black community in particular.

Black consciousness resulted in the era of Black theology in South Africa. Black theology was and is a reflection of black Christians on the situation in which they live and on their struggle for liberation. It received resources from the black theology of the Black Americans, especially from the work of the black theologian James Cone. The Federal Theological Seminary of the Anglican, Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches situated then in Alice near the University of Fort Hare, as well as the Lutheran Seminary in Maphumulo in Natal, and the Catholic Seminary at Hammanskraal were all places where theology was debated and taught.¹²³

Mogoba, having taught at Fedsem in Alice, knows this philosophy very well. This Africanism philosophy is in him as an African. His roots are in Africa. They cannot be anywhere else, but in Africa. He holds that as Africans, we must be our true-selves as we are created by God. In other words, the

123 De Gruchy J.W., *The Church struggle in South Africa*; 1982

meaning of “dignity” extends to the spirit of Africanism.

Mogoba summoned the Blacks to preach the new gospel of Africanism which is pregnant with the Africanism of black leaders like Chief Albert Luthuli, Leopold Seder Senghor of Senegal, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe and Anton Lembede.¹²⁴

In what Mogoba was saying, we see Marshall’s understanding of reconciliation; that is reconciliation to God, to self and to one’s neighbour. The three dimensions - God, self and neighbour must be simultaneous and co-inherent.¹²⁵ Blacks and Whites must first be reconciled within themselves, i.e. each individual must have a journey within of reconciliation. No one should be prepared to walk that “lonely path”. Each one must acknowledge “self-worth” in himself and this leads to an outward journey of reconciliation, where one realises the “self-worth” of others. The climax of this reconciliation is to know

124 a) **Malimela P. From Politics to Prison, from Prison to the Pulpit and from the Pulpit to Politics. Page 5.**

b) **SAIRR : 1989 : 8**

125 **Ibid, 1990 : 338**

that to do inhuman actions to one, is to do those actions to God who created human beings, and who reconciled us all to Himself. This is the writer's analysis of Mogoba's reconciliation and dignity.

3.2.9 Reconciliation and Ubuntu

Mogoba's call for black consciousness was aimed at restoring Ubuntu. Ubuntu (humanity) works together with justice. It is justice to give back to black people their human dignity and universal suffrage. It is justice for the whites to share land with blacks. Blacks need not suffer resettlement rules. Equal wages and opportunities of employment for blacks are what is just and fair. Justice is according to Mogoba something that should go hand in hand with reconciliation and peace.¹²⁶

From the writer's experience, de Grauchy is right to define "Ubuntu" as African Democracy. The Xhosa idiom, "Umuntu ngumuntu ngabanye" which means that a person is a person through other persons is a good example. This implies a respect for each person as an individual where African

126 a) **Mogoba M.S., *Convicted by Hope*, 1994 : 19**
 b) **Ibid, 1989 : 19**

democracy is fundamental. This has emphasis on human society, on inter-personal relations, on the need which each person has for others in order to be herself or himself.¹²⁷ Moltmann, when describing true dignity, uses a phrase: “we are members one of another, and when one suffers all are hurt.” He says that this is the Christian understanding of the dignity of other human beings. Moltmann says that dignity is a universally shared reality.¹²⁸

The writer’s argument is that UBUNTU and DIGNITY go hand in hand, if not synonymously. When blacks therefore, are also given the same rights and privileges as whites, which is the justice Mogoba calls for, we will be able to talk about the restoration of their UBUNTU and DIGNITY.

3.2.10 Reconciliation and Repentance

Mogoba’s theology of reconciliation goes together with repentance. New life in our land demands repentance.

127 De Gruchy J.W., *Christianity and Democracy*, 1995 : 188 - 191

128 *Ibid*, 1984 : ix - 11

Repentance means changed hearts. He said, for us to repent we need no power, but only God's power. Ours is to come before Him and say:

“Nothing in my hand I bring;
Simply to the Cross I cling;
Naked come to Thee for dress;
Helpless look to Thee for grace;
Foul I to the fountain fly;
Wash me, Saviour, or I die.”

What Mogoba states is true when one looks at the whole theological truth in 1 John 1: 9. “If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just, and will cleanse us from all unrighteousness.” This is new life with God. It is true that confession, repentance and forgiveness go hand in hand. Without these, there is no reconciliation.

Mogoba states categorically clear, that there is no life without the message of Repentance and Reconciliation.¹²⁹ Confession,

129 a) **Mogoba's Speech at Jesus Peace Rally – Kwazulu / Natal
17.04.1994 (Hymn quoted in the same source)**
b) **Ibid, 1992 : 74**

repentance and forgiveness are inseparable. Mogoba holds that guilt must lead to confession and repentance if one is to be healed. He says that confession is the key that leads to forgiveness. In his argument Mogoba says that forgiveness leads to new life. It is not an end in itself, but is the bridge that leads to new life and to new land.¹³⁰

Mogoba says that in the New Testament, confession of guilt belongs to the heart of the matter. Confession of guilt is a way to overcome guilt. In Matthew 18:22, guilt is overcome when it has been confessed. It is forgiven more than seven times seventy times.

Reconciliation and healing of a painfully polarised society will only be possible if it is based on the claim of the Gospel, Mogoba states so vividly. Reconciliation is costly, because it demands one to say, "I am sorry for a, b, c, d, and I realise that in these I have wronged you." Whites in South Africa need to repent for having oppressed the blacks. The blacks need to

130 **Mogoba M.S., God's fire for the New Land 1993 address to the opening session of the "Journey to a New Land" Convocation**

repent of bitterness for what the whites have done, and should grant the whites forgiveness.

At the Jesus Peace Rally, Mogoba repeated the call of repentance, which he made as far back as 1975 when he started talking about Reconciliation or Détente. In 1975 he called the nation to repentance from deep-seated feelings of hatred which had accumulated over centuries. He said that attempts at détente would be only the scratching of the surface if the nation does not repent.¹³¹

This states that the repentance message was part and parcel of Mogoba's theology of Reconciliation.

3.2.11 Reconciliation and Reconstruction and Development

Reconciliation according to Mogoba calls for ways and means for reconstruction and development of the lives of black people. This involves housing and economy. As far as Mogoba is concerned, a person who has no dwelling place has no peace.¹³²

131 Ibid, 1975 : 53

132 Ibid, 1988 : 8

The writer is reminded of the Freedom Charter, Article Nine, which assures the people of houses, security and comfort. ¹³³

It might be possible that Mogoba as a person who was once a member of the Pan-Africanist Congress was alluding to the Pan-Africanist principle of human rights. That he is an advocate of human rights is true. ¹³⁴

Mogoba was wise to realise that for blacks to be part of the future economy of South Africa, they will have to be able to compete with whites. He called upon NAFCOG to have programmes for the development of economy for the blacks. NAFCOG was asked to give guidance in the search for a new socio-economic order. He advised that old economic systems should be something of the past. He said blacks should be able to win in the economic field. ¹³⁵

Mogoba encouraged the blacks to be productive. They are to

133 **Ibid, 1988 : 89**

134 **Ibid, Mogoba and Chaskalson 1990**

135 **Ibid, 1989 : 18**

work hard and deliver freedom and prosperity. They should build up a nation of people with responsibility. He said the chorus "WE DEMAND" should be replaced by a new chorus and a new commitment which is "WE SERVE; WE PRODUCE." He said that it is only when we are challenged to work very hard that we will raise ourselves to the highest pinnacle of progress and development. ¹³⁶

3.3 Mogoba's theology of peace

One makes peace with one's enemy. But the genuine fact here is that when reconciliation has taken place, the enemy has abandoned the idea of war and has chosen the logic of peace. The one who before was an enemy, becomes an opponent within peace and not within war. This is the condition for negotiation for peaceful settlement. This is what Mogoba strove for in South Africa through thick and thin. He believed that if this situation was not brought about, many people in South Africa would be completely exterminated. ¹³⁷

¹³⁶ **Mogoba's Sermon at the Inauguration of the State President of South Africa, 08.05.1994**

¹³⁷ **Mogoba S., Kane-Berman J. and Bethlehem R., pages 31 - 39**

In this sub-heading the writer is going to analyse the manner in which Mogoba tried to make the peoples of South Africa understand that Democracy is not war or violence.

3.3.1 Peace and Mogoba's Christian experience

When the writer studied Mogoba's theology of peace, he was brought to an understanding that Mogoba's theology of peace is founded in Jesus, the Prince of Peace. Mogoba likes to use the name "Prince of Peace" of Isaiah 9:6.

He states that the Christian with life founded on Jesus, the Prince of Peace, has to make peace, even if this means going out of one's way, because followers of the Prince of Peace have no option but to be peace-makers. ¹³⁸

Another example is where Mogoba advocates and says that those who belong to the Prince of Peace should give to other people that kind of attitude that fosters peace and reconciliation. ¹³⁹

¹³⁸ Mogoba M.S.: *Convicted by Hope* - 1994: 21

¹³⁹ Mogoba's Speech at the SACC Conference, June 1983: Pages 1-3

Prince of Peace is one of the Messianic titles in Isaiah. His shalom was peace that would involve suffering and not yield to any easy solution. "Do not think that I have come to bring peace on earth, I have not come to bring peace, but a sword". (Matthew 10:34; Luke 12:51).

He pronounced "Woes" on the Pharisees, and drove out from the temple those whose lives were set on selfish gain. But always one was left with the feeling that here is the Prince of Peace, fighting for the ultimate good which is the health and shalom of His people and His Father's creation. This was the supreme course for which the Prince of Peace died - the fullness and perfection of God's creation.

This is the whole theological understanding behind the Messianic title "Prince of Peace" provided by Morris. ¹⁴⁰

Those who belong to the Prince of Peace must make peace even in situations that call for suffering. This is what Mogoba believed in as already cited. What Morris says about the Prince

140 Maddocks M., *The Christian Healing Ministry*, 1981, page 11

of Peace confirms what Mogoba believed in.

It has already been stated in Chapter One how Mogoba's peace making saw him landing in gaol. It was here that the Prince of Peace gave Mogoba Peace that passeth all understanding and that transforms hopelessness into hope. This experience did not vanish from his mind. It looks like Mogoba never forgot the way of peace which Jesus avails in whatever circumstances. The writer is made to conclude that this is the reason why Mogoba says that a Christian has got no alternative but to make peace.

3.3.2. Peace and the Political turmoil in South Africa

The writer deems it fit to present the chaotic political situation in South Africa in order that whoever reads this thesis will be able to see the great strides Mogoba took to bring the peoples of South Africa to a peaceful settlement. Again the reader must be able to acknowledge the Unity of the thesis. Because "the political situation in South Africa" is a very wide scope, for the purpose of this thesis, which is to present Mogoba's theology of peace and reconciliation, the writer will take only what he can in order to bring about a picture of the political turmoil in South Africa, especially during the 80's and 90's.

3.3.2.1. Black on Black Violence

Apartheid had a system of Bantustans or the so called governing states. The South African Government put “Puppet leaders” in charge to see to the smooth running of those states. These were called “puppet leaders” because they did what the South African Government mandated them to do. For the South African Government, this was a system of divide and rule because they realised that when black people were divided into little homelands according to their language, they would be easy to control and would be enlightened as to the differences existing amongst them.

All the liberation movements were totally aware of this strategy and so were the masses. Every black person who seemed to be on the same camp with the Government earned distrust amongst the masses and the liberation movements leadership.

One of these self-governing states was KwaZulu, under the Prime Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who revived a Zulu cultural movement known as Inkatha

Yenkululeko Yesizwe. Inkatha took more on politically in the late 70's. ¹⁴¹

In the 1970s, Inkatha had the support of the African National Congress (ANC), but they parted ways in 1979. Both Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha supporters were labelled as sell-outs. ¹⁴²

In 1983, when the South African Government had established the tri-cameral parliament for Whites, Indians and Coloureds, and a front known as the United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed. It had the Rev. Allan Boesak as leader and organiser.¹⁴³ It was formed by Political groupings, civics etc. It was formed in opposition to the tri-cameral parliament created by the white minority government.

Huge numbers of organisations were affiliated to UDF in

¹⁴¹ Lodge T., **Black Politics in South Africa since 1945**, 350.

¹⁴² Moss G. and Obery I., **South African Review** 5, 1989, 474

¹⁴³ Pampallis J., **Foundations for a New South Africa**, 1991, 274

such a way that by 1986, there were no fewer than 700 organisations.¹⁴⁴ The UDF was believed to be ANC aligned by the South African government and its puppet leaders from the self-governing states, and that belief was not wrong.

In 1985 the UDF accepted a call from the ANC to make the country ungovernable by causing a dysfunction in the administrative apparatus in the townships. This received great support from very strong youth organisations in Pietermaritzburg areas such as Edendale Youth Organisation (EDEYO) and Imbali Youth Organisation (IYO).¹⁴⁵ It is a commonly held notion that violence began in the natal Midlands, especially in the Pietermaritzburg area.

Through the ANC's call, houses of township councillors were bombed and the township's administrative buildings were also bombed with an intent purpose to destroy

144 **Ibid, 1991: 276**

145 **Ibid, Moss and Obery, 1989: 459**

administrative apparatus in the townships. In Pietermaritzburg, the house of township Councillor, Patrick Pakkies, was bombed, which was an attack against Inkatha followers.¹⁴⁶

Inkatha followers attacked the Federal Theological Seminary (FEDSEM) in Pietermaritzburg in 1985 (the writer was a student here). They demanded that it be vacated, since it was thought to be affiliated to the UDF because most of the clergy people from the South African Council of Churches (SACC) were supporting the UDF. This now proved to be a direct clash between Inkatha and the UDF.

The Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) was also aligned to the UDF. Inkatha formed its own workers union known as the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA) in 1985. Conflict between these two unions was inevitable. The recruiting of people into groups i.e. Inkatha or UWUSA and UDF or COSATU was cause for great concern, because many people died.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, Moss and Obery, 1989: 459

Violence spread in the region like an epidemic. Heavily armed Inkatha vigilantes threatened particular communities for not joining into either Inkatha or UWUSA. To resist recruitment, the UDF affiliated groups formed their own community defence groups known as Self Defence Units (SDU's).¹⁴⁷

Violence went on unabated. Both Inkatha and UDF alleged that they were being harassed by the other. As violence spread, people fled to places, which sometimes had been already mobilised by an enemy organisation.

3.3.2.2. Boycotts as the factor that promoted violence

When violence spread throughout South Africa, the South African Government in 1986 proclaimed the first state of emergency. Between 20,000 and 25,000 people were detained.¹⁴⁸ Boycotts during this period became the non-

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, Moss and Obery, 1989: 460

¹⁴⁸ Mogoba S. and Kane-Berman J., Pages 31-45

violent weapon used effectively in South Africa. In September 1986, the Community Research Group at Wits University estimated that 60% of the total black township population was not paying rent; and that cost local authorities R1 million a day. By the end of 1988, Soweto residents owed an officially estimated R168.5 million in arrears.

Boycotts were all over the country. For instance the Eastern Cape boycott campaign of 1985 and 1986 resulted in historic meetings between black leaders and white business interests. For instance, in the second week of November 1986, the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, evaded the barbed wire fence surrounding New Brighton (African residence) to hold a secret meeting with the few boycott leaders who were not in detention. But both the State of Emergency and the informers had strong tentacles, because a week later these leaders had disappeared. Over 1000 P.E. residents, including the boycott leader Mkhuseleli Jack were in detention at the time.

Still in P.E., more than 100 whites, including their

children and several senior citizens, marched behind clergymen to convey a message of “peace, goodwill and hope” to the residents of New Brighton township.

The white marchers set out from Livingstone Hospital soon after 10:30 a.m. accompanied by about 5000 blacks. They were met by a 2 km distance of waving and cheering blacks who shook the hands of passing marchers and joined in behind them. March marshals squeezed 10,000 people into New Brighton’s Centenary Hall at 1:00 p.m. for an exchange of messages from local leaders and there was a Church service. The Rev. Nkululeko Tunyiswa, a spokesman for the Interdenominational African Minister’s Association of South Africa (IDAMASA) welcomed the marchers “not as friends, but as brothers or sisters.”

Lastly and not least, the Boksburg boycott resulted in the town’s central business district and parts of Reiger Park becoming free trading areas. Later on the Conservative Party ‘controlled’ East Rand and the town of Boksburg as a whole, became a free trading town.¹⁴⁹

**149 Smuts D. and Westcott S., *The Purple shall Govern*, 1991 : 26-32
Material on Boycotts: From 93 – 95 of the thesis**

Boycotts increased the tempo of violence between the anti-government and the pro-government groups. The pro-government groups e.g. Inkatha or UWUSA would not join campaigns like consumer boycotts, labour stayaways, rent boycotts and boycotts of elections of the community councillors.

The government detained more than 30,000 people between 1986 and 1988, with the aim to destroy the notion of people's power and the organisations associated with it. People's power was vindicated through boycotts. It forced individuals serving on the Black Local Administration to resign and it aimed at building an alternative structure to take over some of the functions performed by official institutions. All boycotts were proscribed in terms of emergency regulations.¹⁵⁰

3.3.3 Peace as Mogoba's Passion

Passion is the flame that the Spirit of God lights in the soul of

¹⁵⁰ Centre for Policy Studies, South Africa at the end of the eighties - Policy Perspectives 1989 : 93

man. It keeps a man faithful when he is surrounded by unfaithfulness. It focuses his mind when circumstances are confusing. It brings peace to his heart when having peace doesn't make sense. It draws him on a certain path when the way is clear to no one else. ¹⁵¹

Mogoba had a passion for the impossible in South Africa. William Booth, the founder and first General of the Salvation Army ¹⁵² said, "God loves with a special love, the man who has a passion for the impossible. ¹⁵³

It did not make sense to talk about peace in this political blockade. There was war between the Government and the liberation movements and this has received the full attention of the writer.

Mogoba summoned the peace-loving people of South Africa to

¹⁵¹ Crosby R.C., *Living Life from the Soul*. 1997 :42

¹⁵² Cross F.L. and Livingstone E.A., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church History*, 1984 : 189

¹⁵³ Pratney W., *A Handbook for followers of Jesus*, 1977 : 222

move fast in solving South African political crisis where the loss of human life was the order of the day. The situation was so severe that when Mogoba looked at it, he concluded that no country could tolerate such a state of affairs. ¹⁵⁴

Mogoba condemned war and violence. Civilised societies of South Africa were challenged to relegate to dust heaps of history, war and violence. War, according to Mogoba, was and still is barbaric, evil and contrary to the will of the God of Peace.¹⁵⁵ God's will is peace on Earth. ¹⁵⁶

Mogoba in a certain sense stated that the New Testament dispensation is the period of the undisturbed peace from God. It is the fulfilment period of God's promises, "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks, nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore" (Isaiah 2:4). Those who kill one another are

¹⁵⁴ South African Institute of Race Relations, 1988

¹⁵⁵ Mogoba M.S., *Convicted by Hope*, 1994 : 20

¹⁵⁶ Ronald J.S. and Richard K.T., *Nuclear Holocaust and Christian Hope*, 1983 : 193

opposed to this, God's promise and fulfilment. ¹⁵⁷

Since war and violence is evil and opposed to God's will, those who hold on to the sayings by Hobbes: "Homo homini lupus", meaning "man is a wolf to men"; and that one of the Darwinism of Herbert Spencer: "the survival of the fittest", must (indeed) look to the positive side of human nature which is associated with Eros. ¹⁵⁸ The writer cites what is said in Beer's book because this thesis is written with an intention that it becomes a Survival Kit for future generations. Eros means "love" between the two lovers.

3.3.4 Peace as unconditional love

Mogoba defined peace as the fruit of love, not just secular love, but the love of the God of peace. He said that this is true love and is very dynamic since it is the love of God. He said that this is a strong, compassionate love, with unchanging devotion

¹⁵⁷ **Ibid, Mogoba M.S., 1994 : 20**

¹⁵⁸ **Beer F.D., Peace against war - the ecology of International Violence, 1981 : 8-9**

someone for his own good, even if he does not reciprocate. ¹⁵⁹

Mogoba called upon South African people to love one another with Godly love, Agape, during the times when there was black-on-black violence, and when the Apartheid regime was manipulating the minds of people in South Africa.

The security system of the regime, severely destabilised the black communities. The writer, as a South African, knows that there are black people who were imprisoned so that in the eyes of the struggle, they appeared as the activists, whereas in fact, they were police informers. This is the manipulation the writer points to here. Police informers infiltrated the communities so much and were being paid hugely by the Special Branch people. Hatred divided the black communities. It was a deep-seated thing. Yet Mogoba was brave and courageous to summon them to loving each other with Godly love that knows no barriers. This same challenge to love in this nature, was directed to the white South Africans as well.

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3.3.5 Peace as Justice

In Mogoba's theology of peace, justice is peace and vice versa. There is no need at all to talk about peace where justice is wanting.¹⁶⁰ Mogoba was right, justice in South Africa was wanting. True justice convicts one of one's guilt. The regime had to accept the responsibility of injustice and conflict and repent. The injustice of the Apartheid system was the root cause of violence as it has been explained under 3.3.2. Mogoba was calling for redress on the part of the Apartheid Government. His message when he called for justice was that black people can no longer bear dehumanisation.

Mogoba was emphatically saying that no one in South Africa is supposed to say "Peace, Peace, when there is no Peace". (Jeremiah 6:14; 8:11). In these chapters and verses of Jeremiah the false prophets, dressed the wound of God's people as though it was not serious.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Mogoba's Speech at SACC Conference; June 1983 : 3

¹⁶¹ Stott J., *The Cross of Christ*, 1987 : 98

Mogoba made a call that the walls of justice and peace be built up in South Africa. He made this call in the sermon “Bricks for a new society (Nehemiah 1:1-11)” which he preached in Bern Church in 1990. ¹⁶²

This was a call to the Methodists to help forge justice and peace in South Africa. In other words, Mogoba was inviting the International Community to devise ways and means of liberating South Africa from the political impasse.

3.3.6 Peace and Ethnic Churches

Mogoba challenged the ethnic churches like the Dutch Reformed Church, that they should stop hiding in their cultural ghettos. ¹⁶³ What Mogoba was criticising is well explained by Klaus Nurnberger and John Tooke in “The Cost of Reconciliation in South Africa”. They explain how ethnic was the Dutch Reformed Church, in this manner: It is a racial church, “Ras, Folk and Nasie”. It believes in maintaining ethnic boundaries. Members

¹⁶² Mogoba M.S. and Chaskalson A., 1990 : 51-51

¹⁶³ Mogoba M.S., *Convicted by Hope*, 1994 : 21

believe that in this way they will be able to develop their God-given gifts and then serve Him with those gifts. Lastly and not least, they believe that it is Biblical that people join their ethnic group (Volksgenote) and thus exclude others through a feeling of belonging and of ethnic consciousness which wants to preserve and develop their ethnic character (Volkseie), including their own language and culture.¹⁶⁴ Mogoba condemned such churches as betraying the body of Christ.

Ethnic churches should cry for justice. Mogoba said, if members of such churches are justified by God, they ought to thirst for righteousness in their hearts. They should know peace as a God-given gift to all Christians. The very peace that God gave to all Christians should challenge them to take up the responsibility of peacemaking. He said that all peacemakers take after Him who said, "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called children of God" (Matthew 5:9).

Mogoba condemned division in the church as a result of racism.

¹⁶⁴ Nurnberger K. and Tooke J., *The Cost of Reconciliation in South Africa*, 1988 : 32 & 41

He pointed out that it is the church's responsibility to fight against racial division. He said that the very fact that we all believe in one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all and through all, in all, must condemn us. ¹⁶⁵

3.3.7 Peace as Hope

Mogoba has maintained the theme of hope ever since his Robben Island days. ¹⁶⁶ The writer deems it fit to describe the importance of hope exactly as Emil Brunner does, so that one would understand why Mogoba kept on hoping that there will be a peaceful settlement in South Africa.

“What oxygen is for the lungs, such is hope for the meaning of human life. Take oxygen away, and death occurs through suffocation; take hope away, and humanity is constricted through

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, Mogoba M.S., 1994 : 21

Same Information: a) Mogoba M.S., 1992 : 30

b) Mogoba's Speech - World council of Churches Cape Town, 1991 : 6

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 1994 : 43

Same Information: Mogoba M.S., 1992 : 15

lack of breath, despair supervenes, spelling the paralysis of intellectual and spiritual powers by a feeling of the senselessness and purposelessness of existence. As the fate of human organism is dependent on the supply of oxygen, so the fate of humanity is dependent on its supply of hope. Hope means the presence of the future, or more precisely, it is one of the ways in which what is merely future and potential is made vividly present and actual to us. Hope is the positive, as anxiety is the negative mode of awaiting the future. ¹⁶⁷

What is noteworthy here is that the person who has no hope is dead alive. His intellectual and spiritual powers are paralysed. Everything in his existence is senseless and purposeless. He cannot make plans and projects that will positively influence his future, because he sees no future at all. In other words, he does not become the architect of his own destiny.

3.3.7.1 Mogoba's Victorious Hope

Mogoba's hope is not just hope unqualified, but is the

¹⁶⁷ Brunner E., *Eternal Hope*, 1952 : 7-9

victorious hope. This victorious hope vanishes fear. It is hope that is derived from the power of God. It transforms hopelessness into hope. 168

The writer's own conclusion is that it is because of the fact that this victorious hope transforms hopelessness into hope, that Mogoba finds himself referring to it as the hope that never disappoints.

In order to illustrate that the hope that strengthens him is the hope that never disappoints, he cites Beverly Madison Currin's story where Currin states the period in Palestine during which human life was very cheap. This was the period when Jesus began his ministry in Palestine, and the period when Israel were a captive people under the Roman Empire. In the streets of Jerusalem, in the stillness of the night, the Roman generals crucified the people, and the streets ran red with human blood. Currin says that it was in such a world of captivity and degradation that God sent His Son to redeem the world. Mogoba says that

Jesus and his disciples turned the world upside-down. Jesus therefore, according to Mogoba, is the winner and the victor. He turns a hopeless situation into hope. He leads the defeated and hopeless people into new life. ¹⁶⁹

The transformation of the hopeless situation into hope is a reality which is best illustrated by the book, "Faith seeking understanding." Here it is stated that God in Christ entered into a world saturated with violence; a world in which people were victimised again and again – the poor were neglected; women were beaten and raped; children were abused; the earth was plundered and the prophets were murdered. Jesus disturbed the order. He announced God's forgiveness of sinners, promised the future to the poor, welcomed outcasts and strangers, called all to repentance, initiated a new way of life characterised by love of God and others. Jesus is indeed the winner. ¹⁷⁰

169 a) Mogoba M.S., *Convicted by Hope*, 1994 : 42

170 Migliore Daniel L., *Faith seeking Understanding*, 1991 : 159

3.3.7.2 Mogoba's Easter Hope

Mogoba said there is peace in knowing that there is new life after Christ's crucifixion. Christ died for us, so that we have a new beginning. At Easter, the impossible becomes possible i.e. the powerless sinners are forgiven and justified. There is resurrection after the death of Jesus, as much as there is resurrection after war and violence.¹⁷¹

3.3.7.3 Mogoba's African Hope

This is hope born out of his Africanism. It blends very well with his hope, which ultimately lies strongly in Jesus Christ. This latter hope in Jesus has much to do with his cell experience on Robben Island.

Mogoba sees no difference between the hope born out of his Africanism and of Christian conviction. Both look forward to a new life. Africans have a total belief in the resurrection of the dead, as a result they believe in the

¹⁷¹ Ibid, Mogoba M.S., 1992 : 24-25

resurrection of Jesus. With Africans, life continues. They believe that the community of the living and of the living-dead are one continuous community. The Bantu ancestors are not dead, but alive. The words of Jesus “And behold, I am with you always, have much to do with life that goes on even after death”.¹⁷²

Hope points us to the future. It also comes up behind us, because hope and remembering are the same thing.¹⁷³ The writer is of the opinion that Currin is stating the same fact as Mogoba, that hope has a bearing, both on the future and the past or vice versa.

For instance, Mogoba looks back to situations that were hopeless e.g. Masada episode, and finds hope for peace in the Jesus way. He is himself the living demonstration of the transformation of the hopeless situation into hope.¹⁷⁴

172 **Mogoba M.S., 1994 : Preface and pages 1-6**

173 **Currin B.M., 1983 : 9**

174 **Mogoba M.S., 1992 : 15-20**

Whether it is Victorious hope or Easter hope (which was Victorious on the Cross) or African hope, but this is the hope that made Mogoba have unflinching power to call for negotiations for peace in South Africa. No volumes can carry the records of killings that took place during violence in our land. There was fear for death all over South Africa. But Mogoba drove into the minds of the people the message of hope and peace. He was heard saying, "Where there is fear, there is no hope If fear pervades our lives utter hopelessness becomes our daily experience".¹⁷⁵

Mogoba was motivating the South Africans to have courage in themselves and settle down for peace. Courage according to Ovidis is that principle that goes on against all odds.¹⁷⁶

3.3.8 PEACE AND MEDIATION

The writer has already explained how Mogoba envisaged

175 Mogoba, 1992 : 15

176 Huber J., Clusters of Grapes, 1984 : 17.

reconciliation through a collective mediatorship.

Peaceful settlement of political impasse was for Mogoba something that was inevitable. What he said was true, that when the South Africans continue to kill one another, no one would remain. He called on all South Africans to be prepared to live for South Africa. They would live for South Africa if they mediate for peace with the assistance of a collective mediatorship.¹⁷⁷

Mogoba was right, because the mere presence of the third party alters the behaviour of the disputing parties. The third party who might be a private person skilled in controlled communication, is freer than the politicians to explore and examine critically the situations, and to stand back from the situation so as to look analytically at the reactions of political leaders. Misunderstandings can be cleared up by a third party. The disputing parties are more inclined to listen to each other. Emotional levels can be reduced. The power - relations of the

¹⁷⁷ Mogoba M.S.; *Tears of Hope*: 1992: 20

parties can be balanced so that solutions reflect basic issues. Alternative viewpoints can be put forward in ways that allow the parties to move away from stances that have been adopted.

Mediation is the solution to conflicts that are more serious and more active, including conflicts in which violence is present. ¹⁷⁸

The party leader, according to Andrew Young, must be someone who is adequately aware of the values of his party. The underlying issues cannot be brought to the surface by an apologist or a disinterested person. ¹⁷⁹

The writer reiterates the fact that all that is said here is put on paper for future references. This thesis should indeed be a "Survival Kit" for future generations. The writer, therefore, has to Credit Mogoba for a call he made to the Apartheid Government to unban the true leaders of the people (3.2.4). It was true that without the leaders of the people, there would be no peaceful settlement in South Africa.

¹⁷⁸ **Burton J.W.; Conflict and Communication - The use of controlled communication in International Relations; 1969; 42, 43, 60 & 61**

¹⁷⁹ **Ibid Burton; 1969 : 40**

Mogoba was so committed to negotiation for peace settlement, that he even stated that if an impartial mediator(s) cannot be found anywhere outside South Africa, he would volunteer to be a mediator.¹⁸⁰

According to the writer of this thesis, this was self-sacrifice, because parties in mediation cannot accept neutral position. They say 'IF YOU ARE NOT WITH US, YOU ARE AGAINST US'. Partiality was dangerous. Self-sacrifice is rightly described as the supreme trait of a noble character.¹⁸¹

The global village did recognize this noble character in Mogoba and this will be explained as the Thesis develops.

3.3.9 Peace and RDP

Peace in Mogoba's mind always encompasses development. Mogoba believes that there is the balance between the Christian witness and development. According to Mogoba, it is the Churches' responsibility to promote and provide development

¹⁸⁰ **Presidential Address to the South African Institute of Race Relations : 1990 : 2**

¹⁸¹ **Meyer FB Five Musts of the Christian Life : 1972 : 21**

studies that help people get trained in both theological and practical implications of development. Mogoba believes that Churches will succeed in this if they work closely with all bodies working on the development of our country.

Mogoba believes that where there is joblessness, homelessness and hopelessness, peace does not exist. There is peace if nothingness is translated into better and fuller life for all.¹⁸² This is the theology of the transformation of poverty, RDP. The new dispensation Mogoba had a vision of, was of people who share resources. We need to share even when the resources are limited. Sharing, according to Mogoba, transforms the society, because it produces a new feeling of belonging and commitment to work for the common good. It is only when people share that more resources are released.¹⁸³

Sharing, according to Mogoba, goes hand in hand with development, and development is peace.¹⁸⁴ The development Mogoba spoke about, was the one with African communalistic

¹⁸² **Ecunews no. 3; 1996 : 14**

¹⁸³ **Mogoba's Speech in Malaysia - April 1995 : 5-6**

¹⁸⁴ **Ibid 1995 : 5**

ethic,¹⁸⁵ hence, he emphasised on sharing. What Mogoba believed in was Pan-Africanist ideology. Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, the first President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, had a vision for the government of Africans for the Africans with equitable distribution of wealth. In this government, the standard of living of the masses of the people will dramatically rise, because they will all share the resources from a large internal farming market, which will absorb a very large percentage of the industrial and agricultural products of the Continents.¹⁸⁶

Mogoba challenged the national Chamber of Commerce to the reality that the Chamber members are the ones who should restore the dignity of the poverty-stricken people. They would succeed in this only if they share their expertise with the black people. He reminded NAFCOG that they exist for the empowerment of the blacks.¹⁸⁷ Empowerment is development, because when you empower, you make somebody rise to a standard that enables him or her to live better than before. (the

185 Ibid SAIRR 1989 : 20

186 Pheko S.E.M. – *The Land is Ours. The Political Legacy of Mangaliso Sobukwe*; 1994 : 4

187 Ibid Mogoba – SAIRR 1989 : 14 - 15

writer's explanation).

3.3.10 Peace and a new Police Force for a new South Africa

3.3.10.1 Introduction

The Apartheid era was the era in which the police was involved in party politics. There were occasions during which the police partiality was noted with great disappointment.

In Swanieville (on the Reef) on the 12th May, 1991, twenty-eight squatters were killed, thirty injured and eighty-two shacks burnt down in an attack by more than 900 Inkatha supporters wielding rifles, guns, pangas and spears. Allegedly, police arrived during the attack, but stood by and then escorted the Inkatha supporters back to their hostel.

In Boipatong, two months after the Swanieville massacre, more than 300 attackers carrying AK-47 rifles, pangas, knob-kerries and spears, were escorted by the police back to Kwamadala hostel. The intention of the attack in

Boipatong was to create a climate of fear.

In the Kwazulu – Natal violence, the police wore balaclava in support of Inkatha against the ANC.¹⁸⁸ The examples of police partiality are voluminous.

3.3.10.2 Mogoba and Police Partiality

Mogoba condemned the police partiality as early as in 1988. He spoke about the distrust many people have in the police, which is noted in some instances by the Police's swift response when white people had been killed, as opposed to the time consuming response when black people had been killed. Mogoba remarked that people's distrust is often translated into bitterness and violence. He further remarked that police partiality will lead the whole country into the precipice of chaos. Mogoba suggested a Joint Peacekeeping Force.¹⁸⁹

Mogoba hoped that the Joint Peacekeeping Force would

188 Etherington N. – *Peace, Politics and Violence in the new South Africa*, 1992 : 58 – 61

189 *Ibid* Mogoba M.S. – 1988 : 2

eradicate fear and restore peace in our country. He was aware of the fact that this was difficult, because the young black people referred to as Young Lions, did not want to hear anything about peace. All that they wanted was weapons for self-defence. It was clear that without the Joint Peacekeeping Force or National Peacekeeping Force, the stench of death will remain hanging in the air.¹⁹⁰

The Joint peacekeeping Force would be the integration of all the police and army units belonging to South Africa, the Homelands and the liberation movements under one united command. This New Police Force would afford protection to all and bring about UNITY which to Mogoba was the heart of the matter as the nation had for years been divided by the forces of division.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Mogoba M.S. – God’s Fire for the New Land; 1993 : 2

¹⁹¹ Mogoba M.S. – Peace or Non-existence; Bophuthatswana
7/10/93 : 6

3.3.11 Peace and Sanctions

3.3.11.1 Introduction

Sanctions were another form of boycott that raised a lot of political debate in South Africa in 1986 – 1987.

In adopting sanctions, the Liberation Movements were saying that the foreign firms were only helping South Africa keep Apartheid alive. They further said that in partnership with South Africa, foreign firms were exploiting the blacks, therefore they should not be allowed to remain in S.A. at all. They held the view that until foreign firms actively pressure South Africa to end Apartheid and recognise the trade unions chosen by the workers, they should not be allowed to invest in this land.

The Anglican, Catholic and Methodist Churches in their joint statement supported FOSATU, CUSA, SACC, COSATU, ANC, PAC, AZAPO, UDF and some Trade Unions. ¹⁹²

¹⁹² Hamlon J. and Omond R. – **The Sanctions Handbook – For and Against; 1987 : 32 – 52**

3.3.11.2 Mogoba's NO!! to Sanctions

Mogoba was brave to join the rank and file of those who believed that foreign firms should go on to invest in South Africa, so that blacks would not be severely poverty-stricken. the list he joined was of people like P.W. Botha and the National Government, the businessmen like Harry Oppenheimer, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha and other homeland leaders. In fact, these were saying that foreign firms should help S.A. grow economically.¹⁹³ Mogoba was saying that the blacks were already suffering poverty, therefore the situation would be worse if sanctions were upheld.

Mogoba did not believe that sanctions could succeed because in his view, the world did not seem to care too much about the lot of the black people in South Africa. If they did, they would have come up with their strategies, which would offer some way out for both the government and its opponents. By strategies, Mogoba meant detailed policy recommendations.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ **Ibid. The Sanctions; page 47**

¹⁹⁴ **Ibid. Mogoba's Harare Speech**

The above states clearly why the peace-loving man of God was opposed to sanctions. He wanted strategies, which were not to harm the lives of black South Africans. There would be severe poverty if all the trade routes to and from South Africa were blocked. Mogoba referred to sanctions as “the carrot and the stick method”. Sanctions take the carrot away and we are left with the stick. ¹⁹⁵

The USA Black Caucus represented by Ronald V. Dellum of Oakland in California, a district with a large black constituency supported sanctions against South Africa. Supporting the OAU, the Black Caucus maintained that only sanctions could bring Apartheid to its knees once and for all. And that transient economic hardships were a small price for black South Africans to pay if the objective was abolition of Apartheid as Apartheid had maimed and killed blacks spiritually and physically. ¹⁹⁶ People like Jesse Jackson quoting Dr. Martin Luther King said “Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. ¹⁹⁷ Their most hated enemies were

195 Ibid Harare Speech; 1988 : 4

196 Elias R. and Turpin J. – Rethinking Peace; 1994 : 220

197 Ibid 1994 : 221

Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher who rejected the logic of economic sanctions against South Africa, saying that economic sanctions would hurt the blacks the most. Mogoba maintained his own stand irrespective of what the global village was saying.

The writer credits Mogoba for his firm stance against sanctions. The writer agrees with what is said by Moss and Obery, which is that poverty is one of the contributing factors to violence.

People would instigate violence with an aim to loot the property of those who had fled after they had been attacked. The property mainly included furniture, clothing and livestock.

Unemployed people were always accessible to the organisers of the political groups. For them time was not wasted in violence, since they did not have anything to do as they were unemployed. Some believed that if their organisation came out as the victor in violence, it would organise jobs for them. ¹⁹⁸

The writer believes that Mogoba would never go with something that is a motivating factor to violence or war, because as far as Mogoba is concerned, war is war and war can never be just and war can never be holy.¹⁹⁹

He is not alone in the condemnation of war. Johnson wrote and said “war is an evil to be avoided at virtually all cost, an evil that outweighs all possible good, an evil that effects all persons – regardless of guilt or innocence – alike.”²⁰⁰

3.3.12 Peace and Courage

Mogoba challenged the government not to be scared of the Conservative Party for the sake of all South Africans. All the sufferings, brutality and lives that are lost should be the fundamental reason for the South African government to seek for a solution to the problems which are facing South Africans.

The government was challenged to look for a solution that would pave the way for negotiation for peaceful change.

199 Ibid Harare Speech; 1988 : page 3

200 Ibid Johnson J.T.; 1987 : 54

Negotiation was inevitable because all people belong to South Africa, all have the right to justice and freedom and all expect their children to have the right to live in a better world.

Mogoba challenged the South Africans to trust one another and not to allow fear to dictate negative feelings for one another. The final piece of a survival kit for the future according to Mogoba, involved all South Africans becoming active agents for change, using whatever opportunities available to bring dynamic social and economic change.²⁰¹

Mogoba asked for courage from Mr. de Klerk to seize the opportunity of his significant office as the President who had just been elected. Mogoba called de Klerk to translate words into actions. He must set a process of dialogue and reconciliation in motion by unbanning black leaders. Mogoba called upon de Klerk to take this risk as a man of faith. Mr. De Klerk was called upon to first release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. Mogoba said that this would give de Klerk credit as a Christian, because it would be a Christian act of immense proportions and statesmanship. Mr de Klerk was

201 Ibid SAIRR 1988 : 12 – 13

challenged to face such a great moment. Mogoba believed the elections of 1989 to be the last white election.²⁰²

The writer is of the opinion that, looking at Mr. De Klerk's inaugural address, anyone would be tempted to hope for an end to the only white election in future. Mr. de Klerk's speech was a message of hope. After many years of hopelessness, de Klerk's speech introduced the concept of peaceful negotiations between the leaders. He said that "any system aimed at keeping some of its participants in a subordinate position through clever or devious means is doomed to failure. It must be visible, just and equitable towards everybody". Mr. De Klerk in the same speech stated that "the National Party is against domination of any group by others. White domination, insofar as it still exists, must go." He said that history thrust upon the leadership of this country the tremendous responsibility to turn our country away from its present direction of conflict and confrontation. Only we, the leaders of the people can do it" The eyes of the responsible governments across the world are focused on us. The hopes of millions of South Africans are centred on us. The future of Southern Africa depends on us. We dare not falter or

202 **Ibid Mogoba – Tears of Hope; pages 5 – 6**

fail.²⁰³ This was indeed a “Rubicon Address.”²⁰⁴ This was the hope that convicted Mogoba from afar. It was becoming a reality.

Why a reality? This can be explained by the meaning of the word “Rubicon”. Rubicon is the historical river, East Central Italy, identified with the modern Fiumicino River, which flows into the Adriatic Sea, north of Rimini. The river, usually dry during the summer, rises in the Etruscan Apennines Mountains. In defiance of the Roman Senate, Julius Caesar led his troops across the Rubicon in 49 B.C., thus “to cross the Rubicon” came to mean taking an irrevocable and important step.²⁰⁵

3.4 THE CONCLUDING HIGHLIGHTS OF THIS CHAPTER

The political circumstances, against which Mogoba spoke about reconciliation and peace, presented themselves as crisis events because all over South Africa there was political volcanic larva. Mogoba, as God-led mediator was in each circumstance, well fed by God as to what to say and

203 Van Dijk E. and Kansteeg A. – F.W. de Klerk, man of the moment; 1990 : 57 – 58

204 Ibid Tears of Hope; page 6

205 The American Peoples Encyclopaedia : 186

do. He designed strategies which could curb violence, and he said words of wisdom that could draw all South Africans to the Peace Settlement Conference as it had happened in other countries like Zimbabwe, the then Rhodesia and Namibia, the then South West Africa.

In this present Chapter, the political circumstances that caused political impasse are systematised in a form of sub-headings coupled with Mogoba's response of either Peace or Reconciliation. The writer deemed it fit to begin with Mogoba's Theology of Reconciliation and end with his Theology of Peace. The end of this chapter looks forward to chapter four, which is the Climax of Mogoba's efforts.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CLIMAX OF MOGOBA'S THEOLOGY OF PEACE AND RECONCILIATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is the climax of Mogoba's peace and reconciliation theology because it is about the Transitional Process from the old apartheid South Africa to the Democratic South Africa.

In this chapter the writer will explain the meaning of "transitional", and thereafter discuss the events that marked Transitional Process, and these are: the release of Nelson Mandela and other political leaders; the negotiations for real democracy; the elements that thwarted democracy; Peace Summits and Elections, and finally the writer will conclude the chapter with the summary and remarks.

4.2 Transition

The term "Transition" means real transformation. It marks the turning point from the old to the new way of life. There are events that usually mark transition. When one looks at those events, one really notices that changes are taking place or have taken place. Transition is shift.

The writer is now going to discuss the events that marked transition in the politics of South Africa. These are: the release of Mandela and other political leaders from prison and the unbanning of the political organisations; the negotiations for real democracy; the elements that thwarted democracy; peace summits (talk meetings); and elections.

4.2.1 The release of Nelson Mandela and other political leaders from prison and the unbanning of political organisations

Nelson Mandela was released from Victor Verster Prison on 11 February 1990. Mandela had been kept in prison for over 25 years. Millions of people in South Africa and across the world were overjoyed to see what seemed to be a miracle really happening - the most famous political prisoner was being released from jail. This event was a pointer to a defeat on Apartheid, National oppression and Colonialism. ²⁰⁶

After the release of Nelson Mandela, de Klerk released from prison other political leaders, and lifted the ban from

²⁰⁶ Hain P. *Sing the Beloved Country*, 1996 : 174

political prisoners. To the eyes of the world, South Africa was ready for a negotiated settlement.

4.2.2 The negotiations for real democracy

Here the writer will focus on: the challenge of the ANC and both Codesa 1 and Codesa 2.

4.2.2.1 The challenge of the ANC

The negotiation for a democratic S.A. was a very difficult process. As the ANC negotiated with de Klerk, it had the following objectives in mind: they wanted to achieve, on behalf of all South Africans, the right to political and economic power in a united S.A.; to overcome the legacy of inequality and injustice created by colonialism and apartheid; to see to it that the united S.A. develops an economy and state infrastructure which will progressively improve the quality of life of all South Africans; to encourage in all South Africans the feeling that South Africa belongs to all who live in it; to promote a common loyalty to and pride in the country; and to create a universal sense of freedom and security of each and

every individual within the borders of S.A. ²⁰⁷

What the ANC negotiated for was exactly what Mogoba was reiterating during the thirty-year period²⁰⁸ of his negotiations with the State Presidents of S.A. Mogoba in his addresses challenged the S.A. Government and the fellow whites of S.A. to grant to the black South Africans political and economic rights that would enable them to have a new feeling of belonging to South Africa (3.3.9).

Mogoba in all his fights for human rights, demanded from the government of the day things that restore to a black person his or her dignity. (3.2.8). The writer notes with deep reverence for Mogoba, that the politicians were negotiating for the human rights Mogoba fought for.

What made things difficult in the negotiation process was the fact that when de Klerk spoke of a new South

207 Philip D. Nelson Mandela Speaks; 1994 : 168

208 Frost B., Struggling to Forgive. 1998 : 130

Africa, he was not envisaging majority rule, but he in fact wanted power sharing between what was called "a nation of minorities", and that is the ten black tribes, the Indians and the Coloured people who would be regarded as Afrikaners. His strategy was to build an Anti-ANC alliance with Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Movement, other Bantustan leaders, Indian minority and Coloured people. He assumed that this strategy would put away the White's fear of majority rule.

De Klerk's strategy, he assumed would allow time for Mandela to go from being the messianic figure he was at the time of his release, to just another fallible politician. The procrastination of democracy would make Mandela lose credibility from his masses. If masses shrank from him, the Western Countries would shift from the ANC and support de Klerk.

De Klerk produced a complicated constitutional plan, the effect of which would be that while a black majority in the House of Representatives could pass legislation, a white minority in the Senate and the Executive would have the power to veto it. It was essentially a plan to retain white control. Mandela

attacked it as a fraud that would give the appearance of majority rule without the reality.²⁰⁹

Until either the Government or ANC compromised, there were deadlocks. It appears that both de Klerk and the ANC realised, as Mogoba did, that failure to negotiate would plunge everybody into an avalanche of agony and turmoil. (3.2.2). The writer says this because negotiations, although tortuous, went on.

4.2.2.2 Codesa 1

Codesa (Convention for a Democratic South Africa) met on December 20, 1991. Codesa marked the first phase of the negotiations. There were 228 delegates representing 19 political parties and organisations. This was the most significant representation of the Country's leaders in that they were meeting together for the first time ever. Chief Buthelezi did not attend this meeting. He had complained that one delegation for his Inkatha Freedom Party was not enough, and that there should be another for his Kwazulu

Bantustan Administration and another for the King of the Zulus. When Codesa organisers refused his request, he stayed away, leaving the IFP delegation being led by its chairman. Buthelezi was the only political leader never to attend.²¹⁰

There were guests from the United Nations Organisation, the Organisation of African Unity, the Commonwealth, the European Economic Community and the Non-aligned Movement. The International representatives were governed by the declaration they adopted in Harare in 1989, which put it in black and white that where colonial, racial and apartheid domination exists, there can be neither peace nor justice.

The International representatives according to the writer's conception, had come to help South Africa bring to fruition the classic statement of Mandela which reads, "I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have

210 Ibid Hain P. Page 179

cherished the idea of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal, which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.”²¹¹

A great stride was taken at Codesa, marked by the adoption of the Declaration of Intent, to set in motion the process of drawing up and establishing a constitution that will ensure interalia:

- . that South Africa will be a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state in which sovereign authority is exercised over the whole of its territory;
- . that the constitution will be the supreme law and that it will be guarded over by an independent, non-racial and impartial judiciary;
- . that there will be a multiparty democracy with the right to form and join political parties and with regular elections on the basis of universal

²¹¹ **Ibid Philip D. Pages 28 & 168**

adult suffrage on a common voters' roll. In general, the basic electoral system shall be that of proportional representation i.e. each party would be represented in proportion to the votes gathered;

that there shall be separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary with appropriate checks and balances

that the diversity of languages, cultures and religions of the people of S.A., shall be acknowledged and

that all shall enjoy universally accepted human rights, freedom, and civil liberties including freedom of religion, speech and assembly. Protected by an entrenched and justifiable bill of rights and a legal system that guaranties equality of all before the law. ²¹²

4.2.2.3 Codesa 2

The aim of this meeting was that parties should reach

the agreement to proceed further on with the negotiations. Whilst the ANC hurried up things, the NP slowed the process. This caused the deadlock and Codesa 2 collapsed as the ANC announced withdrawal. The main stumbling block was that de Klerk was refusing to adhere to the decisions of Codesa 1 regarding the drawing up of the new constitution. He wanted it to be done by a convention of all the existing political organisations. The ANC wanted it to be written by an authentic representative of the people who could be determined only through an election. The procedure adopted would effectively decide the outcome of the constitutional negotiations before they began, whether the constitution would deliver a power sharing or a majority rule system.

4.2.3. The Elements that thwarted Democracy

The word “thwart” means to block up, to frustrate or to make the development of something difficult. This is the meaning rendered by the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English.

The following are the elements that thwarted democracy; Inkatha, Ciskei, Eugene Terreblanche and

his Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging and Bophuthatswana.

4.2.3.1 Inkatha

Inkatha wanted a federation system of government. It wanted the International mediation on the following nine points which are strongly in favour of the federation system of Government, and these are as follows:

The extent of the powers to be given to the provinces, with specific reference to the issue of the Central government overrides, exclusivity, residual powers, judicial functions, entrenchment and integrity of provincial autonomy, provincial civil service and jurisdiction over local government.

Fiscal and financial autonomy of the Province.

Preservation of the provincial autonomy during future stages of constitutional development.

Autonomy of the constitution – making

process at provincial level.

The adjudicatory role of the Constitutional Court with regard to national and provincial constitution making.

Procedure for Constitutional amendments and future stages of constitutional development with special reference to the entrenchment of fundamental rights, constitutional guarantees and provincial autonomy.

Process of rationalisation and empowerment of the new provincial government with specific reference to certainty in the transfer of existing functions and assets to the new provinces. Citizenship and residence requirements for active and passive electoral rights and The Kingdom of Kwazulu with specific regard to the right of self-determination on a territorial basis. ²¹³

4.3.3.2 Ciskei

Ciskei people wanted the military ruler Oupa Gqozo to be removed from the control-power of the territory. ANC mass were not allowed by Gqozo to hold meetings. De Klerk refused to have Gqozo removed.

A crowd of 80,000 ANC supporters marched into the Capital of Ciskei, Bisho on 7 September 1992. Ciskei soldiers fired bullets into the crowd and killed 28 and wounded over 200 marchers.²¹⁴

Mogoba who at the time was the co-chairman of the Peace Accord, found himself standing between the marchers and the Ciskei soldiers. He went there with the sole aim to bring about peace. He recalls the moment of shooting in his words: "We hit the ground and lay there until the shooting ended."²¹⁵

214 **Ibid Hain P. Page 184**

215 **Ibid Hain P. page 184**

4.2.3.3 Eugene Terreblanche

Terreblanche and his AWB demanded their own Homeland along the Orange River. Most white South Africans felt that de Klerk had dumped them into the hands of the Communists. They flocked into the AWB, which was the right wing for white resistance movements.²¹⁶

On the 25 June 1993, a noisy AWB mob of 3000 crashed into the building at World Trade Centre. The police guarding the building did nothing. They vandalised the building, and jostled the black delegates.²¹⁷ AWB was totally opposed to a non-racial South Africa.

4.2.3.4. Bophuthatswana

The citizenship of the blacks living in the Bantustans, was restored back to them by the South African

216 Ibid Hain P. page 186

217 Ibid Hain P. page 186

Government on 1 January 1994. Their homelands were absorbed into S.A. on 27 April 1994, which was election day.

Before the elections early in March, the autocratic President of Bophuthatswana, Lucas Mangope, announced that he would not participate in the election, and his government would retain the independence granted in 1977 under the Apartheid system.

Within days, the territory's civil servants began striking, demanding that their wages and pensions be paid out in advance of 27 April when their homeland was due to disappear. As the police joined the strike, anarchy spread and by 9 March the place was in chaos. Mangope appealed to Volksfront for help, stipulating that there should be no AWB men among the Volksfront forces. But the AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche who was a member of the Volksfront executive, immediately ordered the AWB's clandestine radio station to broadcast a call for all members of his commando units to head for

Bophuthatswana. Constand Viljoen arranged for the main Volksfront forces without their arms, to move into the capital, Mmabatha and establish themselves at the airport where the Bophuthatswana Defence force had agreed to arm them. But the AWB men, some 600 strong, reached Mmabatho before them. They came in their farm trucks and cars armed with hunting rifles, shotguns and pistols and rampaged through the town yelling racial abuse at the locals and taking pot-shots at people, killing and wounding several.

The Bophuthatswana Defence Force fired on the AWB raiders. By this moment, there was no chance of the Volksfront getting arms, so they withdrew. On the T.V. a car of the AWB raiders was seen blocked by the police gunfire and two wounded men fell out onto the road. One of the men, begged for medical help, but a young policeman screamed at him: "Who do you think you are? What are you doing in my country?" Minutes later they were shot dead.

For white rightists, this traumatic experience shown on S.A. T.V., had a cathartic impact. It blew away the ancient myth that the white race, with its superior

arms and training could always fight to the last to preserve their supremacy.

After the debacle, Mangope stepped down and the South African Ambassador was installed as administrator to be joined later by an ANC co-administrator.²¹⁸

4.2.4 Peace summits

4.2.4.1 Introduction

Meetings for peace initiatives are summoned with an intention of bringing about peace and reconciliation in the midst of violence or war. Ever since the release of Nelson Mandela and other political leaders, there was violence and war, which became the order of the day. The people were attacked in the trains, taxis and buses, and were burnt into ashes in their cars.²¹⁹ It was “the worst of times The epoch of incredulity the season of darkness

²¹⁸ Ibid Hain P. pages 187 – 188

²¹⁹ Bell P. Leadership “War in the balance”, 1997 page 97

the winter of despair.”²²⁰

Also the deadlocks during the negotiation process, exacerbated violence. The masses grew restive at the Government’s intransigence and delaying tactics at the time when they were already being subjected to an increased political violence.

With this introduction, the writer’s goal is to bring forth the fact that during the process of negotiations, there was great need for peace summits, hence the following peace summits: Rustenburg Peace Summit 1; Rustenburg Peace Summit 2; Kempton Park Peace Summit and Jesus Peace Rally.

4.2.4.2 Rustenburg Peace Summit 1

Political violence prompted the Church leaders of all denominations to meet at Rustenburg in November 1990. There were 230 Church leaders from 8 denominations including the Catholics, Methodists, Lutherans, Reformed Church and White Dutch

220 Dickens C. *A Tale of Two Cities* 1967 : 1

Reformed Church, the Pentecostals, the Evangelicals and the Black independent Churches.²²¹

The Church leaders adopted a declaration, which pointed a way to a new style of doing things, which is forgiveness. Forgiveness was accepted as an important new weapon for resolving conflicts and rebuilding a new society. Here at Rustenburg, Mogoba gave a cathartic address, in which he mentioned how badly he was treated on Robben Island. He urged that the forces of hatred and racism, be removed by God.²²²

4.2.4.3 Rustenburg Peace Summit 2

When violence escalated right up to 1991, the Church Leaders met again at Rustenburg, but this time they invited political and business leaders. Together they adopted and signed the national peace Accord on 14 September 1991.²²³ Mogoba saw the national Peace

221 Religion and Theology Unisa Vol. 1/1 1994 : 64

222 Ibid Philip D. page 130

223 Ibid Frost B. page 132

Accord as a solution to violence. ²²⁴

The Peace Accord condemned the scourge of violence and all which had contributed to violence. All members pledged themselves to the national peace Accord. It was a symbol for an end to violence. The National Peace Accord had Codes of Conduct. For instance all political parties and organisations would actively contribute to the creation of a climate of democratic tolerance by publicly and repeatedly condemning political violence and encouraging among their followers an understanding of the importance of democratic pluralism and a culture of political tolerance. ²²⁵

Mogoba and John Hall became co-chairpersons of the national Peace Accord. Mogoba and John Hall had a task of implementing the National Peace Accord. Frost says that it was good for Mogoba to find himself able to implement what he had been advocating as

224 **Ibid Convicted by Hope page 40**

225 **National Peace Convention Journal : page 7**

early as the mid 1970's.²²⁶ It is again here in Frost where also Chief Luthuli's relative, Mrs. Goba gives this remark about Mogoba: "He is not speaking out of his head, but from his heart. Stanley surprises many because he has suffered. His is a powerful testimony."²²⁷

4.2.4.4 The Kempton Park Peace Summit

This summit was chaired by Mogoba and Tutu on 23 June 1993. Up till this time, violence had claimed the lives of many people. Kempton Park Peace summit was a meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela. Helped by the peace brokers, Mogoba and Tutu, the two leaders produced a joint statement containing joint undertakings. It read: 'The ANC and IFP recognise the historic importance of this statement. We jointly reaffirm our commitment to the speedy resolution of the problems that remain, so that our society can at last find peace and occupy its rightful place among the

226 Ibid Frost page 130

227 Ibid Frost page 130

world community of nations. Violence remains one of the most serious impediments in the endeavour to realise these objectives. The ANC and the IFP acknowledge that every life lost is a serious indictment on the system of apartheid, our own organisations, as well as other political leaders, and that it behoves all peace-loving South Africans to engender within our communities, the spirit of peace and tolerance.' ²²⁸

4.2.4.5 Jesus Peace Rally

Jesus Peace Rally was in Durban at Kings Park Stadium on 17 April 1994. Before this Rally, a Transitional Executive council had been set up in September 1993 to make preparations for free and fair elections on 27 April 1994. The negotiations had survived. All people including the Concerned South African Group (COSAG) i.e. Inkatha, Conservative Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei had received South

African citizenship. ²²⁹

Millions converged on the Durban Kings Park Stadium to pray for peaceful elections. Buthelezi had announced that Inkatha would not vote. His demand for an International mediator, who had to come to South Africa and resolve the issue of a federal system of government had not been addressed. This whole issue had been made worse, by the Shell House Massacre, where many Zulus were killed on 28 March 1994 in Johannesburg. They were in a march that was protesting for the powers of the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini as the writer has stated under 4.2.3.1. The march ended up with a serious confrontation between the Zulus and the ANC Shell House guards.

When Mogoba preached at the Jesus Peace Rally, he called upon all people to become the aroma of life (2 Corinthians 2 : 16) in the political situation which had the smell of death. He condemned the racial war as tactics of the evil powers to divide people of South

229 Ibid Hain P. pages 186-187

Africa. He called upon the nation to have changed hearts in order to avoid the blood baths. He advised the nation not to surrender to death, because there was still hope for survival. He warned that if a revolution does come to South Africa, it will be perhaps the first revolution in history that people saw coming and, instead of overting it, waited for it to come.

He said that the South Africans of all walks of life need to throw their weight into the situation before it slips out of hand, because history will judge us all severely. He said it repeatedly, that we should be an aroma of life, because the Lord of the Resurrection has already won and He bids us share His eternal life now and forever.²³⁰

God heard the fervent prayers of the nation made in fact not only at Kings Park Stadium, but country – wide.

The International Peace Broker, Professor W.J. Okumu, succeeded to make Buthelezi register the IFP

230 **Ibid Mogoba M.S. 1994 : 39 – 44**

for the elections. The IFP registered on condition that after the elections, the dispute on the question of the International mediation would be settled. On April 19, 1994 the IFP and ANC signed the Agreement for Reconciliation and Peace, providing for the IFP's entry into the election. The Agreement for Reconciliation and peace had this promise: "Any outstanding issues in respect of the King of the Zulus and the 1993 Constitution as amended will be addressed by way of International mediation which will commence as soon as possible after the said elections".²³¹

The democratic transition became a peaceful process all over the country. Also the national Peace Accord with its structures like International Observer missions and Violence Monitoring Groups, contributed greatly to God's miracle which saw elections going on peacefully.

²³¹ Ibid Smith P. Indicator SA Vol. 12 No. 2 August 1995 page 33

4.3 Conclusion

4.3.1 Summary

In this chapter it becomes clear that it is very difficult to negotiate for a peaceful settlement. Here, one notes that the bone of contention was the different concept of the democratic government. As a result, a lot of dispute centred around the Constitution. There were questions about the type thereof and about the body that should work on it.

Deadlocks exacerbated violence, which was already existing. Power struggle too tended to jeopardise democracy as certain elements wanted to hold on to the vanishing apartheid privileges. For instance, the recalcitrant homelands of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei wanted to cling to their independent power.

It is true that Reconciliation and peace is something that belongs to God, because at the end of it all, God does intervene amongst those who negotiate for Reconciliation and Peace. The peaceful transition from the old apartheid South Africa to the new democratic one was God's initiative.

Transition was marked not only by peaceful elections, but by a new Constitution for a new democratic South Africa. For instance, the present Constitution of the R.S.A. differs completely from the Constitution, which was operative before the 1994 General Elections. Chapter 1 of the present Constitution lays down the founding provisions which uphold democracy, human dignity, equality, non-Racialism, non-sexism, supremacy of the Constitution and the rule of law, universal adult suffrage and a national common voter's roll – see sections 1, 2 and 3 of the Constitution.

The pre 1994 elections Constitution were founded on the promotion of Apartheid. Inequality on the basis of race, colour and sex was permissible. That is why the right to vote was a prerogative of the whites only.

English and Afrikaans were the only official languages before the 1994 elections. This provision was entrenched in the Constitution. It required a 2/3 majority in Parliament to amend it. Section 6 of the present Constitution provides for eleven official languages which is proof of promotion of non-racialism, human dignity and equality.

Chapter 3 of the present Constitution provides for the Bill of

Rights. The state is required to respect, promote, protect and fulfil the rights in the Bill of Rights. The pre 1994 elections Constitution did not provide for the Bill of Rights. The state was at liberty to make laws, which did not protect or promote individual rights in the quest of promoting the policy of Apartheid – see sections 9 to 35 of the 1996 Constitution.

The present Constitution no longer recognises the sovereignty of parliament. Before the 1994 elections the Constitution provided for the sovereignty of parliament. This meant that parliament had the power to pass laws without the courts having the power to challenge the validity or fairness of such laws. Parliament was, therefore, at liberty to interfere with the judicial independence by passing laws, which prescribed what the judiciary had to do. Section 165 of the present Constitution guarantees the independence of the Courts. No person or organ of the state may interfere with the functioning of the courts.²³²

²³² **The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996**

4.3.2 Remarks

After Mogoba had brought the South Africans into the new democratic South Africa, he became the National president of the Pan-Africanist Congress. The chapter that follows is going to explore him i.e. get into Mogoba and his political activities, in order to see if he did not lose his stance as Reconciliation and Peace loving man.

CHAPTER 5

MOGOBA THE POLICITIAN AND HIS THEOLOGY OF PEACE AND RECONCILIATION

5.1 Introduction

Some people hold this idea that politics is conflict. This idea is pregnant with the understanding that when one is involved with and into politics one has got to be engaged into conflict with one's opponents including one's party members. Some again speak of politics as a dirty game; meaning to say that there is a lot of zigzagging or artful dodging, which further means that a person does not stick to one and the same thing. Today he says this and tomorrow another thing. The goal of this chapter, therefore, is to research whether Mogoba who later became the President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania did not lose his stance as peace and reconciliation Advocate. This will be done under the following sub-headings: Mogoba as he is known by the PAC members in general; Mogoba as he is known within the party and Mogoba as revealed by his political addresses. Then the conclusion will follow.

5.2 Mogoba as he is known by the PAC members in general.

When Mogoba was in Bristol he made a public statement and said that there should be reconciliation because according to his assessment of the situation, PAC in the long run might not continue with the armed struggle. Ever since this statement, PAC knew Mogoba as a man who loves peace and reconciliation.

What is remarkable about Mogoba is that after John Nyathi Pokela had died in 1985, the PAC leadership decided on asking Mogoba to take over the PAC leadership. They were recognising his peace and reconciliation efforts. John Pokela had been the PAC leader in exile in Harare.

Whilst the PAC was negotiating with Mogoba to take over the PAC leadership, Mkhwanazi, who was then the Administrative – Secretary General of the PAC, was leading the organisation, but only for a short period.

Mogoba declined to take over the leadership position of the PAC. He buried Pokela in Harare, the place where Pokela had died. The reason, which Mogoba gave, was that he was doing more work with regards to peace and reconciliation as a minister of religion. He was involved in many peace committees, including Race Relations. He was also deeply involved as a member of SACC.

He stated to the PAC National Executive that if he could leave his peace and reconciliation work, the whole thing would be a disservice to the nation and the struggle in general. Mkhwanazi spent the whole night consulting with him. On failing to convince Mogoba, Mkhwanazi ended up consenting with Mogoba.

5.3 Mogoba as he is known within the Party

5.3.1 Elections at Thohoyandou – December 1997

To start with, PAC needed Mogoba so much. PAC had lost confidence in Clarence Makwetu. That they all needed him so much is confirmed by the fact that he was elected unanimously by the Thohoyandou Conference.

At Thohoyandou, Makwetu did not contest the election. He accepted the results of the election, and congratulated Mogoba on his election as the President of the PAC. The PAC elected Makwetu as the national Chairman of the PAC. He accepted this position.

5.3.2 Makwetu's hostile group and Mogoba's peace and reconciliation efforts

There were some incidents in the Western Cape that showed

that Makwetu had turned against the decision of the Congress. Mogoba decided to go and meet Makwetu in Cape Town. That was the time when Makwetu was still a Member of Parliament. Mogoba wanted to sort out the problems with Makwetu as Comrades. Mkhwanazi personally offered to accompany him. Mogoba at first told Mkhwanazi that he should not trouble himself by going together with him, because he will be safe in the hands of his brother, Makwetu. Mkhwanazi insisted and said: "This is politics." Eventually Mogoba welcomed the idea to be accompanied by him.

Before they left, Mogoba made full arrangements for Makwetu to meet them at the Airport. Surprisingly, at the Airport they were met by Makwetu's hostile supporters. Mkhwanazi, with guerrilla experience understood the message on their placards as well as their facial expressions. He said to Mogoba: "Let us go." He said so whilst holding Mogoba like a baby in his arms, protecting him and pushing through the crowd. Mkhwanazi was prepared that if any harm was to happen, he must be the victim and Mogoba must be safe.

When the writer wanted to know more about the story of the Bishop's shoe that was left at the Airport, Mkhwanazi

further explained that it was not the crowd that stepped on Mogoba's shoe but Mkhwanazi himself.

Even at that very time of commotion, Mogoba wanted to talk to the hostile supporters of Makwetu and cool them down. This, according to Mkhwanazi was an indication of Mogoba as a man who loves peace and reconciliation.

5.3.3 Mogoba and Makwetu's meeting

After the Airport incidence, there was a meeting in Bloemfontein. This meeting was Mogoba's peace – initiative. Makwetu had exposed evil actions openly to Mogoba. For instance on the day of the Airport incidence, when Mkhwanazi and Mogoba finally arrived at Makwetu's office, they found a note directed to them that he was not going to see them. This and other events prompted Mogoba to have this meeting with him. Peace and reconciliation was not successful here.

5.3.4 National Executive Meeting

This NEC Meeting was in Bloemfontein. It followed the "One on One" Meeting between Mogoba and Makwetu. At this meeting Makwetu apologised and promised that he

would prevail on his so-called followers. The NEC spoke very strongly to Makwetu, but Mogoba spoke in a reconciliatory manner. People were very angry with Mogoba for having spoken in a reconciliatory manner. They even said: “Look, he is the Bishop and he speaks nice.” “Awubheke ungumbhishpbhi ukhuluma kamnandi!” Mogoba felt that this is the way to speak to a comrade.

5.3.5 Makwetu’s expulsion from the Party

Makwetu continued to hold meetings, and was addressed as the president of the PAC and never said anything to the contrary. This brought the idea that there were two organisations and two Presidents. Hence, the NEC took a decision to expel him from the party. He took this matter to court, but the issue of his expulsion was finally settled out of court.

In all the problems there were always efforts made by Mogoba to reconcile.

5.3.6 Mogoba and discipline within the Party

Mogoba always chooses peace and reconciliation process as a means of settling dispute within the party. In cases where

some members need very tough disciplinary measures, Mogoba believes that they must be converted by being talked to until they see where they go wrong, and his word prevails.

Many in the PAC even complain and say “Lo baba uletha into yobufundisi lapha kwipolitiki”. “See, Father Mogoba is bringing into politics minister’s way of doing things.” ²³³

5.4 Mogoba as revealed by his political addresses

5.4.1 Introduction

The political addresses of Mogoba as the President of the PAC serve to reveal to us whether Mogoba is still a person who loves peace and reconciliation or not. The writer has already stated that politics changes people because it is conflict and a dirty game. Has Mogoba changed? This will be looked at under the following sub – headings: Mogoba and Pan Africanism; Mogoba and Morality; Mogoba and

²³³ Information from 5.2 to 5.3.5 was researched by the writer verbally from Joseph Mkhwanazi at his Umlazi House Z654, Durban on the 29th September, 1999.

Land; Mogoba and Non-racialism; and Mogoba and the poor.

5.4.2 Mogoba and Pan Africanism

Mogoba explains Pan Africanism as a United Africa from Cape to Cairo, and from Madagascar to Morocco. He says that Pan Africanism can be the means to bring all South Africans to unity. Pan Africanism says that all people including the whites belong to Africa.²³⁴ Africanism refers to people who are born and live in Africa, to people who have their roots in Africa and most importantly, to people who have a proud sense of belonging to South Africa.²³⁵

What Mogoba says here has already been mentioned under 3.29. What Mogoba says instils a sense of appreciation as one acknowledges the fact that even now Mogoba is emphasising Africanism which says to the nation there is no black or white, but we are African people.

²³⁴ **Presidential address to the Annual Conference, Pretoria
18.12.1998**

²³⁵ **Address in the U.S.A. – 11.11.1997**

5.4.3 Mogoba and Morality

Mogoba is consumed by a deeper longing for moral values for South African people, in such a way that he finds himself forced to say: “We must fight criminals with all that it takes. We must knock them on the head, cut their ears, hands, legs or whatever is the offending part of the body. Finally we must go for the head.”²³⁶ Mogoba hates crime. He keeps on saying that harsher measures must be applied against crime.²³⁷

Crime crushes the future of all people, including future generations. The political leaders or officials who squander money on themselves, are killing development. With the money they squander, schools and hospitals could be built; and electricity and water could be brought to the underdeveloped communities. Crime impoverishes the poor more and more.²³⁸ As a strategist, Mogoba suggested that the criminal justice system has got to be better prepared to

236 **Ibid Pretoria Address – 18.12.1998**

237 **Ibid U.S.A. Address – 11.11.1997**

238 **Ibid Pretoria Address - 19.12.1998**

address the ever-increasing crime.²³⁹ Mogoba is against all evil that seeks to take away the right of people to live as human beings. The assurance of peace and security is slim if crime is not stopped. Mogoba, therefore, is right when he says that with crime in our midst, there is no peace and stability.²⁴⁰

5.4.4 Mogoba and Land

Mogoba believes that landlessness takes away from people a decent life. Landless people cannot develop themselves. All people of South Africa need land for gardens so that they are able to grow food, build homes and set up their businesses.²⁴¹

In Parliament, Mogoba is fighting for a new policy that will correct the imbalance on land ownership. He fights because he believes that there can be no new South Africa without a fair distribution of land.

239 **Ibid 11.11.1997**

240 **Ibid 18.12.1998**

241 **Thembaletu Children's Home Address – 20.11.1998**

5.4.5 Mogoba and Non-Racialism

Non-racialism is defined by Mogoba, as the Africanism of Robert Sobukwe. It appears to the writer that Mogoba is deeply motivated by Sobukwe's vision, that envisages non-racialism: "We will go on, sons and daughters of Africa, until in every shanty, in every bunk in the compounds, in every hut in the deserted villages, in every valley and on every hill top, the cry of African freedom and independence is heard. We will continue until we walk the streets of our land as free men and women, our heads held high. We will go on, until the day dawns when every person who is in Africa will be called an African, and a man's colour will be as irrelevant as is the shape of his ears. We will go on, steadfastly, relentlessly and determinedly, until the cry of 'Africa for the Africans, the Africans for humanity, and humanity for God', becomes a reality; until government of the Africans by the Africans for the Africans becomes fate accompli." ²⁴²

Mogoba condemns racism. He fights racism tooth and nail. He will never forget that in South Africa, racism covered the

whole of life from the cradle to the grave. It decreed where one should be born, baptised, live, go to school, work, eat, marry, play, worship, be carried to hospital, (ambulance service), be hospitalised, die and be buried. In the South African Parliament, racism was revised and perfected.²⁴²

Racism is indeed a serious threat to nation – building. Mogoba as a man who loves reconciliation and peace, will always fight it.

5.4.6 Mogoba and the poor

The PAC that is led by Mogoba, believes in the economic policy that addresses and alleviates poverty. The poor are at the bottom of the social ladder. The rich should not get richer and richer at the expense of the poor. The economic policy that caters for the poor, is the one that starts from the bottom and goes up. The economic policy that starts from the top i.e. the rich, won't be filtered down to reach the poor.

As a strategist, Mogoba believes that if the South Africans work hard and bear a sense of commitment, a remarkable

economic growth can be achieved. He believes that we all need to produce to be able to economically empower the destitute masses. ²⁴⁴

It has been mentioned in this thesis that as far as Mogoba is concerned, peace and reconciliation means development and empowerment.

5.5 Conclusion

5.5.1. Summary

The goal of the present chapter was to find out whether Mogoba, a theologian and a politician, has maintained his stance as peace and reconciliation loving man.

This has been fulfilled, as the information from Mkhwanazi, who is the National Executive Member of the PAC and the Effective Member of the PAC in the KZN Parliament, reveals of Mogoba. Supplementing this information are the Addresses, which Mogoba has given as the Pan Africanist

Congress of Azania's President. Some of these addresses were given in the South African parliament and some to the global village. From the addresses, the writer has picked up those things Mogoba has been calling for, ever since the old South Africa.

5.5.2 Remarks

The writer has noted that Mogoba is in the South African parliament not for his own vested interest, but for the nation. The addresses reveal him as a person who stands for human rights.

What follows now is the concluding chapter where the writer will ascertain the concepts that form the crux of the matter in the thesis.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6. Introduction

This conclusion highlights the following issues arising from the thesis: African theology, Black theology, Theology of hope, character and courage, Mogoba's conviction, challenges and a conclusion.

6.1 African theology

As we have seen in this thesis, Mogoba long realised that to mobilise the blacks for peace and reconciliation process in South Africa demands their liberation from evil effects of Western theology which had for centuries destroyed their identity and turned them into slaves in the country of their forebears. Western theology served the interest of the colonialists. It intermixed Christianity with colonialism and imperialism, which both perpetrated and perpetuated slavery. It further condemned as demonic the cultural values, customs and ancestral beliefs of the indigenous people, which were central to their spiritual life. Blacks became a nation without their own traditional roots. Even their own blackness to them meant depravity and heathenism.

Consequently they hated their blackness.²⁴⁵

In his theology of peace and reconciliation Mogoba employs the philosophy of both Africanism and Black consciousness. For example, in terms of African traditional religion, he has instilled in many blacks who previously suffered slave mentality the original belief that ancestors, however regarded as dead by the European theology, to them they are alive. Hence they refer to them as the living-dead. They live because there is life after death. They also live because their views and dreams of a peaceful and reconciled land are still alive in the hearts of South Africans.

Mogoba's philosophy of Black Consciousness has empowered them to appreciate their blackness and to know that as black people they are to liberate themselves.

As it has been shown in this thesis, Mogoba did all this for blacks to regain self-esteem, self-image, self worth and

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Ubuntu. In other words Mogoba was and still is the nation-builder of the black nation that historically has been crushed by racism, but now resurrected by the vision and dream of peace and reconciliation.

Now, from the perspective of African theology and Black consciousness both theological concepts, “peace” (shalom) and “reconciliation” of Mogoba’s theology are no longer empty words but are experienced (however not fully) on the lives of the black Christian believers.

6.2 Black theology

Black theology has revived in the black person a feeling of nationalism, which can be traced back to 1912 when Blacks revolted against the All-White Union of South Africa of 1910. ²⁴⁶

We have seen in this thesis that by resuscitating this feeling of nationalism Mogoba has revitalised the dreams of his predecessors, Mandela and Sobukwe. The black

²⁴⁶ Mosala I.J. and Tlhagale B. 1986 : 1

Congregations were encouraged by Mogoba to preach the “Gospel of Africanism.” As he termed nationalism.

6.3 Theology of Hope

Mogoba in this thesis points at Christ as the pinnacle of hope. He is indeed the Jurgen Moltmann of South Africa of sources like “Theology of Hope (1967)” and “Experiment Hope (1975)”. For Mogoba to have hope is to have faith in Christ. Faith and hope in Christ are for Mogoba integrally linked. That is why Mogoba has always preached about hope in the face of hopelessness. His sermons on hope have always reverberated his conviction about a possibility for a negotiated settlement.

6.4 Character and Courage

As it has been shown in this thesis, Mogoba’s life demonstrates that character and self-sacrifice are inseparable. These two virtues have sustained him against all odds in his life.

Likewise Mogoba has challenged the South Africans, Christian Churches, political organisations and the former

President de Klerk to take up responsive character and courage and save South Africa.

6.5 Mogoba's Conviction

Throughout this thesis, the writer has focused on Mogoba's life as a Christian Minister who does not separate the religious and political aspects of life.

Consequently the writer has shown how his God-inspired ministry has resolved disputes through peaceful and reconciliatory means. His dogged insistence on peace and reconciliation irrespective of circumstances he had to face, has shown the divine source that has always sustained him. Given his parliamentary duties, he has not portrayed any deviation from his conviction.

6.6 Challenges

In the light of what the writer has argued throughout this thesis and summarised in this chapter the following are the challenges South Africa has got to face:- Racism, Equality and Equity and Land issue.

6.6.1 Racism

It is obvious, as it has been shown in this thesis that Mogoba has been fighting racism throughout his life. Even in Parliament, his quest for racial equality has not waned.

It is the conviction of this writer that although this monster continues to haunt South Africa, Mogoba's theology of peace and reconciliation which is anchored in ubuntu has capacity to eradicate it.

The writer cannot help but reiterate Cox as he says: "I can never be what I ought to be until you are what you ought to be," as supported by Mbiti's dictum, "I am because we are, and since we are therefore I am."²⁴⁷ We only need to shed away the individualistic attitude as expressed in Rene Descartes' dictum, "ego cogito sum", (I think

²⁴⁷ Sindima H.J.: *Drums of redemption. An introduction to African Christianity* 1994 : 14

therefore I am).²⁴⁸

6.6.2 Equality and Equity

The writer has shown in this thesis how Mogoba's fight for human rights landed him on Robben Island. It has also been shown here how Mogoba has fought for equality and equity. His position has been the bottom up approach for social upliftment.

The Government has tried to rise to this challenge. For an example: there is 1995 Labour Relations Act in this regard. It remains to be seen whether it will succeed in the pursuit of the goals for which it is designed, which are to empower the people at the bottom of the economic and social ladder.

Now the challenge is to the former leaders of the struggle for a free South Africa who now occupy high positions in the Government to avoid another revolution which possibly can be started by the black

poor people against their compatriots in arms.

When Mandela took over as State President in 1994, his vision of reconciliation was clear among all race groups. He embraced all the South Africans with the spirit of reconciliation. His five-year term of reconciling all groups as President was successfully entrenched and accepted in the South African circles.

Mbeki as his successor is now faced with the challenges of delivery. Without equality and equity that Mogoba has preached about, his attempts for social and economic justice will remain a dream unfulfilled.

Since 1999 when Mbeki took over, people had expected with deep longing, to celebrate and enjoy the labour of their struggle. The challenge facing Mbeki and those after him is whether there will be equality and equity when plus or minus 79% of land is still in the hands of the Whites while Blacks linger in poverty. This comment triggers the last challenge to be discussed hereunder.

6.6.3 Land Issue

In this thesis Mogoba reiterates that land must be shared. This is in the spirit of the Freedom Charter which says: "The land shall be shared amongst those who work it."²⁴⁹

It is shown in this thesis how Mogoba has been influenced by PAC ideas. As an Africanist for an example, land to him means life. He is heard in this thesis saying that there is no life for the black people if they still live in the Apartheid territories which are less than 13% of South Africa's land. He argues that Blacks are still going to suffer evil consequences of Apartheid which are overcrowding, joblessness and poverty, crime and lawlessness, and lack of sanitation. His argument is based also on the fact that the racial settlement patterns, which were set up according to racial land laws e.g. the Group Areas Act, are still not altered.

²⁴⁹ Steytler N.: The Freedom Charter and Beyond 1991 : 136

In order to perpetuate inequality, mines with minerals like gold, chromium, vanadium, uranium, platinum, diamonds etc., are in the 87% of South Africa's land owned by Whites.

As already noted from Mogoba's argument, to the PAC in general, what is termed as land ideology is reality of human life. A person has got to be free to live where he or she wishes for either economic or social reasons. For PAC, land means equality of economic opportunity.²⁵⁰ This is the reason why the Charter demanded that racial land ownership should be stopped and that land be redivided among all people who work for it.²⁵¹

When Mogoba therefore called (and is still calling) for sharing of land he means this Black philosophy of communalism which as already shown in this thesis, is pregnant with the idea of ubuntu as its fundamental foundation.

250 Ibid Pogrand B. 1991 : 61

251 Ibid Steytler 1991 : 138

Like Sobukwe ²⁵² his predecessor, Mogoba as shown in this thesis believes in the full development of the human personality. All forms that prevent this have got to be ruthlessly removed. The blacks have got to have land on which to plant their gardens and build their homes. They have got to have fresh water and adequate sanitation in order to live life as human beings.

To Mogoba, as again appears in this theses, land means black people's identity. They belong to the soil, the grass, the trees, the rivers and the mountains. When they were uprooted through forced removals and dumped into the Apartheid territories better known as Bantustans their identity was crushed. They then turned into a nation of workers and servants. They worked (and still are working) as migrant workers for meager wages mainly in mines and industries.

252 Ibid Pogrund B. 1991 : 61

Looking at the dilemma facing the landless many of whom are poor and Mogoba's revelations centred on land dispossession the writer is persuaded to believe that the Government has still a lot to do to redress racial land imbalance. If nothing is done that will mean Blacks will continue to live in dire condition of poverty. The land question is indeed an issue that demands prompt attention in order for the landless masses to experience the reality of the democratic South Africa.

6.7 Conclusion

6.7.1 Summary

In this chapter that concludes the thesis the writer has dealt with the key issues and challenges which are a component of this thesis.

It is believed by this writer that the mentioning of these issues, brings about the unity of this thesis from the beginning to the end, and that the challenges discussed point to the unfinished task that still lies ahead, the achievement of which will see all South Africans living a better life.

6.7.2 Remarks

We have realised in this thesis that peace and reconciliation is God's gift. God is the mediator over disputes that have caused enmity and hatred among the disunited parties. We have seen how He brought about unity and harmony that resulted into the first peaceful general election in 1994.

We have drawn from this thesis that disputes are better settled by peace and reconciliation and not by nuclear bombs. It is only when people are prepared to negotiate within these perimeters of peace and reconciliation that the nation survives.

In Mogoba we have again drawn a lesson that God empowers any person He has chosen to fulfil His own ministry on earth. This makes us hope that through all the South Africans, He is still able to transform our life in all spheres i.e. socially, politically and economically.

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