

**BLACK THEOLOGY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC
JUSTICE IN THE DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA**

By

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF THEOLOGY

in the subject of

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

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26 JANUARY 2015

DECLARATION

I, Dumisani Welcome Methula, declare that this dissertation- **BLACK THEOLOGY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE IN THE DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA** - is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signed in Soweto, on 26 January 2015

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ABSTRACT

This study sets out to contribute to the expansive development of Systematic Theology and Black Theology, particularly in the struggle for economic justice in the democratic South Africa. The liberation of black people in South Africa and across the globe is the substantive reason for Black Theologies' existence and expression. The study's reflections on economic justice and Black Theology as sites of the intellectual focus and analysis is central to understanding the conditions of existence for the majority of South Africa's citizens, as well as understanding whether the fullness of life based on dignity and freedom as articulated in biblical witness, particularly John 10:10 is manifest for black people in South Africa. The study also seeks to identify, describe, analyse and understand the emancipatory theories and praxis, which entail a plethora of efforts they undertake to liberate themselves. Understanding and engendering the nexus of social practice and theological insights in the articulation of Black Theology as a particular expression of systematic theology, and drawing attention to the ethical foundations undergirding Black Theology, are important in demonstrating Black Theology's role and task as a multi-disciplinary discipline which encompass and engender dialogue within and between theory and praxis, and theology and ethics.

This study thus suggests that since the locus of Black Theology and spirituality is embedded in the life, (ecclesial and *missional*) work (*koinonia*) and preaching (kerygma) of black churches, they have the requisite responsibility to engage in the efforts (spiritual and theological) in the struggle to finding solutions to the triple crises of unemployment, inequality and poverty which ravage the quality and dignity of life of the majority black people in post-apartheid South Africa. This study therefore concludes by asserting that, there are a variety of viable options and criteria relevant for facilitating economic justice in South Africa. These strategies include transformational distribution of land to the majority of South Africans, the implementation of heterodox economic policies which engender market and social justice values in the distribution of economic goods to all citizens. It also entails prioritization of the social justice agenda in economic planning and economic practice. In theological language, economic justice must involve the restoration of the dignity and the wellbeing of the majority of South Africans, who remain poor, marginalised and disillusioned. It also entails promoting justice as a central principle

in correcting the remnants of apartheid injustices, which limit transformational justice which enables and facilitates equality, freedom and economic justice for all South African citizens.

KEY WORDS

Black Theology, elite transition, democratic South Africa, economic justice, post-apartheid, post-colonial Africa, unemployment, inequality, poverty, economic liberation, land redistribution

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my parents Mr and Mrs John and Roseline Methula, my children Buyile Mntambo Methula, Khensani Ndukula Methula and Azania Maleka Methula.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Ngithanda ukubonga uMdali wezulu nomhlaba egameli lika Jesu ngomusa nothando lwakhe empilweni yami nange zibusiso zakhe zonke.

I wish express my deepest gratitude to my promoter and supervisor Professor Puleng LenkaBula for inspiration, motivation and encouragement. She made me believe I can make it happen. Without her support, unfailing love and patience I would not have completed this study. I want to thank Dr Tendayi Sithole, Professor Johannes “Klippiess” Kritzing, Dr Zuze Banda, the Department of Christian Spirituality, Church History and Missiology, the Theology Cluster and the College of Human Sciences at Unisa for their collegiality, intellectual stimulation, spiritual support and love in my journey as an emerging scholar. I also want to thank Unisa for awarding me Merit Bursary to pursue this research project.

I also want to acknowledge the support, friendship and courage of my late brother Gift “Kappa” Methula, my late cousin Joseph “Tadi” Shabangu, the late Lawrence “Jojo” Nqadela former leader of AZANYU (Azanian National Youth Unity) in the eighties and early nineties, I also want to thank my aunt Susan Shabangu the Minister of Women in South African government for politicising me when I was very young. I also want to thank Young Eagles Fellowship for teaching me to think critically and prayerfully, the UNISA Student Christian Fellowship in Johannesburg Region, for teaching me obedience and radical politics. I also want to thank the community of Soweto and Orlando for politicizing me and inspiring the giant in me. I also wanted to thank the leaders and members of Grace Bible Church and Faithways Community Church for grounding me in the Pentecostal-Charismatic Movement. I want to thank my family, friends, relatives; colleagues, comrades and church members for their undying love, care, support and encouragement. To the members of our congregation the African Christian Mission Church I give this work as a token of love, appreciation and kindness, for being good to me and for the vision that God has planted in our lives. Lastly I dedicate this dissertation to my fellow revolutionary comrades in the Pan Africanist and Black Consciousness schools of thought. Aluta Continua...

SIGNIFICANT ACRONYMS

AA	Affirmative Action
ANC	African National Congress
APLA	Azanian People's Liberation Army
ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth South Africa
AZAPO	Azanian Peoples Organisation
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NDP	National Development Plan
NGP	National Growth Path
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACBC	Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SACP	South African Communist Party
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Contents

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Summary.....	11
1.2 Introduction.....	12
1.3 Problem Statement	14
1.4 The Aims and Objectives of this Study	16
1.5 Method of Research/Presentation	18
1.6 Theoretical Approach	23
1.7 Limitations of this Study	24
1.8 A Brief Outline of Chapters.....	24

2 THE SOUTH AFRICAN POST -APARTHEID ECONOMY.....26

2.1 Introduction	26
2.2 The South African Political Economy and the legacies of Apartheid.....	27
2.3 The Ethical Evaluation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)	30
2.4 Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR)	34
2.5 Accelerated and Shared Growth-South Africa (ASGISA)	37
2.6 The New Growth Path (NGP)	38
2.7 National Development Plan	39
2.8 The Black Economic Empowerment as central to the new macro-economic framework.	40
2.9 Rising Unemployment and Underemployment	44
2.10 Conclusion	47

3. THE LAND QUESTION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT JUSTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA 48

3.1 Introduction.....	48
3.2 The Land Question and land as an indicator of economic justice.....	51
3.3 Rural Development in the Democratic South Africa	58
3.6 Conclusion	62

4. THE ROLE OF BLACK THEOLOGY IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA 63

4.1 Introduction.....	63
4.2 A Broad Perspective of South African Black Theology	63
4.3 White Supremacy and Economic Injustice	65
4.4 Black Theology and the socio-political and economic questions in South Africa..	68
4.5 The Tasks of a Black Theology of Liberation	73
4.6 Black Experience as a source of theory and praxis of theology	77
4.8 The roles of Language and Theology toward justice	78
4.10 Black Culture and the Quest for Social and Economic Justice	81
4.11 The Marginalisation of African Culture and Economic Justice	82
4.12 The Role of Biblical Witness in Economic Justice.....	85
4.13 Liberation and Economic Justice	88
4.14 Reconciliation	90
4.15 Black theology as a Theology of Liberation.....	94
4.16 Black Womanist Theology and Economic justice	96
4.17	
Conclusion.....	98
 5 A THEOLOGY OF ECONOMIC JUSTICE IN DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA	99
5.1 Introduction	99
5.2 The Biblical Concept of Justice	100
5.3 The Concept of Economic Justice.....	103
5.4 The Church and Economic Justice in South Africa	105
5.5 Black Theology and Economic Justice.....	108
5.6 The Struggle for Liberation: Theological Paradigms	112
5.7 Dialogue between Black Theology and Marxist Social Analysis	115
5.8 A Critical Denunciation of Capitalism	117
5.9 Globalisation and the exacerbation of South African Poverty	119
5.10 The Ethical Aspects of Economic Theory	123
5.11 Conclusion	125
 6.BLACK THEOLOGY AND RETHINKING TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMIC FUTURES	126
6.1 Black theology Transforming Historical and Epistemological Paradigms	126
6.2 Black Theology Transforming Economic Futures.....	128

6.3 Problematising ‘Whiteness’ as a theoretical and apolitical construct in South Africa	131
6.4 Black Theology and the Betrayal of the Revolution.....	132
6.5 Conclusion	134
 7 CONCLUDING CHAPTER	 136
7.1 Introduction.....	136
7.2 The Praxis of Black Theology	136
7.3 Black Theology as Black People’s Theology.....	138
7.4 The Liberation Paradigm in Black Theology	139
7.5 Economic Justice as the Centre of Black Theology	140
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 148

INTRODUCTION

1.1 SUMMARY

This study sets out to contribute to the expansive development of Systematic Theology and Black Theology, particularly in the struggle for economic justice in the democratic South Africa. The liberation of black people in South Africa and across the globe is the substantive reason for Black Theologies existence and expression. Its reflections on economic justice as a site of reflection and analysis to understand the conditions of existence, fullness of life of, dignity and freedom of black people, and their efforts to liberate themselves in theological and religious thinking, is an imperative this thesis seeks to engender.

Motlhabi (1986: xiv)¹, makes this point by making reference to one of the pioneers of Black Theology in South Africa, Bongajalo Goba, who asserts that “[there is] a need for a hedogenic of [B]lack [T]heology in actual theologizing from the onset, while at the same time appealing to the actual experiences of ...black South Africans.” This study therefore reasserts the perspective that ‘[B]lack [T]heology’ is ‘a relevant theology of the oppressed’.² It suggests that since the locus of Black Theology and spirituality is embedded in the black churches, they have the requisite responsibility to engage in the efforts (spiritual and theological) to finding solutions to the triple crises of unemployment, inequality and poverty which ravage the quality and dignity of life for the majority of black people in post-apartheid South Africa.

As part of its critique and evaluation of economic justice in the democratic dispensation, this study posits elitist transformational agenda from apartheid to democratization, as one of the fault-lines of its liberative motif of the democratic state. It instead, argues that the transition from apartheid in 1994 was largely elitists, and largely secured the interests of white oligarchy’s and a few emerging black bourgeoisie, thus excluding majority of black citizens to meaningful socio-economic participation.

¹ Motlhabi Mokgethi Introduction in Mosala, J.M and Thlagale, B (eds.) The Unquestionable Right to Be Free 1986 Skotaville; Braamfontein pg XIV

² Motlhabi Mokgethi Introduction in Mosala, J.M and Thlagale, B (eds.) The Unquestionable Right to Be Free 1986 Skotaville; Braamfontein pg XV

The study asserts that it is the requisite ethical and intellectual duty of the church to speak against the current economic injustices which exclude the majority of black people who constituted the majority of the poor, marginalized and landless in South Africa, a situation which in soteriology and Christology, contradicts the mission of Christ as expressed in (Luke 4:18-19). This study therefore concludes by asserting that, numerous criteria to facilitate economic justice is relevant in South Africa in order to promote economic justice and the wellbeing of majority of South Africans, who remain poor, marginalised and disillusioned. The alternative envisaged include, but are not limited to some of the following: fair and equitable distribution of land, and or land rights usage for and by individuals, the development of macroeconomic policies which balance humanistic economic principles with social justice and human rights cultures, as well as the promotion of sustainable ecologies.

1.2 Introduction

This research into Black Theology grapples with the struggle for economic justice in the democratic South Africa. It reflects on the history of the struggle for economic justice³ from the era of colonialism⁴, imperialism⁵, apartheid⁶ and in neoliberal⁷

³ The definition of economic justice utilised in this study is informed by the Accra Confession, the Economic Justice for All produced by the SACBC in response to GEAR, and writings of Black intellectuals and critical scholars who are in solidarity with the poor and oppressed races. Economic justice is a matter of faith. The Accra Confession states that “economic justice is essential to the integrity of our faith in God and our discipleship as Christians... therefore, we reject the current world economic order imposed by global neoliberal capitalism and any other economic system, including absolute planned economies, which defy God’s covenant by excluding the poor, the vulnerable and the whole of creation from the fullness of life”. (2008:1) (<http://www.oikotree.org/wp-content/uploads/accra-confession.pdf>) (10 Oct 2014)

⁴ Maldonado-Torres argues that “Colonialism denotes a political and economic relation in which the sovereignty of a nation or a people rests on the power of another nation, which makes such nation or a people rests on the power of another nation, which makes such nation an empire” (2007:234). We must be reminded that colonialism was not only a political and economic imposition, but also a cultural and religious imposition. The problem of colonialism is still prevalent though not in legal juridical terms but through its legacy in post-colonial society thus limiting prospects for genuine transformation and land restitution in post-apartheid and post-colonial Africa.

⁵ Imperialism the military, political, cultural and economic domination of another country by Western imperialist countries reduced countries in the Southern Hemisphere to catastrophic socio-economic crises particularly in Africa to poverty, hunger, chronic diseases and extreme socio-political crisis is still prevalent though not militarily but through the exploitation of African minerals, resources and her economies. In South African context the sad and cruel history of imperialism led to the loss of the land, minerals and undermining African religion and culture through this unjust system of death.

⁶ Apartheid is a structural sin, a heresy and intrinsic evil based on racism as an “ideology of racial domination that incorporates beliefs in cultural or inherent biological inferiority of a particular ethnos” (Boesak 1984:111). It is a distorted and skewed system founded on false biblical premises that had negative effects on blacks physically, psychologically, politically and with terrible economic consequences. Apartheid is understood in this study as the great grandchild of colonialism and imperialism, which led to the problem of racial domination, land conquest, economic injustice. It legalised racial segregation and entrench systemic violence against blacks and gave a biblical justification of segregation of races.

democratic South Africa. It critically evaluates the context and contents of the macro-economic policies of the ANC-led government, particularly the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA), New Growth Path (NGP) and National Development Plan (NDP) and their impacts on the quality of life for South Africans. This research interrogates why, does the institution of all these macro-economic policies since 1994 have not yielded positive economic transformation but instead, have resulted in the emergence and deepening of systemic inequality, structural unemployment and institutionalized poverty?

The primary intention of this study is to evaluate the role of Black Theology in articulating a theology and theory of economic justice, which draws on the South African experience in the post-apartheid period. This will contribute towards the development of a Black Theological theory of economic justice based on the struggle for land redistribution. It criticizes the macro-economic policies developed by the democratic government and suggests that, such policies have deepened the crises of poverty in South Africa, facilitated monopoly accumulation of wealth by already privileged minority white communities, and a few emergent black entrepreneurs. It also criticizes the retreat of Black Theologians, and churches for betraying the struggle for freedom, justice and liberation by not attending to the plight of the poor, who continue being excluded by the current economic context, as well as the residues of apartheid discrimination.

As part of its resources for theologising and analyses, this study draws on the sources of theology and ethics, such as economic history and theory, the bible and biblical witness, social analyses and black Christian theologies to construct the

⁷ I will use the definition of neoliberalism provided by David Harvey (in Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:346-347) "Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate for such practices. The state has to guarantee, for example, the quality and integrity of money. It must also set up those military, defence, police, and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets. [...] State intervention in markets (once created must be kept to a bare minimum because, according to the theory, the state cannot possibly possess enough information to second-guess market signals (prices and because powerful interest groups will inevitably distort and bias state interventions particularly in democracies) for their own benefit".

current expressions of black prophetic theology relevant to the struggles for justice, equality and transformation in South Africa and in our world today. It also calls for a radical re-thinking of economic justice- drawing insights from theology, ethics, economics and social experience, as part of the utilisation of multi-disciplinarily approaches in enriching theological discourse. In particular, this study asserts that economic growth as often asserted by mainstream economic theory as a marker of wealth and development is fallacious and distorted as a criterion for evaluating economic success. Instead these should be measured by expansive criteria, including among other things, the eradication of poverty, improvement of employment, redistribution of land and access to land, as well as access to education as proper markers of economic success and thus, economic justice. In essence, the study seeks to be part of the intellectual and theological attempt to promote the economic liberation of black people from the bondages of landlessness, poverty, social exclusion, gender injustice and economic powerlessness as founded in the gospel of Jesus Christ (Luke 4:16-21, Isaiah 61 1-3).

In the light of the mission of Christ critically the matters of economic and environmental justice are not only social, political, and moral issues in fact they are interconnected to faith in Jesus Christ and affect the mission and ministry of the church in society. LenkaBula (2009: 4) in solidarity with the victims of economic neo-liberalism in Africa particularly women and children “explores whether the Accra Confession is consistent with economic, ecological, and gender justice as understood by African feminist theologians or feminist theologians. This is because economic globalisation, economic and ecological justice, have always been core to feminist theologies and ethics discourses”

1.3 Problem Statement

The research problem that this study seeks to address is twofold. The first is the minimal research in Black Theology post-apartheid and the struggle for economic justice in the democratic South Africa. This includes the construction of knowledge and theology relevant for the democratic experiences post 1994. There have not been many publications in South African Black Theology post-apartheid. This has created the problem that the liberational, prophetic and radical role of the Black or African church has not influenced the agenda of the rainbow nation/ or the

democratic community for the past twenty years since 1994. The second is to explore ways for the re-emergence of Black Theology as one of the intellectual and liberational expression of freedom and justice in the democratic South Africa. This implies that, Black Theology should be central to today in championing and leading the struggle for economic justice as the starting point for evaluating and envisioning a democratic South Africa. Given the polarisation of South Africa in the economic sphere, I submit that equilibrium a sense of justice in socio-political issues must be found after the dissolution of apartheid and establishment of the democratic dispensation.

The problems of the democratic South Africa are generally summarised as constituting the triple burden of poverty, unemployment and inequality. These challenges call for a renewed role of the prophetic church and the revival of Black Theology. While apartheid died in statute books, but its structure of white privilege and white domination in every sector of society is still deeply entrenched, particularly in the economic distribution of resources, property, income, land ownership, social institutions, educational sectors, health spheres and wealth distribution.

Black Theology must seek to articulate life-affirming criteria for justice in post-apartheid South Africa ravaged by the bifurcation of society, based in the main, on the intersections of social location/ -social class, race, ethnicity and gender. It must respond to the questions: why is the economy of South Africa so unevenly distributed within and amongst South African society?

Why is it that 20 years after the dissolution of apartheid and the entrenchment of democratic society, many black people still live in conditions of squalor, poverty and in the margins of economic development? Black Theology must also seek to interrogate and evaluate why all the macro-economic policies instituted and adopted by the ANC led government. Such as the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP), the Growth, Employment and Redistribution-Macroeconomic strategy (hereafter GEAR), Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) and the New Growth Path (NGP), have not yielded the eradication of poverty and the bridging of the gap between the affluent few and the majority poor?

Black Theology must attend to the questions on why, in spite of the government view that good growth results in economic success and economic growth in South Africa does not translate into a flourished economic development for all people but continues the pauperisation of many black people and creates more inequality, unemployment and underemployment, and a few affluent people (COSATU 2010:25)? The majority of the economically poor and marginalized citizens are in the main black. These high levels of poverty, raise questions on whether the democratic South Africa is an economically just and transformed society as envisaged and articulated in the democratic constitutions and South Africa's aspirations? In the light of these contextual realities of the black majority being on the margins of societal development and economic justice, it is compelling to explore what should constitute the new agenda of Black Theology and of the African church? Bearing in mind that the "majority of those in poverty are women and children and the number of people living in absolute poverty on less than one US dollar per day continues to increase" (Accra Confession 2004:3).

It is equally imperative to understand how Black Theology will articulate the voices of the majority black people who require to live fully and with dignity, by announcing and articulating the 'preferential option for the poor'⁸. This study therefore will evaluate how Black Theology speaks against the degradation of life which results from an untransformed economic systems undergirding life in South Africa, and how they create theological and ethical criteria for a transformed and economically just society.

1.4 The Aims and Objectives of this Study

The aim and objective of this study is to critically engage in a systematic understanding of 'A Radical Black Theology and the imperative for Economic Justice in democratic South Africa'. The faith of black Christians in the context of poverty,

⁸ The expression or idea of a "preferential option for the poor" is a neologism which was popularized by one of the pioneers of liberation theologies, the Peruvian and a Latin American theologian Gustavo Gutierrez in his book published in 1971 on the emancipatory role of theology for the poor and in the context of poverty in his book, **A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation** and this neologism, found expression in his subsequent works and those of liberation theologians in South America and globally. The expression posits that, one of the fundamental criteria of evaluating the success of development and hence of society and the church, is to assess such from the perspective of the poor, marginalised and those on the under-side of history.

domination, segregation, domestic violence, social alienation, racism, sexism, classism and oppression all products of colonialism, imperialism, slavery, segregation and apartheid have inspired me to do theology as a radical Black Theology of liberation. “For Black Theology to become a viable weapon in the hands of the oppressed Black people, rigorous analysis of and debates about the social, economic and political conditions of Black people had to be conducted” (Maluleke 1996: 304).

The other aim of this study is to evaluate the ways in which the diversities of Black Theologies respond to the problem of suffering by developing theological, biblical and ethical criteria for responding to injustice in the light of doctrine, ministry, and mission. This is because sometimes churches⁹ are notorious for neglecting the questions of social justice, whilst emphasising the quest for individual salvation. The trivialisation of, or the lack of attention to structural injustice and socio-economic oppression, we suggest, does not enable the authentic articulation of Christian spirituality and the call for the fullness of life of all people and creation. The study thus concurs with Gutierrez’s (1975: 51) view that justice is also about salvation and solidarity, when he states that “To know God and to do justice is to be in solidarity with the poor person.”

Black Theology in the new South Africa has to take seriously the expressions of African feminist/ womanist theologies and their calls for socio-political, ecological and economic justice.

African women’s exclusion from public space and from informing the governance policies of their countries has also been perpetuated through the centralization of masculinities and the entrenched patriarchal-kyriarchy that characterizes certain customary elements of governance (LenkaBula et al 2010: 131).

⁹ I come from the Pentecostal-Charismatic background where I have observed and research has confirmed that quite often our Pentecostal churches ignore structural systems of oppression and emphasise individual salvation at the expense of socio-economic justice. In this study my aim was to break free from the dominant paradigm in Pentecostal theology and develop a Black Pentecostal Theology that is relevant to the current socio-political situation in democratic South Africa.

As a result of gross injustices against women, African feminist theological ethics is a profound reflection and critical protest against the discrimination of women in social, political, educational, cultural, ecclesiastical and economic affairs. They reject the patriarchal and economic structures based on these injustices.

Furthermore the aim of the study is to demonstrate the ways in which Black Theology has been vocal against apartheid regime and the ways it could be mobilised for the advocacy of socio-economic justice and transformation in the democratic South Africa.

The challenge for Black Theology in the new South Africa is to articulate theologically and ethically viable alternatives toward economic transformation, wealth redistribution, minimising the gap between the rich and poor and doing away with structural injustices which breed inequality, poverty, hunger, dependence, debt, corruption, poor of service delivery, unemployment and lack of human dignity.

In addition, Black Theologies must advocate for an inclusive, life affirming and just economy which serves the common good of all, not just a few. They should also promote equitable and fair economic policies, transparent business dealings which empower the poor and other marginalized members of society. In this way, this study will serve to enunciate the potential power of Black Theologies to promote the dignity of individuals, society and communities, as well as the environment in order to proclaim fair, just and sustainable futures for all.

One of the aims and objectives in developing Black Theology in the post-apartheid and post-colonial Africa is to strengthen the relationship between, and the inter-linkages of Black Theology, African Feminist Theology, African Theology, Asian Liberation Theology and Latin American Theology of Liberation.

1.5 Method of Research/Presentation

Economics is too important to be left to economists. To conduct qualitative research on the topic of Black Theology and the struggle economic justice in South Africa, means one has to be creative, innovative, strategic and borrow ideas, analytic

lenses, theoretical frameworks and current literature in social science disciplines such as sociology, economics, political economy, African politics and development studies and African literature to fully analyse, interpret, uncover and expose economic injustice in the structure of the South African economy from the discipline of social ethics and the black Christian church in Africa.

This study engages in a multidisciplinary approaches to interrogating whether the democratic South Africa has opted for macro-economic policies which are life affirming for the majority of South Africa, and if no, what alternatives should be put in place to find solutions to economic exclusion, social injustice and unemployment. Multi-disciplinary approaches to this study are based on the understanding of Black Theology which engages in critical reflection, and logical thought based on inductive and deductive reasoning. Black Theology must be practiced theoretically and practically as a theology of liberation, justice and dialogue in the new South Africa. I therefore understand this to entail Black Theology as a radical contextual interpretation of Christian faith from the perspective of black people who are dehumanised by racial oppression, cultural imperialism, land dispossession, segregation, and neo-colonization in pre/post-apartheid South African context.

“Economics reflects the Greek words *“oikos”* (“place to live” or “house”) and *“nomos”* (“order” or “law”). Literally economics means the “law or the order of the household”. Economics deals with more than just money, but its central concern is with the supply and demand of goods and services to satisfy the needs and wants of individuals, societies and communities” (van Niekerk 2003:8). It is also about the ways in which societies plan, allot and manage economic resources for individual and societal benefit using diverse methods of regulations.

The relationship between Black Theology and economic justice is structured according to a theological, biblical and ethical black liberation methodology. It implies that issues of African culture, black African Traditional Religions and black popular culture are foundational and fundamental to ethical and theological enquiry. Such an approach will emphasise alternative and re-reading of the Bible, and enunciate life affirming and liberating spirituality, ethics and praxis. For instance, it accepts the

liberative aspects of the Exodus, the Exodus paradigm¹⁰ as a perspective about fleeing bondage from oppression, whilst at the same time, acknowledging that, sometimes, liberation, if not associated with justice, can breed oppressive tendencies, and indifferences to the oppressed, especially, if and when the exodus paradigm is read from the lenses of the Canaanites, those whose lands are understood to constitute the promised land. It is a methodology which seeks to acknowledge the sometimes, contradictions of biblical witness whilst at the same time, recognising its liberation imperative and potential. It is hence, this approach which will be central in the approach toward economic justice in South Africa. Its radical contribution is in the recognition that, articulating justice is relevant for both those on the margins of the economy and those who benefit from the current economic arrangements and policies.

In summary, the Christian part of [B]lack [T]heology states that the God of freedom, through the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ the liberator, has provided a journey of faith and hope to be free (Hopkins 1999: 5).

To critically engage Black Theology in South Africa requires that this study adopts a multidisciplinary and multi-dialogical methodology. This is because the question of socio- political and economic justice is very broad, multifaceted and complex. The approach toward the subject of Black Theology and the pursuance of economic justice are undergirded by systematic theology and social ethics. Motlhabi (1996: xv) who is one of the leading voices in Black Theology, defines social ethics as, “the study of the norms, principles, method, and concomitant disciplines to meaningful life and action for the attainment of harmonious and ideal social relations among all people and communities constituting a social entity”.

¹⁰ The exodus paradigm emphasises the agenda of liberation as compared to the Nehemiah paradigm which emphasises reconciliation, reconstruction and development. Thus the exodus paradigm evaluates and envisions the democratic South Africa through liberation and justice. Whiles the Nehemiah paradigm led to the emergence of reformist theologies like the Theology of Reconstruction and Development which emphasised nation building without destroying the structure and the pillars of apartheid, this is like pouring new wine on old wineskins.

Social ethics and theology ought not to be done in a vacuum if they are to be constructive. They also do not need to seek to uncritically impose the Bible on social problems; instead, they require engaging biblical witness in dialogue with social life, in order to envision criteria for solutions to such problems. Contrary to popular opinion, social ethics and theology are multi- and interdisciplinary sciences which are based on social analysis mandated by the social sciences and philosophical principles which require rational constituency, logical coherence and reasoned analysis of concrete expressions of life, including social problems (Motlhabi 1996:220).

In addition, Motlhabi further reiterates that the task of Black Theology and social ethics:

is to reflect on ideal types of human conduct and social organisation, as well as the norms and values required to these... through philosophical, theological and scientific analysis, on the one hand, and through ethical deliberation on the other- at social solutions consonant with acceptable moral standards and conducive to a harmonious and happy life for all (Motlhabi 1996: 221).

The social analytic framework in this study will be influenced by the Black Consciousness and philosophical concepts/ ideals of the Pan-Africanism, the Black Power Movement, and the Latin American Theology of Liberation, and the theoretical framework of African socialism.

Theology's function asserts Cone, has to analyse "the meaning of that liberation for the oppressed so they can know that their struggle for political, social, and economic justice is consistent with the gospel of Jesus Christ" (Cone 1970: vii). Theologies of liberation in Africa must continue to proclaim the message of permanent revolution that will liberate black people from psychological, economic, cultural and social oppression.

The liberation agenda of Black Theology must expose the reality that political democracy and the new liberal constitution of South Africa have not transformed the

lives of ordinary black people; instead the democratic government has political power without economic power. They should also be able to question why more than 75%¹¹ of South Africa's wealth is in the hands of a white minority and a few black elites, whilst the majority of the South African society lives in conditions of abject poverty. It must also demonstrate why land in South Africa, is owned by a few white families while the majority live in less than 20 per cent of the land mass, and of what implications are these for social, economic, and environmental justice?

The church and African liberation theologies must state categorically that there is no reasonable moral basis for allowing a situation of economic powerlessness when majority of political leadership and power is in the hands of people of African descent. They should also interrogate what causes the gap between political power and economic transformation? It is thus, equally important for Black Theology in South Africa to comprehensively understand the reasons and challenges which allow for access to political power without economic power and transformation? It must evaluate why the current South African government has political power but has not radically changed the economic policies toward inclusive economic development wherein black people also are at the centre of economic value chains? These, directly pose questions on whether political power and economic powerlessness should continue without reprieve, and if not, what sources and alternatives will theology contribute toward, in promoting emancipatory wellbeing in the economy and all other facets of life? These questions will thus enunciate the former and present task of Black Theology, and its implications for liberation. This is particularly because,

Black liberation ethic is chiefly a social ethic, for it is concerned with eliminating social evil and injustice, under which individual oppression is subsumed. Its main objective is, therefore to address those structures and symptoms of injustice which exist in society by first exposing them and then analysing them toward their resolution" (Motlhabi 2008:78).

¹¹ The discovery of gold in 1886, the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the Land Act of 1913 and the ascendancy of apartheid in 1948 led to the dispossession of blacks hence my argument that more than seventy five per cent of our wealth is in white hands twenty years after democracy.

1.6 Theoretical Approach

The sciences of systematic theology and social ethics will provide the theoretical framework in articulating the theological stance and theoretical approaches entailed in this study to the subject of Black Theology and economic justice in the democratic South Africa. It will be equally important to also contextualise this study within the post-apartheid and post-colonial Africa as a geo-spatial and theoretical base, within which the study's theoretical paradigm will be located. This will also be informed by the radical theoretical perspectives of leading African intellectuals and leading theorists in Black Consciousness and Black Theology both in South Africa and other parts of the world, which do not necessarily lie in the intellectual disciplines of theology and ethics, such as the works of leading black political philosophers, such as Steve Biko and other associated black intellectuals. The theoretical approach adopted in this study is informed by the science of systematic theology that will contribute in locating the problem of racism and economic injustice as contrary to the major Christian doctrines of God who created all human beings in his image, thus laying the foundation for black biblical anthropology, Christology, soteriology, pneumatology and ecclesiology within the Black Theological and African Christian theoretical paradigm.

Whereas the science of Christian social ethics according to Muelder in (Motlhabi 1996:217) "is not theological ethics with implications to current social questions made apart from philosophical and scientific analysis. It is not – even when problems discussed are social – a presentation of general theoretical ethics with biblical sanctions. It is not sociology of religion or any other behavioural science. It is interdisciplinary". This means the great contribution that social ethics will make in this study as an "interdisciplinary discipline is precisely in showing how various disciplines can be blended and utilised together to facilitate the process [of economic justice] toward more meaningful socio-moral decisions" (Motlhabi 1996:220). Thus the epistemological, historical, behavioural and socio-economic sciences enhance the multi-disciplinary approaches to theology contribute to the theoretical, philosophical and praxis of the liberation struggle of black people and the mandate of Black Theology in post-apartheid South Africa and post-colonial Africa.

In my view the point of departure for Black Theology in the new South Africa must be informed by a critical social analysis of the political economy. In its articulation of the

political economy, it must emphasize the ideals of the reign of God, human rights, constitutional justice, the mission of Christ (Luke 4:16-20), prophetic vision and the total eradication of poverty and deprivation. The theological and political struggle for liberation was not only about political freedom but essentially about economic liberation. The economy of South Africa must be founded and grounded on justice and equitable sharing of resources as central ethical principles and moral values.

1.7 Limitations of this Study

This research will be limited to the South African Black Theology that has always focused on the practice of liberation, human rights, freedom, justice; political, cultural, economic and social emancipation of black people generally in South Africa and the United States of America and elsewhere. However, post the attainment of political freedom in South Africa, Black Theology has not yet systematically attended to contemporary economic struggle for liberation. During apartheid era, from its genesis in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Black Theology gave a systematic and well-structured intellectual and academic analysis of the political economy of structural apartheid injustice grounded in social activism, the daily struggles of black peasants and working class poor black masses.

1.8 A Brief Outline of Chapters

Chapter one serves as an introduction, which sets to outline the scope of the study, its methodology, limitations and directions it points toward relating to the quest for economic justice in the democratic dispensation in South Africa.

Chapter two deals with the critical discussion on the South African political economy, the legacies of apartheid in economic policy formulation and articulation, and as well as, an ethical evaluation of government macro-economic policy since 1994 till today. The chapter identifies all the macro-economic policy frameworks developed and their implications for economic justice and transformation.

Chapter three focuses on the land question as the locus of economic wealth, economic justice and economic transformation. It suggests that, in order to determine the successes of the transition between apartheid and democratic period, Black Theology must point at both the political and economic gains attained and as well, changes requiring to being effected ensuring that economic justice,

transformation and development are accented in the consolidation of the democratic dispensation.

Chapter four focuses on Black Theology in post-apartheid South Africa, its history, its definitional dimensions and descriptions, sources and tasks of Black Theology and the subject of African culture, the struggle for economic justice, the themes of reconciliation, liberation, womanist theology and the theologies of liberation.

Chapter five focuses on theology as an integral discipline toward the constructive comprehension of economic justice. It particularly looks at biblical witness, ethical theories, lived realities and their inputs toward the construction of a contextually relevant notion of economic justice in South Africa today. Since the concept of justice has to a large extent been central to systematic theology and theological ethics as a core principle, value and aspect in the affirmation of the dignity of life of God's people and God's creation, its absence in the distribution of the economy, or in its management, becomes key in discerning pathways to liberation. The concept of justice, the struggle for liberation and some critique of capitalism especially its globalisation aspects are also explored to understand how they link with the conception of justice with dignity in the economy, within Black Theology.

Chapter six explores Black Theology and its transformational, historical and epistemological resources, toward economic justice and transformation.

Chapter seven serves as a conclusion, mapping out Black theologies contribution to the affirmation of the dignity of life through its praxis and theoretical enunciation.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN POST-APARTHEID ECONOMY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to discuss the diverse macro-economic policies which the South African democratic government, in 1994 and subsequent years instituted following the demise of apartheid. It attempts to deal with the political economy of South Africa in the democratic era as these are important to lay ground for the issues which ensue with regards to questions of equitable distribution and sharing of resources, economic development and transformation, as well as economic justice. It is also important to state from the onset that the mode of discussing the economy in this study will be descriptive. It will not necessarily employ the tools utilised by orthodox economists. This therefore implies that, the discussion on the economy will attend primarily to political-economy questions.

Political economy generally refers to “the science of wealth”, and deals with the efforts made by human beings to supply wants and to satisfy desires,” (<http://www.sagepub.com> 31 November 2013). Political economy has historically and intellectually been understood to entail the

social custom, practice and knowledge about how to manage, first the household, and later, the community. Specifically, the term economics is rooted in the classical Greek “*oikos*” for house and “*nomos*” for law. Economics has thus historically been as the discipline which describes the management of households and the decisions taken to distribute and/ or manage resources. [This view has thus] persisted into the work of founding influences in classical political economy (Duchrow 1995:116).

This study therefore discusses key policy frameworks, economic developments and approaches which were and continue to be adopted by the post-apartheid democratic government in South Africa. It commences with the discussion on the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which was the initial socio-

economic policy adopted by the National Government of Unity whose executive constituted of the Presidency of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, and the deputy presidency of Thabo Mbeki and F.W de Klerk. It will thereafter analyse GEAR and its implications for economy and economic justice in South Africa. GEAR was instituted in 1996, just two years after the dismantling of apartheid when Mandela was still the President of the Republic of South Africa.

The next part will thus analyse and discuss ASGISA which largely constitutes the third comprehensive review or re-articulation of South Africa's macro-economic policy. This will be followed by the discussion and analyses of the New Growth Path and the National Development Plan, which can be understood as the recent if not current expressions of the South African macro-economic policies in implementation to date. In order to make sense of the macro-economic policies and to measure their impacts on/ and or their implications for the black communities or society which was largely marginalised and excluded from meaningful economic participation and benefits during apartheid regime, it will be important to also evaluate the Black Economic Empowerment policy which is posited as one example of the motives of the current government to transform the economy to benefit black people (often referred in the euphemism—the previously disadvantaged). I will thus explore what are the positives and negative impacts of these on society in general and specifically on black communities, who are the main focus of this study.

2.2 The South African Political Economy and the legacies of Apartheid

“The transition from apartheid to democratic rule in South Africa has been regarded by various social commentators as “a miracle of the 20th century”, “a breakthrough” and “a great event” and an “important landmark” in the history of South Africa. Archbishop Tutu dubbed the new society ‘the rainbow nation’, a metaphor so powerful that it continues to inform the collective imagination and give psychological sustenance to an evolving democratic regime” (Mangcu 2003:104-105). The unbanning of the liberation movements by the National Party government under the leadership of President F W De Klerk on 2nd February 1990, began a new era in the politics of South Africa.

The democratic government that assumed power in 1994 inherited a rather contradictory legacy. On the one hand, it inherited an economy that was perceived to be the most developed economy in Africa, with a modern physical and institutional infrastructure. On the other, it inherited major socio-economic problems, including high levels of unemployment; the abject poverty of 50 per cent of the population; sharp inequalities in the distribution of income, property, and opportunities; and high levels of crime and violence (Terreblanche 2002: 4).

In my view, I have observed that the so-called new South Africa or rainbow nation is a land of great contrast and the most divided society in the world this is clearly evident in the distribution of income, opportunities, property, skills development, economic ownership, education, and health care as Terreblanche argues above. This was also asserted to by the acknowledgement from the political leadership of the country that South Africa is a country of two nations.

The demise of apartheid's reign and the democratization of South Africa in 1994 brought hope and fear. The hope was inspired by the transition and change from a tyrannical and dehumanising rule. Fear developed from an anxiety that the security and benefits of apartheid would be taken away from those who gained from the system. Anxiety was also visible in the massive flight of many South Africans to countries, such as Australia and Canada, just before the 1994 elections (LenkaBula 2005: 103-104).

The flight of whites to other countries was informed by racist stereotypical attitudes that this country is going to be on civil war or the economy is going to fall radically.

During the apartheid era,

Poverty and unemployment in South Africa were concentrated mainly in the rural areas, in the 'black reserves', and on white farms... 95 per cent of GDP is generated in the metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, while 5 per cent is generated in the homelands. What is important here is that 14 million people lived in the homelands in 1985, and they generated

an annual per capita GDP of only R370, compared to R6 662 and R3 927 in the other two areas (Abedian and Standish 1992:11).

These huge salary inequalities based on race and geographical dispersal show ultimately that the ultimate objective of colonial apartheid was to dominate blacks on the economic front through cheap labour based on poor salaries.

Whereas Villa-Vicencio albeit not a black theologian, asserts that in 1991

- “5 per cent of South Africa’s population own 80% per cent of the personally owned wealth
- Whites effectively own in excess of 70 per cent of the land in South Africa and 90 per cent of the ‘means of production’
- As far as industry goes, six corporations ultimately control companies whose shares account for more than 85 per cent of the total shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange” (Villa-Vicencio 1992:204).

These highly distorted economic distribution of individually owned wealth by a tiny white minority, the unethical land ownership and corporates who financially supported apartheid co-opted the leadership of the liberation movements to keep the status quo. Strangely, during the post-apartheid period white owned business interests have generally been protected and continue to enjoy support through the laws that underpin the current economic system. South African’s economic history exposes the fact that whereas the politico-economic system of 2002 shows marked improvement on that of 1970, today “poverty is worse than in 1970, and probably also more deeply institutionalized” (Terreblanche 2002:423). There are a growing number of people living in absolute poverty today. The institutionalisation of poverty leads Methula (2014:110) to conclude that “In the past 20 years the major characteristic of the democratic dispensation in South Africa, since the inauguration of majority rule in 1994, has been the intensification of the country’s socio-economic problems of poverty, unemployment, inequality and landlessness”. This is clear by the fact that:

The Gini coefficient for South Africa increased from 0.665 to 0.685 in 2006, suggesting that income inequality is becoming worse (The Presidency 2007:22). Alarming, the poorest 20 per cent of the population, which is approximately 10 million people, received only 1.7 per cent of total income in 2006, while the richest 20.0 per cent of the population, which is approximately 10 million people, received 72.5 per cent of total income (Terreblanche 2009:109).

As a result of this South Africa is the most unequal country in the whole world in terms of Gini coefficient. Thus there are large numbers of people who are dependent on social welfare in the form of social grants, government housing programmes, the increasing numbers of unemployed graduates and increasing volumes of the unemployed. The above contradictions therefore require the continuation of the struggle for socio-political transformation, cultural emancipation (spiritual and materialistic) and economic justice to the victims of socio-economic injustice. The call for socio-economic justice and transformation stems from the observation that “Whilst indeed political democracy has been deepened in many respects, it is in the field of the economy and ideology that it has failed to take root. In class terms, democracy benefited those who own economic resources than the working class and the poor” (COSATU 2010:9). Below I will attempt to give a critical evaluation of the macro-economic policies adopted by the ANC government since 1994 starting with the RDP.

2.3 The Ethical Evaluation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

The economic situation of South Africa has to be evaluated in order to develop ethical and theological options for a just and life giving economy. We shall therefore discuss the economic policies and economic frameworks of the democratic government.

The government has inherited enormous social problems: a disintegrating national health service, a chaotic education system, a crisis in housing and rising unemployment. Set against a stagnant economy and a regime profligate in spending on security and multiplying benefits to the privileged

white minority, the result has been the widening of the gap between rich and poor (Terreblanche 2002:23).

To address these systemic crises the Government of National Unity (GNU) took the decision to create a people-centred society of liberty that is bound to the pursuit of the goals of freedom, justice and liberation. It is also linked these ideals to the guarantees of human dignity; that constitute part of the centrepiece of what the democratic government seeks. These we suggest, constitute the true meaning, the justification and the purpose of the Reconstruction and Development Programme without which it would lose all legitimacy.

The introduction of the socio-economic policy which would inform South African economic path was largely initially introduced to many South Africans and the world by the first democratic president Dr Nelson Mandela In his inaugural Address to a Joint Sitting of Parliament, 24 May 1994, the former President of South Africa Dr Nelson Mandela alluded that:

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) is an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework aimed at mobilising all our South Africans and country's resources toward the final eradication of the results of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future (White Paper on RDP 1994:6).

The RDP emphasised two fundamental aims:

The first was the alleviation of poverty. The last was the reconstruction of the economy. The central proposals entailed in the RDP constituted at least five principles or policy proposals (1) meeting basic needs, (2) upgrading human resources, (3) strengthening the economy, (4) democratizing the state and the economy, and (5) reorganizing the public sector (White Paper on RDP 1994:3-4).

The core economic precept of the RDP “was to grow the economy by redistributing wealth and alleviating poverty; the core political precept was to empower the people, to use ‘civil society’ to democratize society as well as the state” (MacDonald 2006:138). The concretization of these ideals required among other things their implementation be people centred and to be driven from below by communities.

They required engaged and lively community participation. While the White Paper on RDP is a policy statement of the ANC-led government from 1994-1996, it also indicates how businesses, unions, community groups and civic associations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), women's and youth organizations, and other groups within civil society can participate and contribute to the realization of the objectives of the RDP. It affirms participatory approaches to shaping economic life, that is, such participation is fundamental to the success of the RDP. The RDP sought to strengthen collective vision and common understanding as essential if the economy is to serve all people more transparently and accountably.

Accordingly, the RDP document acknowledges that “no political democracy can survive and flourish if the majority of its people remain in poverty, without land, without their basic needs being met and without tangible prospects for a better life. It was for this reason that “the eradication of poverty and deprivation were considered to be the first priority of the democratic Government” (White Paper RDP 1994:4). The RDP attempted to bring in quality life for the poorest of the poor and formerly marginalized communities, to narrow the gap between black and white, to reduce extreme inequalities in wealth distribution and economic ownership.

The RDP also aimed at balancing economic growth with economic development. It supported the imperative for multi-stakeholder engagement between the state (government), trade unions, business, and civil society organisations and supported collaborative and consultative work in bringing structural changes, infrastructural development, wealth redistribution and redirecting the economy (Lodge 2002:53-54).

The RDP also proclaimed the importance of maintaining a balance between the market and economic demand for growth, whilst also recognising the importance of social development and welfare demands for market economy whilst promoting human rights, economic development and social cohesion. For instance, Lodge argues that:

Balanced economic growth would be impossible without the simultaneous promotion of economic development. Without growth there can be no development. Economic growth without economic development would fail

to bring about 'structural transformation', that is, a more advanced economy and a more equitable and prosperous society (Lodge 2002:54).

Lodge further asserts that the "RDP endeavoured to combine the social democratic and socialist values with the new neo-liberal policies (trade and financial liberalization) held together with the (centrist) institutions and accords in which all social partners would be well represented" (Lodge 2002:54).

Accordingly the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) tended to emphasis those sections in the [RDP] document. "These were sections which largely demonstrate[d] the economic value of particular types of state intervention in the economy...the RDP had four essential dimensions... these were: (1) redistribution – this should be a central characteristic of government activity; (2) economic reconstruction, along a new growth path directed 'inward development'; (3) the states assumption of the role of coordinator of development; and (4) development as a 'people centred' or 'people-driven process'" (Lodge 2002: 56).

The RDP had noble intentions of fundamentally transforming the South African society through job creation, absorption of new job seekers, alleviating/ and or eradication of poverty, bridging the gap between peoples and thus finding solutions to extreme inequalities in wages and wealth, as well, as reduce the Gini co-efficiency of South Africa, considered then, to be the second highest in the world, after Brazil. It sought to address economic imbalances and structural ideological problems caused by the apartheid regime through promoting peace, reconciliation, and social cohesion, promoting the creation of expansive wealth and prosperity, and stability etc.

It is however, important to note, although the RDP had a wealth of noble aspirations of social and economic transformation, and its intentions and motives were celebrated by many as engendering social justice and economic justice in economic development and social engineering, the RDP, under the leadership of the ANC, did not succeed in eradicating poverty amongst the many poor. It did not minimise the high levels of unemployment and under-employment and it neither reduced continued job-losses. This means, it did not succeed in mitigating unemployment. It was also not successful in bridging bridge the gap between rich and poor. Instead,

South Africans continued to experience the rising figures in unemployment alongside institutionalized poverty and legalized inequalities, which excluded the majority of citizens and undermined their democratic aspirations of active citizen participation in core socio-economic decision making processes, ownership of land, and broad community based economic empowerment, not in a narrow elitist sense like in the BEE and Affirmative Action policies.

Though RDP was a generally progressive government policy aimed at benefiting the so called “previously disadvantaged”, whilst not incapacitating the previously advantaged. “One of the disappointing aspects about the grand plans of the reconstruction and development programme was the nominal if not lack of funding for RDP. Some scholars argue that it was not properly funded by government and the private sector” (Lodge 2002:57). I am of the opinion that as some argue that during President Mandela’s visit to European nations in 1994-1995, European business leaders and government officials convinced him to abandon the RDP towards a pure neo-liberal agenda. Others argue that that Mandela opted out of the RDP because his primary goal was racial reconciliation not necessarily socio-economic liberation and genuine political reconciliation (Mangu 2003:59). The RDP was discontinued as the central policy and framework for development in 1996. It was replaced by a purist neoliberal policy framework which the government referred to as Growth, Employment and Redistribution.

2.4 Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR)

GEAR is the South African government neo-liberal macroeconomic policy adopted in 1996 by the Government of National Unity under the leadership of the ANC. It is the economic framework policy that defines and establishes the broad socioeconomic, political and ideological framework from within which issues such as growth, development, reconstruction, redistribution; prosperity, justice and equality in South Africa are to be addressed. We must remember that the economic and social policy approach of the new government was formulated under strong pressure from the corporate sector and its global partners the WB, IMF and WTO hence the adoption of GEAR and the abandonment of the RDP.

Some argue that “GEAR was commissioned by a select group of leading figures in the ANC, and compiled “behind the scenes” by a handful of leading, mainly orthodox

economists. Its “appearance” was a surprise, not only to the general public, but to the rest of the ANC and its historical allies (the SACP and COSATU) too” (Martin 2000:122). GEAR was not imposed on the African National Congress the governing (ruling) party in government by the IMF and/or World Bank, but it is similar to Structural Adjustment Programmes that were imposed by the World Bank and IMF with the backing of the economic super power in the world the United States of America on the “developing” countries during the 1980s. “GEAR – like its counterparts worldwide – is fundamentally an anti-poor policy, in that it prioritises economic growth, an export orientation, privatization, and trade and currency deregulation, and advocates reducing social spending” (Kotze 2003:5).

This neoliberal agenda that has compromised the struggle in the African continent has also been critiqued by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches that “In classical liberal economics, the state exists to protect private property and contracts in the competitive market. Through the struggles of the labour movement, states began to regulate markets and provide for the welfare of people. Since the 1980s, through the trans-nationalization of capital, neoliberalism has set out to dismantle the welfare functions of the state. Under neoliberalism the purpose of the economy is to increase profits and return for the owners of production and financial capital, while excluding the majority of the people and treating nature as a commodity” (Accra Confession 2004:3). The trickle down policies of global neoliberal economies compromise the fundamental role of the state in providing welfare services to the poor, because, the interests of multi-national corporations emphasise profit at the expense of quality jobs, the environment and reducing inequality, this is the fundamental logic of GEAR.

GEAR is a total turnaround from the socially friendly economic policies of the RDP. The RDP defined main goals of socioeconomic transformation as constitutive of reconstruction and development whereas, GEAR emphasised economic growth first before reconstruction and development. GEAR is a business friendly policy for it makes life easy for big business and ensures that government will not interfere in the running of the corporate business interests in the process of socio-economic transformation, reconstruction and development.

GEAR was therefore not a policy framework which resulted in a consultative policy adopted in the conferences of the ruling party. It was not generally beneficial to the disadvantaged peoples of South Africa but to the corporate sector. This policy shows that the South African general public are the losers; the winners are capitalist whites and the black middle class.

According to the SACBC (1999:33):

In two major respects GEAR has failed so far to meet its targets- in economic growth and in job creation. Both of these are vital for the alleviation of poverty and, thus, for economic justice... Even though government has by and large met the demands of the private sector, but economic growth has been dismally poor and jobs have been lost at an alarming rate in sectors such as mining, manufacturing and construction.

The failure of GEAR to grow the economy and create jobs had devastating consequences for the victims of economic oppression particularly for the poor and workers. At the moment Black theologians have not yet respond critically to government economic policy even though “To this day 17 [20] years after the democratic era there is no agreed upon target set for the redistribution of wealth or the broader participation of the poor in the economic wealth of their country” (COSATU 2010:55).

This crisis is directly related to the development of neoliberal economic globalization, which is based on the following beliefs: unrestrained competition, consumerism and the unlimited economic growth and accumulation of wealth are the best for the whole world; the ownership of private property has no social obligation; capital speculation, liberalization and deregulation of the market, privatization of public utilities and national resources, unrestricted access for foreign investments and imports, lower taxes and the unrestricted movement of capital will achieve wealth for all; social obligations, protection of the poor and the weak, trade unions, and relationships between people are subordinate to the processes of economic growth and capital accumulation (Accra Confession 2004).

This neoliberal economic globalisation the fundamental pillar of GEAR caused untold pain and suffering for the fifty per cent population at the bottom of economic ladder, the members of tripartite alliance COSATU and SACP, the SACC, SACBC, NGO's and the community at large expressed objection to the canonical market fundamentalist orientation of GEAR. Instead the government of the ANC tried to make GEAR work better by introducing ASGISA.

2.5 Accelerated and Shared Growth-South Africa (ASGISA)

According to the Presidency, "ASGISA was approved by cabinet in July 2005 and unveiled by the Deputy-President, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, on 6 February 2006" (www.thepresidency.gov.za/electronicreport/downloads/.../asgisa.pdf, accessed 2013 19 October). In the 2006 budget speech the Minister of Finance announced an allocation of funds to ASGISA programmes. President Mbeki, at the end of the cabinet Lekgotla in July 2002, argued that the challenge facing government was not to change government policies but to ensure that they were implemented.

Mbeki argued that policy implementation meant "the accomplishment of policy objectives through the planning and programming of operations and projects so that agreed upon outcomes and desired impacts are achieved" (www.thepresidency.gov.za/electronicreport/downloads/.../asgisa.pdf, (accessed 2013 19 October). The fundamental aim of ASGISA was to translate government policy into action, ASGISA set itself the target adopted by the government from 2004-2014 to reduce poverty and halve unemployment by 2014.

Its macro-economic objective was based on neo-liberal mechanisms based on GEAR. It did not consult widely except within the executive government, town mayors, business executives and premiers. It exclude labour federations, the NGO's, religious formations, women's and youth organizations it was a top down approach, hence, it failed to halve poverty and unemployment. The fundamental problem is not strengthening systems of governance or bureaucratising the state the crisis lies in putting profits before the people, in turning the state the servant of big business not the mechanism to serve the people and the key priorities of the country, but succumbing to the demands of global economic forces that privilege deregulation, privatisation, liberalisation and unrestricted movement of capital. Thus ASGISA like GEAR also as we will see below with NGP is trying to manage macro socio-

economic changes within the inherent systemic structure of violence against the poor as promoted by capital accumulation.

2.6 The New Growth Path (NGP)

The New Growth Path is the macro-economic policy of the government under the administration of President Jacob Zuma. It is in line with the South African governments' five key priorities: Education, Health, Job Creation, Poverty Eradication and Rural Development. It is a policy that is not radically different from Mbeki's GEAR policy in method, approach, implementation, strategy and action. The biggest spending in government is education. Yet education remains the poorly managed department and a dysfunctional institution that performs below international standards compared to other African countries and developing countries in the world. The New Growth Path has been criticised by big business and the labour federation COSATU. Big business claims that the task of government is not to create employment but its task is to create a favourable environment for business to create jobs and develop the economy, a view which is often promoted by mainstream orthodox or mainstream neoliberal economists. COSATU claims that the New Growth Path is going to lead to the exploitation of young people who seek to enter the industry through poor payment, and temporary jobs that are not sustainable.

It is strange that since 1994 more than three million jobs have been lost in South Africa due to retrenchments and the mostly affected population group is the black society particularly women. The global recession that took place beginning of 2007 had negative effects for the South African economy and the most affected group was the employees in the labour industry. The ANC led government of Jacob Zuma developed the macro-economic policy based on the New Growth Path to deal with the worst global economic crisis since the 1930's. "In South African case we have lost over 1.1 million jobs between 2009 and 2010. This amounts to an average of 35 billion worth of employees incomes being lost, given the average wage of R33 773. This plunged 5.5 million South Africans in poverty" (COSATU 2010:10).

2.7 National Development Plan

NDP is supported by the NGP. It is a vision for South Africa that looks to 2030. It has been produced by the National Planning Commission by 27 commissioners coming from the academy, government, business, and the broader experts in various fields. Its transformation imperatives are to grow the economy to be bigger and better, grow Small Medium Micro Enterprises (SMME's) to play an active role in growing the economy, create employment and build sustainable jobs. For the NDP to succeed, it must face the challenges of urbanization, youth unemployment, quality education, efficient health services, diversify the economy, strengthen accountability, professionalize the public service sector, improved service delivery and create social solidarity to the attainment of a common vision.

NUMSA general secretary Irvin Jim argues that the ANC was increasingly descending into a capitalistic organisation that represented white monopoly while sinking into tyranny by supporting a exploitative labour market. "The (ANC)...want the working class to go and ask for permission from the bourgeoisie (party) about how to liberate themselves. Despite the ANC embarking on e-tolls, the NDP (National Development Plan) and labour broking, we must still go on to say this is a revolutionary organisation," (Jim 2013).

COSATU claims that

the plan itself is riddled with inconsistencies and errors, as well as selective and incorrect interpretations of the key literature. It completely confuses a number of its own figures and projections on poverty, unemployment etc. The definition of unemployment used is totally unrealistic: it uses the official or limited definition which excludes all discouraged work seekers (over 3million unemployed workers are excluded from this definition¹). Its figure for unemployment is 25% for 2010, as opposed to the realistic rate of over 36%. It proposes too many low quality and unsustainable jobs: the target of 11million jobs by 2030 is based on a plan which is unsustainable, relies disproportionately on exports, and particularly SMME Jobs, as well as jobs in the service sector. If the plan is followed, it is highly likely that many of these jobs won't materialise, and those that do materialise, will mostly be of low quality. The NDP vision is based on the acceptance that high levels of inequality

will persist until 2030
(www.cosatu.org.za/docs/discussion/2013/analysis.pdf).

It is clear that the National Development Plan which is touted as the best option for propelling economic growth and economic development in South Africa, and thus, the transformation of the economy and re-distribution of the economy does not find full favour with some aspects of society, including organised labour.

2.8 The Black Economic Empowerment as central to the new macro-economic framework.

The word “empowerment” has come to be diluted or co-opted even by its opponents of redistribution... even though the concept may have some progressive or radical origins, it has now come to be co-opted by the right wing largely to dislocate and displace the initial progressive connotations. Even the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have come not only to adopt this new nomenclature, but also to use it consistently in the 1990s (Khosa 2001:3).

The concept of empowerment has lost its redistributive, radical, transformational and progressive elements as is now used by neo-liberals in power to refer to mild, minor and reformist changes in society. This is how the diluted concept of empowerment came to be used in reference to BEE in the South African context. It is worth noting that all these economic policies, albeit with some differences here and there, all entail a component or some conceptions of empowerment. The RDP, GEAR, NGP and NDP, encourage Affirmative Action and Black Economic Empowerment programmes that encompass social change, economic transformation, and overcoming historical disparities caused by apartheid economy.

According to the ANC website:

BEE is an integrated and coherent socio-economic process. It is aimed at redressing the imbalances of the past by seeking to substantially and equitably transfer and confer the ownership, management and control of South Africa’s financial and economic resources to the majority of the

citizens. It seeks to ensure broader and meaningful participation in the economy by black people so as to achieve sustainable development and prosperity. In essence, BEE is about attempting to create a degree of economic equality which would not itself be a natural market outcome of the changed political environment (1<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/charter.html> accessed 29 Nov 2013).

Accordingly, the beneficiaries of these deals the black diamonds and black elites see these programs as significant pointers socio-economic transformation that seek to create economic equality for marginalise blacks even though these initiatives serve the small percentage of well-connected blacks. That's why for black diamonds and black elites reconciliation with whites is prioritised than socio-economic justice for all the victims of colonialism and apartheid. It is because now the black bourgeoisie have equal opportunities with whites on educational, social, political, economic and business tenders and serve as directors and chairman's/ chairwoman's of giant corporations both in the public and private sector. Programmes like Affirmative Action and Black Economic Empowerment which are aimed at bridging the gap in the social, public and economic sectors have secured their narrow economic interests within the devastating machinery of neoliberal policies.

In 1996, the idea of a black economic empowerment fund was first mooted...The linkage between the government's BEE strategy and privatisation raises a number of issues...This is ideologically managed through the idea that is in the interests of the majority of citizens, if not all. But the majority do not stand to benefit from BEE deals as it is currently formulated. A strong critique of the elite character of BEE is widespread in the society (Greenberg (2006:24).

BEE is a capitalist pro-privatization concept that significantly benefits the black middle class because of its elitist character, it is unable to transform society and bring genuine reconciliation.

What is BEE? It is a government-driven initiative to de-racialize the economy by providing Black people with an opportunity to own and manage mainstream economic resources. BEE is trying to achieve

economic equality not through redistribution, but through growth by promoting equal exposure to the mainstream economy for Black and white people. BEE is a growth-based initiative (Jack & Harris 2007:6).

Jack and Harris acknowledge that fundamentally, BEE is not trying to achieve economic equality through economic redistribution but through economic growth, within a neo-liberal paradigm. Some social commentators like Moeletsi Mbeki argue that:

BEE was, in fact, invented by South Africa's economic oligarchs, that handful of white businessmen and their families who control commanding heights of chemical and engineering industries and finance. The object of BEE was to co-opt leaders of the black resistance movement by literally buying them off with what looked like a transfer to them of massive assets at no cost. To the oligarchs, of course, these assets were small change (Mbeki 2009:56).

Mbeki continues to say that the problem with BEE is not only its implementation but the very concept of BEE is a flawed concept; it has nothing to do with development but its sole objective it is look after the interest of rich corporations (2009:60).

Mbeki (2009:59) argues to the contrary:

that many people believe naively that BEE was an invention of the ANC, BEE was an invention of big business. Who did not want businesses or the economy to be radically transformed but were willing to twist their businesses to include a few black people. In order to see BEE succeed big business had to take care of the top ANC cadres. BEE is, in fact, reparation for the wrongs of the past. BEE and other forms of rent seeking policies have all but replaced entrepreneurship for their country's black elite.

BEE has done substantial damage to the entrepreneurial culture in the black community. Today, people are scrambling to be part of BEE deals instead of trying to build their own companies (Mbeki 2009:59-61). These economic reform measures

were meant to deviate the ANC from transforming economic policy to serve the needs of poor South Africans through a socially redistributive mechanism.

It can be said that emergence of Black Economic Empowerment has blessed the continued disempowerment of ordinary black South Africans. They have benefited a few black elite classes but did not distribute the economic empowerment to many who are considered historically disadvantaged. However even though we have voting rights, they are meaningless because our economic policies are dictated by multinational corporations and the Bretton Woods of institutions that seek to protect the privileges of rich white South Africans.

The inclusion of black people, women, the disabled and young people within the professional bodies of the economy in South African society occurred alongside the expansion of unaccountable corporate power in the economy and government and unleashing of arbitrary police power in poor communities and townships. The result is a black middle class achievements that constitute black progress alongside devastated black working and poor communities that yield unprecedented increases in prison populations and overlooked victims of police abuse. The church in the new South Africa has most frighteningly expressed concerns about a deteriorating public morality – even among those who have responsibilities in national life.

In this section we argue on whether do the economic policies of South Africa promote justice and equality asserted by the constitution of the Republic of South Africa? The current socio-economic policies continue to promote or exacerbate-marginalization of blacks from the economy, promote an economy which continues the divide between the rich and the poor etc. which is unjust and unethical by its very nature. “All economic life should be shaped by moral principles; economic choices and institutions must be judged by how they protect or undermine the life and dignity of the human person, support the family, and serve the common good” SACBC (1999:17).

The South African economy fails the ethical test because the standard for collective human success in society is not about how many black people were made millionaires by BEE deals but by the absence of poverty, starvation, and hunger

among poor black people in the rural areas and townships and eradicating the ever growing gap between the rich and poor.

Indeed, the test of orderliness in a country is not the number of millionaires it owns, but the absence of starvation among its masses...In South Africa, where I had the privilege of associating with thousands of our countrymen on most intimate terms, I observed almost invariably that the greater the possession of riches, the greater their moral turpitude (Gandhi 1991:17).

Eradicating poverty, reducing inequality and creating an enabling environment for personal growth, community development and national prosperity for should be the measure of success not just a few rich greedy multi-millionaires as Gandhi correctly argues.

The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid labourers. The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation (Marx 1980:32).

Unfortunately as Marx argues the commodification of human life at the altar of market fundamentalism has destroyed the collective spirit of humanness, now that many people are converts to Mammon the god of materialism.

2.9 Rising Unemployment and Underemployment

It is important to note that in spite of the policies which have been discussed above, unemployment continues to be one of the factors that contribute to the challenge confronting our young democracy. It continues to rise by about two to three per cent each year (Altman 2003:158). Government's ideological prejudices compromise its inability to address unemployment, which is the single biggest challenge confronting our democracy. The main sources of employment growth for lower-skilled labourers have been found outside the formal economy, primarily street trade, car wash and domestic work. "In South Africa the number of unemployed youth is growing faster than any other group young people are 'queuing' for jobs only finding work after age

30... almost 72 per cent of the unemployed are under 35... of the unemployed under the age of 30 years of age, 73 per cent had never worked before” (Altman 2003: 162).

The emergence of the black middle class in South Africa should not mislead people that the lives of ordinary black South African have changed, especially the lives of black employees in the mining, property, finance, agricultural, retail, and manufacturing industries. It must raise questions about the quality of life for the majority of citizens.

It is clear that, even 20 years after the establishment of democratic South Africa, blacks in South Africa still suffer the remnants of apartheid ideology and the currency of globalisation and capitalist market economy. Many remain at the bottom of the strata in the economy. Many black people continue living as poor, unskilled, illiterate, unemployed, and those who are employed continue to still struggle to meet the basic necessities of their families. They join the ranks of those who are in literature, considered as under-employed. It is appalling that, whilst expectations were of economic transformation and economic justice in the post-apartheid period, the reality is that Capital and white minorities continue to hold similar advantages in South Africa than it holds in most developing societies.

It is scarce and mobile, whereas labour is plentiful and stationary. Recognizing these as facts of life, the ANC, after some hesitation, opted in favour of capitalist democracy during negotiations on the new constitutional order. It is clear that the different macro-economic policies have not largely yielded in the participatory economy which they claimed to entail. They have also promoted growth but most of this economic growth has not resulted in transformed economy.

“Since 1994, the South African economy has grown at a far better rate than in the 1980s. However, growth did not result in the creation of new jobs. On the contrary, many formal jobs have been shed in the 1990s. Employment numbers declined at all levels of the public service, but this was more pronounced in the transport, storage and communication services. Employment in the formal labour market continues to decline” (Khosa 2001:445). “While unemployment among Africans was already serious in 1995 (when 46 per cent were unemployed), it has become far more serious over the past six years. It is estimated that almost 55 per cent of the potential

African labour force cannot find jobs in the modern or formal sector of the economy” (Terreblanche 2002:433). Unfortunately the reformist economic growth in South Africa is not labour-absorptive but technologically orientated with minimum employment chances for the majority of unskilled job-seekers.

I have observed that where blacks were employed on a permanent basis, they are now employed on a contract or temporary basis with no benefits. The unskilled and minor-skilled black labourers have no fixed job description, no working hours, and no uniforms. The global capitalist idea of flexible work has been imposed. Blacks still remain the lowest paid population in South Africa due to unfair labour laws influenced by neo liberal policies. The RDP proclaimed that labour policy should emphasize education, training, skills development, ‘a living wage’ and collective bargaining. These however are not supported by businesses for example multinational co-operations are looking for cheap with less influence from the trade unions, and this unfortunate situation is becoming a global trend in the employment sectors.

Owing to the extensive use of the machine and division of labour, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman...Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois State; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the over-looker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself (Marx 1980:35).

“Every perspective on economic life that is human, moral, and Christian must be shaped by three questions: What does the economy do for people? What does it do to people? And how do people participate in it” (USCB 1986:5)? The denigration of human life experiences by workers, contradicts the plan of God envisioning work as sacred not as slavery, oppression and exploitation as is the case in the capitalist societies. “The economy exists for the people, not the people for the economy; for this reason the Church teaches that labour-meaning workers and management-must enjoy priority over capital” (SACBC 1999:26). Since black bourgeoisie have come to power through the help of white oligarchy’s life has become so materialistic that greed has become a norm nearly in all relationships in the public of South Africa. Suddenly everything is about money, power, prestige, and capital accumulation the

values of kindness, justice, Ubuntu have been lost at the altar of greed for more money in the democratic South Africa.

It is clear therefore that different interventions will have to be put in place to create a just economy with the human face in South Africa. Mosala (1989:132) argues that the current economic injustices and disparities were made possible by the “exploitative South African economy comprises an increased accumulation of wealth for the benefit of the white few in equal proportion to the increased poverty of the majority black population.” To break the backbone of this economic injustices and disparities requires that currently the transformation in South Africa which emphasised firstly political transformation, then the second revolutionary transformation must bring economic wealth to ordinary South African citizens.

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter sought to present the four macro-economic frameworks and policies which have underpinned the economic path of democratic South Africa, since 1994; it has discussed the RDP, GEAR, ASGISA NGP, and NDP. It has articulated the contents of the frameworks, they have also stated the periods in which these were enforced or put into action. Not only did the chapter merely discuss these policy frameworks, it has also exposed their contradictions, which include its vision to transform the economy so as to be inclusive, participatory, create an enabling environment for employment and growth through its focus on AA and BEE. Finally, it showed the strengths and limitations of the policies. In the next two chapters we will focus on the land, rural development and some key economic questions which demonstrate contemporary economic questions in South Africans democratic discourse.

THE LAND QUESTION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT JUSTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, our focus is to explore the role of the South African Black Theology of Liberation for economic and social justice, especially on the land question as a constitutive element of just or unjust economic distribution of South Africa's resources. This chapter explores the land question as a site of economic development and economic justice in democratic South Africa. I agree with Fanon (1963:34) that "For a colonized people the most essential value, because the most concrete, is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread and, above all, dignity". This is precisely because, the land question, and the questions of land ownership, land uses and its distribution were among the major areas of contestations against colonialism and apartheid regimes.

This study contends that we cannot speak of socio-economic justice in South Africa (Azania) without the land question. The land in Africa and in South Africa in particular, has become a contentious politico-economic concern because it was coercively taken through violent means, which were also justified by not only the politico-economic ideologies, but also by the deliberate and calculated misinterpretation of the Bible which justified such annexures of land. For instance, the usurpation of land by Dutch Settlers in South Africa, often historically referred to as 'the great trek', was perceived as analogous to the annexure of the Canaanites land as entailed in the second book of the bible, Exodus, by the Israelites. The Dutch settlers in South Africa, saw themselves as the chosen few who had to take over the African land, for they believed it was the Promised Land, in similar ways that the Israelites justified their occupation of Canaan and annexure of their land and exploitation of the Canaanites as a constitutive part of claiming the 'Promised Land'. Equally, the Dutch settlers conquered South Africa's lands, inhabited by Africans, claiming to have discovered such lands, and using the notion that such lands were uninhabited and thus could be claimed for ownership.

It is important for this study therefore to state that in the context of these historical experiences that the land question in South Africa is not only a political, social, anthropological, cultural, economic and psychological reality, but it is also a biblical, theological, religious and ethical issue of importance. Brueggemann 1977:3 argues that “our false spiritual interpretation of scripture which has made landlessness a virtue instead of a condition for receiving land”. There can be no political, economic, and racial solution in South Africa if the land problem is not tackled. Land is particularly important for those who have lost it through colonialism, apartheid and resettlement programmes.

According to Mafeje:¹²

It is important to point out that the concepts [land ownership and private property] that were used to characterise African land tenure systems were derived from European jurisprudence... Regarding the concept of ownership of land in black Africa, after many years of legal artifice it is agreed that the concept is alien to African customary law.

We need to deal with this European juridical legal framework that introduced alien forms of land ownership and private property if we are to make headway in addressing the land question particularly in Southern Africa.

Thus Mafeje (2003:4) critically states that it

is interesting to note that most African governments do not have any land policy to speak of, but essentially have an agricultural policy (one of the exceptions is Ethiopia after the 1974 revolution). This is not surprising,

¹² This critical observation by Mafeje is important though I will not debate or discuss it here in detail, but it is significant in dealing with the land question to be sensitive of how the land question is conceived in other African countries within the parameters of African customary law. It is also critically important to study how European jurisprudence has distorted and disrupted the land issue in Africa with its neo-liberal capitalist accent on the commercial and market value of the land as more important than its cultural and/ or identity related value which is largely antithetical to the ways most African's view land, that is, not only as a commodity, but as a common good that is resourceful for all people and which should accordingly be shared by people. .

given our contention that there is not land question in sub-Saharan Africa, except in the white settler societies of Southern Africa.

The question why do African governments not have the land question but have agricultural policy, it's because nowhere in the world did the settler colonialist dispossess so much land to themselves like they did in Southern Africa. Hence they have the agricultural question and we have the land question.

It is equally an important issue for those who have been bequeathed with land that was expropriated via colonialism and settlement, as well as through commercial transaction. This chapter therefore will explore how land distribution in South Africa is an indicator for development and economic justice in South Africa. It will engage in multidisciplinary dialogue with social and human sciences, the experiences of land distribution and its relation to economic transformation in South Africa. It will also draw on insights from biblical witness. "Land is central, if not the central theme of biblical faith. Biblical faith is a pursuit of historical belonging, that includes a sense of density derived from such belonging" (Brueggemann 1977:3). The land question has historically and in biblical times or witness been an issue for contestation and a focus for prophetic witness. According to the SACBC (2012:2)

Biblical stories such as the exodus from the slavery in Egypt inspired the dispossessed and oppressed people in South Africa to dream about liberation and a different South Africa. Thus, liberation in 1994 is not the end of the story. It must be completed with rooted-ness, landed-ness, and belonging, where people may live out their covenant relationship with God, the ultimate creator and owner of land.

It is thus the task of this chapter to identify synergies in these diverse epochs and the lessons which ensue for current context and learning.

3.2 The Land Question and land as an indicator of economic justice

The land has been one of the highly contested socio-political and economic issues of the modern South Africa. On the one hand, there continues a debate that contends the validity of Africa theories of ownership of land or land uses prior to colonialism. On the other hand, there are discourses which analyse and attempt to understand the land question in South Africa using the historiography of conquest of Africa through colonialism, imperialism and apartheid, for South Africa. This study will limit itself to the colonial apartheid context, and the post-apartheid, democratic South Africa.

Historically, white settlers in South Africa appropriated more than 90 per cent of the land¹³ under the 1913 Natives Land Act, confining the indigenous people to reserves in the remaining marginal portions of land. These reserves ,were largely referred to as homelands, and in the urban development areas, they were designed as townships, with buffer zones between them and the central commercial districts and urban suburbs, often times inhabited by white peoples with black peoples only allowed, for work purposes only.

The Land Act of 1913 and complementary labour legislation were the legal tools employed to destroy a whole class of peasant producers, forcing them into already crowded reserves or driving them into new and arduous social relationships- as farm workers, as mine labourers, and later in the least skilled and most badly paid positions in urban industrial, municipal and domestic employment (Lodge 1983:2).

These land patterns, have not radically changed, and thus the land question still has currency in the current democratic dispensation. Democratic South Africa has not yet yielded large-scale land reform. This has been because of a number of factors. Moyo (2007:72) suggests that one of the reasons for this is that, “land redistribution initiatives in the [SADC] region have been constrained by legal, institutional and constitutional frameworks influenced by the market-oriented approaches.”

¹³ Land distribution in South Africa is highly skewed with 80 per cent of land ownership largely in the hands of less than 20 per cent of South African citizens, whilst 20 per cent of land is distributed to more than 80 per cent of South African citizens.

Kritzinger (2008:109) is also of the view that

[T]he Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, along with homeland legislation and the Group Areas Act, systematically racialized land in South Africa in the 20th century, thus putting a racist stamp on it (87% white and 13% black). This has meant that there can be no meaningful reconciliation in South Africa unless this situation is redressed.

Whereas many people argue that apartheid and its land dispossession project were underlined by racial discrimination. This study however, contends that, to a large extent, racial discrimination was used as a catalyst, conduit, and cover up for land dispossession and the exploitation of African mineral and biotic resources such as gold, diamonds, platinum, bronze and agricultural product. Thus any theological reflection in the post-apartheid era that does not take seriously the land question and economic justice must be viewed with a hermeneutic of suspicion as irrelevant to the exigencies of its context and period, thus has the potential to become an unauthentic theological discourse.

As part of the reconciliation and redistribution of land following apartheid demise, the National Government of Unity set itself some targets to distribute land to the previously disadvantaged groups, in particular, the majority of black people who were marginalised by apartheid land distribution. This was clearly entailed in the reconstruction and development plan as discussed in chapter 2. The target for land reform, adopted in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994 was to transfer 30 per cent of the agricultural land within five years and was later supported by the World Bank (Hall 2007:88). This goal of the RDP distribution of land was to be achieved through a market led programme based on the principle of '*willing buyer- willing seller*' government policy.

It is however, important to point out that, through the 'willing buyer, willing seller' thought, by 1999, only "less than 1 per cent of agricultural land had been transferred through all aspects of land reform"(Hall 2007:88). Upon realisation that that the land reform was painstakingly very slow, the government in year 2000, reviewed its land

policy adopted a new target for land redistribution at 30 per cent over the coming 15 years in 2015. By the end of 2004 “a mere 3 per cent of the land had been transferred to African hands” (Ntsebeza 2007:119). In 2011 only 5% of the land had been redistributed. This to a large extent shows the failure of land redistribution in the new democratic dispensation South Africa, whose aspirational thrust was distributive and based on economic justice

Ntsebeza (2007:107-108), for instance, has raised critical and provocative questions as to whether it is possible to embark on a comprehensive land redistribution programme while recognising and entrenching land rights acquired through processes akin to distributive patterns of colonialism and apartheid, as well as those of the market economy. He questions the centrality of the ‘willing buyer, willing seller’ as the key approach to land distribution. Ntsebeza argues that the centrality of the “property clause” as another phenomenon central to land distribution is equally an impediment to the possibility of genuine transformation. He argues persuasively that there is a fundamental contradiction in the South African constitution’s commitment to fundamental land redistribution to the dispossessed while at the same time protecting existing property rights. It is correct to say the two cannot happen at the same time. I agree with Ntsebeza that the two cannot happen at the same time, for this contradicts the very of essence of liberation, justice, reconciliation and transformation.

According to Mosoma (1997:37), the government “White Paper on Land Reform”¹⁴ after the repeal of the infamous Land Acts affirmed land restitution as unfair and implementable process. He argues that the government is adamant in its commitment to a political policy that places land on the system of private ownership to be bought and sold at an open market, thereby ensuring that land remains in the hands of a few rich whites. The government provides a sophisticated legal arrangement for continued spates of land dispossessions, since the document guarantees the existing white title deeds.

¹⁴ Land reform was one of the fundamental issues that the democratic government focussed on as part of its reforms to the apartheid systems and was the subject of the white paper in 1996.

It is important to note that, whereas land was generally expropriated from Africans via colonialism, apartheid and annexures of huge amounts of land without compensation, the land distribution in the democratic dispensation, is however, based on market economic values and processes. This for example means, whereas white settlers took over land ownership in Africa and South Africa in particular, either through the gun and or for free, the post-apartheid distributive approach is based on land for sale, and land as a commodity that the state has to buy back from those who owned it via colonialism and for free. White settlers from the 17th century, through the process of colonialism and land dispossession, ended up legally appropriating more than 90 per cent of the land, a process that was formalized with the passing of the notorious Natives Land Act of 1913 as stated earlier in this chapter. The appropriation of land via the stated modes supported by white Christians and endorsed by the white church confined indigenous people to the reserves in the remaining marginal portions of the land, resulted in great dispossessions and injustices.

It is thus clear that, the infusion of the property clause as an integral aspect of the distributive process of land, based on market economic processes, and through the advice of the international financial institutions was entrenched via the macro-economic policy and constitutional law, even though it was not a just and fair system of distributing land. This approach to land distribution can thus be viewed as unjust, and entailing historical amnesia of worst proportions to the injustices that South Africans were subjected to, when their land was violently taken and without recompense. It is also important to note how the market economy and thus the commoditization of land, became entrenched in law, in the South African democratic constitution. This implied that injustice was proscribed into the law and made normative. Whereas the law should function to promote justice for all citizens, in this case, the law was utilized to promote socio-political theft and economic injustice, through the compulsory prescription of the 'property clause' in the new Constitution of the democratic South Africa.

From the 1980s onwards, under the influence of international finance institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and through their policies which were largely of orthodox and neoliberal economic slant, state-led

market reform and economic interventions, such as those which had a distributional and transformative slant, especially on land reform “were removed from the development agenda and replaced by a concerted market-based land policies (Moyo & Hall 2007:151). The market-led model of land reform has sought to displace the state, communities, churches and progressive land rights groups from directing and influencing the process of land redistribution. One of the justification which has been used for nominal transformation and distribution of land to most African communities or individuals, has been that they do not have skills to keep land or farms commercially viable, a point which often obfuscates the tenure systems which existed prior to colonialism, and the ways Africans managed land ownership, and user rights toward the attainment of quality life.

Mainstream arguments, especially those which hinged on neoliberal and orthodox economic approaches which were often punted about the limits of land reform in democratic South Africa, often intentionally precluded to note or affirm that prior to the discovery of gold in the 1860's, indigenous people were successful farmers. They also often negate to mention that, many local South Africans had lived on the land, but with the discovery of minerals particularly gold, they were coerced into to poorly paid wages as labourers, after the imposition of tax systems and other laws which alienated them from the land. While colonialism and apartheid systematically undermined African agriculture, white farmers, on the other hand, benefitted from substantial state subsidies (Hall & Ntsebeza 2007:15). Mafeje quoted in (Ntsebeza 2007:109) suggests that, apart from the state subsidies, white capitalist agriculture has flourished as a result of the availability of a captured cheap African labour.

The crisis of the land reform policies directly relates to the social, cultural and economic injustice. Many black South Africans have been forced to live in areas where there is inadequate land to cultivate, or whose soil structure is not good for agricultural or other developmental opportunities. This legacy of land dispossession has produced a cycle of poverty, dependence, meaninglessness, and powerlessness among blacks in the new South Africa. The land crisis in South Africa is a crisis of moral vision and ethical leadership. The mere fact that the land, water, other natural resources and the earth are treated like commercial commodities and sold like manufactured products is unethical and immoral to say the least. It also

demonstrates the inadequacy of socio-economic justice related to the land question which clearly shows that environmental justice and the dignity of the land and the earth as God's gracious gifts for the wellbeing of every human being and the entire creation are undermined at the altar of maximum profit.

The current distribution of land in the democratic South Africa, wherein more than 70 per cent of land lies in the hand of minority white people and little more than 20 per cent in the hands of the majority black citizens and communities, clearly demonstrate the social and economic inequities and injustice of land distribution. It also highlights the prospective limitations of these to the consolidation of democracy in South Africa for the present and future. As stated in the introduction, land distribution, whether as land ownership or user rights to land are clear markers of economic fairness and justice. The statistics of land ownership and user rights in South Africa in the current conjecture definitely demonstrate economic injustice in the land. "According to the logic of the market, there is no land question at all but some economic imbalances that have to do with access or lack thereof in the market. So, there is no question that land ownership in South Africa was also hinged on historical land theft. This was solidified by the climate of political correctness in the land discourse and the moralistic posture of a country that claims to have no violent past in it, but just a past that people should just be transcend to build a better future" (Sithole 2014:4-5). This line of thinking is problematic of denying the question of historical land theft and denying the violent past and suddenly focusing on building the future, without addressing the historical issue of land theft and structural racism.

Hendricks (2013:29) argues that there is actually very little direct scholarly debate in the recent historiography of land reform in South Africa this is informed by the fact that debate about the land and its future is to be found in the popular press than in academic journals or scholarly books. To raise the land question in academia is to raise an interdisciplinary question, which demands scholars to critically engage this question in various theoretical perspectives particularly the property clause and the willing buyer willing seller policies concepts, have not yet received sufficient theological critique particularly in Black theology.

Section 25. (1) “No one may be deprived of property except in terms of law of general application, and no law may permit arbitrary deprivation of property. (2) Property may be expropriated only in terms of law of general application - (a) for a public purpose or in the public interest; and (b) subject to compensation,” (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa: 1996:10).

Whilst the constitution allows for expropriation of land within the confines of the law and with compensation, the problem with this formulation is its neoliberal undertones and its justification of land theft. Hendricks (2013:32) states that “the property clause in the constitution together with the so-called limitations clause (section 36 provides for limits to the rights in the constitution) makes expropriation an extremely complex and litigious option under the current circumstances”.

Another major problem in the property clause, section “25 (6) A person or community whose tenure of land is legally insecure as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to tenure which is legally secure or to comparable redress. (7) A person or community dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to restitution of that property or to equitable redress” (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996:10). I agree with the analysis of Sithole (2014:4) that

The Native Land Act of 1913 is not the beginning of land dispossession as the post-1994 land discourse seems to suggest; but rather, it is a continuum of the racist-settler-colonial land theft that was inaugurated in 1652. The difference, of course, is that the Native Land Act legalised land theft and institutionalised, naturalised and normalised the existential condition of landlessness of blacks.

The problem with starting land redistribution in 1913 is to individualise the land question, and deal with it as a rural question with nothing to do structural injustice that led to the dehumanisation of blacks through socio-economic

injustices and ‘proletarianisation’ of black unfree labour. I agree with Terreblanche that “South Africa’s modern history has been shaped by a special relationship between the poor, land and labour”.

I do not necessarily agree with Hendricks et al (:2013:14) that “the land question will not be resolved by monetary compensation to beneficiaries as restitution for land rights lost through apartheid laws”. There can be no genuine and just land distribution without entailing restitution and restoration at the centre, especially when the land in question had been taken without any payment. It is therefore clear that, for the land question to become just and meaningful for all, including the majority citizens of South Africa whose forebears were stripped of land ownership and/ or land user rights, the question of restitution has to be at the centre in finding the solutions to the unjust land distribution and the associated inequalities in South Africa amongst other options. This will therefore require detailed understanding on how land ownership and/ or access amongst urban and rural communities are addressed to promote economic justice and equality for all. It will also require a clear and considerate analyses on how interventions such as rural development plans and programmes have become resourceful or not, to the quest for land reform and economic justice.

3.3 Rural Development in the Democratic South Africa

The deliberation on rural development in democratic South Africa (1994-to date) cannot be constructive if it does not attend to the colonial and apartheid and post-apartheid period which created their marginalisation. Colonialism and apartheid were rooted in the dispossession of the African people of their land, the destruction of African farming and the deeply entrenched exploitation of wage labourers, including farm workers and their families. Rural underdevelopment, poverty, inequality and joblessness are to a large extent the consequence of centuries of underdevelopment and exploitation consciously perpetrated on the majority of the population, which had its most destructive and enduring impacts on rural South Africa (Kepe and Ntsebeza 2003:5-6). The roots of economic injustice in the post-1994 era, characterised by the marginalisation of rural areas and the exploitation of the migrant working class

system can be traced to the colonial and apartheid periods. These had negative repercussions for rural development.

Joblessness is unacceptably high in rural areas where the majority of those employed earn extremely low wages. This structural crisis of rural poverty hit the hardest on women who represent the majority in rural communities. Many rural areas still lack basic infrastructure such as good roads, clean water, and electric supply. The current structure of commercial agriculture is the outcome of centuries of dispossession, labour coercion and state subsidy for the few during colonialism and apartheid on Afrikaner agricultural industries.

While, The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) set a target of 30% or about 25 million hectares of agricultural land to be redistributed to blacks in the first five years (1994-1999) of democracy. This did not manifest the democratically elected ANC led government in post-apartheid did not use its political decision making power and will to enforce the agenda of rural development and land restitution as not using its political will to champion to land restitution. Instead it protected current, mainly white Afrikaner farmers, corporate landowners and the minority of black middle class. It largely neglected the indigenous black owners of the land and left many of them poor remaining without land that was taken from them with the barrel of the gun. In agreement with this, Mosala notes that the democratic government has also entrenched ownership of the South African land to foreign hands, and this disables the just distribution of the economy. For instance, he says:

Whatever the conditions of subjection of a people to foreign domination and the influence of economic, political and social factors in the exercise of this domination, it is generally within the cultural factor that we find the cultural germ of challenge which leads to the structuring and development of the liberation movement (Mosala 1991:24).

Mosala (1991:20) argues that the black church and Black theological reflection in the democratic and postcolonial Africa must deal with the subject of economic justice and land redistribution as an act of culture. We must draw cultural strength from

black history to liberate the bible from its oppressive white hermeneutics of domination, enslavement and land theft. Thus we must envision rural development and the problem of the scarcity of land for housing in major cities for housing, recreation, economic development, in principle requires that in the democratic dispensation, the intersections between theological reflection and development theory, and economic globalization and the ethics of justice and the theological approaches to economic theory in South Africa be deconstructed from below. Furthermore this means we need to critically expose the inherent injustices in the fundamental nature of the economy of South Africa. Thus the task of Black Theology of Liberation must be to deal systematically with the issues of inequality in South African society, to unpack the legacies of apartheid in the structure of the state of our country and the systemic discourses that reinforce the perpetuation of poverty, unemployment and lack of quality service delivery in black townships and rural areas.

Along similar lines of argumentation, are the perspectives of Andile Mngxitama, a political commentator and activist who contends that, the democratic government has instead, chosen a path of development of private property and alienated the development of public commons. Concurring with Mosala, Mngxitama argues that the development of exclusive golf estates and “selling Africa to non-Africans, is becoming an institution. South Africa is fast becoming a mecca of exclusive golf estates, privately-owned shopping malls, and the agricultural paradise for the wealthy at the expense of the landless indigenous people” (Mngxitama 2004:46).

Ten years of freedom have not freed the seven million farm dwellers, or more than 15% of the population, who continue to be semi-slaves on white-owned farms, unprotected by democratic changes, constitutional rights and the new legislation from arbitrary evictions, denial of burial rights, brutal assaults, racism and the litany of human rights violations (Mngxitana 2004:38).

Mngxitama further suggests that farm dwellers face unconstitutional evictions common during the colonial and apartheid eras. Their houses are demolished, stock impounded, they are denied access to clean water, they attend schools under trees,

have muddy class rooms, still walk long distances to access health care, and the sexual abuse of women and girls is still highly prevalent (Mngxitama 2004:26).

The fundamental structural transformation of South Africa in its current state is nominal without the land question being at the centre of social justice, cultural emancipation, economic transformation and political change. It's a reality no one can deny that the foundations of racist South Africa were built on the history of land dispossession. I agree with the analysis of Mngxitama that to raise the land question is to dispute history, and to confront the history of land dispossession is to ask for an end to South African "civilisation" (Mngxitama 2004:45).

The subjugation of black people to poverty, unemployment and inequality is based on modernising, civilising, developing and building South Africa at the expense of blacks who are victims of these initiatives. It is the ethical responsibility of the African church to build an alternative civil society from below to counter this distortion of historical injustice based on the struggle for land redistribution, land restitution and land restoration. Mngxitama argues that there must be political will and political power to push for land reform. He, however, believes that the current government "will not exercise it because white privileges, bottom line. I cannot think of any other rational explanation" (Mngxitama 2004:50).

This is also expressed by the leading biblical scholar Mosala. According to Mosala, a critical reading of the Bible in Black Theology in the South African context must identify pertinent aspects of black history and culture when tracing the theme of wealth and poverty. Such an attempt must tackle three pertinent issues: land, economics and culture (1991:20). Mosala (1991:20-21) pronounces that ownership and non-ownership of land forms the basis of wealth and poverty, and that the Exodus movement was based on the struggle for land ownership and control, and the right to cultivate the land. The struggle to free oneself from poverty caused by landlessness is an act of culture. This is so because the wealth of the powerful classes, both in the Bible and black history, was the product of cultural domination and land ownership.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the analyses of the land question is of paramount import for understanding the democratic economic conditions for all South Africans, and as well, for the distributional politics which expose the on-going economic injustices in democratic South Africa, particularly as entailed in the 'property clause', and the market dimensions of land reform. Focusing on the land as the locus and site of analyses to understand the socio-economic justice agenda for black theology and ethics in particular, are important as black theology derives its sources from the concrete lived reality and biblical witness. This chapter therefore, argues that in order of black theology and ethics to become emancipatory and liberate large numbers of South African citizens, especially of African descent, who are marginalised from full participation in the economy, the land question must, and has to become central to Black theological reflection in the quest for justice in South Africa. The land question and land redistribution suggests this chapter, proffer clear liberational opportunities for black theology and for black South Africans. It offers moral clues and inspiration for black communities and theology to radically explore ways in which they can contributed to land reform in ways that they are not alienated, but are empowered to own and or use land in ways beneficial to their lives, and not those that are death dealing. This therefore implies that, black theologians and black South Africans must be agents of transformation and ought not to leave such transformational agenda, to market forces and neoliberal ideologies which are often inimical to their broad implications for sustained life for all.

THE ROLE OF BLACK THEOLOGY IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 Introduction

In order for us to fully appreciate the roles and tasks of Black Theology in the post-apartheid/ democratic South Africa and post-colonial Africa, and its relevance to economic transformation and economic justice, it is important for us to understand the historical context of Black Theology in South Africa and the world over, prior to 1994 and during the era of colonialism and apartheid. This is essential in order to understand the relevance of theology as a site of economic justice and economic transformation then and now.

This chapter discusses the origins of, and the factors that led to the emergence of Black Theology during apartheid. It identifies the ways in which Black Theology attended to and addressed the land question and economic justice then and now. It also outlines its role in the current conjuncture. It will be equally important for this chapter, to identify the requisite role of Black Theology today and the ways it contributes to the socio-economic transformation and justice. It is also important to explore how it contributes to radical prophetic witness in support of justice and fairness in democratic dispensation. These, the study contends, will be the requirement to see forth the new agenda of Black Theology in the democratic South Africa. The meaning of liberation in the context of reconstruction and development, and critical relations between the Church and the State in the new South Africa will be evaluated.

4.2 A Broad Perspective of South African Black Theology

The emergence and development of Black Theology are closely associated with the African experiences of colonisation, the contestation and efforts toward liberation from the tentacles of colonial oppression, subjugation and exploitation. It is also linked with the efforts by Africans and African theologians (and those in solidarity with them) to overcome and eradicate the exploitation and marginalisation of people of African descent from socio-political and economic power and associated socio-economic benefits, as well, as the means towards self-determination. Black

Theology is thus understood as a theological articulation of God's justice and option for those on the underside of dominant and domineering exploitative power, to the pursuit of the fullness of life (John 10:10) as proclaimed by Biblical witness and God's incarnation through Christ.

In order to clarify the paradoxical experiences which might be at the heart of the initial sensibilities toward the development of Black Theology, Mofokeng (1984:125) makes the following point:

The armed colonial arrival of Europeans in our country determined the response of our forefathers [and foremothers] to this incursion. Their act of forcing a foreign capitalist economic system down our forefathers [and foremothers], as well as that of relegating them to a position of cheap labourers, determined the nature of the social, political and economic history of South Africa.

The armed colonial arrival of Europeans from 1652 meant also the "[colonial] introduction of Christian religion at gun point by these European colonisers and settlers who determined the history of the Christian church in South Africa" (Mofokeng 1984:125). Since Christian religion was introduced at gun point from its genesis in South Africa, many indigenous peoples viewed or experienced it as a handmaiden of colonialism and capitalism that posed a serious threat to their culture and their heritage the land. The armed and technologically militarised Europeans who invaded the Cape of Good Hope were driven by economic interests; they enforced themselves cruelly on the indigenous peoples through brutality, might and forced labour.¹⁵ Christianity in South Africa since 1652 has "never been politically neutral, it was used by Dutch and British colonialism to justify and legitimate colonialism, imperialism and European superiority" (Nolan 1988:1).

¹⁵ It is important to note that, whereas in South Africa Christianity and its spread are closely associated with the colonial encounter, Christianity in Africa has not always been the result of such encounter. The inter-cultural/ political and intellectual exchanges which took place between Sudan, Ethiopia, Alexandria, Egypt and other North African countries, Libya included, point to other modes and or expression of the acquaintance of Africa with Christianity which although important, are not the subject of our discussion.

4.3 White Supremacy and Economic Injustice

South Africa's historiography and history generally agree that the arrival of Jan Van Rieberg in 1652 (this point was stated in the previous chapter) inaugurated the colonial conquest of South Africa and subsequently the modes of colonial land acquisition, dispossession and economic domination of the Africans in South Africa, and generally within the African continent. Other scholars argue that the 'external' "discovery of gold and diamonds from the 1860's onwards, brought about rapid capitalist development in South Africa" (Martin 2000:53). It was the British that rendered South Africa as the colony of Britain and ensured that the gains of South Africa serve to unite white socio-economic interests at the expense of native Africans. What Afrikaners did was to unite, bless, confirm, expand, aggravate and make it legal to marginalize blacks and use state resources to advance Afrikaner interests.

The formation of the National Party (NP) in 1914 represented the beginning of the economic, political, social and religious organisation of Afrikaner nationalism with Afrikaans as a medium of communication. The founding ideology of the NP was based on recognising that there is a cultural difference between Afrikaners and English speaking whites and that they can work together on issues of national importance such as segregation and the white domination of every area of life-government, economy, finance, religion, culture, society and education. (van der Westhuizen 2007:9). The emergence of the NP represented the beginning of the entrenchment and justification of the racist policies in South Africa in the twentieth century and gave a new meaning to ethnicity and nationalism based on white supremacy and racist politics rooted in racism (van der Westhuizen 2007:10). Accordingly the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism was a "deeply conservative variant of Calvinist religion that formed an essential part of the ideology, as did a mythologized history that turned the Afrikaners into a God chosen people and the Great Trek into the equivalent of the biblical Exodus from Egypt to the 'Promise Land'" (van der Westhuizen 2007:12).

According Lephakga (2013:2):

The relationship between politics and religion (theology) in South Africa can be traced back to the influence of the Kuyperian so-called neo-Calvinism, Scottish evangelicalism and romantic nationalism which helped

to form and strengthen the Afrikaner civil religion. The Afrikaner civil religion was an attempt by the Afrikaners, after their arrival in the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, to establish themselves as a unique people before God with their own civil liturgy, sacred days and leaders. Afrikaners came to South Africa as colonists from different countries and then later blended as the Afrikaner people, who had their own history, language and culture. All this was greatly influenced by the doctrines of John Calvin (Villa-Vicencio & De Grunhy 1985:39-51, De Klerk 1975:3-21, Giliomee 2003:355-402).

Lephakga's analysis unpacks the pseudo-theological foundations of Afrikaner civil religion and its distorted biblical claims that led to institutional violence, racism and land theft.

This implied that South Africa's apartheid governments saw themselves culturally and politically as very much part of the West, with the country having been part of the 'white dominions,' with Australia, Canada and New Zealand. As Hendrik Verwoerd, one of the key architects of apartheid put it: 'We look upon ourselves as indispensable to the White World... We are the link. We are white, but we are in Africa. Verwoerd claimed that whites had brought civilisation, economic development, order and education to Africa and that South Africa would determine the continent's destiny. In a similar vein, an earlier South African premier, D. F. Malan, talked of 'preserving Africa for white Christian civilisation' " (Adebayo et al 2007:18).

The neo Calvinist ideology¹⁶ of the NP incorrectly believed that black people were an inferior race, culturally backward; morally childish and that their duty was to do

¹⁶ "Neo-Calvinist ideology describes a social/ theological concept which is closely associated to protestant theology or approaches. It is understood to entail "civil religion – which was greatly influenced by the Kuyperian (neo-Calvinism), Scottish evangelicalism and romantic nationalism – came under the banner of the Reformed tradition (theology) to South Africa. The Reformed tradition (theology) in South Africa, which was greatly influenced by the pseudo interpretation of the doctrines of Calvin, played a crucial role in separating people on the basis of race and colour, and thus promoted the ideologies of apartheid (Williams 1991:1-7). The civil religion was also greatly influenced by the Dutch theologian Abram Kuyper, who was one of the founders of the Free University of Amsterdam. This university had great influence on the architects of apartheid in South Africa. This Afrikaner civil religion, in the South African

menial labour for the master white baas (van der Westhuizen 2007:18). Thus policies were developed that prohibited blacks from owning land, inter-racial marriages and voting rights.

However, the apartheid policies of separate development that began in 1948 denied blacks their citizenship and gave them no political and economic rights the apartheid government implemented various legal policies preventing black people from taking part in the mainstream economy. The apartheid regime justified this by employing biblical interpretation to reinforce this erroneous theological philosophy gospel of Jesus of Nazareth. In this way the Word of God was misused to impose a violent form of Western capitalism in the place African communal economic norms and values. They destroyed African's collective sense of identity reflected in the values of Ubuntu, genuine spirituality and caring for nature.

This has implied to some extent that South Africa's history is not only a history of oppression and suffering, but it is also a history of struggle, resistance, resilience and claiming justice with dignity. The response of the dominant society to the poor has been supported by an imperialist, "state" theology which taught black people that God was on the side of the powerful, rulers. This theology, enforced by the colonialists and many missionaries, has been used to legitimate the subordination of people, cultures, races and classes. It has been used in South Africa to support apartheid, enforce sub-standard Bantu education, discriminate against women and promote unrestrained capitalism.

According to Biko:

There is no doubt that the colour question in South African politics was originally introduced for economic reasons..., the race problem started as

context, formed what came to be known as neo-Calvinism. This kind of Afrikaner theology, which was greatly influenced by the Kuyperian theology, emphasised God's sovereignty over all spheres of life. The Afrikaner theology was later racialised when it emphasised that God had created the white person (civilised) different from the black person (heathen). This kind of thinking of the Afrikaner theology was later translated into the apartheid theology, which produced theologised politics (Villa-Vicencio & De Gruchy 1985:39-51). Through the influence of Abram Kuyper and the doctrines of Calvin, Afrikaners wanted to have a purified nation of Afrikaners who would be proud of their language, culture and religion" (Lephakga 2013).

an offshoot of the economic greed exhibited by white people, but it has now become a serious problem on its own (1978:87).

The fact that a minority of whites both British and Afrikaners, owned the wealth of South Africa under false Christian values and gave a biblical justification to social injustices made black Christian scholars and thinkers to realise and that they are on their own, and that whites are not serving their socio-economic interests but the interest of a racist white minority at the expense of African people.

4.4 Black Theology and the socio-political and economic questions in South Africa

The methodological approach used in enunciating Black Theology and its role is based on the understanding of Black Theology as a theologically that utilises critical reflection, and logical thought, which engenders inductive and deductive processes, in theory and praxis. It is a theology of justice, dialogue and liberation relevant for South Africa prior to 1994 and today, in the democratic dispensation. It is in part and due to the context mapped briefly in the above, that is, the context of colonisation, exploitation, marginalisation and oppression that black theology evolved as a theology which articulated the dignity of black people in the context of the conquest of, and dispossession their lands and the associated oppression, exploitation, marginalisation and dehumanisation which accompanied these.

Black Theology as stated before according to Lebamang Sebidi (1986:21) suggests that Black Theology and its development are best expressed by the pioneering Black theologian James Cone, when he challenges people who contest the existence of 'Black Theology', and as well, judge it as a theology based on colour, and therefore considered exclusionary.

Cone cited by Sebidi, tersely explains the etymology, development, task and stance point of Black Theology in the following way:

[they say] theology is colourless! Such judgements are typical of those who have not experienced the concreteness of human suffering expressed through colour, or whose own comfort has so long accepted a

theology which is colourless only if one is talking about 'white' as the absence of colour.

To ignore Black Theology is the easy way out... but what is more interesting, though not surprising is the white response that theology does not come in colours. They who are responsible for colour being the vehicle of dehumanisation are now telling us that theology is raceless, that it is 'universal' (international). This seems a bit late after nearly 400 years of silence of this issue.

Black theologians wonder why we did not hear the same word when people were being enslaved in the name of God and democracy precisely on the basis of colour. We wonder where were these colourless theologians when people were being lynched because of the colour of their skin...To criticise the theology of the victims because it centres on that aspect that best defines the limits of their existence seems to miss the point entirely (James Cone cited in Sebidi 1986: 21).

In concurrence with the reasons undergirding Black Theology and its tasks as stated by Cone in the above, (Sebidi 1986:21-22) reiterates that one of the central concerns of Black Theology is to uncover "in a systematic way, the structures and forms of black experience. In short, it aims at investigating anew 'the problem of the colour-line.'"

Sebidi (1986:35) thus summarises the importance of Black Theology to the issues of economy and economic justice, stating that:

as long as the black people in this country suffer a double bondage: racial oppression and economic exploitation, the task of Black [T]heology will always be double pronged. Racial capitalism is the name of the game. This is the sin that black theologies want to uncover and eradicate in God's own name. The term 'black' must be perforce remain prefixed to 'theology' because of the [many years] 'blackness' in this country has been the symbol of economic, class exploitation. That prefix emphasised this crucial point, which no black can forget in a hurry.

A similar view is also expressed in Goba (1986:59) who traces the developments of Black Theology and its concerns for economic and social justice in South Africa, to

the politics of oppression and the quest for liberation by South African Black theologians. He says, whereas the political agitation for freedom was grounded in black consciousness, the holistic concern of the structural injustice of this oppression, is embodied in Black Theology. This approach suggests that one should understand the interface of black consciousness with Black Theology in order to understand the socio-political and economic implications of black consciousness and Black Theology.

Goba (1986:59) asserts that:

Black consciousness is defined as a programme of black political self-awareness, a quest for black pride—hence the slogan, ‘black is beautiful’. Black consciousness is an attitude of mind or a way of life. In this context, black consciousness is referred to as an ontological concept, one which pertains to the meaning of being black in the world.

Goba suggests therefore that, in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of its relationship with Black Theology, a reference to Boesak’s work is necessary. Boesak rightly points out that, Black Theology is undergirded by the ontological and existential reality of black people in the world and in South Africa, which largely undermine their dignity. For Boesak:

Blackness is a reality that embraces the totality of black existence...[it] is an existential category which depicts a mode of existence that has an aesthetical orientation as well as a political one that becomes political philosophy that justifies a strategy in engaging in the process of liberation. This is why we get an emphasis on the ideas such as dignity and solidarity in a given context of political struggle (Boesak cited in Goba 1986: 59).

Goba (1986:59) therefore suggests that black consciousness can in essence be understood as a “political philosophy whose goal is to forge and promote the struggle for black liberation in a world of white domination.”

Black Theology has contributed positively in dismantling the demonic apartheid ideology of oppression. Through the guidance of the Holy Spirit and a deliberate re-reading of scripture, black theologians have sought to ethically present the view that

Christianity is not a religion of oppression, dehumanisation and domination but a religion of liberation, full humanisation and a prophetic ministry against injustices.

Through the descriptions of black consciousness and Black Theology proffered earlier on, it is important to assert that it as a radical contextual interpretation of Christian faith from the perspective of black people who are dehumanised by oppression, imperialism, segregation, and neo-colonization in the South African context, and who assert their dignity and the fullness of life (John 10:10) which is denied to them through the socio-economic injustices meted out at them.

Kritzinger presents a challenge to dominant missiology 'from the underside' posed by Black Theology. Thus studying and responding to the missiology of Black theologians, those organic intellectuals who articulate the anguish of the dominated classes as well as their determination to become subjects of history (Kritzinger 1988:2).

Like other theologies of liberation, it must be understood against the situation of pain, humiliation, degradation and exploitation. Black Theology is a theology of black liberation which is rooted and grounded in Jesus Christ, the liberator of humankind from any form of bondage. Apartheid theology had instilled in black people low self-confidence, negative thoughts, an inferiority complex and ignorance. Black Theology seeks to contest such oppression and thus the abuse of Christianity and affirm the innate dignity of black people whilst simultaneously denouncing white supremacy and its efforts at dehumanising black people.

Maimela (1998:112, 1993:100) defines "Black Theology as a conscious, systematic theological reflection in response to Black experience, characterized by humiliation and suffering in racial societies, it arose in the sixties in North America and in the seventies in South Africa."

In my view Black Theology is a deliberate, rational, critical and systematic effort by blacks to reinterpret Christian faith from the perspective of the liberation of the black community. Put differently, then Black Theology is a theology of black liberation. Black Theology emerged in South Africa as the theological interpretation of Black

consciousness from a black Christian perspective. “Black Theology in South Africa... came into being as a cultural tool of struggle propounded by young black South Africans who were influenced by the philosophy of the new black consciousness” (Mosala 1989:1).

South African Black Theology is a radical critique of apartheid, a protest against a white colonialist God of oppression and a criticism of western theology as a status quo liberal theology that serves the rich and the powerful at the expense of the oppressed people of God. It is in particular theological response to a unique situation of racial domination and oppression. It speaks against white supremacist theology that abused its cultural, social, political, economic, educational, technological, and military power to dehumanise black people and rob them of their land.

Kritzinger (1988:3) argues that no “missiology [and theology] can ignore the double challenge emerging from Black Theology: the attack on missionary complicity in the causes of black suffering, and the call to Christian involvement in the struggle for liberation”. While all South Africans and the world at large can be proud of the political and human rights transformations that have taken place over the past twenty years. Unfortunately, similar achievements cannot be claimed for socio-economic transformation. Ugly remnants of systemic exploitation, structural injustice, cultural domination and economic discrimination from the extended period of colonialism still remain intact in the new South Africa.

The gospel of liberation encompasses a radical soteriology and pneumatology that questions the root causes of economic exploitation, cultural domination, political oppression, and social alienation for these are contrary to the message of liberation found in scripture. It calls for a revolutionary transformation of the structure of the apartheid and it vehemently protests against the racist unregulated capitalist ideology that deliberately made western theology conceived as dealing with timeless truths applicable to any context in the world.

Theology in liberation theologies is free from the linear relationship between theory and practice and from the enslavement of the Greek dualistic thought pattern, but is now done in context with a view of liberating humankind from bondages of racism,

sexism and classism. Hence, I choose to do Black Theology to articulate Christian theology from the perspective of the black Christian church and to contribute towards the theoretical development of Black Theology in South Africa. In chapter one I stated that the faith of black Christians in the context of poverty, domination, segregation, rape, domestic violence, social alienation, racism, sexism, classism and oppression all products of the apartheid regime have inspired me to do theology as a radical Black Theology of liberation.

Black Theology accordingly, “needs a new exegetical starting point if it is to become the material force capable of gripping working class and peasant masses” (Mosala 1989:21). For example the young revolutionary organic intellectuals in Black Theology contributed towards unmasking the false pretensions of apartheid as a distorted biblical political philosophy and its false economic biblical theory of capitalism as being contrary to God’s liberation of the oppressed and dehumanised black masses. “In summary, the Christian part of Black Theology states that the God of freedom, through the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ the liberator, has provided a journey of faith and hope to be free” (Hopkins 1999:5).

There is a need to do justice to the black situation characterized by political domination, economic exploitation, exclusion of women in decision making processes and denying blacks the basic necessities of life like water, sanitation, housing and so on. Hence I contend that doing theology and biblical studies is not ideologically neutral or an apolitical stance even though many white and black Christians claim they are not involved in politics. Unfortunately many Christians both black and white claim that the Bible has nothing to do with politics, but this passive approach to religion as apolitical indirectly perpetrates and supports the status quo and socio-economic injustice in political discourse, for evil prevails when good men and women are silent.

4.5 The Tasks of a Black Theology of Liberation

Fundamentally Black Theology has been and continues to be primarily a theology of truth, justice and liberation. In South Africa it vehemently protests against the logics, theologies and praxis of apartheid and capitalist theology based on racist policies

and separate development, in the past and today. Black Theology thus radically protests the evil treatment of the black community in a pro-racist and patriarchal society and affirms theologies of life-in fullness, as attested to by Jesus's assertion of his missional calling, as the annunciation of the fullness of life for all God's people.

Secondly Black Theology calls for a revolutionary change that strives to transform the miscellanies of apartheid regime and their continued marginalisation of the black people and black communities through economic injustices. Its task is also to draw on biblical and theological witness toward justice and to mobilise black people against the economic injustice of their oppressors and times. "Economically, the ANC government ditched the anti-capitalist rhetoric of the principle and upholds in practice the institutions of capitalist society, and is implementing orthodox neoliberal economic policies" (McDonald 2006:125). Black Theology and Black Consciousness have always been critical of political liberalism:

on the surface political liberalism is attractive: it calls for a single unified multiracial South Africa wherein all its citizens shall enjoy universal suffrage accompanied by civil liberties, regardless of race, colour, creed or ethnicity. Furthermore, the arguments of political liberals, nevertheless, converged with those of economic liberals... Society is thus the organ to serve the individual...politics has to play a secondary role to economics (Sono 1993:10).

According to Mosala, (in Methula 2014:112) "after years of liberal ideological domination of the opposition space, it was BC [Black Consciousness] that exposed the hypocrisy and moral bankruptcy of liberalism and liberals. BC unseated liberalism; it drove it into exile; it liberated our people from its seductive appeal". Today the greatest challenge facing Black Theology and Black Consciousness is to unseat liberalism and free the church, our communities and our country from its seductive appeal.

The dominion of market fundamentalism – the central place that has been to neoliberal economics post 1994, which continues to disembowel the poorest of the poor, is a form of religion we can only welcome by betraying the gospel of Jesus Christ. The hegemony of pragmatic politics

which has resulted in a skewed logic of justice does not only render our reconciliation discourse post 1994 “heretical”, but also dislodges our theology from its foundational interlocutor, while market fundamentalism attains a pseudo-religious status (Vellem 2013:5).

We cannot remain the church of those on the margins by embracing neo-liberal policies that continue to disempower the poorest of the poor and betray the prophetic mandate of the gospel of Jesus Christ in post 1994 democratic South Africa.

Thirdly, Black Theology aims to inspire in Blacks a sense of worth, dignity, pride, self-confidence, self-esteem, positive self-image, and self-love with their own subjective blackness. “Black Theology recognises that God, through Jesus Christ and the presence of the Holy Spirit, works with the poor as they learn to love themselves enough to practice their total freedom and create their full humanity on earth as it is in heaven” (Hopkins 1999: 5). What this means is that blacks will no longer view themselves as “second class citizens” nor view themselves as a cursed nation because of the sin of Ham (Gen 6:1-10). But instead they will refuse to be defined as non-white; or subhuman but they will love themselves and celebrate being created in the *imago Dei*.

Black Theology is also based on eradicating the socio-political, economic and prejudicial logic, which finds comfort in the annihilation and exploitation of black people whilst celebrating the dominant who subjugate African's and deny their full humanity. This is tersely articulated by the political activist and student leader, Biko when he states;

The logic behind white domination is to prepare the black man for the subservient role in this country... The first step therefore is to make the black man come to himself, to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity, to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth (Biko 1978:30-31).

For Biko, the liberation and emancipatory role of Black Theology, is not only in the denunciation of the evil that apartheid in its social, political and economic injustices

purported, it is also in igniting in black people or people of African descent, their agency and spurring them to address and overcome their internalised oppression and subjugation, and to pursue and claim liberation, justice and dignity for themselves, their communities and to proclaim justice whenever and wherever it is not manifest.

Fourthly, Black Theology contends unapologetically that Christianity is fundamentally a religion of liberation. The purpose of theology is to analyse “the meaning of that liberation for the oppressed so they can know that their struggle for political, social, and economic justice is consistent with the gospel of Jesus Christ” (Cone 1970: vii).

Fifthly, Black Theology aims towards liberation from the oppressive apartheid economic system. Mosala (in Hopkins 1989:133) “insists that any Black Theology not founded on such a materialist economic analysis will prove heretical and false prophecy.” The theologies of liberation (race, gender, culture and class) played an essential role to dismantle the demon of apartheid’s structural injustice. Now in the new South Africa they have a mandate to proclaim the prophetic message of economic transformation as consistent with the gospel of Jesus’ total liberation of humankind from poverty and eradicating the legacy of white supremacy in South Africa.

The momentous political transformation should be urgently complemented by an equally momentous socio-economic transformation in order to de-racialise the economy, get rid of the ugly remnants of racial capitalism, and end poverty and destitution. It is indeed unacceptable that such a large percentage of black people should still be doomed to live under such appalling conditions at a time when the wealth of whites remains largely intact, and when members of the new black elite also live in extravagant wealth and luxury (Terreblanche 2002:441).

The political compromises made in Kempton Park in 1993 had one ultimate objective to subjugate, conquer and dominate blacks on the economic front. Hence the 1994 elitist transition did not transform the structure of economic injustice, the reason

being “racism is an institutionalized way of life in South Africa¹⁷” Biko (2012:97). According to Pityana, Black Consciousness philosophical method, and social analysis developed under the leadership of Steve Biko drew much from the pedagogy of the Latin American grassroots development movement, through the work of the Brazilian educationist Paulo Freire and his seminal work, **A Pedagogy of the Oppressed**, which served as early influences (2008:4). “Biko developed his political ideology and critical social analysis based on three critical themes: fear, Bantustans and liberals. While it is a known fact that Black Consciousness did not emerge as a political ideology or as an alternative to the ANC or PAC but it emerged as a philosophical approach, a way of life, as a hermeneutical social theory focusing on three prongs: culture, religion and social solidarity” (Pityana 2008:5).

4.6 Black Experience as a source of theory and praxis of theology

This discussion on black experience as a source of the theories and praxis of Black Theology is important if we are to articulate a relevant and emancipatory Black Theology in democratic South Africa. Cone rightly argues that, in order for theology to become meaningful, liberational and thus, to conform to the annunciation of the ‘Good news’, as proclaimed through biblical witness, it must among other things, engage in dialogue with social analyses, and thus social and human sciences for comprehensive discernment. For instance, he argues that “There can be no black theology which does not take seriously the black experience: a life of humiliation and suffering” (Cone 1970:23). Black experience is the source of doing Black Theology and core if not the cornerstone of a Black Theology of liberation. I agree with Cone (1970:25) that “black experience is a source of Black Theology because this theology seeks to relate biblical revelation to the situation of blacks in America [and in South Africa]”. Black experience serves source, a mode of theological reflection and praxis because liberation theologies are experiential theologies. During the era of white settler colonialism and apartheid the indigenous black community were given a small percentage of the worst land areas in their own motherland they were treated as “dumped people right in the middle of the township Townships like Alexandria and others were a white way of saying that blacks are third class citizens

¹⁷ Even though Biko made this statement during apartheid, nothing has changed in the democratic era racism however sophisticated it is these days but it is an institutionalised way of life in South Africa. Although the statement was made during apartheid era, it still remains current today and majority of black people still remain in the margins of economic power, and/ or privilege.

and sub-humans fit only to live with rats in degrading and squalor conditions” Mofokeng (in Hopkins 1989:133)..

4.8 The roles of Language and Theology toward justice

One of the tasks of Black Theology as articulated by many Black theologians, whether in South Africa or in Africa’s Diaspora, is that, all meaningful and transformative theologies must be interested in the languages in which they communicate and/ or are constructed. This for example, implies that, in order to comprehensively understand from what the black communities need to be liberated or saved from, as in the soteriology or the story of salvation of Jesus Christ, we must first understand how such communities, speak of their situation, analyse their situation and as well, speak through their diverse languages, of their own roles in their emancipation. Put differently, one of the important tasks of theology is to develop a new consciousness based on the struggle for bilingual/multilingual consciousness as the continuation of the black resistance struggle against new emerging forms of cultural exclusion, social marginalisation, and black degradation.

It is also to engender the roles of African languages as repositories, conduits and/ or catalysts for liberation and the conservation of black intellectual social histories, primarily embodied in cultures of human dignity. The fact of the matter is that through language, communities and individuals carry theological studies, education, science, technology, economic development, law, political ideology and our class formations. This question relates to the Christ and culture theological discourse. There is a deliberate misinterpretation of liberatory verses that deal with the language question like the *Tower of Babel* (*Gen 11:1:9*), the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (*Acts 2:1-13*) and Galatians 3:28 that deal with the cultural, political and gender mandate.

If Black Theology is to remain relevant and an emancipatory theology for black communities, then, the centrality of language as a resource of theory must be at the centre stage of its theoretical praxis engagement with black communities. The question is how black theologians and African organic intellectuals use language in their preaching, public speaking and public engagement in black churches and black community meetings. The question what needs to be done to ensure a paradigm shift in how we deal with these language problems? What kind of spirituality must we

be rooted in, and in which direction should we be spreading our wings to bring solutions to the crisis of language? Since theology is done for the community of faith unlike the philosophy of religion which is done for individual development. The kind of spirituality we must develop should not be an intellectual assent of Christian faith nor mere scholarship for its own sake but the transformative encounters that bring healing, reconciliation, forgiveness, repentance and liberation.

Language is significant for the church in South Africa as it bridges and crosses cultural, linguistic and religious obstacles in creating relations based on peace with justice. They are also relevant to the advancement of shalom, the Reign of God and the eschatological message of the triune God in the context of exclusion, even in democratic South Africa today.

In 2013 pro-Africanist and Black Consciousness political organizations like Pan Africanist Congress, Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Socialist Party of Azania, engage black constituency in foreign languages, particularly English. Many of these political organisations have not yet critiqued the use of English as a *lingua franca*, which promotes the disadvantaging of the whole transformation process. Mother tongue languages are in the periphery, marginalised and excluded in the public domain.

It seems as if most South Africans have bought into the globalising culture that has established English as the language of international trade, entertainment and communication, to the detriment and exclusion of smaller languages like Afrikaans and other African languages (Kritzinger 2008:16).

The denial and discouraging of the importance of the language question, I submit, serves as a cover-up of cultural genocide, black oppression and the total destruction of African languages and indigenous, life-affirming theologies embedded in them.

If the ruling ideas in South Africa are the ideas of the powerful and affluent, then the ruling language is the language spoken by those with political power, economic might, technological expertise and scientific knowledge will be English to reinforce their hegemony. Progressive sectors in our society have not yet unpacked the structure of language and economics, because they view or interpret the social and

political problems in economic terms, not in broader socio-linguistic and intercultural terms of reference. Thus their progress is not related to genuine liberatory consciousness, but to serve the status quo tendencies based on reformist attitudes.

Though African languages and African music are part of black culture, it is important to note that, for the purposes of this article, I choose to separate them from African culture, because of their influence on the black youth in the post-apartheid, democratic South Africa.

I strongly contend that Black Theology in the post-apartheid era has to seriously engage with policy-makers to understand that African languages are important not only for cultural purposes but also for scientific, educational, economical, technological, social, and political purposes. Language is culture and language carries our identity and fundamentally shapes our role in society thus it is critical and very important.

In South Africa and looking forward to social justice, economic transformation, constitutional law and political liberation, the issue of language is very important in the decolonisation of South Africans. According to Ngugi (2009: 63), “the development of our languages is the prerequisite of real African renaissance”. Ngugi (2009: 66-67) says that writers like Nadine Gordimer and Anta Diop rightly emphasised the fact African writers cannot speak of taking the new century for African literature unless writing in African languages becomes the major component of the continents literature. Without this, one cannot speak of an African literature.

Can we talk of Black Theology and African Theology in South Africa when the languages we use to theologize are European languages? Can the illiterate, the poor, working class and ordinary church members believe our genuine commitment to the liberation paradigm speaking in the Queens language? Why have the seminal writings and speeches of Steve Biko, Robert Sobukwe, John Mbiti and other African intellectual giants have not been translated into African languages?

In an article **The Power Of Babel: Reading Gen 11:1-9 in South Africa** by Kritzinger, he suggests that Genesis 11:1-9 should be read as an anti-imperial text because what was wrong with the city builders was not that they wanted to be like God, but what they did wrong was to create a concentration of power in one place,

through building a political-economic empire that would oppress the languages and cultures of the other, thus threatening to thwart the will of God (Kritzinger 2008:13).

Kritzinger further asserts that we need to encourage theological students in South Africa, not only to read and write theology in English, but also to articulate their understanding and insights in their home languages. It is not healthy if theology is studied only in English and ministry is done only in Sotho or Zulu or another African language” (Kritzinger (2008:19). Nurturing a bilingual or multilingual consciousness in Black Theology can help us retell the story of Black Consciousness, pan-Africanism, Black Power and African Theology.

4.10 Black Culture and the Quest for Social and Economic Justice

Black culture which consists of creative forms provides essential and indispensable sources for Black Theology: music, dance, poetry, art, sculpture, languages, *ubuntu*, Black Consciousness and African Traditional Religion. Black Theology must take seriously the cultural expressions of the black community “in the interest of building a black theological weapon of struggle” (Mosala 1989:130). The land question, Black Consciousness, African philosophy, African Traditional Religions and African Independent Churches, which are all important and play a central role in the Black Theology cultural trend occupy an essential role that feature prominently, and they play an important role in my radical Black Theology of liberation which is a characteristic of the Black Theology political trend in South Africa. I believe these cultural resources have positive, transformative and radical practical implications for black solidarity and a dynamic black community which mandates a collective lifestyle based on communalism and corporate personality among members of the black community and not a capitalist individualistic Western way of life.

Furthermore, it is an invitation for black theologians to dialogue with some of the great thinkers of Africa such as Nkrumah, Fanon, Nyerere, Luthuli, and many other thinkers whom I believe can sharpen our theological perspectives and make us even more aware of the cultural revolution that is currently going on in our great continent (Goba 1988: 14).

In developing the theological-ethical methodology to Black Theology issues of African culture, black Christian culture, African Traditional Religions and black popular culture are foundational and fundamental. Our African cultural values rooted

in Ubuntu and corporate personality must guide, inform and develop solutions to socio-economic crises in post-colonial Africa.

4.11 The Marginalisation of African Culture and Economic Justice

The economic marginalisation¹⁸ of blacks in South Africa is rooted in their cultural exclusion. The problem of economic injustice is reinforced by the neglect of African culture as a force and a strategic mechanism in socio-economic development. To liberate the wealth of this country from its neo-liberal economic tones sustained by capital global media and biased technological progress requires that African cultural thought patterns serve as an alternative source in the construction of a new society based on egalitarianism. According to Mosala (1986: 99) “A Black Theology of Liberation must draw its cultural hermeneutics of struggle from the critical re-appropriation of black culture”.

Ubuntu and care for nature highly regarded in the African world view must inform our political and economic ideology. In the 21st century, as Africans we must link culture, land and economics as starting points in rebuilding African democracies, the rule of law and charting a human rights environment founded on justice, African socialism, egalitarianism, democracy, peace and stability.

In the past the South African theological scene would have been connected to any part of the world except Africa. In fact there is an on-going tendency among all South Africans to speak of South Africa as if it was some place outside of Africa. What we are saying about South African theology can be said of African theologians from other parts of Africa (Maluleke 1996: 18).

Cornel West (2001:19), a leading African American theologian and philosopher, suggests that:

We should reject the idea that structures are primarily economic and political creatures, an idea that sees culture as an ephemeral set of behavioural attitudes and values. Culture is as much a structure as the

¹⁸ Economic marginalisation comprises of all the theories which justifies the exclusion of other people, whether as individuals or communities from constructive and meaningful participation as agents, not just consumers in the economy. It involves processes where individuals and groups (communities) are ignored or excluded from the economic centres of power and relegated to economic peripheries by structures of capital accumulation.

economy or politics; it is rooted in institutions such as families, schools, churches, synagogues, mosques, and communication industries (television, radio, video, and music).

Culture is dynamic, a super-structure which involves and interfaces with economics, politics and religion. African culture is progressive, practical, relevant and philosophical; it is not based on romanticising the African cultural worldview, but on problematizing African cultural historical methodology in order to guide current political, social and economic discussion. Our incorrect view of culture reinforces our economic marginalisation, financial ruin and wealth powerlessness. Thus, in South Africa, Black Theology must connect African intellectuals to African culture for this has significant implications for the teaching and the shape of Christian theology in Africa (Maluleke 2000: 1).

The economies of Western countries are rooted in their cultural thought patterns. There will be minimal progress until we seriously view culture as an economic asset, resource, utility and a necessity in the development of African societies. The land question in South Africa is simply a cultural question. We cannot address racism, sexism and classism in a vacuum but within the broader African cultural context. Currently, there is an intellectual, scholastic and scientific crisis rooted in a cultural vacuum. Language is a crucial aspect of culture. The question is, can we liberate our economy without liberating our languages and culture? In my view, it is impossible.

The attitudes of the black middle-class and white capitalists are negative towards African languages, African religious view and automatically towards African culture. If we neglect and underestimate the relevance of culture in post-modern dialogue, we are psychologically, socially, politically, educationally, spiritually and economically committing genocide against everything that is African.

In developing a theological-ethical methodology to Black Theology, it is important to state from the onset that issues of African culture, black Christian culture, African Traditional Religions and black popular culture are foundational and fundamental. Our African cultural values rooted in Ubuntu and corporate personality must guide, inform and develop solutions to socio-economic crises in post-colonial Africa. According to Mosala (1986: 99) "A Black Theology of Liberation must draw its cultural hermeneutics of struggle from the critical re-appropriation of black culture".

Black Theology in South Africa post 1994 has taken seriously the cultural expressions of African Christianity and Black Theologians are moving closer to African Theology (Motlhabi 2008). In the twenty-first century, paradigm shifts have taken place in Black Theology the Exodus hermeneutic motif has been diminishing or the Exodus motif becomes part of the reconstructive motif (Phiri et al 2010: 185-202).

In the post-apartheid era since (1994) Black Theology is a culturally sensitive and open to African Christianity dealing with diverse issues including: global warming, gender injustice, re-emerging forms of dictatorship, economic marginalization, and tribalism. The emphasis both on the exodus motif and the reconstruction motif as a developmental trend in African Christian theology are important especially because thus in South African Black Theology must connect African intellectuals to African culture for this has significant implications for the teaching and the shape Christian theology of Africa (Maluleke 2000:1).

Christian faith in Africa has played a dual role as an oppressor and liberator of African peoples. It gave a theological and a biblical justification to colonization, segregation, imperialism, racism, slavery, domination, capitalism and the conquest of African land and her people. It negatively denounced African thought patterns, customs, culture, norms and values and betrayed African Traditional Religion on the other hand, it has positively contributed towards the civilization of Africa people through education, science, technology, business innovation and through preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ throughout the whole of sub-Saharan African continent.

Christian missionaries and Western civilization to a large extent, facilitated some semblance of the development of modern cities through infrastructure development, economic expertise, constitutional legal structures, and the rising standards of education and democratic political institutions of government in Africa, albeit, to serve mostly, colonial interests, if not those of the few African elites. With this dual heritage in mind, the central question in the 21st century African Christian Scholarship is how to contribute positively, theoretically and practically in the decolonisation of the African mind, soul, and spirit?

The Christian church must renounce its dualistic character founded upon a false epistemology and begin to play a unitary and singular role of rebuilding African societies in the post-colonial era. It must play a holy, pure, clean and faithful role in helping African political leaders build democracy, economic development, social cohesion, cultural institutions and social change, as part of its prophetic ministry of justice, reconciliation, peace and liberation. It must preach the gospel of radical political change, social justice, economic transformation and the values of UBUNTU. The church must give hope, faith and love to African leaders in their quest for true humanity founded on the gospel of Jesus Christ and African values in the light biblical ethics.

The church must engage in partnership with government, business, Non-Governmental-Organisations (NGO's), civil society, and cultural organisations towards the holistic, whole, complete and total development of the African state, society, religion, economy and education. We as Africans must break free from low self-esteem, poor self-image, negative thinking, and lack of self-confidence, undermining our worth, and underestimating our potential and break free from the feelings of guilt. In the 21st century we must rediscover our true purpose, meaning, value, worth, dignity, and significance.

4.12 The Role of Biblical Witness in Economic Justice

According to Takatso Mofokeng (1991:52):

No statement in the history of political science as well as that of Christian missions expresses the dilemma that confronts black South Africans in their relationships with the Bible with greater precision and has whipped up more emotions than the following: 'When the white man came to our country he had the Bible and we had the land. The white man said to us 'let us pray'. After the prayer, the white man had the land and we had the Bible'. With this statement which is known by young and old in South Africa, black people of South Africa point to three diametrically related realities. They show the central position which the Bible occupies in the

on-going process of colonisation, national oppression and exploitation. They also confess the incomprehensible paradox of being colonised by a Christian people and yet being converted to their religion and accepting the Bible, their ideological instrument of colonisation, national oppression and exploitation. Thirdly, they express a historic commitment that is accepted solemnly by one generation and passed on to another- a commitment to terminate exploitation of humans by humans.

It is a well-known fact in South Africa that the Bible was used as an ideological weapon to colonize, oppress, exploit, marginalise black people and frustrates their plans for self-determination, self-reliance and self-development.

The primary and a normative source of all Christian teaching in social, political, economic and scientific thinking is the Bible the Word of God. In order to understand the message of a radical Black Theology of liberation we must find out what the Bible teaches about politico-economic morality, social justice and the liberation of humankind from any form of bondage whether it is gender-based, race-driven or class-focused.

The liberation of the Israelites¹⁹ from Egyptian bondage illustrates the fact that God is against political oppression, economic exploitation, slavery, women abuse, cultural domination, ecological destruction and social marginalisation. The Exodus is a paradigm, standard, measurement and a fundamental authority in how God detests the exploitation of humans by other humans. One of the great events recorded in the Old Testament is the emancipation of the Israelites from Egypt the house of slavery and this event shows that the God of the Old Testament is a Great God of Liberation.

The prophets of God both the major and minor prophets like Jeremiah (4:28, 12:4, 22:22-18-29, Isaiah 1:16-18, 43:18-21) in the Old Testament have spoken against economic exploitation, political oppression, social injustice, violence, bribery and the worship of idols and abuse of power by those in authority. For example prophets like

¹⁹ The liberation of Israelites from Egyptian bondage during the slavery in Egypt should not be confused with the situation of Zionist currently in Israel and the entire world where, there are certain theological, social, political and ideological tendencies to marginalise Palestine through brutal warfare, economic sanctions, invading Palestinian land areas and bombing their territories.

Amos, protested against the situation that was so unjust in the northern kingdom that the Israelites “sell the righteous for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes” (Amos 2:6, 8:6). Amos could not tolerate this miscarriage of justice for the poor were really poor shamelessly exploited by those with economic power, the courts of justice and those with political authority trampled justice and served the status quo. The social teaching of the prophets shows that the God of liberation is a God of justice who demands righteousness and calls for the punishment of the Pharaohs and the Jezebels of this world.

Indeed, to affirm that Jesus Christ is the life of Blacks is tantamount to repudiating the existing economic, socio-political arrangements in our society. It is to affirm that Jesus Christ who is the true life is not the author of socio-political structures that have sentenced Blacks to a life of poverty, underpayment, to the overcrowded and crime-ridden townships and to the humiliating life in single hostels and such similar legalised dehumanisations (Maimela 1987:104).

The fundamental message of Black Theology, which interprets the Bible as a primary source in Christian theological discourse and socio-economic justice, seeks to liberate the Word of God. From its ideological and political agenda in the colonisation, imperialism, capitalist and oppressive history that has undermined African culture, the dignity of black people, oppressed women and weakened black people materially, socially, politically, spiritually, financially and economically.

Black Theology calls for a re-reading, reinterpretation and the contextualization of the Bible in post-apartheid South Africa as a tool in the struggle against the legacy of dehumanisation, cultural imperialism, neo-colonialism and domination of the poor by the rich, the breakdown of family values and the ever widening gap between the ‘haves’ and the ‘haves not’. In post-apartheid South Africa, the Bible can play a meaningful role in the process of reconciliation, restitution, land redistribution, economic transformation, political democracy, moral regeneration, gender justice, constitutional dialogue, leadership development, community empowerment and social change. “Black Theology is biblical theology. Black Theology can thus be simply understood as a theology which takes seriously the importance of scripture in

theological discourse” (Cone 1970:31). Whatever Black Theology attempts to deliver, writes Tutu (in Hopkins 1989:144) “should be consistent with scripture, with what we discern of God in the face of Jesus Christ. But it must communicate this meaningfully to those it is primarily addressing – the blacks”. Because there can be no theology of the Christian gospel which does not take into account the biblical witness, though the Bible is not the final revelation of God, but Jesus is.

Mosala (in Hopkins 1989:151) correctly states that:

The biblical roots of Black Theology are not implied that the Jewish-Christian Bible is on the side of the struggle of the black oppressed people of South Africa. On the contrary... there are significant parts of the Bible that militate against the struggle for liberation and are usable as ideological support for maintaining the interests of the ruling class.

To discern the God of liberation in the Bible who speaks to the oppressed and abused, a biased God who is on the side of the poor involves “a dialectical interplay between the historical experience of the black working class and peasants in South Africa. The God found in both historical experiences will be the biblical God of liberation” (Mosala 1989:151). This biblical God of liberation revealed in Jesus Christ serves as a source of my radical Black Theology of Liberation.

4.13 Liberation and Economic Justice

Generally, black people in South Africa feel betrayed by the CODESA negotiations that mapped out the future of transitional politics in South Africa. Black people feel that negotiations revolved around political transformation and social change and ignored economic inequality and the agenda of wealth redistribution to the masses. For the church **The Road to Rustenburg**²⁰ was a conversion experience that saw black and white churches coming together for the first time in the history of the church in South Africa, to discuss the role of the church in the new South Africa in

²⁰ The Rustenburg Conference was a conference of Christian churches in South Africa that took place in 1991 that reflected on the role of the church in political transition and attempted to chart the role of the church in democracy.

the light of the Word of God, the mission of Christ and prophetic ministry of justice, peace, reconciliation and transformation under the leadership and guidance of the Holy Spirit.

However, the major weakness of the Rustenburg Conference was the fact that it ignored the power of capitalism to the advantage of white Christians and the total disempowerment of the majority poor black Christians. It is a fact that Christians have compromised the power of God, and misused the name of Jesus for perishable pleasures of sin, whether they are power, wealth, fame, status or pleasure. The vision of a liberated democratic South Africa that gave rise to Black Theology in the early 1970's in South Africa was partially realized in the democratic election in 1994, and a peaceful transition from the apartheid regime to a majority democratic government. In this context of liberation the role of Black Theology should be: reconciliation, redefining our history, liberation from exploitation at work and participation in the economy of our country.

The history of South Africa and of the world during the settler colonialist era was written from "above" to serve the status quo, to suit the scholarly, academic, scientific and educational interest of rich white racists, and to portray blacks as uneducated and stupid because white racist academics falsely claimed that blacks have not contributed anything that is scientifically important and that there is no hope for Africa because it is a dark continent. This distortion of history by white racist academics must be rejected as unfounded and not based on historical facts. "On the contrary, black consciousness unearths black history to reveal the real bearers of liberated history: the poor masses at the bottom" Mofokeng (in Hopkins 1989: 136).

The current trend in universities and high schools shows that, in the post-democratic South Africa, students are no longer interested in history as a subject. Some youths think it is an obstacle to unity, reconciliation and irrelevant in a technocratic South African society. The emphasis on technological, mathematical, accounting, managerial and scientific subjects should not mislead us to the importance and critical significance of South African history rewritten from "below" to serve as a tool for transformation, reconciliation, wealth redistribution, liberation and justice.

4.14 Reconciliation

There is a school of thought that says prerequisite of doing Black Theology in a democratic South Africa involves contributing towards the process of reconciliation. This means however that we need to deconstruct, reconstruct and problematize the concept of reconciliation away from neo-liberal interpretations. I agree with the observation made by Professor Nico Botha a South African Black theologian that:

It is perhaps more appropriate to start with the lament on the manner in which the poor of South Africa have been betrayed. Neither the Peace Accord of the early nineteen nineties, nor the negotiated political settlement or the Truth and Reconciliation Commission had delivered to the poor of the country. In fact, it will be fair to suggest that the most serious deficit of all these processes had been the sacrifice of justice on the altar of cheap reconciliation (Botha 2011:1).

In South Africa we have sold justice at the altar of myopic reconciliation, hence I agree with the observation made by Boesak and deYoung that:

We have discovered how often reconciliation is used merely to reach some political accommodation that did not address the critical questions of justice, equality, and dignity that are so prominent in the biblical understanding of reconciliation. Such political arrangements invariably favour the rich and powerful but deprive the powerless of justice and dignity... [they argue persuasively that] this 'reconciliation is presented as if it does respond to the needs for genuine reconciliation and employs a language that sounds like the truth but is, in fact, deceitful' (Boesak and deYoung 2012:1).

While the concept of reconciliation in itself is a biblical, theological, ethical and legal concept, but the interpretation of reconciliation in post-apartheid served those with economic power and political might, but essentially compromised the biblical demands of justice, restitution, equality and dignity. Pheko (2012:6) argues convincingly that:

Reconciliation assumes that both parties own proportional responsibility for the responsibility for the damage or unhappiness caused, and agree to appropriate undertaking to correct and heal the situation. Instead, in this country, we have accepted a false construct that insists that reconciliation is something that can happen even though social inequalities were, and are still, completely ignored; and where perpetrators of race-based, capitalist and political oppression were granted amnesty without accountability, liability or redress

Unfortunately it has been naively accepted by others that we can reconcile without redressing the systemic and structural socio-economic transformation. Within the theological context John de Gruchy (Boesak and DeYoung) says that "Reconciliation is properly understood as a process in which we become engaged at the heart of the struggle for justice and peace in the world... to say that God was reconciling the world in Christ is another way of saying that God was busy restoring God's reign of justice" (de Gruchy 2012:18-19). The talk of reconciliation without genuine repentance, solidarity with the victims of injustice makes the concept of reconciliation a mild, reformist term that means political compromise in essence.

Within the North American context Deotis Roberts a Black theologian says that:

The message of black liberation must not lead to separation, for separation is not the goal of Christian faith. Separation must give way to reconciliation, for Christ is the Liberator and Reconciler. Both black and white Christians must work for reconciliation based on equal rights, [and] equal opportunities (Deotis Roberts 2005:8).

Whereas on paper the arguments of reconciliation sound good and convincing in the case of Roberts he views are conservative meant to tame the radical agenda of a Black Theology of Liberation as exposed by James Cone. It also presents an apologetic approach to justice, which in essence does not radically transform the evil that prejudicial marginalisation of people of African descent from socio-economic justice causes and results in, but seeks to compromise the claims of justice and tame them to result in a theology of accommodation,

where Africans or people of African descent just want to be accommodated in the economic sphere, without being fully agents of their own transformation. Deotis's theology and approach is thus irrelevant to the radical call for the transformation of injustices in the economy and, especially as clearly evidence in unequal and unfair distribution of land ownership in South Africa. In fact to promote or in a sense to call Christ the Liberator and Reconciler without engendering justice in the liberation and reconciliation and to equate liberation as incomplete, divisive and unjust, is to promote a life-threatening and self-defeating theology whose insights and views are liberal, reformist and misleading for the majority of the oppressed. It is akin to taming the clear claims of justice which Black Theology as a form of liberation theology promulgates. . While it is true that the figures of Nelson Mandela and Emeritus Archbishop Desmond Tutu represents the personification of reconciliation, and are respected all over the world for bringing reconciliation to South Africa during the transition from apartheid to democratic rule. But their message has not gone far enough in changing the structures of racism and capitalism, though their efforts of reconciliation are commendable.

According to Thabo Mbeki (1998:133):

reconciliation and nation building, unless they are accompanied by the fundamental transformation of the entire socio-economic fabric of our society, would remain but unrealisable ideals. Reconciliation must therefore of necessity encompass the transformation of everything else in addition to the political accession to power of the representatives of the formerly oppressed blacks. It must include the transformation and the de-racialization of the South African economy.

Whilst what Mbeki says is correct, it is important to note however, that during his presidency he at times accommodated neoliberal orthodoxy in economics, including in his highly acclaimed leadership of the New Partnership for Africa's Development program designed for the African Union and its state parties. His view of dealing with the systemic problem of reconciliation largely adopted the market reform, and the financial recompense for the victims of apartheid, which presented an impression that apartheid was an individual experience. My

contention therefore is that, such approaches to a large extent are problematic as they promote reconciliation as constitutive of principles and processes which favour those with economic muscle and political might, whilst ignoring the plight of the economically poor and politically marginalised peoples.

In order to safeguard reconciliation against superficiality, it is important to understand the relationship between reconciliation and restitution. Restitution is justice being made concrete and practical. Reconciliation is restitution portrayed within the framework of a theological understanding of salvation. Justice/restitution versus reconciliation is theologically speaking a false contrast and opposition. Justice is the doing part of reconciliation, while reconciliation is the ground motivation for doing justice (Louw 1992:51).

Unfortunately the story of reconciliation in post-apartheid neglected restitution and reparations, we spoke of reconciliation without addressing historical crime of land theft and economic exploitation. Thus reconciliation was merely about races forgetting about the past and starting on a clean slate. This made talk of reparations and restitution the twins of reconciliation of no value to the poor majority.

Liepollo Pheko argues persuasively and convincingly that:

Apartheid did not, for example, die primarily because of moral outrage or the liberation struggles and valiant attempts of people like Steve Biko, [Hani, Sobukwe] and countless others. It died because it was no longer economically viable. It was not profitable anymore and the concept of positive engagement and constructive engagement, which those complicit in apartheid corroborated with, was becoming too morally disgusting and unprofitable for capital to openly remain engaged with. What then emerged from this was that the hard core anti-imperial struggle was mischievously rebranded as a far more innocuous anti-apartheid and race issue (Pheko 2012: 7).

Thus apartheid died not because of reconciliation project was the key to nation building and because whites realised that racism was wrong and economically limited. But apartheid died because it did not make economic sense it was no longer profitable and made no logic on the market. Thus economic circumstances forced whites to abandon apartheid not humanitarian reasons not even reconciliation.

We must remember amongst other things that the abandonment of the apartheid ideology by the Nationalist Party Government was not based on charity, goodwill or the kindness of the racist apartheid regime; but was rather based on the economic unsustainability of apartheid policies, international sanctions, disinvestment, the decline in the value of the rand, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the aggression of Umkhonto weSizwe, APLA (Azanian People Liberation Army) and AZANLA (Azanian National Liberation Army). These events, the study asserts, were at the core of the apartheid racist regime decision to democratise, not their yearning for reconciliation. It is the study's contention that, the leadership of apartheid regime realised that they had no choice but to release political prisoners and begin the process of negotiations with formerly banned political liberation movements so as to chart a new course of South African politics based on majority rule.

Apartheid was a crime against humanity that has destroyed both the oppressor and the oppressed; it was no longer theologically and biblically justifiable. It was a heresy, a false gospel, state theology, a sin, idolatry and a contradiction of liberation, humanness, social justice; it was an intrinsic evil that divided the church, society, the South African community along race, gender, culture, and class.

4.15 Black Theology as a Theology of Liberation

Theologies of liberation derive their theories and praxis from listening and hearing the groaning cries of God's creation and humanity as they seek to make meaning in their lived and concrete existence. They also derive their value from paying attention to the lives and praxis of those on the underside of history, the poor, the marginalised and humiliated and or exploited peoples. They are therefore

understood as theologies which are based on the “bottom upward,” approach as they are considered to receive their mandate from the authority of concrete situations and the experiences of particular groups. Liberation theologies and their articulation are rooted on praxis and to a large extent, are not based on ivory tower reflections which do not delve into the lives of people. They do not just ensue from the academic discourses which are indifferent from dialogue with the concrete experiences of life, or the views of the elite and/ or the ruling or governing classes, but from the quest for freedom and liberation as envisioned and or sought by the oppressed, humiliated and marginalised/ and or exploited people. Thus, the theologies of liberation are born out the historical experience of shame, humiliation, pain and suffering of this world, by virtue of their exploitation, oppression and domination by the rich nations and powerful multinational conglomerates.

The liberation of the poor and oppressed comes when they realise that they are not poor by accident or divine order but rather that they are deliberately being made poor, weak, impotent and are denied the right to shape their lives by the evil economic structural injustices that serve the rich at the expense of the poor. In short, liberation theology arises when, in protest against the inhumanity to which they have been subjected to by the powerful oppressive society, the oppressed groups not only decide to liberate themselves historically by taking away the power to shape history from their oppressors but also to commit themselves to reflecting theologically on their historical suffering which they regard as a theological problem so that new ways out of that suffering may be found (Maimela 1980: 23).

While traditional theology has reduced the message of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour to spiritual matters, this escapist theology has reduced the gospel of Jesus Christ to private personal matters, addressing individuals in their psycho-emotive struggle with daily affairs as if the gospel has no social, cultural, political, and economic relevance for the poor and the oppressed. According to Gutierrez (in Murray 1973:106), “liberation and salvation are inseparable and the term liberation has three distinct levels of meaning: (1) socio-political, (2) a historical process of humanisation and self-realisation, (3) and liberation from sin and admission to

communion with God.” Liberation and sin in liberation theologies are not limited to the psycho-spiritual individualistic concept that, only deals with private personal morality like smoking, drinking, sexual impurity and gambling, but extend to socio-economic structural sins committed by those in authority and the economic and financial sins of the rich. In this context, conversion to Christ means working for radical liberation from all forms of enslavement and social alienation based on the biblical promises of God’s liberation in the Old and New Testaments.

The church must speak out against evil, whether this evil, sin, iniquity, transgression and disobedience is minor or colossal, but the prophetic mandate of the holy church is to speak boldly against sin. “Put, differently, sins such as poverty, injustice, hatred, racism, oppression and denial of freedom are manifestations of that fundamental sin of fallen-ness, a breach of fellowship with our human fellows and a breach of fellowship with God” (Maimela 1987: 104). Opposing any form of evil is the mission of the royal priesthood, a call of faith and love against tyranny, authoritarianism, totalitarianism, fascism, neo-colonialism, domination, subjugation, condemnation, oppression and wickedness. Temporal socio-political options and the problem of racism must be viewed historically and eschatologically as present challenges in search of a real and a truly biblical anthropology. We must radicalise agape (the God kind of love) and shalom (divine peace in community structures) in social, political, cultural, educational, and economic spheres of life.

4.16 Black Womanist Theology and Economic Justice

Black Womanist/ and or feminist theology as a specific type of liberation theology primarily focuses on the revolt of women and their liberation from the structural bondage of patriarchy, though women constitute half the population in the world and about 60% of active membership in the church. They are marginalised at the higher level of decision-making in the churches. In society they are the lowest paid especially black women. They are at the bottom of the economic ladder in economic matters, they are socially and politically discriminated against, they are victims of violence, rape, child sexual abuse, incest, domestic violence, and are regarded as the properties of their husbands. Grant says (1993:316) “[w]here racism is rejected,

sexism has been embraced... where sexism is repudiated racism and classism is often ignored.”

As a result of gross injustices against women, Black Womanist Theology is a reaction and a critical protest against the discrimination of women in social, political, educational, cultural, ecclesiastical and economic affairs; they are refusing to conform to the feminine stereotypes of the white patriarchal culture. “They feel, in fact that, that the sexism of Christian tradition requires the critiquing of virtually all areas of church life, its structures, many doctrinal presuppositions; its use of sexist language, particularly in liturgy and official church documents, and the systematic way in which woman’s identity as the image of God has either been denied or distorted” (Keane 1998:123).

Black Womanist theologians, who are triply oppressed by sex, race and class, have challenged the black patriarchal church and its Black Theology, which says the mere fact that rationality is assigned to men: intuition, nurturing, sensitivity to women. Woman may thus be defined by St. Thomas Aquinas as ‘defective and misbegotten.

African women’s exclusion from public space and from informing the governance policies of their countries has also been perpetuated through the centralisation of masculinities and the entrenched patriarchal-kyriarchy that characterises certain customary elements of governance (LenkaBula and Makofane 2010: 131).

Feminist liberation theologies are life affirming theologies, rooted in women’s experiences of faith, theology, church, and the daily struggles of African women among the oppressed and peripheral groups alienated from mainstream androcentric scholarship (van Schalkwyk www.goecities.com).

Black theologians and African feminist theologians critically question whether ispolitical transformation; environmental justice and economic globalisation are a concern for churches, African feminist ethics and Black Theology?

4.17 Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to discuss a broad perspective of Black Theology within the history of South Africa and its roles and tasks in the democratic era. I

discussed Black Theology broadly, the role of white supremacy in economic injustice, and Black Theology and the socio-political and economic questions in South Africa. I also attempted to define the tasks of Black Theology, the language question, the role of black culture in the quest for economic justice, the marginalisation of African culture and the role of biblical witness in the struggle for economic justice. Lastly I also attempted to discuss the liberation paradigm, problematizing the reconciliation discourse, Black Theology as a theology of liberation, and the challenge of Black Womanist Theology to Black Theology.

A THEOLOGY OF ECONOMIC JUSTICE IN DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to discuss of Economic Justice in South Africa from a church and Black Theological liberation paradigm. In order to develop a consolidated and comprehensive understanding of justice, it will draw diverse definitions of justice which are articulated in theological, ethical and other discourses. It will attempt to delineate justice as entailed in biblical witness. The primary intention of this chapter is to demonstrate the inextricable link between socio-economic justice and Black Theological articulation in democratic South Africa.

Given the continuing challenges and marginalisation of the majority of black people in democratic South Africa, particularly demonstrated by the exclusion of the majority of people from meaningful participation in the socio-economic realm Black Theology will have to develop a theology of socio-economic emancipation and justice. It will have to provide resources for liberation for the black majority who remain in the main, in the squalor of poverty, landlessness and hence, are throttled by the current economic policies and economic arrangements.

In my view, the agenda of Black Theology in new South Africa must be based on economic justice, wealth and land redistribution and the democratisation of the economy. The agenda for Black Theology, this study contents, will have to expose the contradictions of the democratic dispensation in which all are claimed to have their rights protected, yet the majority of blacks are marginalised from economic sustainability through economic injustice. Black Theology will have to expose the fallacy which had been promoted prior to 1994, that democratisation is akin to economic transformation and development. It should expose that, whilst democratisation is an important process or institution which facilitates rights, it has not, at least in South Africa, succeeded in promoting economic justice, due to its embrace of the market and neoliberal policy framework.

This will imply among other things a theological critique of structural economic injustice. It will also imply the promotion of economic transformation and justice as

theological imperatives, in the concrete experiences of the black people in South Africa. This therefore means, it will form part of the annunciation of justice and freedom as essential elements of democratic South Africa. It will also become part of the constructive processes and movements who aim at eradicating poverty, landlessness and the negative persistence of the legacies of colonialism and apartheid structural inequalities which deploy gender, race/ ethnicity, geographic location and class lines. It will on a continued basis call for a theological response, ethical evaluation, a biblical denunciation and a missiological critique in the present South Africa in the light of scripture, faith, mission, ministry and pastoral service.

5.2 The Biblical Concept of Justice

The Bible is full of scriptural references which place justice at the centre of its teachings. Justice is an important issue in all societies and it is a central theme in Christian ethics. Justice is a major and relevant theme for overcoming the current injustices in the economy in South Africa, as well as those ensuing in part, as part of the apartheid legacies and residues. .

According to ancient philosophers and medieval theologians, justice was regarded as a virtue, along with wisdom, fortitude and temperance. In Roman Catholic theology, the concept of justice is fundamentally grounded in natural law, whereas in Protestant theological circles the concept of justice is fundamentally grounded in God's grace by faith through the authority of the scriptures. In both Catholic and Protestant traditions, the concept of justice is rooted in Hebrew Scriptures and in God's covenant (Lebacqz 1998: 166).

In liberation theologies, justice is clearly associated with a special concern for correcting historical injustices for the poor, the oppressed and those who lack the means of self-sufficiency.

Justice and righteousness are synonymous terms grounded in God's divine nature revealed in God's law and covenant. "Justice, right and righteousness are concrete practical concepts rooted in action-based methodologies. Two words from the

Scriptures are translated by the word justice in Hebrew **mishpat** (justice, judgement) and **tsedaqah** (righteousness, justice)” (Dolamo 2001:293). Tsadiq refers to the one who practices justice and righteousness is the central teaching of the prophets (Ps 37:6, Ps 72:2, Is 28:17, Is 30:18, Is 61:8, Dan 4:37, Zech 7:9). We believe that God calls us to stand with those who are victims of injustice. We know what the Lord requires of us: to do justice, love, kindness, and walk in God’s way (Mic 6:8). We are called to stand against any form of injustice in the economy and the destruction of the environment, “so that justice may roll down like waters, and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream” (Amos 5: 24).

The New Testament teaching on justice is rooted in the proclamation and inauguration of the reign of God in the Person of Jesus Christ. “The gospel writers attest to this centrality of the reign of God especially in the notion of the Jubilee in (Luke 4:18-21)” (Dolamo 2001:293). Nurnberger in (Dolamo 2001:293) says justice is based on equal rights and equal dignity. Justice based on these two concepts implies a social balance. Jesus calls us to “an economy of grace for the household of all creation... this inclusive covenant in which the poor and marginalised are preferential partners and calls us to put justice for the “least of these” (Mt 25:40) at the centre of community life” (Accra Confession 2008:4). Concretely and theoretically justice and righteousness are realised for the least invisible members of our communities when we advocate that Christ came “that might have life and have it abundantly. “Jesus brings justice to the oppressed and gives bread to the hungry; he frees the prisoner and restores sight to the blind (Lk 4:18); he supports and protects the downtrodden, the stranger, the orphans and the widows” (Accra Confession 2008:4).

The synonyms of justice reflect the spirit of prophets and the mission of Christ fairness, impartiality, righteousness, lawfulness, reasonableness, honesty, integrity and uprightness. Justice is generally understood to refer to the quality of being just; the justness of behaviour or fair treatment and the administration of the law or authority in maintaining this.

Furthermore, justice as a concept is concerned about the existence of a proper balance; central moral standard in social life, it is generally held to have a prominent

role in social theory and social action, and so it is perhaps not surprising that all the social sciences have examined the concept at some length. The religious institutions view justice as the practice of what is right and just, that which specifies what is right, not only as measured by the code of the law, but also by what makes for right relationships as well as harmony and peace.

“In Western philosophical traditions, the formal statement of justice is to ‘treat similar cases similarly’ or to give to each what is due’... Justice is not abstract and universal, derived by deductive logic from minimal premises or procedures of rational choice, but emerges out of the complex and distinctive histories of communities” (Lebacqz 1998: 165). The liberal view of justice is always not always contextual and liberational. It is generally abstract and sometimes it ignores structural injustice. It often ignores knowledge from those on the peripheries of power and economic underdogs in history. It also often neglects the epistemological privilege of the poor black masses in the construction of the theory of justice. But the liberal view is a product of hegemonic discourses, reflecting the powerful and middle-class advocates of liberal theory. That is fundamentally problematic because of its dependence on a limited kind of rationality based on universalisation and the theory of individualism.

There are numerous and sometimes diverse conceptions of justice, however, this study will focus more on the retributive and distributive. These types of justice and their approaches are seen to be central in ethical and theological discourse relevant for economic justice. “Retributive justice focuses on what is due to a person when that person has done wrong. The issue involves the sorts of punishments and liabilities that are just, in the light of the suffering or damage that person caused. Distributive justice is positive in nature, focusing on the kinds of rewards, rights, opportunities, services, and treatments due to a person because of who that person is, what he or she has done, or even the group to which he or she belongs” (Hollinger 2002: 217).

5.3 The Concept of Economic Justice

There is a general agreement by scholars of theology and economics that the word economics traces its evolution and etymology is of Greek origin. Economics reflects the Greek words “*oikos*” (“place to live” or “house”) and “*nomos*” (“order” or “law”). Translated literally, it means the ‘management of the household’. Economic justice, therefore, is a total transformation of the South African economy from its current reformist agenda of serving a selected few economically powerful white individuals and the black elites. Towards redistributing wealth to serve ordinary people founded on the moral values, ethical principles and biblical justice for the widow, stranger and orphan.

This study therefore understands economic justice as encompassing the search for a more just, equitable, and sustainable economy aimed at promoting the common good, solidarity, preferential option for the poor, in order to democratize the economy, and bring the fullness of life to all citizens of our country and the integrity of creation. The Black Christian Church and Black Theology must subject every economic system to the demands of the gospel based on human rights, human dignity, a just social order, and eliminate racism in the current economic dispensation. The ‘trickle-down’ policies of the ANC--led government as discussed in chapters one and two, have largely widened the gap between the rich and the poor. They have also not succeeded in, redistributing land and bridging the gap between the rich and poor, eradicating poverty and creating sustainable jobs.

Economic justice calls for an alternative economic system founded on economic reconciliation that prioritises the victims of colonialism and apartheid. It must re-open the debate on the merits and de-merits of capitalism, socialism and social democracy. Villa-Vicencio (192: 233) suggests that the critique of both capitalism and socialism is inadequate to bring economic justice. He argues that South Africa needs, the church to support that which good in democratic liberalism and in democratic socialism.

For Villa-Vicencio (1992:240), political economy must not be left to market forces or the so-called social scientific modes, but he argues that the quest for economic

justice ultimately transcends both capitalism and socialism or mixes both for him the two is not theologically important what is important is economic justice.

To substantiate his point, Villa-Vicencio quotes Franz Fanon, who argues that “The fundamental duel which seemed to be that between colonialism and anti-colonialism, and indeed between capitalism and socialism, is already losing some of its importance” (1992:240). I assert that it is unfortunate that Villa- Vicencio quotes Fanon out of context in this to justify his liberal economic fundamentalism rooted in reconstruction, reconciliation and nation building to stifle debate on the imperatives of economic transformation.

The question is, can we talk about economic justice without giving sufficient attention to economic ideologies? Can we construct economic justice theory without theoretical economic systems or whilst ignoring the ideological philosophies of capitalism and socialism in the South African context, as suggested by Villa-Vicencio?

In my view, not to make a choice between these two grand economic philosophies (capitalism and socialism) is simply to choose capitalism in essence, without declaring. While economic justice must be a fundamental biblical and theological concern rooted in ethical principles for a just social order we must be bold to make choices. Throughout this research I have opted for social democracy and democratic socialism, though not as imported from other countries, but rather that we must creatively and strategically develop these ideas within our unique social context.

Mosoma (1997: 65) argues persuasively that theology and politics in South Africa must never serve as a cover-up from the real causes of Black exclusion from economic wealth and economic ownership. He argues that Blacks still remain on the periphery of the main economic activity in this country.

The current economic climate is intended to reduce blacks to perpetual junior partners in affirmative action, black empowerment, partnerships, joint ventures and alliances. To continue economic injustice, white companies go to the extent of using black names for their companies,

because a company with a black name can win tenders and black consumers, to win tenders, whites rent a black person (Mosoma 1997: 65-66).

In essence, therefore, the main goal of these fraudulent economic activities is to maintain the economic *status quo* by enriching the privileged through renting and hiring blacks in BEE deals and as fronting to get more tenders from government so that they can use skilled blacks as mere window dressing and legitimising agents.

The church and a Black Theology of liberation in post-apartheid South Africa must prophetically advocate an economic order and system that is in line with the values and ethos of the gospel of Jesus Christ as the most urgent need in redressing the historical injustices that stretch back to four centuries of land dispossession. I have already stated in chapter one that economics is too important to be left to economists. Black theological method in the new South Africa must seek to answer why does economic growth in South Africa seemingly promotes poverty, inequality, unemployment and a breakdown of family values?

5.4 The Church and Economic Justice in South Africa

The most fundamental step towards bringing economic justice in South Africa is to conscientise ordinary Christians and lay church members at the grassroots level about the biblical, ethical and theological imperatives of developing alternative strategies to the neo-liberal development strategy. “This is an ideology that claims to be without alternative, demanding an endless flow of sacrifices from the poor and creation. It makes the false promise that it can save the world through the creation of wealth and prosperity, claiming sovereignty over life and demands total allegiance which amounts to idolatry” (Accra Confession 2008:3). The struggle for economic justice calls for an alternative society from below, led by the people themselves, and mobilize the church, NGO’s, social movements, the poor and the working class, to be active social agents for change, aimed at charting direction for processes of economic justice, economic liberation and land redistribution is necessary. It also calls for

The provision of social services such as water, energy, health and education cannot be guaranteed for all if they are left to market forces. Social services are not matters to be privatised, as they are part of basic human rights and states have the responsibility to secure them (ANSA Secretariat 2007: 3).

It is morally erroneous to privatise²¹ these social services and deny the poor these basic human rights that they have struggled for during the liberation struggle. We need to radically oppose the economic agenda tailored to fit IMF²² -World Bank²³- and WTO²⁴ (the definitions in the footnote of privatization, IMF, WB, WTO in are taken from the Accra Confession) agenda in Africa and post-colonial South Africa, as they often lead to unequal development. Their agenda is anti-people, anti-environment and anti-the poor masses who are deliberately marginalised by the neo-liberal economic agenda.

According to liberal political philosophy, there is a principled distinction between the 'public' and the 'private', the public is a realm in which members are equal and the private' as a realm in which members are unequal, the existence of inequalities in the private realm provides justification for economic inequalities. "Equality before the law performs the indispensable service for liberal democrats of proving that

²¹ Privatization – The process of transforming property, businesses or natural resources (e.g., water) from public ownership or trust to private ownership and/or transferring the management of a service or activity from the government to the private sector. Corporate profits, not the good of the community or country, become the overriding concern

²² International Monetary Fund (IMF) – The international organization entrusted with overseeing the global financial system by monitoring exchange rates and balance of payments, as well as offering technical and financial assistance when asked. Many IMF policies have proven to be destructive of the people and economies of countries in the global South.

²³ *World Bank* – Part of a group of financial institutions, the World Bank focuses on the reduction of global poverty and seeks to achieve this through the provision of low- or no-interest loans and grants to countries with little or no access to international credit markets. The World Bank (as a financial institution) also seeks to safeguard its own financial interests and has been criticized by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), governments, people's groups, and citizens for its structural adjustment programs (SAPs) which attempt to implement neo-liberal economic policies (i.e., deregulation and privatization) in the countries where the World Bank operates.

²⁴ World Trade Organization (WTO) – The successor to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the WTO deals with the rules of trade between nations at a near-global level; it is responsible for negotiating and implementing new trade agreements, and is in charge of policing member countries' adherence to all the WTO agreements, signed by the bulk of the world's trading nations and ratified in their parliaments. The structure of the WTO allows the interests of the major industrialized countries of the global North to dominate the processes and agreements.

economic inequality is legitimate, that it is the by-product of freedom and equal opportunity” (MacDonald 2006: 124). That is why in societies like South Africa, the government can justify economic inequalities based on this fallacious logic that is morally weak and an ethically incorrect evaluation.

The major culprit of democratic possibilities here and abroad is the ever-expanding market culture that puts everything and everyone up for sale. The expansion of corporate power is driven by this pervasive commercialisation and commodification for two reasons. First, market activities of buying and selling, advertising and promoting weaken nonmarket activities of caring and sharing, nurturing and connecting. Short-term stimulation and instant titillation edge out quality relations and substantive community. Second, private aims trump public aspirations. Individual success, sometimes at any cost or by any means-downplays fair and just transactions so that workers and citizens power are weakened. And no democracy can survive, no matter how strong its markets are, without a serious public life and commitment to fairness and justice (West 2001:xvi).

Hence the Church in South Africa and post-colonial Africa must realise that human salvation is not possible without the transformation of political and economic structures which deny African people their full humanity. In transforming unjust economic systems we are carrying forward Jesus’ (John 10:10) great mandate of bringing life in abundance to all humankind. It is therefore the prophetic mandate of the church and Black Theology to challenge the new black political leadership and the white business sector with the message of liberation.

What makes a continent so rich in natural resources yet poor economically and otherwise, and what role can the Christian Church play in developing Africa (Speckman 2007:ii)? The church in Africa must start searching for alternative macro-economic strategies in situations of deprivation, inequity, and cumulative inertia, a culture of dependence, victim mentality and lack of a clearly defined vision for Africa’s development. We must be careful of narrow ‘pie in the sky theology’ that lacks a practical and realistic contextual socio-ethical analysis based on the ideals of

the reign of God. Speckman (2007:xii) notes that young Africans (especially students, the aspiring middle class) are wrestling less with whether “to be or not to be” and more with whether “to have or not to have”. The problem with this mind-set among many young Africans is based on a distorted view that what defines life is not courage, values and care, but the accumulation of material goods.

According to economic theorists, “it is no way necessary, according to modern economic theory, to consider God when thinking about the economy. Indeed, the absence of God in economic matters is viewed as necessary to the great advances in modern economy” (Meeks 1989:xi). The problem with the modern market economic theory in the democratic South Africa is that biblical ethical theory and speech about God is neglected, ignored, overlooked, undermined and side-lined. Not only is God non-existent in modern economic forces but the voice of ordinary people is also not consulted in the construction of economic policy.

5.5 Black Theology and Economic Justice

The question is: ‘What has Black Theology and the Church in South Africa to do with the Johannesburg Stock Exchange?’ In my view, if big businesses in South Africa do not take into cognisance the imperative for social and economic justice and thus the human rights of all citizens, they will not be able to chart business processes and practices which are transformative. They will not also be able to promote human beings and the environment. Automatically, their economic theories cannot engender positive results to the questions of wealth redistribution, economic ownership, poverty, inequality, unemployment and the ecological crisis.

The challenge for Black Theology in the new South Africa is economic transformation, wealth redistribution, minimising the gap between the rich and poor and doing away with structural injustices that breed inequality, poverty, hunger, dependence, debt, corruption, lack of service delivery, unemployment and lack of human dignity. “There is no doubt that the colour question in South African politics was originally introduced for economic reasons” (Biko 1978:87). I contend as a black theologian that the economy of South Africa has to serve the common good of the community and be based on fair economic policies and, transparent business dealings that empower the poor and other marginalised members of society. It must

uphold the dignity of individuals and the environment, it must strive to create decent employment for the citizens of the country and pay workers a living and sustainable wage.

I strongly believe that the Church in South Africa must speak out against the real causes of economic exploitation, the marginalisation of the poor, corruption, lack of service delivery, 'tenderpreneurship'²⁵, cadre deployment and the abuse of state resources for personal enrichment. The problem with the economy of South Africa is that it is not owned by South Africans nor does it serve the economic interests of ordinary South Africans. The economy of Soweto like that of other townships is owned and managed by the people from Sandton and predominantly white suburbs and white-owned companies. The centre-periphery problem where the townships are on the margins, and thus on the periphery of economic activity whereas suburbs are in the centre of economic activity is the fundamental problem of neo-liberal capitalism. I believe that the Church has a moral responsibility to speak on behalf of the victims of economic exploitation, the poor, the oppressed, the unemployed, women and children. The economy of South Africa must be owned, managed, and developed by South Africans. It is not the will of God that we are politically free but economically un-free.

Strangely, post-1994 black-owned businesses and industries have been closing, and white business brands have been successful. Why should black South Africans support businesses which benefitted from apartheid? What moral grounds are there for us to support white institutions in Africa that do not care about the economic liberation of South African people and their up-liftment?

The globalisation of the South African economy has resulted in job losses, increased unemployment, growing inequality, sophisticated racism, and the rising gap between the poor and the rich. The ideology of capitalism is anti-equitable development for the people of South Africa, it goes against biblical values, and contradicts the spirit of Ubuntu. The capitalist economic globalisation is a threat to the future of South Africa

²⁵ Tenderpreneurship is a neologism which is used in South Africa to describe entrepreneurs' who depend on public tenders for their businesses or their business sustainability.

that any responsible, caring and loving Christian must speak out against and explore alternatives to this evil and satanic economic system of oppression.

Capitalism, market fundamentalism, economic liberalism and technological globalisation are no guarantees to success, prosperity, wealth, fortune and riches. "To the contrary, within capitalist economies people suffer from chronic unemployment, homelessness, inadequate medical care, extreme poverty, war, and social marginalisation and powerlessness, to name a few only some of the deplorable conditions common around us" (Zweig 1992:vii).

In today's society the dominant discourse expects society to conform to the norms and values of our society without questioning them. This reformist mind-set of accepting things as they are leads to status quo, continued injustice and inequalities that have a potential to destabilise our communities. This study seeks to critique the approach of Black Theology in the new South Africa that is not so relevant in addressing economic exploitation, political corruption, social injustice, cultural domination and the marginalisation of religion and the church, in particular, in the new South Africa. The ministers of the gospel must constantly be reminded that the 'priestly struggle is a revolutionary struggle'. It is compelling, therefore to revolutionise the kingdom of exclusion and dethrone it by liberating the gospel of life found in the mission of Jesus Christ.

The socio-political, economic, and religio-cultural diseases affecting the people of God are economic, business, financial, expertise, and practical by nature, informed by human greed and deliberately calculated man/woman made sophisticated decisions and technologies. The role of critical solidarity with the state by church leaders, Black theologians and black academics has not done any justice to the economically powerless and landless people of South Africa. The South African government, provisional legislatures and local government have deliberately and systematically excluded, marginalised and divorced civil society, NGO's, religious institutions and cultural traditional institutions, in its new marriage with the private sector, liberal constitution, multi-national corporations and the institutions of globalisation.

The elite compromise and the CODESA talks introduced new socio-economic phenomenon that was characterised by overnight millionaires on the gravy train, not as a result of creativity, innovation, business diligence, and strategic business skills. But by black leaders who were simply co-opted by the powerful and influential big business giants to pursue a socially unsustainable ideology of economically impoverishing millions whilst enriching only a handful of the black political elites connected to the ruling party.

The fact is that the poor cannot speak for themselves due to their paralysing state of disempowerment caused by poverty. In spite of their voting rights, limited education and social analysis, has rendered them powerless and easily exploitable by religious leaders, political parties, business executives and other self-appointed leaders of the poor in various forms. This calls for a radical revolutionary approach in the current Black Theological discourse. It also requires a change in mind-set to decolonise the minds of poor black South Africans and to make them start thinking for themselves and doing things for themselves.

This study calls for further research in dealing with the questions faced by South African citizens as a result of the problems created by the economic reform policies initiated by government and the private sector under the influence of the World Bank, IMF and WTO. These problems widen the gap between the rich and the poor, and they also relate to questions about the land question, corruption, reconciliation, gender, rural development, skills development, price-fixing, job destroying growth, a culture of dependence, consumerism and environmental destruction, the preferential option for the poor, and other social problems such as inequality; poverty and, unemployment.

Black Theological ethics deals with theological ethical sources of hope and the biblical moral solutions to economic injustice in post-apartheid and post-colonial Africa: common good, a spirituality of liberation, community development, integrity of creation, family life, global solidarity, global ethics, moving towards an African Christian-centred model of economic development, the reign of God and social justice in post-apartheid South Africa founded on the values of Ubuntu. In a situation where people are despondent anarchy will be the rule and order of the day.

“Meanwhile, the hype around the African Renaissance has come and gone without any visible or quantifiable cultural revival or language revival or economic rejuvenation or anything of the sort that is often associated with rebirth” (Speckman 2007:xviii).

This study protests about the economic reforms introduced by the ideology of political liberalism in South Africa and wants to join the majority of workers in searching for solutions to capitalism. That has caused so much pain, suffering, homelessness, unemployment, oppression, poverty, institutionalised violence, environmental degradation, and so many evils that undermine the biblical values of justice, peace and love. “Corporate power-with its plutocratic, patriarchal, and ‘pigmentocratic’ realities- lessens the abilities of citizens and workers to have a meaningful voice in shaping their destiny” (West 2001:xvi).

The Christian Church must be motivated, encouraged and inspired by the grace, mercy, love and faithfulness of a God of liberation, as revealed in the Old and New Testament. It must protest against any form of injustice that threatens the family structure, personal wellbeing, people centred development and the initiative of communities of to liberate themselves from the legacy of colonialism and apartheid, as contrary to the biblical demand of economic justice, political transformation, social change and cultural emancipation.

The structure of economic growth has deepened the structural inability associated with mineral-dependent economies in a finance-led world. In almost all spheres of society, power still rests with the white minority, which co-opts the black elite, in pursuance of the interests of capital and imperialism. “The current economic reality seems to be predicated on a preferential option for the rich under the cloak of investment and job creation this economic model serves the interests of the rich white minority” (Mosoma 1997:67).

5.6 The Struggle for Liberation: Theological Paradigms

During the 1960’s, radical paradigm shifts took place in the Christian tradition, as contemporary Christian activists and theologians began to respond to socio-cultural

and politico-economic issues around the world towards the liberation of the oppressed races, classes, women and cultures, with the growing literature called the theology of liberation. "Liberation theologies haven arisen out of the contexts of the liberation struggles of Black Americans, American women, Black South Africans and Asians" (Grant 1993:323).

These theologies of liberation are done from "bottom upward," and they receive their mandate from the authority of concrete situations and the experiences of particular groups. Their theological reflections rooted upon praxis do not come from the academia or the ruling class but from the oppressed. The theologies of liberation are thus born out of the historical experience of shame, humiliation, pain and suffering of this world, by virtue of their exploitation, oppression and domination by the rich nations and powerful multinational conglomerates.

The formative factors that lead to the emergence of liberation theologies were to commit Christians and the church to radical political and social change, in order to transform society to create a new and more humane world and to liberate the oppressed from three socio-economic bondages: racism, classism and sexism. "As white Americans, Europeans, South Africans, and other oppressors band together in order to continue their rule over us, oppressed peoples throughout the world, across continents and nations, must band together for the liberation of all" (Cone 1985:142).

The liberation of the poor and oppressed comes when they realise that they are not poor by accident or divine order but rather that they are deliberately being made poor, weak, impotent and are denied the right to shape their lives by the evil economic structural injustice that serve the rich at the expense of the poor. In short, liberation theology arises when, in protest against the inhumanity to which they have been subjected to by the powerful oppressive society, the oppressed groups not only decide to liberate themselves historically by taking away the power, to shape history from their oppressors but also to commit themselves to reflecting theologically on their historical suffering which they regard as a theological problem, so that new ways out of that suffering may be found.

On the contrary, we contend that there is no truth outside or beyond the concrete historical events in which persons are engaged as agents. Truth is found in the histories, cultures, and religions of our peoples. Our focus on social and religio-cultural analyses separates our theological enterprise from the progressive and abstract theologies of Europe and North America. It also illuminates the reasons why orthopraxis in contrast to orthodoxy has become for many of us the criterion of theology (Cone 1985:148).

In classical traditional Western theology, the reality of conflict is understood between the sacred and profane world, between the forces of wicked evil spiritual forces and good living spiritual forces. In essence this conflict is between the saved and the unsaved, and the only way to resolve this crisis is to save the lost and reach the world with the gospel of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. In the liberation theologies the reality of conflict or the battleground is between the oppressors and the oppressed, the rich and powerful members of society versus the oppressed, the poor and the marginalised members of society.

The rich and powerful oppressors do their best to convince the poor and the marginalized to accept the status quo, as divinely ordained, despite the fact that this economic and political structure is unjust, exploitative and dehumanising. According to liberation theologians God is not neutral or passive but in this conflict between white racist and the black community, between rich classes and poor classes and between exploiting males and the struggle to women's emancipation. God in Jesus Christ has revealed himself to be on the side of the weak members of society, the dominated races, classes, sexes and other invisible members of society.

Professor Mokgethi Motlhabi, in his book **African Theology/ Black Theology in South Africa**, dedicates a chapter to dealing with the subject of Third World debt from a Black Theological ethical perspective. For both the African and Latin American regions, the debt has become an intolerable burden, the servicing of which has undesirable and deleterious consequences on the majority of their peoples. The continued dramatic growth of the debt seems to be more the result of high interest rates than of increased large borrowing by the countries (Motlhabi 2008: 103). The

percentage of Africa's debt itself is relatively small compared to that of Latin America and Asia. Yet, in relation to the GDP, Africa's debt is considered to be the heaviest in the world, representing 62 per cent of GDP as against 58 per cent of GDP for Latin America (Motlhabi 2008:104). The money borrowed by the Third World countries was to buy consumer items- some of which became mere 'white elephants: such as stadia, capital cities, and similar prestige projects; arms spending, largely for the financing of civil wars, and the suppressing of liberation struggles; an anti-rural bias in government programmes; large and chronic budget deficits, capital flight by corrupt leaders, reflected in Swiss bank accounts; and official collusion with multinational corporations.

Third World leaders were seduced by multinational companies and American and European countries into debt as a strategy to destabilise our economy and keep us in constant debt, recession, dependence and economic powerlessness. The problem with these debts is that they were used for consumer goods rather than investment initiatives hence, the problem to repay and the skyrocketing interest rates that are morally not justifiable. The problem with Third World debt is that there were no terms and conditions that were fair to both parties, but the deal favoured the large banks of Europe.

One of the approaches adopted by world lending bodies toward the resolution of the debt crisis involves certain measures contained in what has come to be known as 'structural adjustment programmes' (SAP). These SAP's were introduced by the IMF and WB instead of solving problems of underdevelopment, poverty, hunger, and malnutrition and debt repayment. They created more problems for Third World countries and the issue of debt still requires serious theological, ethical and biblical attention in Black Theological circles in South Africa.

5.7 Dialogue between Black Theology and Marxist Social Analysis

"Anyone familiar with the origin and development of Black Theology knows that Marxism has not been a major theoretical approach in its theological agenda, except with a few theologians, whose chief political concern of black churches has been focused on the problem of racism with almost no reference to Marxist class analysis"

(Cone 1985:175). Many Christians in South Africa both black and white have a negative attitude towards Marxism because the apartheid government regarded freedom fighters as terrorists and communists and they associated the communist ideology with the Russian communism. They regard Marxism as a godless philosophy that has nothing to do with Christians. Many Christians in South Africa have generally associated capitalism with civilization, development and political democracy and they see no alternative to the free market capitalist economy that they claim is based on biblical values and the principles of Christian liberty.

For Botha's NP, South African state bore the light of Christian civilisation in darkest Africa, which was harbouring the terrorist and communist... By clothing repression in the language of a battle against communism, it fitted neatly with repression in the language of a battle against the 'rooi gevaar' (red peril), black resistance against apartheid iniquity was as in the 1950's and 1960's, reinterpreted as communism and terrorism (Westhuizen 2007:122-123).

This is so, largely because the countries that mostly influence South Africa: North America, Great Britain and the European countries are influenced by the ideology of free market neoliberal capitalism and the Cold War that characterised Russian communism as the 'focal point of evil in the world'. On the other hand the liberation movement had strong links with communist countries during apartheid and they supported their struggle against apartheid. But the problem is that many Christians rejected Marxism purely on the basis of being brainwashed or because they have not read Marxism thus, their rejection is based on ignorance. Black theologians have begun to see the relationship between class struggle and the struggle against racism.

With the rise of Latin American liberation theology and its affirmation of Marxist class analysis and its vehement rejection of U.S. capitalism, white and black theologians were challenged by a Marxist perspective that was not defined by Soviet Russia or its satellites. The Marxist challenge of progressive Latin American theologians was so great that white and black

theologians were forced to deal with the question of class oppression both domestically and globally (Cone 1985:177-178).

The teachings of Karl Marx were considered relevant in the Black Theological struggle in the new South Africa that has adopted a liberal free market economy of capitalism.

Economic life raises important social and moral questions for each of us and for the society as a whole. Like family life, economic life is one of the chief areas where we live out our faith, love our neighbour, confront temptation, fulfil God's creative design, and achieve holiness. Our economic activity in factory, field, office, or shop feeds our families or feeds our anxieties. It exercises our talents or wastes them. It raises our hopes or crushes them. It brings us into cooperation with others or sets us at odds (USCB 1986:1).

In my reading of Black Theology, I discovered to my surprise, that in analysing how state theology maintained apartheid ideology, that very little social analysis had been carried out by Black theologians. Though Marxist social analysis and Black Consciousness played an important role in analysing the forces of the racist, sexist and classist apartheid regime but these approaches needed to be aided by social sciences like politics, social psychology, sociology, economics etc. which feature very little if not at all in envisioning a just society and life affirming economy. Therefore, in post-apartheid South Africa Black theologians must revisit their methodology and engage in dialogue with blacks in other social sciences to redefine the role of academics and organic intellectuals in our democratic society. In their dialogue with social scientists, they must be aware that social sciences are not ideologically neutral: at times they serve the interests of the ruling class. Hence black theologians must adopt a critical approach.

5.8 A Critical Denunciation of Capitalism

Al Gore (in Olivier 2003:8) argues that free market capitalist economics is:

arguably the most powerful tool ever used by civilisation...It carefully measures and keeps track of the value of those things most important to buyers and sellers, such as food, clothing, manufactured goods, work and indeed, money itself. But its intricate calculations often completely ignore the value other things that are harder to buy and sell: fresh water, clean air, the beauty of mountains, the rich diversity of life in the forest...", he explains. It is this "partial blindness" of the free market capitalist economics that, to his mind, "is the single most powerful force behind what seems to be irrational decisions about the environment [and the poverty of the poor].

This therefore compels us to demystify the myth that the neo-liberal economy, based on the ideology of capitalism in South Africa and the world at large, operates according to God's will, moral law, or the natural laws of nature. Capitalism is a morally bankrupt economic theory that has deliberately and systematically impoverished billions of people because it is founded on greed. I strongly believe that ethical discourse, theological studies, biblical and religious sciences can shed a positive light on the current economic crisis that is caused by capital-driven globalisation that is systematically and deliberately destroying people materially, socially, spiritually and culturally.

The current economic system is not God ordained or a Divine Right of the economically and militarily powerful to exploit, abuse, undermine and under estimate the poor and the oppressed, but is based on sinful decisions taken by humankind informed by sin, greed, lies and lack of compassionate care for other people and the environment.

We see a dramatic convergence between the suffering of the people and the damage done to the rest of creation. The root causes of massive threats to life are above all the product of an unjust economic system. Neo-liberal economic globalisation is seen as the cause of increasing suffering and poverty. It demands an endless flow of sacrifices from the poor and creation (Warmback 2008:175).

According to Duchrow (1995:20-21), it was Aristotle who critically “analysed the difference between the need-oriented household economy and the money accumulation-economy. The basic point is that Aristotle regarded the “*oikonomia*”, the household economy, as being designed to supply the basic needs of the members of the household and of the community as a whole (*koinonia, polis*). This means the primary goal of a natural economy is to meet the basic human needs. In other words, property and goods can be regarded in a strict sense as a means of sustaining life, i.e. intended for practical use.”

The need-oriented household is based on the values of *ubuntu* (humanness) and it invites every member of the community to share bread with the less fortunate, and to distribute economic wealth in the city for the benefit, upliftment, and the empowerment of everyone in the community. The money accumulating economy is unnatural and destructive because it is based on a false philosophy that money equals power, good life, comfortable living and unlimited pleasure: this way of life is not environmentally sustainable and is unhealthy for the ethos of the community wellbeing. “Chrysostom, for instance, emphatically states that the “root and origin [of riches] must have injustice...So destructive a passion is greed, that to grow rich without injustice is impossible” (Motlhabi 1996:30). That is why I fully agree with Gustavo Gutierrez (1983:51) when he says: “To know God is to do justice is to be in solidarity with the poor person.” In our solidarity with the poor we must resist the reformist economic agenda that leaves the status quo unchallenged.

5.9 Globalisation and the exacerbation of South African Poverty

The demise of apartheid in South Africa coincided with other epochal events in the world. In 1994 when many black South Africans were casting their votes for the first time, there was an ensuing genocide in East Africa in Rwanda. Equally, there were global events such as the fall of the Berlin Wall, perestroika, the rise of democracies, information revolution, and the unification of Germany. All of which characterised what has generally been understood as globalisation (Vellem 2010:547).

Following the collapse of state socialism and the consolidation of capitalism worldwide, there has been an intensified public discussion on globalisation. Some critical observers question the concept of globalisation and view it with suspicion and they ask, what is 'global' about globalization (Held and McGrew 2002:1). Held and McGrew argue further that if sceptics say that global cannot be interpreted literally, as a universal phenomenon, then the concept of globalization lacks specificity. Thus globalization becomes so broad as to become impossible to operationalise empirically and therefore, becomes misleading as a vehicle for understanding the contemporary world (Held and McGrew 2002:4). Within a Black Theological and African Christian theological paradigm we must dismiss and question the descriptive and explanatory value of the concept of globalisation, just as we have critically interrogated concepts like civilisation, colonialism, and imperialism.

Instead of providing insight into the forces of shaping the contemporary world, the concept of globalisation, argue many sceptics, is primarily an ideological construction, a convenient myth which, in part, helps justify and legitimise the neoliberal global project, that is the creation of a global free market and the consolidation of Anglo-American capitalism within the world's major economic regions (Held and McGrew 2002:4).

In this respect, the concept of globalisation operates as a 'necessary myth', which politicians and governments discipline their citizens to meet the requirements of the global market place (Held and McGrew 2002:5). The economic and social policy approach of the new government was formulated under strong pressure from the corporate sector and its global partners the WB, IMF and WTO.

The world market must not be the reference point for the way the South African economy operates and is structured. It must not determine programmes of action of the South African economy. International economic relations of South Africa must not condition the operation of its national economy (Makgetlana 2000:40-41).

There is now the global South African economy and the reduction of national economies, companies, products, and brands as the multinational companies rule

the world of commerce, industry, manufacturing, trade, and development have assumed a character in the age of globalisation.

[Globalisation] entails the rapid integration and structuring of national economies into one global capitalist economic order through, amongst others, trade liberalisation, privatisation, deregulation, harmonisation of multilateral organisations, and international financial institutions, law and legal frameworks. Its central features are the removal of restrictions to the global movement of capital and production of goods to and from any part of the world (LenkaBula 2010:103-104).

5.10 The African Church and Social Development

The church in Africa has a pivotal role to play in social development and national reconstruction, and theological reflective praxis has to integrate development theories in the struggle against poverty, inequality and unemployment. The late Steve De Gruchy has been one of the people who focussed on and promoted dialogue between theological reflection and development studies in a South African context. A Black Theology of Liberation in the democratic South Africa and the church in Africa, when theologising about development, must promote the agency of poor black masses, less privileged Africans, marginalised women and the helpless victims of socio-structural economic injustice acting as though the poor or the marginalised are the objects of our charity, goodwill or kindness, by doing this we are dehumanising the poor, helpless and the marginalised, thus reinforcing their poverty and treating them as patients, victims who are unable to do things for themselves.

But de Gruchy proposes that theological reflection in Africa must “acknowledge the agency of the poor” (2003:23). In speaking about the agency of Africans (Maluleke 2002:22) suggest that:

we are being called to a humble but careful observance of the struggles of Africans to be agents against great odds, not by ignoring or discounting the odds, but by confronting them. Africans have always been agents, never 'simply victims, wallowing in self-pity'; they have always exercised their agency in struggles for survival and integrity... In fact, at their best

and most creative, African theologies have always proceeded on some gut-feeling and almost stubborn insistence that Africans were agents and no mere doormats trampled upon by civilisers, missionaries and colonialists.

The church in Africa as a moral institution and Christians as moral agents in the drama of creation, salvation, freedom and justice acts alongside the poor, the marginalised, and the landless in the individual, political, social and economic aspects. The gospel reminds us that the poor are made in God's image and are co-creators with God to create the world of justice, hope, joy, peace, love and every good gift in humanity and creation.

Agency is influenced by the ontologies of people as rationale and feeling human beings. It is also propelled by human beings' yearning or making decisions that affect their lives and or surroundings. In some situations though, agency arises out of anger against pervasive injustices and power relations within a community, society and *politia* which generally marginalise women and others from resources, processes, institutions and structures that in its fullness (LenkaBula & Makofane 2010:137).

The church as a moral agency has the responsibility to bring a revolutionary consciousness among the marginalised that structural economic injustice is serving the ideological, philosophical, religious, economic interests of the select few at the expense of the entire population and the environment. Paulo Freire cited by de Gruchy (2003:26) clearly describes the processes of dehumanisation by stating that:

Dehumanisation is the process in which people are treated as 'things', as objects in other people's worlds, and because there is a fundamental relationship between ends and means, the struggle for humanisation must itself be humanising.

And he further says that:

The oppressed have been destroyed precisely because their situation has reduced them to things. In order to regain their humanity they must cease

to be things and fight as men and women. This is a radical requirement. They cannot enter the struggle as objects in order later to become human beings.

Black Theology must insist that the current neoliberal development theoretical model followed in South Africa is unable to deal with the intersections of apartheid distortions and socio-economic marginalisation of blacks from economic activity. The reformist policies of the past twenty years have failed to challenge the power of conglomerates and multi-national companies in their stranglehold through financial and trade liberalisation. Furthermore, the challenge of globalization still requires serious black theological reflection and analysis. Globalization is a threat to life, peace, hope and happiness in developing countries, particularly in African countries.

5.10 The Ethical Aspects of Economic Theory

Economics, as stated in the first chapter reflects the Greek words "*oikos*" ("place to live" or "house") and *nomos* ("order" or "law"). Literally economics means the "law or the order of the household". Economics deals with more than just money, but its central concern is with the supply and demand of goods and services to satisfy the needs and wants of individuals, societies and communities. "Mostert, Oosthuizen Smit and Van der Vyver (2002:3) teach us that the "central problem" or core issue in economics can be described as the issue of "scarcity"" (van Niekerk 2003:5). The International Encyclopaedia of Ethics (Roth 1995:247) defines economics as follows: "Economics can be defined as the study of the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services".

The popular conventional view is that economics is value-free or ethically neutral, thus it is impossible to derive an "ought" from an "is". Furthermore, precisely because economics is a social science, it is concerned only with descriptive statements and not at all with ethical considerations (including value judgements); descriptive statements, by definition, can imply nothing of an ethical nature whatsoever (Roth 1995:248).

Even though social science disciplines like economics claim to be ethically neutral in their methodology, in their theoretical aspects and practical applications they cannot escape moral principles and value judgements.

According to Keynes (1995:19), “It is not a correct deduction from the principles of economics that enlightened self-interest always operates in the public interest”.

Keynes did not believe in Adam Smith’s parable of the invisible hand, greed, self-interest and private personal interests. In today’s terms the “trickle down policies” do not serve common good and the broader public benefit. Keynes argues that “the political problem of mankind is to combine three things: economic efficiency, social justice and individual liberty with the active role of the state intervention in the economy” (1995:23).

According to Stephen Long, theology is situated in history and done in historical context whereas economics seems to be concerned with facts present now; they have little interest in historical questions that affect present realities. Economics is conceded to be a non-historical autonomous function, that constructs an historical mathematical model appropriate to the present realities (2000:1-3). Long further argues that economic facts and theological values are interrelated, they serve one another, and they must not be separated but held together (2000:4). The challenge for Black Theology in South Africa is how to integrate traditional African thought patterns with economic justice, in order to re-interpret Christian theology and the doctrines of creation, incarnation, salvation, anthropology, pneumatology and Christology as strategically relevant to the intersections between relating social ethics and economics.

I agree with Long that Black Theology and liberation theology arose out of the death of holy persons: Archbishop Romero, Dr King, Steve Biko... He notes correctly that Black Theology does not develop economics, per se, but analyses the root causes of economic exploitation based on racism (2000:91). Long critically points out that the “creation of wealth cannot be understood without a careful reflection on the

economic causes of slavery, the conquest of America, the colonisation of the third World and the destruction of nature for capital accumulation" (2000:95).

Meeks (1989:xi) argues persuasively that "the church's teaching about God, the doctrine of the Trinity, has to bear on the masked connections between God and economy". The reign of God provides the basis for a critical evaluation of political structures, economic institutions and cultural patterns that result in oppression and death... God's reign often identified as a reign of life, is contrasted with contemporary political economy, often identified as a reign of death (Long 2000:85). We must remind people that the God of Exodus is a liberating God of hope who dethrones the enemies of justice. The prophets spoke of God as the King of the poor, who protects them and frees them from powerful oppressors.

Our calling as Christian is to concretise the Kingdom of God in the church, society and our communities. We ought to emphasise ethical conduct rooted and grounded in love for another. The message of faith in Jesus Christ is the message of human liberation from social sin, economic domination and political oppression. Faith is against dehumanisation, slavery, oppression, injustice, exploitation and depravation, but a message of life, hope, love, peace, joy and salvation. The basic criterion for liberating humankind is a personal and social encounter with the revelation of God through Jesus Christ the Lord and Saviour of humankind.

5.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have tried to put the question of economic justice at the centre of African Theology, Black Theology and the Church in Africa as a point of departure in Christian scholarship in Africa in the 21st century. I have dealt with the subject of economic justice from a biblical, theological and ethical perspective. The church has a prophetic mission to speak against structural injustice, the abuse of political power for self-enrichment, the destruction of the environment and the destructive neo liberal development policies. I have argued that we need to develop an alternative society rooted in grassroots communities and lead by the poor themselves, and briefly discussed globalisation and the theoretical discourse on the subject of economics and theological dialogue.

BLACK THEOLOGY AND RETHINKING TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMIC FUTURES

6.1 Black Theology Transforming Historical and Epistemological Paradigms

This study seeks to proffer some alternative approaches to claiming economic justice in South Africa and envisioning alternatives for constructive economic futures for South Africa and the African continent in general. The study seeks to re-assert and re-affirm those aspects of Black Theology which are emancipatory, and to point to those aspects which still require attention in order that the majority citizens of South Africa, that is, black people, or people of African descent, are not reduced to the shadows of themselves, but their dignity is affirmed and justice is manifest. The chapter thus seeks to engender transformation and liberation as fundamental aspects and resources to Black Theological enterprise.

Black Theology will have to rediscover the black working-class and poor peasant culture in order to find for itself a materialist-hermeneutical starting point. The particularity of the black struggle in its different forms and faces must provide the epistemological lens with which the Bible can be read. Only this position seems to represent a theoretical break with dominant biblical hermeneutics; anything else is a tinkering with what must be destroyed (Mosala 1989:68).

For Black Theology to transform the future (South Africa), it must discover the voices of the black working class, black poor peasants, black women, township young people and rural people in charting a new course of action.

As critical reflective praxis, Black Theology must continuously break free ideologically, epistemologically and theoretically from the dominant and hegemonic ivory tower discourses of white liberalism, black bourgeoisie politicking and public intellectual fallacies. Tshaka (2013:4) says that "Western epistemologies always pride themselves on being empirical and, therefore, scientific in their very nature. These epistemologies usually preclude anything that does not encompass cognitive rationality, which is always assumed to be a norm in the West". Academic theology

in South Africa has always used these dominant Western epistemological paradigms. I agree with West (in Tshaka 2013:4) that, “while professional philosophers lingered under the spell of the grand Quine-Goodman-sellers breakthroughs, and academic theologians nested in Barthian cocoons or emulated logical positivists and linguistic analysis, liberation theologians discovered history”.

Molefe Asante argues that we (us Africans);

Must be authentically African people, moving in history as the great rejection to rejection, as the counter to oppression, as the positive and humanistic force in the world of brutality and savagery. In fact, our experiences, rather than our genes, are keys to our victory in humanizing the world (Asante 1993:x).

We transform the future by beginning our theologising from below, by speaking of the epistemological privilege of those voices in the economic periphery, those deliberately made poor. That’s where Black Theology, Liberation Theology and African Theology have discovered history in the struggles of the poor, blacks, marginalised women and oppressed African cultures from the cries of the invisible members of society for justice and the coming of the Kingdom of God.

Accordingly, Takatso Mofokeng (1984: 126) also asserts the importance of black history in Black Theology and their dialectics. He asserts for example, that

history that [has] evolved through harmonies and contradictions, a history of setbacks and successes, of apparent defeats and certain victories, a history that makes continual qualitative leaps through these contradictions, temporary setbacks, apparent defeats, excruciating pain and a lingering cloud of death that accompanies black existence in this country till now.

The apparent contradictions in black history characterised by dialectical movements, of one step backwards and two steps forward must serve as the resilience to galvanise the black church in concretising the struggle in the valley of the shadow of death and prophecy the dead bones to come to life again

through resistance, critical engagement and building alternative voices in the era of voicelessness.

Furthermore in its attempt to rethink historical and economic futures Black Theology today must critique the personality cult political orientation of South African politics, that is quick to honour individual leaders and name everything after them, then neglect the collective socio-political identity of the entire black society. How we define ourselves as a church is very critical at this juncture. We must be the church of the marginalised voices, oppressed women, poor people in squatter camps, the voice of love and hope to the victims of HIV/AIDS.

Black Theology must promote urgent dialogue with current business executives, the renewal of Christian student movements, and the restoration of Christian workers associations, develop training for local church leaders, and instil a sense of hope for the unemployed and the poor masses and a new morality among the private sector and public servants in South Africa.

6.2 Black Theology Transforming Economic Futures

The end of apartheid did not finish the structural socio-economic oppression of the majority of black citizens. The message of Black Theology is still relevant and critical in the democratic South Africa. The struggle for the Reign of God, shalom, justice and prophetic confrontation must be at the centre of the Black Church, the spirituality of liberation and the mission of Black Theology. “The prophetic discourse about economic justice in South Africa has been mainly influenced by Black Theology, Latin American Liberation theology, [African Womanist/ feminist theology] and African theology” (Verhoef and Rathbone 2013:92).

This study was essentially about Black Theology in the new South Africa. Black Theology from its inception in the late sixties and the early nineteen seventies has played a critical role in mobilising black people against white supremacy, white theology, as a critique of bourgeoisie economics, Western liberal scientific and philosophical methodology. “Black Consciousness [and Black Theology] was seen by its proponents as some form of reawakening – a renaissance. It was a

reawakening of Black people in South Africa to their value as human beings and their dignity as God's children and creatures" (Motlhabi 1984: 110). The Black Church has played a fundamental role in destroying apartheid, rebelling against the gross misinterpretation of scripture by Afrikaner theologians and the abuse of the state by the National Party to negate the dignity of black people in pro racist, sexist and classist society like South Africa.

The issue of basic human rights – the task by of the state to promote and eliminate illiteracy, hunger, poverty, homelessness, unemployment, and their causes – is more important than the task of promoting international competitiveness are central to the elimination of economic injustices (Makgetlaneng 2000:37).

An equally important point which Makgetlaneng makes, is the assertion that "the task is not, and cannot be, that of eliminating South African capitalism on imperialism. The task is eliminating South African capitalism, not its dependence on imperialism" (Makgetlaneng 2000: 39). Whilst the elimination of hyper-capitalism and its entrenched exploitative practices are envisioned, there is an awareness that these will take a while to being eclipsed as they are seen as core to the 21st century logic of economic globalization and economic grammar. They therefore require the formulation of constructive and alternative paradigms which are resourceful for promoting the dignity of all human life and God's creation.

In a thought provoking paper drawing on African culture, read by Rev Ndikho Mtshiselwa at the Forum for Emerging Scholars at the UNISA he quotes a popular Northern Sesotho/Pedi proverb that says:

'Bana ba motho ba ngwathelana hlogo ya tsie' (siblings share the head of a locust), to ask what happened to the culture that people shall share? He asks that if the "main questions engaged with in the present text are whether: if the concerns of the poverty-trapped poor South African majority are fore-grounded, and the discourse is interrogated from an African liberationist perspective within the ethos of the preceding proverbial wisdom, could the discourse offer liberating and empowering possibilities for the poor of South Africa?

Mosala (1989:18) promotes the idea that: “insistence on the Bible as the Word of God must be seen for what it is: an ideological manoeuvre whereby ruling-class interests evident in the Bible are converted into a faith that transcends social, political, racial, sexual, and economic divisions. In this way the bible becomes an ahistorical, inter-classist document”. I am convinced that we need to liberate the Bible, Christian theology and the church in Africa from the epistemology and the methodology that interprets the Bible and Christian faith as politically neutral, ahistorical and inter-classist texts.

We need an alternative society based on economic transformation, justice and land redistribution. It is for this reason that this study asserts that there is a great need a need for a conscientised, politically astute and Pan-Africanist leadership to manage social change, black revolution and to give South Africa- is greatest gift the human face.

Magubane (2007:4) says that “with the emergence of the capitalist mode of production rapacious forces of greed that lie, at the root of enslavement of Africans... [This] Spirit of Capitalism based on a bourgeoisie worldview is governed by gross self-seeking tendencies that inflicts constant affronts on human beings, leaving them spiritually empty and disillusioned; it is a world of bigotry, hypocrisy, debased sentiments and degraded family relations”. Hence, there is need to explore ethical alternatives to capitalism, privatisation, economic globalisation and technological progress that threatens labour, the poor and the invisible members of our communities.

The centrality of economic justice, land redistribution, overcoming the triples of poverty, inequality and unemployment must be at the heart of the struggle of Black Theology in the democratic South Africa. What I have tried to do in this study was to argue for the critical role of liberating black people from any form of economic oppression, social marginalisation, landlessness, structural capitalist domination and cultural imperialism.

6.3 Problematising 'Whiteness' as a theoretical and apolitical construct in South Africa

Just like the Church during colonialism and apartheid in South Africa was divided along ideological, political, cultural, social and economic lines, even in the democratic era, the church still remains divided along these lines. Black Theology must wrestle with the problem of whiteness in the democratic South Africa. Whiteness in South Africa still defines every area of life. There is a need that requires that we expose the impact and limitations of white supremacy in post-apartheid South Africa are still relevant 20 years later in democratic South Africa.

The science of inequality is emphatically a science of white people. It is they who have invented it and set it going, who have maintained, cherished, and propagated it,... they have elevated into superior qualities all the traits which are peculiar to themselves (Jean Finot (in Magubane 2007:29).

Samantha Vice says that "One of the key ways of theorising whiteness is as a global norm that is invisible, working in the background as a standard, not of one particular way of being in the world, but as normalcy, as universalisability, of 'just being' " (2010:324). Thus I agree with Vice that whites in South Africa ought to see themselves as a problem because they are tied to structures of domination and oppression (Vice 2010:326).

Vice further says, boldly and courageously, that she has "argued that while the emotions of guilt, regret and shame are appropriate emotions for white South Africans to feel, shame better captures the identity and phenomenology of the white South African". Rev Tumi Senokaone also makes a profound remark when he argues that, "with white power, the white man has lost moral authority over everything having to do with race, equality, justice, economic emancipation, and so on" (2011:6). Senokoane's statement, acknowledges that, the immorality of a prejudicial and exploitative system is not the evil it emits on its victims, but is equally evident in its perpetrators unethical being and decisions to foment injustices. Senokoane continues further to say that "This is white power, and it must be confronted, and like Malcolm X said: 'by any means necessary'. If it means,

nationalisation of mines, Land Redistribution and Restitution, etc. So let it be” (2011: 5).

The other aspects which need clearer analyses and intervention is new expression of racism which are covert and generally concealed from the public domain. For instance, Kritzinger asserts that such racism must be exposed. He says,

Racism is a highly emotive issue in South Africa. It often calls forth defensive and self-excusing responses from white people, who feel they are being accused of being cruel and insensitive, as well as hurt and angry responses from black people, who feel that whites still do not understand the suffering and pain caused by racist attitudes and actions (Kritzinger 20--:1).

Since whiteness is in bondage as a social construct that was moulded by the long history of slavery, imperialism, colonialism, capitalism and now globalisation. Kritzinger (2008:101) pleads for the liberation of whiteness, so that it can play a constructive, liberating effect on other white people in overcoming racist attitudes, actions and structures.

6.4 Black Theology and the Betrayal of the Revolution

The observation made by Basil Moore is correct that what weakened Black Theology and Black Consciousness from the 1980's onwards was the emphasis on charterist ideology within the elements of Black Theology and Black Consciousness that emphasised non-racialism and class analysis, and de-emphasised racism as the fundamental organising characteristic of struggle. This point is also emphasised by Kritzinger as following:

The growing dominance of the “non-racial” rhetoric of the UDF and ANC also contributed towards making the notion of a Black Theology and a (liberating) White Theology less and less plausible as the 1980s progressed.

In my view, the formation of the Institute of Contextual Theology was the continuation of the charterist programme in spiritual garments the same goes for the Kairos Document. The mere fact that The Institute of Contextual Theology (ITC) operated with liberation theology and emphasized contextual theology at the

expense of a Black Theology of Liberation played a critical role in diminishing the essence and the minimizing the message of Black Theology in the struggle meant they operated in the Freedom Charterist ideology that claimed that 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it'.

Since we have lost the race question to class analysis post-apartheid, thus we have also lost the land question and the fact that we have lost the slogan coined by the South African Students organization (SASO) that "Black men/ women you are on your own" (Biko 1978: 3-8). This is the dilemma facing the struggle for liberation today how to deal with the race question in a more liberating manner as a class a question? Since Black Consciousness is an attitude of the mind – the way of life this means for us today is that our self-definition [as blacks] meaning rejecting white stereotypes of Blacks and negative references to them such as 'non-whites' or 'non-Europeans'" (Motlhabi 1984: 112).

Barney Pitso (in Moore 199-5), says I feel very strongly about the fact that black theologians have betrayed the revolution. Thus, I plead with you to include it as I feel it makes perfect sense in the academic context and in the struggle for liberation, justice, and transformation interpreted within the Black Consciousness and Pan Africanist schools of thought:

Black theologians have betrayed the revolution. They have not sustained or created a movement which has reached into the grassroots. In fact they have retreated into their ivory academic and ecclesiastical towers from direct involvement in the struggle. They have criticised those struggles and exposed their shortcomings from their positions of safety.

The question today is: are we as Black theologians prepared to go to jail, into exile, die and so on to be vocal against corruption, the economic plight of the poor and the black working class, and for the return of the land? We cannot afford to betray the long history of black resistance, lest we continue to betray the revolution.

One of biggest mistakes that the church have done post 1994 was to withdraw from the public domain to focus on the church related issues; this mistake had the negative repercussions for the church. The church has lost its sense of mission, the rapid emergence of Pentecostal-Charismatic in some cases diverted the focus of the

church from shaping public policy, engaging in social justice, pursuing economic transformation and sustained critical voice in politics. I have sought to argue cogently for the revival of Black Theology in the theological scholarship. This research has highlighted the vision of the new direction that Black Theology must take in the twenty first century if it is going to remain relevant in the lives of black people.

The dawn of democracy in South Africa has ushered in new challenges for Black Theology since it has excluded the black majority in the wealth of the country necessitating the need for the struggle of economic justice based on the revelation of God as the liberator of the oppressed. The triples of unemployment, poverty and growing inequality are contrary to the promises of the liberation struggle that began in 1652, there is need to continue struggling for the Reign of God, peace, justice, and the end of economic marginalisation and the return of the land that was dispossessed.

Mosala cautions us that “questions of wealth and poverty are articulated by different ideological intentions in the Bible, even in the same text. Thus a Black Theological reading of the Bible is at the same an ideological reading, as indeed are all readings of the Bible. The only real question is: in the interests of which social class, race, culture, and gender is the reading conducted” (1991:23). Mosala goes further to say that in “the biblical history of the struggle against poverty and oppression the people of Israel consistently appealed to the cultural/spiritual traditions of resistance” he concludes by this brilliant quote from one of the African leading intellectual giants that: Amilcar Cabral “A people who free themselves from foreign domination will not be culturally free unless, without underestimating the importance of positive contributions from the oppressor’s culture and other cultures, they return to the upwards paths of their own culture...We see therefore that, if imperialist domination has vital need to practice cultural oppression, national liberation is an act of culture” (1991:24).

6.5 Conclusion

The future of Black Theology lies in the discovery of the poor black working class, the marginalized peasants, and unemployed young roaming the streets for a transformed future. Black theology must explore ethical alternatives to economic

globalization, the philosophy of neo-liberal politics and the hegemony white dominance in the property and the socio-economic formation of South Africa. We need to begin our theologies with the poor black people and end it with the poor black people. The struggle for economic justice is a holy, divine and just struggle in Azania today since the black people are on their own.

The theme of justice is reiterated in biblical witness, especially the texts from the prophets Amos 5:22-24 (NKJV) “though you offer Me burnt offerings and your grain offerings, I will not accept them, nor will I regard your fattened peace offerings. Take away from Me the noise of your songs, for I will not hear the melody of your stringed instruments. But let justice run down like water, and righteous like a mighty stream”. And secondly, from the Book of Saint Luke 4:18-19:

“The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He has anointed Me to preach the gospel to the poor; he has sent Me to heal the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives and the recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed; to proclaim the acceptable year of the LORD”.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER

7.1 Introduction

This study has reached two conclusions that Black Theology is still highly relevant and that the struggle for economic justice is consistent with the mission of Christ in the democratic era in South Africa. The methodology and theoretical framework adopted to deal with the problem highlighted in this study was based on South African Black Theology and limited to the democratic era in South Africa. This was done by discussing the historical context of the current politico-economy injustice rooted from 1652 till 1993. I argued throughout the 1994 agenda did not translate in transforming this historical trajectory but it instead conformed to neo-liberal and capitalist domination.

The introduction of reformist policies like Affirmative Action, Black Economic Empowerment, Black Management Forum and Black Business Council, served to secure the interests of the black middle class, thus creating a black bourgeoisie that collaborated with white oligarchs to destroy the initiative, potential and creative ingenuity of the black majority. The majority of South African citizens' black, coloured and Indian were left on the economic periphery marginalized from the centre of economic activity.

7.2 The Praxis of Black Theology

Throughout this study I have argued positively for the renewal, revival and the transformation of Black Theology in the democratic South Africa. The theory and practice of Black Theology in South Africa looking forward beyond its more than its forty years looks bright, promising, refreshing, energizing and encouraging. Provided Black Theology broadens its scope of theological reflection and social engagement. Looking back in the beginnings of Black Consciousness in the late 1960's and the beginnings of Black Theology in the early 1970's with the publication of **Essays in Black Theology**. One important feature was Black theologies ability to balance theoretical analysis with active public ministry in the church and society.

What is missing today in Black Theology is a lack of missional involvement in the daily struggles of black South Africans. Black Theology has retreated from the contextual realities of the excluded and dispossessed in South Africa, a situation which will require remedying. To a large extent, Black Theology in the democratic

dispensation has generally been grounded in academic and scholastic debates, and hence its requirement to become accessible to all. It is no more practiced as a revolutionary theory in the hands of the economically oppressed black masses. Black Theology has not been able to clearly articulate its social vision and political ideology in the new South Africa. "Therefore, not only should Black and African theologies connect to communities; they will be called upon to devise new methods of connecting to and with grass-root communities in the twenty first century" (Maluleke 1996:16).

According to Maimela in (Landman 2010:63) "Black Theology had failed to reconstruct itself since the coming of democracy in South Africa: South Africa has become ugly with corruption, lack of moral leadership, with people getting into nice warm chairs, minding mainly in which circles they move and not how they can serve the people". Furthermore Maimela notes objectively and analytically that "during reconciliation theology was co-opted into a political agenda, as many Black theologians moved into government. Consequently, Liberation theology has now degenerated into nepotism, and had spawned a recreated "state theology" that is simply a correlate of "white theology" Maimela in (Landman 2010: 63). If Black Theology serves the agenda of the ruling party in government and has been co-opted by the elitist political agenda of neo-liberalism it has ceased to be a tool for liberation and radical faith since its practice is informed by nepotism, favouritism and blind faith this means the future of Black Theology is in an intellectual crisis theoretically and practically.

The question is, is not (when I speak of liberation theologies I speak in the inclusive sense meaning the class, gender, race and culture questions as dealt with by individual liberation theologies (Latin American Liberation Theology, African Feminist Womanist, African Theology and Black Theology in USA and Black Theology in South Africa) faced with a leadership and ethical crisis? Is Black Theology not currently faced with an intellectually bankrupt methodology and a serious epistemological crisis? Who should take responsibility be blamed for the poor performance or diminishing role of Black Theology in the new South Africa, is it the founders of Black Theology in South Africa or the new generation of Black theologians? "African intellectual critique of Christianity must be seen as more than

just a challenge and a test for Christianity. It is in Africa's ability to provide answers to its inhabitants' most vexing questions that we find a clue to its deepest intellectual critique of Christianity" (Maluleke 1996: 17).

7.3 Black Theology as Black People's Theology

Black Theology has not given moral and ethical guidance to current political leadership about the values of the Reign of God, the mission of Christ and the prophetic role of the church. It has not developed a black liberation theology of the economy, the land question, environmental justice, and interdisciplinary scholarship among black Christian academics. It has to overcome operating within a narrow definition of blackness that excludes other black Christian professionals like engineers, chartered accountants, business people, the black middle class, medical professionals, and social scientists, natural and technological scientist. It has not clearly spelt out what it means to be Black and African in the democratic South Africa and post-colonial Africa from a biblical point of view.

These systemic problems in black communities like the culture of 'gangsterism', violence, high prison population; poor municipality management, lack of service delivery, non-participative citizenship, illiteracy; lack of multi- skills, servant leadership; critical strategic skills and recreational facilities marginalise constructive and creative participation in economic development and social justice. Blackness has become a commodity in which many trade as a means of justifying entitlement.

Currently Black Theology in South Africa still suffers from an inadequate and insufficient social, economic and public policy analysis in its discourse about liberation, humanisation, humanness, full life and human dignity. We still need to develop the use of social sciences in our social analysis critically, prophetically and dialogically in addressing the crisis of black experience. We still need to be bold and humble in exploring the inter-structural relationships "between racism, capitalism and imperialism, on the one hand, and theology and the church on the other" (Cone 1985: 88). Black theologies must unmask the neo-colonialist tendencies, or the inter-racialized middle class churches and the imperialistic enterprises encoded in white theology under the pretext of economic and technological globalisation.

We need to be reminded that the ruling ideas in South Africa are the ideas of the rich and those in power which serve their economic, financial and property interests. A radical Black Theology of Liberation cannot be in solidarity with the powerful members of society, but must be in solidarity with the poor black people. Black Theology must develop a “new paradigm that will address itself to the multiple present-day problems and evils, such as on-going poverty, slum dwelling, crime, family violence, and child abuse, HIV/AIDS, corruption and greed in public and private service, and other related evils still bedevilling South Africa” (Motlhabi 2009: 173). The prophetic church and Black Theology theoretically and practically must adopt a critical perspective on the economic reforms introduced by the ideology of political liberalism in South Africa. They must be in solidarity with the majority of workers in searching for solutions to capitalism that has caused so much pain, suffering, homelessness, unemployment, oppression, poverty, institutionalised violence, environmental degradation, and so many evils that undermine the biblical values of justice, peace and love.

7.4 The Liberation Paradigm in Black Theology

The notion of liberation is a central paradigm in Black Theology. The liberation agenda is the most appropriate way of talking about Black Theology, compared with the theology of reconstruction. “One of the attempts at a fresh start in the form of a so-called Theology of Reconstruction does not seem to have much appeal in the country and its now hardly ever referred to” (Motlhabi 2009:172). The reconstruction theological agenda is a reformist socio-political and economic ethical analysis that compromises the revolutionary transformative and the ideological mandate of a Black Theology of Liberation. The subject of liberation must be at the centre of theological reflection and praxis. Kritzinger argues that “liberation and reconstruction should be interpreted, not as mutually exclusive alternatives but as complementary perspectives” (2008:102). While I don’t necessarily agree that liberation and reconstruction are mutually complementary the reason being liberation is more radical and true to the historical struggle, whereas reconstruction is mild, reformist and quite often based on neo-liberal economic precepts. “Thus, even in the post-apartheid period and after the problem of racial oppression is resolved, Black Theology as a theology of liberation is still critical and desirable” (Mogashoa 2010:95).

7.5 Economic Justice as the Centre of Black Theology

The future of Black Theology will solely depend on its role in advancing economic progress balanced with economic development. Black Theology must be bold, radical and revolutionary in its theoretical and practical character and Black Theologians must be critical of the state, business and society. It must prioritise the poorest of the poor, campaign for land restitution, economic transformation, gender justice, cultural emancipation and social change. Black Theology must interrogate and evaluate the economy from the perspective of the wretched of the earth. It must make its voice heard in the media both electronic and print media including social media. It must clearly define the role of ordinary Christians and organic intellectuals in theological, political, economic and technological sciences.

Other scholars suggest that there is a need to develop a liberation philosophy that will liberate black minds from the remnants of neo-colonialism, the effects of untransformed structural apartheid and unregulated capitalism. The South African economic justice agenda must be based on democratic, popular, and mass participation on the political, ethical, ideological and economic fronts. It must take into account not only the race question, but also issues of class, ethnicity, gender and urban-rural inequalities. "Due to the changed political climate in the country since 1994, Black Theology, like other types of South African theologies has been caught in the general confusion and inability to bring about a paradigm shift in order to address the problems emerging in the new situation" (Mothlhabi 2009:163).

Black Theologians looking to the future must emphasise the fact that whilst the nature of the South African problem is fundamentally economic by its very nature, the solution is fundamentally political. The radical prophetic mandate of transforming or revolutionizing the existing economic status quo; does not lie in economic theory but in political ideology and black ethical leadership.

As far as the reconciliation programme is concerned, unless it addresses the land question, wealth redistribution and sophisticated racism the future is bleak, uncertain and not what it used to be during the era of political transition. We need new processes of reconciliation, nation building and human rights which will be focused on economic crimes and economic reconciliation to redress imbalances in property,

land ownership, mineral wealth and reengineering the role of business in constructing a socio-ethical vision of economic liberation and poverty eradication.

My recommendations in addressing economic injustice to those in political and economic authority is that the salaries of cabinet ministers, members of parliament; executive directors of state owned enterprises, managing directors of mining, banking, chemical, energy, construction, retail and nearly every business sector in South Africa are not justifiable in the face of such rampant poverty, chronic unemployment and growing inequality. The salaries of cabinet ministers must be reduced by 25 per cent, while the salaries of parliamentarians must be reduced by 15 per cent. The salaries of executive directors in the state owned enterprises must be reduced by 20-30 per cent, the salaries of giant corporations and multinational companies must be reduced between 30-50 per cent.

These policy changes and lifestyle compromises by those in power and the wealthy ones would do a great deal of good in reducing the rising gap between the rich and the poor, in creating sustainable employment opportunities, facilitating a spirit of entrepreneurship, developing small and medium enterprises, alleviating poverty, destroying the culture of dependence on government social grants, increasing RDP housing, temporary public works initiatives, building a functional and caring health facilities, improving a culture of education in well-functioning schools and developing community projects that can sustain themselves financially and resources wise. We need to develop black townships with multi-faceted lifelong education methods, capacity building strategies, technological skills, leadership development programmes, youth empowerment entrepreneurship ventures and female-driven initiatives in poverty alleviation, sustainable projects, and economic independence methodologies.

Today, young people in the church must rediscover a theology and a philosophy of economic liberation, land redistribution and political consciousness informed by the Word of God to speak against the abuse of power by former leaders in the liberation movement. They must make their voices heard against corruption, nepotism, greed, rape, violence and any form of injustice. The Black Church must proclaim values of prophetic and Christocentric liberation in society, in the state and in the broader

economic spectrum. Young people must insist that there is no contradiction between the gospel of Jesus Christ and the struggle for economic liberation, land restitution and African socialism. In honour of the young people of June 16, 1976, we must decolonise the minds of black South Africans.

This study has argued that the South African society today, is sitting not necessarily on a political time bomb, but on an economic time bomb which will result in a rupture of disorder and violence if not addressed urgently, and through dedicated and detailed attention to the economic development, transformation and economic justice. The study suggests that if the South African government, citizenry and social justice advocacy do not prioritize economic justice and wealth redistribution sooner or later, South Africa will struggle with social catastrophes such as lawlessness, crime, corruption, looting, service delivery protests, violence and, land grabbing. In a situation where people are desponded and therefore anarchy might turn out to be the rule and order of the day.

This study therefore has attempted to theoretically and practically problematise Black Theology and the imperative of economic justice in democratic South Africa. It suggests that the political emancipation of 1994 that ended apartheid rule did not result in a kind of economic transformation, which should translate into enabling the majority of poor black South Africans to live better lives.

It is important to acknowledge that even though significant milestones have been attained in the political transition from the apartheid period to the democratic dispensation, the political transition and its successes should not be used to mask the contradictions that the democratic period embodies, especially with regard to questions about economic transformation and economic justice. Mosoma states this clearly when he argues that while it is important that South Africa has attained a measure of “political, religious and social healing, it must be important to acknowledge that these cannot be treated as substitutes for economic reconciliation” (Mosoma 1997: 65).

According to the economic historian, Terreblanche:

It is quite possible that an economic growth rate of, say, 4 per cent a year will not only mean '**jobless growth**' – as is the case in some first-world countries – but may in fact be '**job-destroying growth**' because of the declining labour-absorptive capacity of the first-world capitalist enclave (Terreblanche, 2002:432).

It is also clear that the democratic era, is:

Concretely, for Black South Africans, the white power structure manifested in apartheid. Whatever grandiloquent ideal this ideology may represent for white people, for blacks it means bad housing, being underpaid, pass laws, influx-control, migrant labour, group areas, resettlement camps, inequality before the law, fear, intimidation, white bosses and black informers, condescension and paternalism: in a word, black powerlessness²⁶ (Boesak 1977:27).

Concurrent observations about the lack of authentic transformation of South African post-apartheid period, was reiterated by the former president, Thabo Mbeki, who stated in one of his speeches that:

We therefore make bold to say that South Africa is a country of two nations. This reality of two nations, underwritten by the perpetuation of the racial, and gender and spatial disparities born of a very long period of colonial and apartheid white domination, constitutes the material base which reinforces the notion that, indeed, we are not one nation, but two nations (Mbeki 1998: 71-72).

Mbeki's acknowledgement of the polarisation of society based on economics and race, which he describes, as the co-existence of the two nations in South Africa, poignantly summarises the contradiction and complexity of political liberation without economic justice and liberation. Whilst his concern is that this bifurcation will result in nominal or lack of genuine reconciliation, this study is concerned with how viable

²⁶ It is critical to acknowledge that though Boesak made this statement during the apartheid it is still practically relevant because we have changed white faces with black faces but the system is the same.

economic transformation and justice ought to be forged in order to ensure authentic transformation and economic justice are attained today and in future.

It is also important from the onset that, whilst efforts to address the injustices inherent in the economic organisation of South Africa resulting from the apartheid period were put in place, such as the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and Affirmative Action (AA), they did not comprehensively address the inbuilt distortions in the distribution of economy in South Africa.

The Southern African Catholic Bishop's Conference (SACBC) has also challenged the current levels of poverty, economic inequality and unemployment. They question the economic injustice which currently characterise the South African context. They also question the ethics of such an economic system and observe that,

By tolerating such high levels of poverty, the South African economy undermines the common good and fails to demonstrate the solidarity that our shared human dignity demands. Profits continue to be put before people, and in a general sense, the economically empowered tend to pursue their own enrichment while neglecting the basic needs of the economically disempowered (SACBC 1999: 19).

Given that the majority of people who are on the underside of economic justice are in the main, black people, this situation seems to make valid, even after the dissolution of apartheid, the expression by Biko (1978:87) that "There is no doubt that the colour question in South African politics was originally introduced for economic reasons." It is for this reason and others, that Black Theology must evaluate why in the post-apartheid period the vestiges of apartheid and their negative impact has implications are to a large extent, still felt by the majority of people in the black communities.

These, therefore, leave the African churches and Black theology, without any choice, but to undertake the prophetic mandate of the church and Black Theology, to challenge the political leadership and business sector with the message of black economic liberation. We are correct to say poverty is a state of disempowerment as the poor, underdeveloped and marginalized voices who operate in the periphery of

economic centres lack the socio-political and economic power to improve the conditions of their lives.

Poverty can be said to be the inability to meet basic needs, which could be material, economic, spiritual and intellectual, cultural and social, legal and political (Oxford dictionary, 1962 quoted Mshana 2012:49). Poverty also means the deprivation in the most essential capabilities of life, including leading a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable, having adequate economic provisioning and participating fully in the life of the community UNDP, 2005, in (Mshana 2012:49).

The struggle for economic justice and black liberation is now more urgent than before. This is due to numerous reasons including *inter alia*: the growing number of black people living in absolute poverty and who are dependent on social welfare and social grants, government housing programmes; an emergent new phenomenon in which in spite of the increase in economic growth levels, there continues to be an increasing number of unemployment, especially of the youth, black women and African men.

The World Bank reports that, even though economic growth and rising social welfare payments have made a dent into poverty levels in South Africa, large pockets of poverty remain deeply entrenched, mostly among the black population in townships and informal settlements. An estimated 34.5% still lives below the poverty line, while a large number has relied on grants as a safety net and a single source of income to stay on or slightly above the poverty line. Some data sources state that as much as 50% of the population lives below the poverty line, if the international poverty line of \$2 a day is considered. Two dollars a day is equivalent to R606 per person per month using today's prices. Take a moment to think about what you would be able to afford with R606 each month (Ndungane 2013:1).

This situation obliges scholars to continue to seek, explore, envision and participate in crafting new alternatives. It also calls on the continued advocacy and struggle for

socio-political transformation, cultural emancipation (spiritual and materialistic) and economic justice to the victims of socio-economic injustice.

This research has highlighted the importance of studying economic justice in South Africa, from the perspective of Black Theology cannot be overemphasised. It is equally based on the recognition that the Christian faith, and its sacred text the Bible have during apartheid, and even after, sometimes been deployed to justify the oppression of black people and their marginalisation from the economy during apartheid. This will require deliberating on, if justice is to manifest.

The imperative to evaluate how Christianity and the Bible were used during apartheid is clearly identified as an obstacle which must be addressed if true justice and liberation are to be envisioned and lived out in the daily lives of South Africa, for as Mofokeng (1988:52) rightly reminds us, the central position which the Bible occupied “in the on-going process of colonization, national oppression and exploitation,” cannot be taken for granted. The Bible was at some point used as an ideological weapon to colonize, oppress, exploit, and marginalize black people and to frustrate their plans of self-determination, self-reliance and self-development. It is therefore important for this study to highlight the ways in which theology will grapple with how the Christian faith and the Bible are, and ought to be resourceful toward the liberation agenda and economic justice in the democratic era in South Africa.

Today, young people in the church must rediscover a theology and a philosophy of economic liberation, land redistribution and political consciousness informed by the Word of God to speak against the abuse of power by former leaders in the liberation movement. They must make their voices heard against corruption, nepotism, greed, rape, violence and any form of injustice. The Black Church must proclaim values of prophetic and Christocentric liberation in society, in the state and in the broader economic spectrum. Young people must insist that there is no contradiction between the gospel of Jesus Christ and the struggle for economic liberation, land restitution and African socialism. In honour of the young people of June 16, 1976, we must decolonise the minds of black South Africans.

7.6 Conclusion

Fundamentally, economic justice is not an option but a critical necessity in Black Theology beyond apartheid. And the most appropriate way of theologizing about black experience, African culture, and African women's experience, discovering the Black God of Liberation affirmed and attested to in scriptural re-reading of the Bible. The centrality of economic justice, land redistribution, overcoming the triples of poverty, inequality and unemployment must be at the heart of the struggle of Black Theology in the democratic South Africa. What I have tried to do in this study was to argue for the critical role of liberating black people from any form of economic oppression, social marginalisation, landlessness, structural capitalist domination and cultural imperialism.

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