

Introduction

1. Statement of the Problem

Church and State relationship has throughout history taken different forms. These forms were either good or bad in some cases it was difficult to distinguish between both because the church would either be running the state or the state running the church affairs, sometimes animosity may be felt between the two. From the beginning when Christianity was becoming a religion and associated with Judaism the relationship between the state and religion was acceptable. However, it became different when Christianity was accepting other people who were thought to be the Gentiles and Judaism began to encounter problems with this experience. At that time (1st century AD) the Roman Empire was stretching as far as the Mediterranean region covering North Africa, the Mesopotamia and including areas surrounding the Black sea and the Dead sea. Rome as an empire with good road infrastructure which was used mainly to facilitate the movement of the army that was keeping Roman peace (known in those days as the Pax Romana) in the empire as well as collecting the taxes from the conquered nations. At that time Christianity as a new religion which was growing beyond the Jewish territory.

Christianity as a new religion was beginning to allow non - Jewish nationals or as they were called in those days the Gentiles and it was a religion which was recognising Jesus as the Messiah. In the Roman Empire at that time, religion was taken very serious and there were others that were politically involved and Christianity was not one those religions involved. In those days civil authority was something thought to be given by God and this meant that both the state and religion were inseparable. There also was religious tolerance within the Roman Empire. All the religions were perceived to be equal except the emperor veneration which at that time was referred to as Emperor Worship. Christians did not recognise nor worship the emperor as the they emphasised that there was only one God to be worshipped. This led to Christian persecution on the grounds that they were accused of incest, cannibalism, disloyalty to the emperor and atheism. Persecution of the Christians was started by Caligula in 37 - 41 CE and ended with Theodosius in 380 CE (it lasted for

more than 300 years). However, Christians did not just sit and let themselves be persecuted without defending themselves. and this happened before both Constantine and Theodosius declare it legal. The aim of the apologists was to try and make it clear to the Roman authorities that what they were being accused of was not true. The apologists work meant putting the record straight about what Christianity stood for. After Christianity was legalised, it began to enjoy the privilege of being supported by the state as well as supporting the state in return. In some states, Christianity found itself experiencing some confrontation with the government while in other states it enjoyed the status of either being recognised by the state or as equal with the state.

In some states especially the Muslim states, Christianity found itself being threatened with extinction, and this was particularly in Egypt and some of the North African states like Tunisia, Algeria, Libya and in some parts of West Africa. In Egypt, the situation for Christianity saw the Copts being reduced to a religion of the minority. People who followed the Coptic Christianity in Egypt were not treated in the same way as those who embraced the Islamic religion, however, the Muslims did not drive Christianity out of Egypt except that the majority of the Egyptians embraced the Islamic religion. Some countries did not recognise religion owing to its involvement with the politics of either colonialism or oppression. One good example of this was Mozambique which after its liberation decided to become a Marxist country. With FRELIMO as the movement of liberation in Mozambique, it was clear that Christianity was not welcomed. Christian churches were forced to give - up their properties to the state to be used for other purposes and not for worship and church affairs. The Mozambican government at that time took away church land, schools, resources like priests having to do national duty before they could follow their call. The one Christian denomination which was faced with this situation was the Catholic Church as opposed to the Protestant Churches. In other states, religion was recognised and this was visible particularly with those which declared themselves as being secular. Some of these states did not have relations with any church but had not put restrictions nor ban any religion in the country. There were also situations of the church taking a neutral stance and not be against or support the state. This was the experience which was witnessed by the Anabaptist movement which later became a church after the Reformation.

This meant that the church decided not get involved in matters which were politically, socially and economically related. Anabaptists believed that these were not affecting the church as theirs was spirituality of the people and doctrinal matters like baptism of the infants and adults. All of the factors involved the three major factors of church and state relationship which are: Opponents, Allies and Neutrality. Some of the scholars in South Africa wrote a lot about church and state relationship and one can think of people like Charles Villa - Vicencio, John de Gruchy, Albert Nolan, Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak. This was done at the height of political turmoil which South Africa experienced during the apartheid era. In the same context existed two types of churches; those that supported the state and help develop the theology of apartheid and scripturally justified it, these churches were known as the Dutch Reformed Churches. The other type of churches in South Africa were known as English speaking, and they were vocal against the state's policy of apartheid. Both types of churches were imported from Europe through the missionary effort.

2. Thesis Statement

Throughout history, church and state relationship came in different forms, but the situation of Bantu Stands in South Africa was a unique one. All of the homelands were the surrogates of apartheid government. Some of them opted for 'independence' while others remained part of South Africa under apartheid. The main problem with the 'independent' homelands was to simply inherit from the big brother South Africa the notion of a Christian state. In other words, apartheid was further carried on but through self governance and 'independence' and Christianity became a pillar of strength to maintain the status quo. The difference with these states was that unlike South Africa, they did not develop the theology of ethnicity as it was the case in the homelands. People were not only divided along the racial lines but also on ethnical grounds. Bophuthatswana in this instance was vocal in publically declaring itself a Christian state and went further to maintain that its 'independence' came as a result of their prayers to God who finally granted it autonomy. It was not surprising to see a replica of the South African situation in Bophuthatswana as church and state relationship took almost a similar pattern. In this case the African

Independent, Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches supported the 'independence' of Bophuthatswana while the mainline churches which were mainly English - speaking were caught up in the situation inherited from South Africa. Bophuthatswana, like South Africa looked at these churches and see them as supporting the communist ideology which they were opposed. In many instances ministers of the mainline churches which in this manner operated under the umbrella of the South African Council of Churches were not acknowledged by the government of Bophuthatswana as they were problematic. African Independent Churches, Pentecostals and Charismatic Churches supported Bophuthatswana and to a certain extent some ministers from these denominations held political positions and enjoyed the privileges of owning the land as well as participating in state celebrations and commemorations. This thesis is intended to show a continuity which was to be broken down into ethnicity and divide the black people beyond racism but also at a level of language difference, culture and tradition. The church found itself entering a new form of extended struggle found in South Africa.

3. Personal Motivation for this study.

The aim of the study is to show the other side of the history of church and state relationship from the underside which had been written from a distance and sometimes by unaffected people. The writing of this history of Bophuthatswana comes from a historiographical perspective which is understood by the researcher as an observer who grew up and schooled in the context and had seen the events unfolding. Above this, is the fact that the history of Bophuthatswana has not been written from the Church History point of view. It is in this manner that there was a need to keep the events of what took place in South African history before the post - apartheid era. It is further against this backdrop that there was a need to research about Bophuthatswana as a government established under apartheid, that it should not be allowed to disappear without being recorded and safely kept for future generations to know what took place. This work will also serve as reference for other History and Church History scholars in a situation of further research, some of which may spark the debate or lead to new research output.

4. Methodology

The methodology which was used followed three patterns which were literature review, personal interview as well as personal participation. The literature used was mainly from the existing wrote by the different scholars on the subject of church and state relationship. This is the material which clearly shows the history about the relationship between state and church from the early years of Christianity, to the Medieval period, the Reformation period, Post Reformation, the Marxist state and religion down to the apartheid regime under South Africa.

Personal interviews were conducted with mainly people who were in the cabinet of Bophuthatswana. Some of these people were friendly and willing to share their experiences about the church and state relationship in Bophuthatswana. It is not only the people mentioned in the research who were interviewed but others who belonged to the ruling party were participants. Their names may not reflect in the research but their contribution was significant.

Beyond the interviews, was the visit to the archives, university libraries (both UNISA and the University of the North West). This led to the primary material which included the newspaper material, speeches of the people who took part and minutes of the meetings and gatherings which took place as the events were unfolding. It was mainly from the primary sources and interviews that this research got to be put together and be compiled in the manner it is.

Personal participation was due to the context in which the researcher was brought up, historiographical background tended to also play a role in terms of observation. This can be seen from the time the researcher was in primary school then went to high school in Taung which was in Bophuthatswana. The fact that the researcher went to school in Bophuthatswana and experienced what went on there puts him in a better position in bringing a new dimension which makes it unique. His perspective should not be seen as writing from anger but attempting to write as an outsider. From an observer's point of view

it is easier to also know and remember coming across or listening to the people who were expressing their feelings about the state of affairs in both the South African and Bophuthatswana governments.

5. Rationale for chapter division

Chapters are divided in a manner which reflects the historical development of church and state. The first chapter shows the previous experiences of the relationship from opposition, allies to the neutral stance on the relationship between church and state. This chapter captures the significant development which influenced the two institutions over the years, in some contexts this had to be in line with the new trends that emerged, a good example of this being the emergence of Marxist states and their relationship with the church. On the other side was the religious states like those of the Muslims and the Christians where the religious denominations found themselves on the opposite sides of the fence. This was a visible phenomenon in the Egyptian state which fell into the hands of the Muslims after it was led by the Coptic Christians for many years.

On the other hand was the allies type of a relationship between church and state which in the Roman Empire embraced Christianity during the eras of Constantine and Theodosius. This led to the same religion now becoming a state religion with the emperors controlling the church and the popes also getting involved in state matters. This became a trend in Britain as well where the Anglican church was controlled by the monarchy. King Henry VIII became the head of the church at the time of the reformation when many reformers were speaking against state and church relationship. This was fuelled by the fact that the king felt that the church could not meet his demands and went on to dismiss the Catholic Church and established the Anglican Church. As a result the king had the powers to call the church council and even went as far as appointing the Archbishop of the church. Some states preferred to be secular states, where there was no religion which has power over any religion. However, that state could determine what religion must do. What this means is that the state does not have power to dictate religious matters but can suggest certain tasks to be taken up by the religious movements. In some states the situation warranted the civil

religion which saw the church being a civil movement. Civil religion meant that people could determine how their religion should be, in other words it was up to them decided its outlook. There also were the neutral factor between church and state. This was clearly visible especially during the Post - Reformation period with the emergence of the Anabaptist Church who felt that there was no need for the church to be involved in matters related to politics. Europe at that time was going through a rough patch in its history both the church and the state. Some leading church figures felt in those times that the church must keep to its sacred world of spirituality and the state to its secular world of politics. To the South African context it was a tug of war between the two institutions. The Christian church was divided along lines of race, ethnicity and origin. The reason for this was that the Dutch Reformed Churches were seen to be leaning towards the supporting the state while the English speaking churches were opposed to the state. The South African government was led mainly by the Dutch descendants, hence the English speaking churches were opposed to the state. This goes further that the origin of both the English speaking and the Dutch Reformed Churches, as many of the former enjoyed a large number of the black membership in its ranks. Race was a major card which both denominations used to confront the state and support it. For the Dutch Reformed Church the white race was the chosen one to be superior over the black race and even theologically justifying its position. While for the English there was no theological justification for the oppression of the black people in South Africa.

This was further fuelled by the formation fo the Bantustans which ultimately were influenced to beg for 'independence' along the ethnic grounds. Few of the homelands or Bantustans opted for what was offered to them by the South African government. Bophuthatswana became one of the Bantustans which took the offer from South Africa. This led to the homeland government attempting to bring together Batswana as an ethnical group to calling them a nation. Many of Batswana people who stayed in South Africa were seen to be in diaspora and that they should come back to their 'country'. Bophuthatswana took the opportunity to even call refer to itself 'A Place for All' which was counter - acting the South African position of apartheid. As an attempt to get all Batswana into Bophuthatswana the logo which became its symbol was: 'Tshwaraganang lo dire pula ene': unite and progress.

The relationship of church and state in Bophuthatswana reflected that of South Africa. The difference with Bophuthatswana was that church leaders involved only black people from both the mainline churches and the independent churches. This saw the church not agreeing on the 'independence' of the Bantustans, with the mainline ones maintaining their opposition to apartheid while the independent ones supported the idea that at last Batswana could rule themselves. This did not leave Bophuthatswana without the ways of making efforts to prove that they were capable of building their own 'economy' and 'trade'. To the eyes of many people there was no real economy and trade as they depended on the South African government and at the same time they were supply the cheap labour market for the same government.

The third chapter deals a lot about the issue of land which for ages had been a problem. For Bophuthatswana the land was obtained through peaceful means and this was reflected in the national anthem. Land became a contested terrain during the apartheid era and 'independence' was seen by other people as a means to obtain the land back. Churches were divided on the issue of land ownership as some benefited through their support to the homeland of Bophuthatswana, one of those churches which benefited was Assemblies of God Church. This church obtained land through President Lucas Mangope for the building of their church in Thaba - Nchu. Some churches owned the land before the 'independence' of Bophuthatswana, and these were mission churches. As for the African Independent Churches the situation was more suitable based on the fact that many (though not all) supported Bophuthatswana as a government. The ownership of land to Batswana was not outrightly addressed because many of them did not totally owned any land. The agricultural land was only leased out to people who wanted to farm but they could not determine the commercial benefits for themselves as this was done through the Agricultural Bank known as AGRICOR.

This further saw struggle for settlement from the people in Winterveld which led to a conflict between the South African Council of Churches and Bophuthatswana. This was not only on land as there were factors involved such as water supply, education, citizenship, pensions and permanent residence. The fourth chapter shows how the South African

government was succeeding in dividing the black people along ethnicity. It was clear from Bophuthatswana's government that you were either a Motswana or apply for citizenship to be considered for other benefits that were enjoyed by the citizens of a country. This was the experience which people around Winterveld went through. In some instances they had to endure the police brutality in their own homes as some of them were plot owners and that they could not rent out their plots to people who were not Bophuthatswana citizens. This was a controversial matter as many of the people in Winterveld were not Batswana, the majority of them were forcefully removed from Lady - Selbourne in Pretoria. The force - removal was done in the 1960s long before Bophuthatswana. Due to ethnical divide entrenched by the South African government it was easier for Bophuthatswana to implement upon other groups of people who were not Batswana. The South African Council of Churches got involved in the Winterveld case through the Pretoria Council of Churches which was its branch. The SACC was involved in the community projects and also participated in the negotiations with the government of Bophuthatswana in an attempt to resolve the Winterveld case. However, for Bophuthatswana the involvement of the SACC meant that their 'independence' was being undermined by an organisation which does not belong to that country. Countless meetings were held between Bophuthatswana and the South African Council of Churches in which the latter made it clear to the former that its 'independence' was not recognised as it was obtained through the devious manners of apartheid.

Chapter five looks into the history of transition in South Africa which affected Bophuthatswana as well. Though Bophuthatswana was affected, its leaders did not think that way because they believed that their country was independent. For them their participation in the negotiations in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa meant helping South Africa solve its problems. According to the leaders of Bophuthatswana they were outsiders who were invited to reconcile the two racial groups on the different side of the fence. However, things did not go the way Bophuthatswana anticipated, as they found themselves against the wall trying to maintain their 'independence'. Due to the unfolding of events President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana ended up forming an alliance with Inkatha, Oupa Qozo from Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksfront. The main aim was to

counteract the effort of uniting South Africa and keep the politics as they were in the past. This alliance was to see Mangope further seeking some form of protection from the right-wing Afrikaner group as Bophuthatswana leaders were threatened by the new government which was on its way to rule. The threats that were feared involved the relationship of the Africa National Congress with the Communist Party of South Africa. This alliance saw the collapse of civil service in Bophuthatswana which subsequently led to Afrikaner Weerstand Beweeging invading Bophuthatswana with the aim of restoring order. The result of this invasion was the random killing of the civilians and few of the invaders and finally the dissolution of the homeland government's through the Transitional Executive Council 'independence' ten days before the first democratic elections of South Africa in 1994. After the elections there were remnants of the old order of governance in Bophuthatswana which was visible in the appointment of officials to lead the new province known as the North West. Some of the loyal followers of Mangope felt that they were being sidelined because they did not belong to the ANC, while others felt that the province catered only for Batswana and not any other ethnic and racial groups that lived in South Africa. The appointment of Popo Molefe as the first Premier of the North West Province saw people like Rocky Malebane Metsing challenging him on the grounds of ethnicity despite that the premier was a Motswana, this confrontation was simply that Mr Molefe was not a suitable person who knew the interests of Batswana. Other new structures were implemented when the former Western Transvaal towns of Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, Wolmaranstad, Delareyville and others began to be part of the new province. However, Mmabatho which was the capital of Bophuthatswana was maintained as a capital of the North West Province and it was called Mafikeng which is the original name of the city. All the buildings of Bophuthatswana were to be used by the new provincial government as well as the civil service with some changes to the old structures.

In the last chapter I shall present my conclusions.