

READING THE BOOK OF DANIEL IN AN AFRICAN CONTEXT: THE ISSUE
OF LEADERSHIP

By

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DECLARATION

I declare that READING THE BOOK OF DANIEL IN AN AFRICAN CONTEXT: THE ISSUE OF LEADERSHIP is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

.....

M E D LAWMAN

2013/10/31

SUMMARY

This thesis concerns the issues of leadership in the African context, but it derives its emphasis from the stories in Daniel 1–6 in the Old Testament, in order to comment on leadership styles, competencies, skills and the state of leadership in Africa. It is a reading from a specific context, that of someone living in present times in the Republic of Chad.

The research focused mainly on the following issues: What can we learn from the stories concerning leadership in Daniel 1–6? Who are the leaders in these chapters? What is the quality of their leadership? In trying to answer these questions, the researcher had to consider the following: How was the book read and interpreted in the past? How is it currently interpreted? Looking at past research, the focus fell on: (1) the pre-critical period, (2) the historical-critical period, and (3) the period in which modern literary studies abound. Following the research history a personal reading and interpretation of the stories in Daniel 1–6 are presented. A narrative analysis is carried out and the plots of the different stories are analysed according to the quinary scheme (the initial situation, the complication, transforming action, the denouement and the final situation). The focus falls on the narrator's presentation of the main characters and what readers can learn from these stories about leadership. Although there is attention to how scholars in the past and present have interpreted the Book of Daniel, the researcher tries to present a new interpretation by carrying out a contextual reading focusing on leadership. This aspect did not receive much attention in previous research. What is gained by this reading is then applied to the situation in the modern Republic of Chad. First, there is a detailed study of current writing by scholars as well as what they are saying about leadership. Following this, the African and Chadian contexts are considered. The final chapter synthesises all the issues that have been discussed.

Key terms:

African Christianity; African continent; leadership in Africa; leadership in the Republic of Chad; the history of Chad; African Protestantism; colonisation

(impact); the Book of Daniel; historical-critical studies; the Maccabean hypothesis; missionary influences; modern literary approaches; narrative criticism; pre-critical readings of Daniel; quinary scheme; reception history; Daniel and leadership.

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DEDICATION

To my companion and brother, Rev. Akonso Matco Mikal.

Death destroyed our friendship and dreams.

To Christian Fellowship in Chad

To Chadians and African political and religious leaders

To those who have a sense of leadership

To those who are concerned with leadership

To those who are struggling with leadership

I dedicate this study

M E D LAWMAN

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------|---|
| ACT | Assemblées Chrétiennes au Tchad (Christian Assemblies in Chad) |
| AMT | Australian Missionary Tidings |
| AD | Anno Domini (Christian Era) |
| ANC | African National Congress |
| BCE | Before the Common Era/ Before Christian Era |
| BCM | Black Consciousness Movement |
| BEGST | Bangui Evangelical Graduate School of Theology |
| CA | Constituent Assembly |
| CE | Common Era/Christian Era |
| CEFOD | Centre de Formation et de Développement |
| CETA | Conférence des Eglises de Toute l'Afrique (All African Churches Conference) |
| Chap(s) | Chapter(s) |
| Chr | Chronicles (1 & 2 Chronicles) |
| CNS | Conférence Nationale Souveraine (National Sovereign Conference) |
| CODESA | Conference for Democratic South Africa |
| CSM | Conseil Supérieur Militaire (Supreme Military Council) |
| D | Deuteronomist (Pentateuch source) |
| Dn | Daniel |
| DRC | Democratic Republic of Congo |
| Dt | Deuteronomy |
| E | Elohist (Pentateuch source) |
| Eccl | Ecclesiastes |
| Est | Esther |
| ESTES | Ecole Supérieure de Théologie Évangélique – Shalom (Shalom Evangelical School of Theology: SEST) |
| Ex | Exodus |
| FAP | Forces Armées Populaires (People's Armed Forces) |
| FAN | Forces Armées du Nord (Armed Forces of the North) |
| FROLINAT | Front de Libération National du Tchad (National Liberation Front of Chad) |
| Gn | Genesis |
| GUNT | Gouvernement d'Union Nationale de Transition |
| HTS | Hervormde Teologiese Studies |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund (Fond Monétaire International) |

| | |
|---------|---|
| Is | Isaiah |
| J | Yahwist (Pentateuch source) |
| JAI | Journal Afrique International |
| JEDP | Yahwist, Elohist, Deuteronomist and Priestly source |
| Josh | Joshua |
| Jr | Jeremiah |
| Ki | Kings (1 & 2 Kings) |
| Lv | Leviticus |
| MDM | Mass Democratic Movement |
| MNRCS | Mouvement National pour la Révolution Culturelle et Sociale (National Movement for the Cultural and Social Revolution) |
| MPLT | Mouvement Populaire pour la Libération du Tchad (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Chad) |
| MPS | Mouvement Patriotique du Salut (Patriotic Salvation Movement) |
| NC | National Conference |
| NCC | Newtown Community Church (Australia) |
| Nm | Numbers |
| Neh | Nehemiah |
| OAU | Organisation of African Unity |
| P | Priestly source (Pentateuch source) |
| PPT | Parti Progressiste Tchadien (Chadian Progressive Party) |
| Pr | Proverbs |
| Ps | Psalms |
| OT | Old Testament |
| OTE | Old Testament Essays |
| RDP | Reconstruction and Development Programme |
| Sam | Samuel (1 & 2 Samuel) |
| SEST | Shalom Evangelical School of Theology |
| TEF | Theological Educational Funds |
| TEN | Transafrican Education Network (Réseau Transafricain de Formation) |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNIR | Union Nationale pour l'Indépendance et la Révolution (National Union for the Independence and Revolution) |
| UNISA | University of South Africa |
| US | United States (of America) |
| USA | United States of America |
| USD | United States Dollar |
| v, (vv) | Verse (verses) |
| WB | World Bank (Banque Mondiale) |

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Leadership skills, leadership styles, and criteria for good leadership are currently fashionable topics. Numerous books are being published with “leadership” as one of their main themes (cf. Collins, Grint & Jackson 2011). In the future, our century will surely be described as a century in which aspects of leadership have been discussed, evaluated, revisited and implemented. On the African continent, political leadership has become a special focus area, as certain political leaders can only be described as being completely out of step with what is expected from a good leader. The African continent is a continent ravaged by wars and corruption because of self-serving, incompetent and corrupt leaders. It is impossible to ignore the conflicts that are causing so much misery in so many African states. Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sudan are prime examples. The following quotation summarises the situation on the continent (Oko 2010:29):

Most African nations maintain a semblance of order but the continent’s future is bedeviled (sic) by significant and dangerous threats. Beneath a facade of order simmer degeneration and rot — corruption, poverty, violence, human rights abuses, repression, and seething ethnic tensions that often erupt into violence, exposing failures of leadership and the absence of a sound democratic foundation in Africa.

African countries have so much potential, which is undermined by political and religious leaders with hidden agendas. The situation concerning leadership in Africa is a challenge that deserves our attention. Wangari Maathai (2009:111) concurs when she says: “I firmly believe that unless Africans from *all* levels of society recognize and embrace the challenge of leadership, Africa will not move forward”. Okechukwu Oko agrees, commenting that: “The single most important problem responsible for Africa’s woes has been bad leadership” (2010:615).

This research will focus on the challenges that face the inhabitants of African states and will endeavour to identify the major deficiencies in current leadership. We must not forget that misunderstanding the present is the inevitable consequence of ignoring the past. To avert disaster, then, African leaders must urgently acknowledge the need to save this continent, which is at a crucial turning point. African leaders must immediately be made aware of the dire situation they are facing, and try to identify the real problems that are devastating the continent.

This is not a blanket condemnation of all African leaders. One cannot ignore the fact that there are capable leaders with excellent skills, but tragically there are too few of them. This reflection brings us to the critical situation which African countries face. Most people, who read and keep up with what is occurring in African countries and in churches, know how negligent most political and religious African leaders have been in seeking and appointing leaders with integrity. Reports on most of the political and religious leaders in Africa are fairly negative.

Before such leaders come to power, they make promises to convince the citizens to elect them. The question is: How can moral people choose these leaders, knowing that they are liars, perjurers, thugs and thieves? Furthermore, are we not co-responsible for their wrongdoings, since we allow them to continue, even though the catastrophic consequences show in their leadership? The saying goes: If a blind man leads a blind man, both shall fall in the pit. The fact that we are witnessing the wrongdoings and outcomes of their leadership, but say nothing because we are afraid of losing our positions or work we are co-responsible for the situation. Once leaders come to power, they destroy the freedom that they were hypocritically extolling when they ran their campaigns for office. They chose to enrich themselves with the money they have taken from the poor; pay themselves lavish salaries; bribe other leaders and enrich their family members. Eventually corruption becomes endemic (Okonkwo 2010:510–515).

The problem of leadership in the African context is nothing new. A considerable number of articles and books have been written about this. However, it seems that African leaders do not learn from these studies. Most African people are still living in dire poverty without adequate food, sanitation or clean water, even though many millions of dollars have been donated to alleviate and improve the socio-economic situation in the Africa context. Africa is not a poor continent as most people have thought and are still thinking. The problem is that so many African leaders are not concerned and do not try to develop their countries so that all their citizens can benefit from the developments.

Before colonisation, traditional African leaders were respected in their position of power, since they were considered to be gods, constantly in contact with the ancestors. Their responsibilities and abilities were to resolve conflicts and make peace among communities. When we look back, it is obvious that most African leaders had the ability to lead their people according to the counsel of older men. Ordinary citizens “have always responded to strong leaders who demand obedience” (Adeyemo 2006:546).

Further, the leaders were expected to possess sufficient economic wealth to provide for those around them. They established their authority by caring for others and they practised “*ubuntu*” (“putting people first”). Traditional leaders were therefore respected, since they did not live for themselves, but existed for the people. Most of these African leaders possessed knowledge and were considered to be the “library” for the younger generation. That is why a Masai proverb says: “When an elder dies, a whole library is buried with him”.

As can be gathered from publications on leadership, a leader must be a man or woman with vision, who is trustworthy. He or she should empower others and cherish values or principles; be of excellent character; and exhibit virtues appropriate to a human being in a particular socio-cultural context. A leader does not possess a title or have a position. Rather he has abilities, skills and expertise gained through experience to lead people. He is supposed to be someone who can do more than the average person and who can impart their

skills to others and motivate people in that way. Unfortunately, it seems that most African leaders are on the periphery of their own context. The researcher would like to address the question of how a new breed of leaders could be developed: leaders with the necessary skills, competencies, and good morals, who will act with integrity so that they will be able to tackle the challenges of Africa.

Most people, regardless of their education, occupation, and political or religious beliefs, recognize the importance of leadership. However, the quality of leadership cannot be raised by merely observing and reading. People are different, and according to their own style, experience or personalities, have different ways of solving certain problems and addressing certain issues. Guidance and mentoring are therefore important if people are to be assisted to become good leaders.

When reading the Bible in the context of the ancient Near East and comparing the stories, one gains the impression that the leaders of Israel were respected because they feared God. A number of excellent Biblical examples can be cited: Joseph, Moses, Joshua, David and Daniel. The stories about Daniel are going to be the focus of this research, hopefully to shed some light on wisdom concerning leadership in the African context.

2. MOTIVATION

Looking back at the era of colonization and subsequent events, it is evident that most of the countries that became independent are still very poor. Haiti is a good example. In addition, the colonization of Africa brought about tremendous changes in the different African societies and impacted on the traditional systems and understanding of leadership. Some of the strengths and values of the old systems were discredited or lost and replaced with pride and arrogance. Leaders became pre-occupied with their positions, privileges, power and money. But it can be said that “this hand in pocket” style of leadership is neither African nor biblical. Currently, in this situation of pauperization, the African continent is looking for leaders who will stand up,

uplift the spirit, mobilise the resources and act in the best interests of their communities economically, politically and religiously.

This study, with its focus on the stories in the Book of Daniel, will grapple with the issue of leadership. The character Daniel, in the critical situation of the exile, made up his mind, acted with integrity and became a model for good leadership. But other characters, like the Babylonian, Median and Persian kings, also acted as leaders. Although the Book of Daniel was not written with their leadership in mind, they can be assessed according to the way in which they are presented by the narrator.

In comparison, most of the political and religious leaders in Africa fail in their responsibility to lead. The African continent is looking for leaders who can resolve the needs of their societies; who are passionate about serving people; not a dictator who cares only about himself and those who follow and obey his orders. A good democratic leader is one who listens to the needs of the people around him and who takes responsibility for their survival and happiness. One could even say: "When a man's ways are pleasing to God, he makes even his enemies live at peace with him" (Dn 6:7). Throughout the reigns of several monarchs, and over numerous decades, the character Daniel served in a responsible position as a leader in Babylonia and with the Persian government until he was 90 years old. He did this by maintaining his integrity and by pleasing the Lord.

In studying the research history of the Book of Daniel and by reflecting on the stories themselves I would like to make readers aware of this leader. By virtue of his upbringing, Daniel pays attention to the society in which he is living and acts in a responsible way, serving not only the monarchs but also his own community. The wish is that African leaders could be empowered with knowledge and skills to enable them to become similar leaders in their own communities. The main character in the Book of Daniel is the hero, a staunch worshipper of Yahweh. He is transported to a foreign country where, after many trials and narrow escapes from death, he is elevated to a position of high honour. Daniel is a solitary figure, facing many dangers, armed only with the

divinely inspired gifts of being able to read minds, interpret dreams, and see into the future (Harris 2010:243).

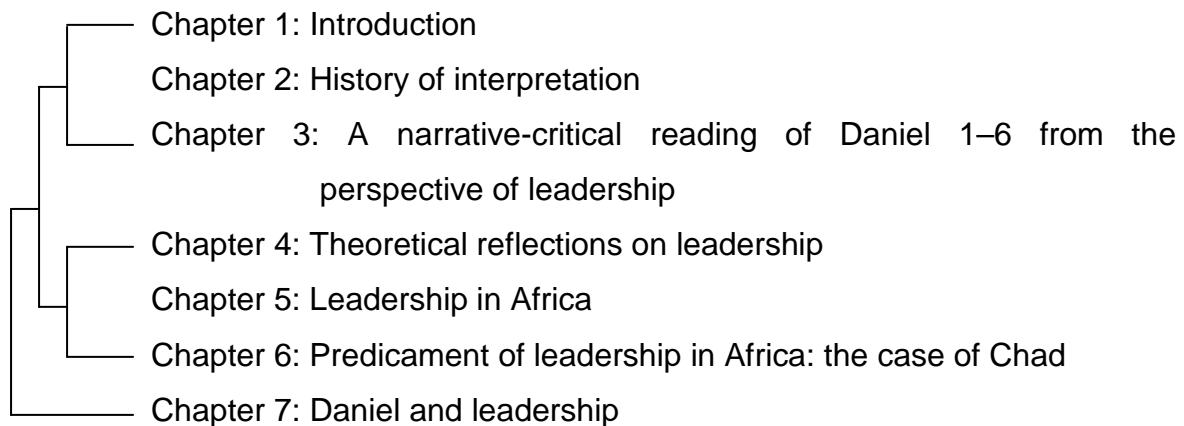
This study will deal with issues of leadership in a religious context but will also comment on political leadership, since in the African context these two cannot be separated. It will also comment on the material and social needs of African communities.

The research will focus mainly on the following issues: What can we learn from the stories in Daniel 1–6 concerning leadership? Who are the leaders in these chapters? What is the quality of their leadership? In trying to answer these questions, one has also to look at the following: How was the book read and interpreted in the past? How it is currently interpreted? Looking at past research, the focus will fall on: (1) the pre-critical period and (2) the historical-critical period in the study of the book. Thereafter the modern literary critical study of the story will receive attention, taking into account the plot structure and the issue of Daniel's being an example of a wise courtier in a foreign country. Special attention will be given to wisdom as an important characteristic of leadership. The research will eventually attempt to contribute to the discussion on leadership in the African context. Religious and political leadership skills will be commented on.

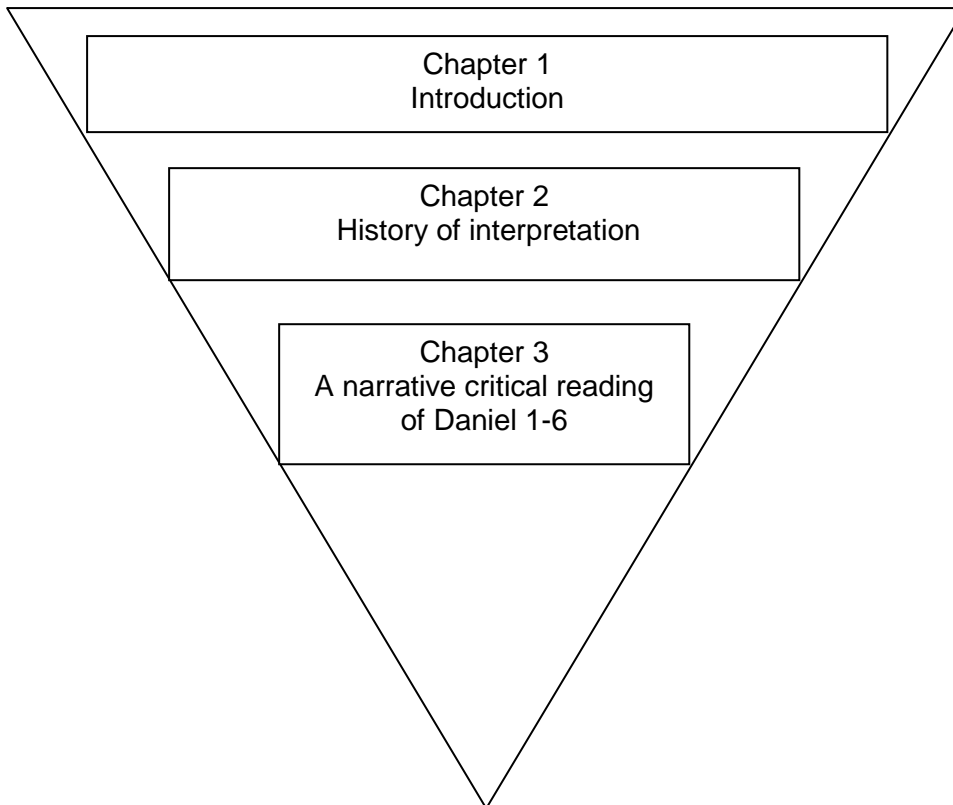
3. SUMMARY

To summarize, the thesis concerns the issue of leadership in the African context, but it takes its cues from the stories in Daniel 1–6 in order to comment on types of leadership, and leadership competencies, skills and qualities. But the reading is from a specific perspective, that of an African person living in the Republic of Chad. However, to be able to discuss and comment on leadership competencies and skills, one has first of all to take note of the research history of the Book of Daniel. This will help the reader to understand how the Book of Daniel has been interpreted and is still being interpreted, and how scholars have viewed the different characters in the book. Three periods in the research history of the book will be looked at: (1) the pre-critical period, (2) the historical-

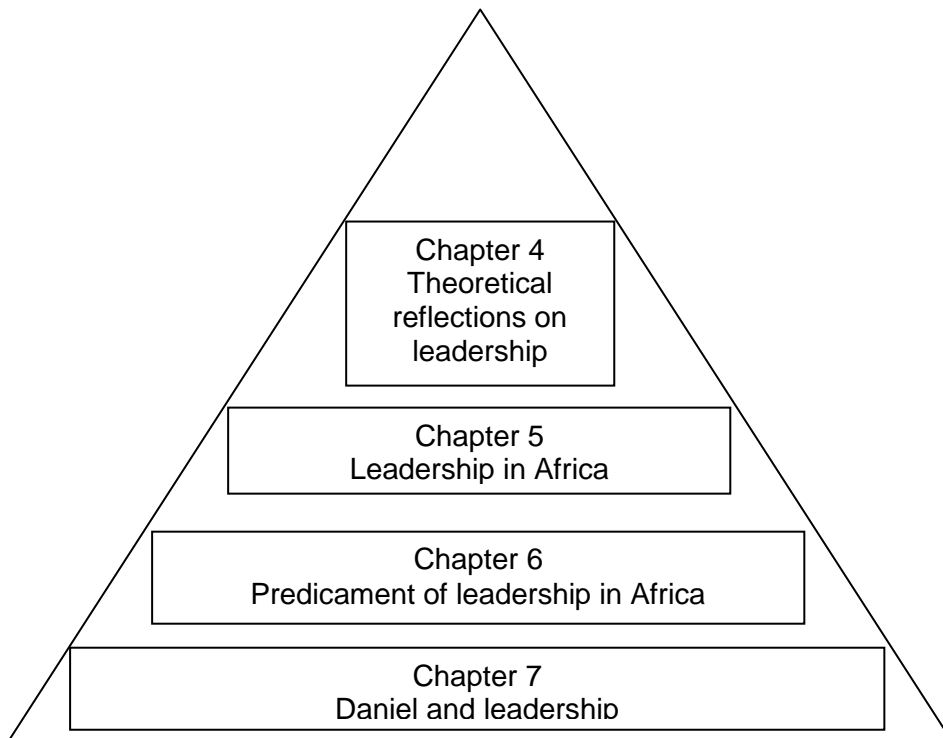
critical period, and (3) the period of modern literary studies. These periods will be covered in Chapter 2 before an own reading and interpretation of the stories in Daniel 1–6 is conducted (Chapter 3). In this chapter the focus will fall on how the main characters act as leaders and what we can learn from these stories about leadership. This will be followed by a theoretical discussion of leadership (Chapter 4) and a discussion of leadership in Africa (Chapter 5) and more specifically in Chad (Chapter 6). The final chapter (Chapter 7) is an endeavour to dovetail the information gained from the study of the stories in Daniel 1–6 with the information gained from the theoretical study of leadership in order to present a biblical perspective on what good leadership entails. The structure of the thesis can be summarized as follows:



The thesis can thus be divided into two main sections. Chapters 1–3 form the first section and Chapters 4–6 the second. Chapter 7 serves as the concluding chapter in which the content of the two sections is reflected on. The structure of the thesis can also be presented as two triangles. The first triangle is inverted, narrowing down to the main focus point: a narrative critical reading of Daniel 1–6.



The second triangle has its pinnacle at the top and the base at the lower end. In this case, the last chapter (Chapter 7) draws a conclusion.



CHAPTER 2

A HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION

1. THE PRE-CRITICAL PHASE IN THE RECEPTION HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This section will focus on how European Christians appropriated the stories of Daniel and applied them to events or people of their day. It will also focus on how these ideas shaped their understanding of their context and how these understandings became part of their worldview and missionary work. Their understandings were eventually imposed on converted Christians in other parts of the world. African-American and African Christians accepted these readings as trustworthy readings of the Book of Daniel. They assimilated these views but sometimes applied them in different ways to their own context.

1.2 PRIOR TO THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

Before the Protestant Reformation of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Bible was available only to the erudite church clerics. Some Protestant Christians falsely accuse the Roman Catholic Church of “stealing” the Bible from ordinary readers. This is an anachronistic accusation. During earlier times, the Bible had to be hand-copied, which was a tedious task. There were very few manuscripts in circulation. Moreover, ordinary Christians were illiterate and could not read and write. Schools did not exist and literacy was not common.

Christian theologians from the earliest centuries regarded the Book of Daniel as a prophecy originating during the exile. This prophecy divided history into four periods: the Babylonian, the Median-Persian, the Hellenistic and the Roman period. Daniel 2 and Daniel 7 served as support for these ideas. Christians believed that they were living in the Roman period and the kingdom of God was soon to appear. This understanding can be presented as follows:

| Daniel 2 | Daniel 7 | Christian interpretation |
|--|--|--|
| Head of gold | Lion | Assyrian & Babylonian empire |
| Chest and arms of silver | Bear | Median & Persian empire |
| Belly and thighs of bronze | Leopard | Greek-Macedonian empire |
| Legs of iron; feet of iron and clay | Monster with iron teeth 10 horns 11th horn | Roman empire 10 future kings 11th king (Antichrist?) |
| Large stone | Rule by the son of man | The kingdom of God |

The philosopher Porphyry (270–320) attacked this interpretation of the Book of Daniel and argued that the book had not been written during the sixth century but rather during the second century BCE (Casey 1976:15–33). He called the book a “forgery”, a view that was criticised by the Christian theologian Jerome (348–420). The commentary by Jerome, written around 400CE, had an enormous impact on how Christians understood history for the next thousand years. One could say that Jerome had received a good education in both Latin and Greek. He also studied Hebrew during the time he left Rome to settle in Bethlehem. There some Jews taught him the Hebrew language and to read the Hebrew Bible. Jerome believed that Hebrew was a progenitor of all other languages. He admired both the Hebrew language and the Hebrew Bible, although he took note of the grammatical errors in the manuscripts. The fact that Jerome could compare three languages (Greek, Hebrew and Latin) made him a keen observer of linguistic phenomena (Kedar 1988:318–321; Sparks 1970:510–540). As a great scholar, Jerome was a prolific writer who is still referred to by Christian theologians and exegetes. Unfortunately, most of his writings were destroyed without trace. However, after his death, Jerome’s Latin translation of the Hebrew Bible was gradually accepted. At the Council of Trent in 1546, Jerome’s translation was officially elevated to the position of the authoritative text, known as the *Biblia Vulgata* version, which is regarded as the ultimate authority of the Catholic Church.

Regarding the Book of Daniel, Jerome claimed that the book was indeed a prophecy from the sixth century BCE. He believed that the rock that crumbled the statue (Dn 2) should be linked to the birth of Jesus and the coming of the kingdom. According to him, God's kingdom was establishing itself throughout the world. However, he regarded the idea of a thousand-year peaceful kingdom which was going to arrive at the end of history as an erroneous idea. According to him the kingdom was already at hand and taking shape in the world through the Church. He believed that the four beasts of Daniel 7 represented Babylonia, Persia, Macedonia and Rome, while the little horn was the antichrist (Towner 1999:243–244).

Jerome went to great pains to refute the critical statements by Porphyry, the Neo-Platonist philosopher of Tyre. However, Porphyry's understanding of the four beasts was correct and historical-critical scholars usually refer to him as a reader who had the courage to go against the preferred reading of his day.

An interesting manuscript from the thirteenth century is the manuscript called *Biblia Pauperum*, or *Bible of the Poor*. This Bible consists of drawings using typology to communicate the Christian message (Henry 1990:83). It is evident that the idea of "Fall–Atonement–Judgement" forms the heart of this Bible and its pictures. This Bible was used by illiterate clergy for devotion and to familiarize themselves with the Church's message. There is, however, no drawing that can be linked to the Book of Daniel. This may reflect the fact that the stories about Daniel did not always play an important role in church circles. What is indeed interesting is that, when the Turks conquered Constantinople in 1453, a large number of theologians and politicians believed that the prophecies by Daniel were being fulfilled. According to them, the eleventh horn (the antichrist) had taken control of the holy city. Some, however, believed that Moscow was now called to take over as the third and last Rome, the holy city of Christianity. With this event, we arrive at the hour of birth of the Protestant Reformation. The approach to the Book of Daniel taken by the reformers will be discussed in the next section.

1.3 THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

A number of events changed the course of history in Europe at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries (cf. Pettegree 2006:88–133). (1) The Americas were discovered. Some historians classify this discovery as one of the events that brought the Middle Ages (or the Dark Ages) to an end, since a new understanding of the world had been born. (2) It was the beginning of the Renaissance in Europe and people were developing a new identity. (3) Leaders also started to criticize the way in which the Roman Catholic Church dominated people's lives in Europe and kept them uneducated. (4) Latin lost its power as the *lingua franca* and local languages started to flourish. There were attempts to translate the Bible into the local vernacular but this was vehemently suppressed by Church authorities. The changes, however, could not be halted. More and more Roman Catholic scholars and theologians criticized the way the popes ruled the Church. This led to the Protestant Reformation in which Martin Luther (1483–1546), Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531), John Calvin (1509–1564) and others played an important role.

1.3.1 Daniel and some of the reformers

1.3.1.1 Martin Luther

In the year 1509, Martin Luther (1484–1546) journeyed from Germany to Rome and learned the following saying about the city of Rome: If there is a hell, Rome is built over it; it is an abyss from whence issues every kind of sin. Luther soon came to view Rome (the centre of the Roman Catholic Church) as the beast of the Apocalypse. Within ten years, he was leading a revolt against the Catholic Church, centred on his doctrine of justification by faith alone.

Luther made considerable use of the Book of Daniel in various ways, first in his polemic against papal authority, and second in his pastoral advice and letters. However, he never wrote a full commentary (Towner 1999:244). We cannot

ignore his lengthy preface to the Book of Daniel in his Bible translation of 1530. This was elaborated on in 1541 when he wrote comments on the text of Daniel 11:36–12:12. In the preface he identifies the antichrist and the final age with Antiochus Epiphanes. He even went so far as to link the Pope with the antichrist of the last days. For Luther, the Book of Daniel was very important because it gave him a thorough knowledge about the history of the world and of the Church (Raeder 2008:391–392). In his comments, Luther identified the four kingdoms as (1) the Assyrians and Babylonians, (2) the Medes and Persians, (3) Alexander and the Greeks, and (4) the Romans. In his opinion, Charlemagne’s revival of the title of “Emperor” on Christmas Day in 800 gave evidence to the fact that the Roman Empire was not dead but alive and well. This was the Empire in which he was still living, but, according to his understanding, the Empire was experiencing its last days. He arrived at this conclusion by reading and commenting on the Book of Daniel, which he took to be a prophecy about Jesus and the end times. On the basis of Daniel’s prophecies, Luther was convinced that the last days must be imminent, since nearly all the prophecies announced by Jesus Christ and the apostles Peter and Paul had been fulfilled.

1.3.1.2 Philip Melanchthon

Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560) was a colleague of Martin Luther at the University of Wittenberg. Although he was a Greek scholar, he took an interest in Hebrew as well, and wrote commentaries on the Psalms, the Proverbs and on Daniel. He was convinced that world history left room for only four empires and that the Germans “are heirs of the Roman empire and the chosen protectors of Europe” (Scholder 1990:70). He was a staunch supporter of Luther’s ideas, and like him, he criticized the leadership by the Pope and the understanding of the Mass. He expressed his criticisms in his commentary on Daniel, which was not received particularly well (Hobbs 2008:495–496).

1.3.1.3 Ulrich Zwingli

Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531) and Martin Luther did not always agree. Zwingli's views were sometimes more radical than those of Luther. His views on baptism, preaching and the Eucharist differed from those of Luther and he was politically more involved. He also expressed contempt for the Pope in his reflections on the Book of Daniel (McGrath 1990:674–675).

1.3.1.4 John Calvin

John Calvin (1509–1564) wrote a significant commentary on Daniel which appeared in 1561 [Parker 1993], a year before the outbreak of the devastating wars of religion. Although Calvin was acquainted with Olivetanus's French translation, he used the Latin translation of the Old Testament. In his foreword, which appears in Latin, Calvin pleads for the Bible in the vernacular so that all believers know exactly what Scripture says (De Greef 2008:70–71). This is to avoid those "impious voices" that deprive simple folk of the Word of God. He never tolerated the priests and bishops (of Rome), who, as shepherds of the sheep, were withholding real food (Word of God) and offering the contaminated fare of their own ideas. One could say that Calvin was devoted, but more involved in biblical translation, only later becoming a pastor (De Greef 2008:73–75).

According to Towner (1999:244) Calvin avoided subtitle allegories and forced expositions in favour of what he believed to be the plain meaning of the text. Calvin claimed that the fourth beast of Daniel 7 was Rome and that the ten horns (Dn 7:20–22) represented the collective leadership of the Roman Republic. The little horn was therefore the dictatorship of the Caesars, which supplanted the former democracy.

Already in 1561, Calvin wrote the dedication for the edition of the lectures on Daniel he had delivered, in which he addressed all pious servants of God who were trying to establish the kingdom of Christ in France in the right way (De Greef 2008:92). Calvin encouraged his brothers in their struggle by holding up

Daniel as an example. One could say that, during the Reformation, the Book of Daniel was central to the thinking of many believers in their struggles with the Roman Catholic Church. Moreover, in his commentary, Calvin showed clearly that Daniel had predicted in such a way that he described almost historically things that were hidden. This was necessary, because in such turbulent times people would have had no inkling that these events had been divinely revealed to Daniel (Calvin [Parker] 1993:16).

However, one might expect Calvin to have identified the events in Daniel 7:7–14, not with Rome but with the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church of his day. Calvin, however, had a good understanding of the text. The events referred to in Daniel 7, in his opinion, concerned the first advent of Christ and the beginning of the dominion of his body, the Church. He did not link this with the second coming of Christ. He thus did not contribute to the high eschatological expectations that so often characterized Calvinists and the reform movements of later generations. Daniel 7 is therefore a vision of the intermediate state of the Church (Towner 1999:245).

1.3.1.5 The Reformation in England and Scotland

England and Scotland were not spared the turmoil of the Reformation. The Reformation in England was inseparable from the political events taking place in the reign of Henry VIII. His wife, Catherine of Aragon, could not bear him a son and he wanted to divorce her, but the Pope was reluctant to give his consent. The English parliament stepped in and promulgated legislation that confirmed English independence from Rome and the king as supreme head of the English Church. “By 1540, England had a vernacular Bible, and Parliament had abolished purgatory, shrines, and pilgrimages” (Pettegree 2006:109). There were a number of English translations circulating during these years: the Wycliffe Bible, Tyndale’s Bible, Coverdale’s Bible (also known as the Great Bible), and the Geneva Bible. The Great Bible became the Bible of the English Church while the Geneva Bible was preferred by ordinary readers (Gilmore 2000:74–75, 79–80). The Great Bible was translated by Coverdale based on Tyndale’s translation and the Latin Vulgate.

The Reformation in Scotland was driven more by the nobles than by the rulers. At this stage (1562) the Scots were ruled by Mary of Guise (a French regent). A small group of dissident Scottish nobles, with the encouragement of John Knox (1514–152), sided with the Protestant Reformation and established Protestant worship. Mary of Guise had to take refuge in Edinburgh castle (Pettegree 2006:120). English troops intervened and Mary's rule was ended. Protestantism was established in Scotland. However, Calvinism had a greater impact here than in England and Scottish theology was focused more on the prophets who admonished kings than on the kings themselves. One could conclude that, in both England and Scotland, reading of the Old Testament helped to form a sense of the people being the new Israel, or an elect nation (Rex 2008:529).

Although the Book of Daniel did not always play a dominant role during the struggles, Christopher Rowland argues the case that, at certain stages, the book had been used to drive specific political convictions. He refers to Thomas Müntzer and the peasants' revolt in Germany and Gerrard Winstanley's land claims in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Rowland 2001:447–467). According to Richard Kyle (1988:67), it definitely played a role during the English civil war of 1642–1660, when the king was executed and a commonwealth was established.

1.4 THE BOOK OF DANIEL AND CHRISTIANS IN THE USA

1.4.1 The discovery of the Americas

Historically, it is said that America was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492. But we now know that America had been discovered long before Columbus found it. Asiatic peoples, who became the Native Americans, were the first to discover America and settle there. Some scholars claim that America was discovered in 1421 by the Chinese Admiral Zheng He. However, although Columbus was not the first, his discovery (or re-discovery) is rightly

regarded as one of the most important historic events in European history because Columbus inaugurated a permanent, large-scale, two-way commerce between the Old World (Europe) and the New (America). The previous discoveries were so obscure that almost no one in either hemisphere was aware of the other hemisphere's existence prior to Columbus. But after Columbus, it became common knowledge.

1.4.2 The early colonisers

North America was not immediately colonized after its discovery by Columbus. However, the events in Europe forced many Europeans to move to other parts of the globe in order to escape the religious wars which followed the Protestant Reformation. Some English men and women migrated to Holland and from there to North America. The first group arrived in 1620, landed at Cape Cod and then travelled to Plymouth (Massachusetts). They were followed by other groups in 1628 and 1630. A Puritan colony was eventually established around Massachusetts Bay and they tried to create a godly society almost similar to Calvin's Geneva: "Like Calvin in Geneva, and with a motivation that owed much to his pioneering example, the early settlers found themselves in an unusually favourable position to turn their dream of a 'holy commonwealth' into a reality" (Woodhead 2004:234). Although the Pilgrim Fathers were not the only colonists, their religious tradition had a great influence on the American religious tradition as it developed through the centuries. The view that the Book of Daniel was a prophecy was kept alive as was the conviction that people were living in the end times and that the second coming of Christ was at hand.

1.4.3 The idea of end-times

Richard Kyle commences Chapter 5 of his book *The Last Days are Here Again* with these words: "End-time expectations go right to the heart of American religion. Unlike Europe, where millenarianism usually existed on the fringes of society, in America it has been more central to the religious experience" (Kyle 1998:77). Throughout its history, numerous groups in the USA believed that they were living in the end-times. Amongst these are the Mormons, the

Millerites and the Seventh-Day Adventists, but end-time expectations are also kept alive by such books as Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* (1970). These expectations are based on a pre-critical literalist interpretation of the Book of Daniel and Revelations. Thus, although critical studies have influenced the way scholars read and interpret the Book of Daniel, ordinary readers and some pastors keep the pre-critical interpretation alive.

1.5 THE BOOK OF DANIEL AND AFRICAN CHRISTIANS

Leopold Senghor, an African leader, once claimed that “la colonization en Afrique est un mal necessaire”. Translated into English the statement reads “Colonization in Africa was a necessary evil”. The position of Senghor needs to be understood in that colonization was good for certain areas, like the economy and infrastructure development, and even learning a foreign language and a different way of living. Our reflection is not about colonization, but about how the Bible was used during this period to influence African people. Even if colonization was evil, it brought about some necessary and important transformations among civilians in Chad. I would like to refer here to the first Dutch missionary, Kaardal, the founder of the Lutheran Brethren in Chad. His focus was on teaching his believers. The method he used to teach daily can be classified as oral transmission. He recommended that believers return home and teach their wives what they received from him. The following day, when they come to him again, he liked to hear that his pupils had taught their wives exactly what he had taught them. While they were receiving another lesson, their wives were teaching other women what they had received from their husbands. Before the end of the week the missionary was convinced that many people had received the teachings from the small, group that he had taught. Within a few weeks, the missionary found that an important number of people in the area had learned how to read. After a year, he used the same people to translate the Bible into Moundang (one of the languages spoken in Chad). Today, people still praise his strategy because it was possible to find old people in the villages who had never been to school but who were able to read the Bible in their own language.

When European missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, came to Africa, they brought with them the pre-critical understanding of Daniel. But while this was happening the historical-critical study of Daniel got underway in Europe. It dawned on scholars that Porphyry had not been wrong when he claimed that the book was a kind of forgery. African Christians were not introduced to the new understanding of Daniel but missionaries adhered to the pre-critical understanding of. It is, however, interesting that the critical reading of the Pentateuch had its origins amongst missionaries who came to South Africa. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

1.6 CONCLUSION

During the greater part of the history of its interpretation or reception, the book of Daniel was understood as a prophetic book. Readers claimed that it narrated historical events from the beginning of the Babylonian exile in the sixth century B.C.E. until the end of the Roman Empire and the coming of the kingdom of God. Christians living in Europe believed that they were living during the time of the fourth Empire. According to their understanding of the stories, the fourth empire was not the Empire of the Greeks but that of the Romans. The book narrated the history of the Roman Empire as it rose and waned, and rose and waned during their lifetimes. The Protestant Reformation of the fifteenth and sixteenth century did not change this understanding. Protestant exegetes merely applied the predictions to their struggles with the Roman Catholic Church and the state authorities of their days. These ideas were taken over by some Christians in the USA and even in Africa. Their readings still reflect a pre-critical understanding of the book. The issue of leadership was not the main focus during this period, except in the sense that, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some readers used the book to criticize the leadership by the Popes.

2. THE HISTORICAL-CRITICAL PHASE IN THE RECEPTION HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous section focuses on the pre-critical phase in the study of the Book of Daniel. This chapter will focus on the historical-critical phase in the study of the book. The following issues will be discussed: (1) the origin of the historical-critical method, and (2) historical-critical research and the Book of Daniel before a conclusion is drawn on whether this type of study is helpful when focusing on the issue of leadership.

2.2 THE ORIGIN OF HISTORICAL-CRITICAL STUDIES

The origins of the historical-critical study of the Old Testament are intertwined with the study of the Pentateuch. During the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, people still adhered to the ecclesiastical tradition that Moses wrote the whole Pentateuch. When Martin Luther translated the Bible into German, he used the following names for the first five books of the Old Testament: (1) The first Book of Moses [Genesis], (2) The second Book of Moses [Exodus], (3) The third book of Moses [Leviticus], (4) The fourth book of Moses [Numbers], (5) The fifth book of Moses [Deuteronomy]. A number of Protestant confessions written during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also reflect this viewpoint. Compare the *Belgic Confession* published in 1561 and the *Westminster Confession of Faith* published in 1647 (Pelikan & Hotchkiss 2003:407–408, 604–606).

Richard Simon (1638–1712), a French Catholic priest was one of the first to argue the case that Moses used different sources to write the Pentateuch. He came to this conclusion after realising that there are a number of doublets in Genesis. A French professor of medicine, Jean Astruc (1684–1766), soon made a similar claim. He realised that different names for the deity are used in Genesis 1–3. He therefore came to the conclusion that Moses used two sources to compile Genesis 1–3. He named the one source the E-source, since it used the name “Elohim” for God, and the other source was labeled the J-source, since it used the name “Yahweh” (or “Jehovah” as the name was pronounced in those days) to refer to the deity (Beattie 1988:18; Bandstra 1995:25). He then argued that these sources can be identified in the whole

Pentateuch. This was the birth of the so-called Documentary Hypothesis of the Pentateuch.

Other scholars followed in the footsteps of Simon and Astruc and identified two additional sources, which they called the P-source and the D-source. The P-source is linked to the legal material of the Pentateuch (sections of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers) and is associated with the priests, while the D-source is linked to Deuteronomy and the discovery of the “Book of the Law” during the reign of King Josiah (2 Ki 22–23). Heinrich Graf (1815–1869) soon argued that the P-source was written after the exile. The Law, according to his conviction, came after the Prophets. Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918) followed his line of reasoning and argued that the sources of the Pentateuch originated in the following order: J, E, D, and P. The P-source reflects that Israel’s religion eventually became legalistic after the Babylonian exile (Clements 1983:9–12). According to him one could reconstruct the history of Israel’s religion by paying close attention to the order in which the different sources originated. His viewpoint became very influential and some Old Testament scholars still adhere to his understanding of the sources (cf. Friedman 1989).

The research carried out on the Pentateuch gave birth to a new approach to the Old Testament. This approach was called “higher criticism” to distinguish it from “lower criticism”. Lower criticism had to do with the study of the different Hebrew manuscripts in order to get to the best “original text” of the Hebrew Bible. Higher criticism was seen as an approach that took human reason as the touchstone for assessing the truth of a matter. Scholars conducting “higher criticism” no longer adhered to ecclesiastical traditions and convictions concerning who wrote the biblical books and when they were written. Philip Kennedy (2006:118) summarises this approach as follows:

During the nineteenth century, what is now called modern historical criticism of the Bible was then called higher criticism. A historical critical method of interpreting the Bible (a) regards biblical texts as human products; (b) analyses the texts in the languages in which they were originally penned; (c) examines them within their historical contexts; (d) accepts the new scientific worldview that emerged in the seventeenth century; (e) refuses to

be constrained by ecclesiastical authorities; and (f) is informed by the findings of modern philology, phonology, morphology, lexicology, and syntax.

This method of studying and interpreting the Bible was eventually applied to all the sections and books of the Old Testament (Clements 1983:38–121). Bernard Duhm (1847–1928) made a thorough study of the Book of Isaiah and argued that it contained the prophecies of at least three prophets, Proto-Isaiah (Is 1–39), Deutero-Isaiah (Is 40–55), and Trito-Isaiah (Is 56–66). Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932) studied the Psalms and introduced the view that they should be linked to specific social settings, which he called their “Sitzen im Leben”. The different social settings gave rise to different psalm genres which he called “Gattungen”. Communal laments originated in different social settings from communal thanksgivings. That is the same with individual laments and individual thanksgivings. The idea that David was responsible for all the psalms in the Book of Psalms gave way to the viewpoint that the psalms originated in different historical periods and in different social settings.

Conservative theologians and biblical scholars who clung to ecclesiastical traditions vehemently criticised the historical-critical approach. Some asserted that they would rather err along with Scripture than adhere to the new ideas and convictions. The birth of the new approach, however, could not be stopped and the research results it produced convinced younger scholars that this was the best approach. A large number of Old Testament scholars were consequently accused of heresy during the last decades of the nineteenth and the early decades of the twentieth centuries (Shriver 1997).

2.3 HISTORICAL-CRITICAL STUDY OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

What is interesting about the Book of Daniel is that it forms part of the Writings in the Hebrew Bible, while in Christian Bibles it is included among the Prophets. But then there are differences between the Protestant and Catholic versions of the book. In the Hebrew and Protestant versions, the Book of Daniel has 12 chapters, while in Catholic editions it has 14. Further, Daniel 3 is considerably longer in Catholic editions than in others. Chapter 3 in the

Catholic Bible incorporates the so-called “Prayer of the three friends in the fiery furnace”. These differences can be traced back to the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. The Greek translation (or Septuagint) has the longer text and this became the Bible of the early Christians. However, when the Protestant reformers compiled their Old Testament, they took note of the Hebrew Bible read by the contemporary Jewish scholars. They thus reverted to the shorter version, claiming that the longer version was not part of the original Word of God.¹

The conviction that Daniel should be regarded as one of the four Major Prophets was dominant during the pre-critical phase of the reception history of the book (as discussed in Chapter 2). This conviction was challenged when Old Testament scholars started to compare the historical facts in Daniel with what they learned from other sources. Moreover, there are a number of inconsistencies in the book itself which show that the content did not flow from one pen.

2.3.1 Inconsistencies

When scholars started studying the Book of Daniel closely, they discovered a number of inconsistencies. The following are examples (Beattie 1988:49–56):

- According to Daniel 1:5, the four friends underwent training for three years in the court of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylonia. After that training, they officially entered the king’s service (Dn 1:18–20). When readers turn to Daniel 2, they suddenly discover that King Nebuchadnezzar had a dream in *the second year of his reign* (Dn 2:1) and that Daniel and his friends were amongst the wise men of the court (Dn 2:13, 18), but Daniel was introduced to the king (Dn 2:25) as if the latter had no prior knowledge of him. This information is difficult to reconcile with what is known from Daniel 1.
- If Daniel was a high-ranking official in Nebuchadnezzar’s court, it seems strange that King Belshazzar knew nothing about him. According to

¹ The thesis focuses only on the Hebrew Bible/Protestant version of Daniel.

Daniel 5:10–12, the queen had to inform King Belshazzar of Daniel's existence and reputation. This is puzzling, since, according to Daniel 1:21, he remained in the court until the reign of King Cyrus.

- According to Daniel 1:21, the character Daniel remained in the king's court until *the first year* of Cyrus's reign. However, according to Daniel 10:1, the character Daniel had a vision in *the third year* of Cyrus's reign.

These inconsistencies gave scholars the idea that the book was not written by one author but that there was a compilation of stories about the character Daniel, which were circulating. The structure of the book revealed that it consisted of two main sections: (1) Daniel 1–6, which contains stories about Daniel and his friends written in the third person, and (2) Daniel 7–12 which contains reports of visions experienced by Daniel and written in the first person. The stories in the first part of the book can be classified in two main categories: (1) stories about the exposition of dreams and the strange hand writing (Dn 2, 4, 5), and (2) stories about miraculous savings (Dn 3, 6). The visionary section can be divided into three units: (1) Daniel 7–8, (2) Daniel 9, and (3) Daniel 10–12.

2.3.2 Historical discrepancies and inaccuracies

Two other issues puzzled scholars: the discrepancies and inaccuracies in the book. If Daniel had been the writer of the book (cf. the first person narrator in Dn 7–12) and if he had been in the service of the different kings, then why is his knowledge of the chronological order in which the kings ruled so inaccurate? Compare the following (Davies 1985: 26–31):

- According to the author the Judeans were exiled in the third year of the reign of king Jehoiakim (Dn 1:1). However, according to 1 Kings 24:8–12 the exile occurred during the reign of Jehoiachin (Jehoiakim's successor).
- Historically, there was no King Darius who was a Mede (Dn 5:30). Harold Henry Rowley (1935) made a thorough study of this "historical

fact”, and came to the conclusion that Darius the Mede is a fictitious character. From this follows the next inaccuracy.

- The successor of King Darius the Mede was not Cyrus, the Persian king (Dn 6:28). Cyrus conquered the Babylonian empire during the reign of King Nabonidus. A number of years after the reign of the Babylonian King Nabonidus, a king by the name of Darius ruled over the Persian Empire.
- King Nabonidus had a son by the name of Belshazzar who ruled over Babylon for a period on behalf of his father, but he was never the official king, as is claimed in Daniel 5:1.
- Nebuchadnezzar was not succeeded by Belshazzar (Dn 5:11) but by Amel-Marduk (Evil-Merodach, as he is named in 2 Ki 25:27). The four rulers of Babylon and Persia cited in the Book of Daniel can be presented as follows in chronological order:

Babylon:

| | |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| 605–562 BCE | <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> |
| 562–560 BCE | Amel-Marduk |
| 560–556 BCE | Nergal-Sharezer |
| 556 BCE | Labashi-Marduk |
| 556–539 BCE | Nabonidus |
| (549–539 BCE | <i>Belshazzar</i>) |

Persia:

| | |
|-------------|-----------------|
| 559–530 BCE | <i>Cyrus</i> |
| 530–522 BCE | Cambuses |
| 522–486 BCE | <i>Darius I</i> |

These discrepancies and inaccuracies convinced scholars that the Book of Daniel is not a historical narrative in the proper sense of the word, and it is definitely not a prophecy. The book was not written in the sixth century BCE but in the second century BCE, most probably between 167 and 164 BCE (McKenzie 2005:134).

2.3.3 The Maccabean hypothesis

The questions asked by scholars after they realised that the book contained discrepancies and inaccuracies were: If the book was not written in the six century BCE, then when was it written? Are there any clues in the book which suggest a specific date? The following chapters in the book assisted them in formulating the hypothesis that it had been compiled during the reign of the Seleucid King Antiochus IV Epiphanes (Beattie 1988:65–80; Spangenberg 2002:88–91):

- *Daniel 2*. This chapter tells the story of a dream which disturbs King Nebuchadnezzar. Only Daniel was able to tell the dream and give a reliable interpretation. The statue the king saw in his dream consisted of four metal sections representing different kingdoms. In the exposition the focus falls on the fourth kingdom, as no less than three verses are spent on this. The other kingdoms are mentioned only in a verse, or, in some cases, half a verse. Verse 38 mentions the first kingdom. Verse 39 mentions the second and third. The fourth kingdom is mentioned in verses 40–42, suggesting that the author was evidently more concerned with this kingdom.
- *Daniel 7*. In this chapter, Daniel sees four different beasts in his vision. The four beasts evidently correspond to the four sections of the statue in King Nebuchadnezzar's dream. Beattie (1988:66) supports this viewpoint and writes: "In the absence of any argument to the contrary, it seems reasonable to conclude that Chapters 2 and 7 are dealing with the same events, with Chapter 7 giving more details, particularly with respect to the fourth kingdom". As in Daniel 2, only one verse is given to each of the beasts, while the fourth beast is discussed in more detail (Dn 7:7–8). Verse 4 paints a picture of the first beast (kingdom), verse 5 describes the second, and verse 6 the third beast (kingdom). In the exposition, the focus falls more on the fourth beast (kingdom). No fewer than six verses describe this beast and its actions (Dn 7:9–25), again showing that the author was more concerned about the fourth kingdom

which is the Graeco-Macedonian kingdom of Alexander the Great, if readers are willing to continue their reading up to chapter 8.

- *Daniel 8*. This chapter concerns a battle between the Persian kingdom (the ram with two horns) and the Graeco-Macedonian kingdom (the he-goat with only one horn). It is explicitly stated that the “he-goat” from which the “small horn” grows, refers to Greece (Dn 8:21). This led scholars to conclude that the “little horn” mentioned in Daniel 7:8 and 7:25 should also be linked to the history of the Graeco-Macedonian kingdom of Alexander the Great and more specifically to the reign of Antiochus IV. “The little horn that became great and arrogant is the Seleucid ruler, Antiochus IV Epiphanes. In 167 BCE, he appalled the people of Judah by installing sacrifices to Zeus in place of the ‘regular burnt offering’ in the temple in Jerusalem” (McKenzie 2005:132). Alexander the Great’s kingdom was divided among his generals after his death. Daniel 8:22 refers to this in no uncertain words: “As for the horn which was broken off and replaced by four other horns: four kingdoms will rise out of that nation ...” Then follows a section concerning the acts of Antiochus IV (Dn 8:23–25).
- *Daniel 9*. This is an interesting chapter, as it does not recount vision but the exposition of verses from the Book of Jeremiah. The chapter has an introduction (Dn 9:1–3), a middle section consisting of a prayer (Dn 9:4–19), and an angelic discourse (Dn 9:20–27), in which the exposition is given. In the last section the angel Gabriel gives Daniel a timetable for the future down to the restoration of the Jerusalem temple after Antiochus IV desecrated it. “The timetable is based on a *pesher* interpretation of Jeremiah 25:11–12 and Jeremiah 29:10” (Spangenberg 2006:435). What is evident from the chapter is that the *fictional setting* for Daniel 9 is the first year of Darius the Mede’s reign, but the *historical setting* is the time of Antiochus IV “when he disrupted the cult and introduced the ‘abomination of desolation’ into the temple” (Spangenberg 2006:436).
- *Daniel 10–12*: The last three chapters of the book narrate the final vision and its exposition. Once again, mention is made of the kingdoms

of Persia and Greece (Dn 11:2). But then the focus falls on a war between the king of the South and the king of the North (Dn 11:5–11). This evidently refers to the wars between the Ptolemies (who ruled in Egypt) and the Seleucids (who ruled in Syria). There were a number of skirmishes between the two kingdoms over the issue of who had control over Palestine. During the year 200 BCE, the Seleucid king, Antiochus III, succeeded in conquering Palestine, shifting the southern border of his kingdom to include Palestine (Grabbe 1996:5–6). Prior to this date, the Ptolemies had ruled over Palestine and the Jews had enjoyed relative peace. But this all changed, especially when Antiochus IV came to power. History then took a rather unpleasant turn for the Jews. Daniel 11:21–39 narrates in a veiled manner the acts of Antiochus IV (Bruce 1969:124–125; Bright 1972:427).

On account of all the clues in the chapters cited above, scholars conclude that the fourth kingdom is the most important in the book and that the author knew more about this one than the preceding three kingdoms (McKenzie 2005:126). Furthermore, it is evident that the author of the visions knew about Antiochus IV and his desecration of the temple in Jerusalem. This led them to conclude that the book had been written in the second century BCE and not in the sixth, as pre-critical scholars had assumed. Moreover, the fourth kingdom does not refer to the Roman Empire but to the Greek-Macedonian Empire and the ensuing “minor” kingdoms of the Seleucids and Ptolemies. This new understanding was soon labelled the “Maccabean hypothesis” on the origin of the Book of Daniel, as it was the Hasmoneans (also named the Maccabees) who had set themselves the task of countering the acts of Antiochus IV. It was during their times that the Book of Daniel was composed. Anyone who would like to study the Book of Daniel should therefore also read the apocryphal books called 1 and 2 Maccabees, which narrate the acts of the Hasmoneans.

The Maccabean hypothesis was taught at German universities for the first time in 1890 and at other Protestant institutions on the continent after the First World War (1914–1918). Catholic universities and seminaries followed suit only after World War II (1939–1945). It seems that this hypothesis was

introduced into the African context only during the seventh decade of the previous century.

2.3.4 The genre “apocalypse”

Acceptance of the Maccabean hypothesis opened the door to another field of study: apocalypticism and apocalyptic literature. The word “apocalyptic” originally, comes from the Greek verb *apokaluptein*, which means “to reveal, to disclose” and the substantive *apokalupsis* means “revelation, disclosure”. It means the unveiling of truth. It is seen as “the secrets of the world and its future which were revealed to those great men of God” (Grollenberg 1978:264).

According to Mary D’Angelo and Ann Matter, Julius Wellhausen’s comments concerning the writers of apocalyptic literature, that they were merely borrowers and imitators “who took over material from the prophets and from Persian religion in an unreflective and uncreative fashion” (D’Angelo & Matter 1999:42) had a negative impact on the research. This changed after World War II (Davies 1985:18). The British Old Testament scholar Robert Charles (1855–1931) played a role in the changing viewpoint. He did not share the same negative evaluation as Wellhausen’s, and his publication *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (1913) became a standard reference work for those working on apocalyptic literature. Scholarly focus soon shifted from the origins of apocalyptic literature to the social setting of apocalypticism. Publications by two Old Testament scholars stimulated the new interest: (1) Klaus Koch’s *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic* (1972), and (2) Paul Hanson’s *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (1975). However, a number of new words entered the research field and scholars had to distinguish between words like “apocalyptic”, “apocalypse” and “apocalypticism”. Some scholars used the term “apocalyptic” as a noun while others used it as an adjective, which became confusing. The word “apocalyptic” can thus be used to label a type of literature (“apocalypse” / “apocalyptic literature”) but it can also be used to label a worldview or perspective (“apocalypticism” / “apocalyptic worldview”).

The Book of Daniel consists of two sections: Daniel 1–6, and Daniel 7–12. Although only the second section is regarded as belonging to the genre of “apocalypse”, Daniel 2 (which forms part of the first section) definitely exhibits traits of the genre. It is evident that the editor of the Book of Daniel (the one who combined the narratives about Daniel and his friends with the visions) used this chapter to link the two sections of the book. John Collins (1998:91) comments on this chapter as follows: “The portrayal of Daniel is significant not only as a model for the Diaspora but also as background for the understanding of the apocalyptic visionary in chaps. 7–12.”

2.3.5 The bilingual problem

Apart from the fact that the book consists of two sections, it is written in two different languages. However, the two languages, Hebrew and Aramaic, do not overlap with the two sections (Dn 1–6; 7–12). The book commences with a chapter in Hebrew (Dn 1:1–2:4a) then changes to Aramaic (Dn 2:4b–7:28) and eventually returns to Hebrew (Dn 8–12). According to John Collins, the author of the Maccabean period “wished to incorporate the collection of Aramaic tales, but he himself preferred to write in Hebrew” (1998:89). Other scholars are of the opinion that the riddle to the two different languages has not yet been solved.

2.4. CONCLUSION

Historical-critical studies contributed to a better understanding of the historical facts narrated in the book, the genre of the book, and the languages in which it was written. Critical research solved the riddle concerning the date of origin and scholars realised that the book was not a prophecy but an apocalypse. Research into the genre of “apocalypse” assisted scholars in understanding the book better and gaining an idea of what the apocalyptic worldview entailed. Historical-critical research, however, is not really interested in the meaning the book may have for current readers. It wants merely to elucidate the context in which the book originated and understand the book in that context.

3. MODERN LITERARY CRITICISM AND THE BOOK OF DANIEL

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Historical-critical studies of the Book of Daniel contributed immensely to a better understanding of the book in its original context. By the mid-twentieth century, most Old Testament scholars accepted the Maccabean hypothesis concerning the origin of the book. Only extremely conservative scholars and Seventh Day Adventists adhered to the conviction that the book originated during the sixth century BCE (Grabbe 1987). In the early 1960s and 1970s, scholars realised that Daniel formed part of a larger group of Jewish literature which they called “apocalyptic literature”. A new avenue in research was opened and soon international conferences and study groups were organised to get more clarity about apocalypticism, the apocalyptic world view, apocalypse and apocalyptic literature. The Society for Biblical Literature Genres Project made a thorough study of all Jewish literature that has been regarded as “apocalyptic”. The study group proposed the following definition of an apocalypse (cf. Collins 1998:5):

... a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.

This definition is applicable especially to the second half of the Book of Daniel (Dn 7–12), since an angel interprets the visions experienced by the character Daniel and the content of the visions concerns “end-time” events.

During these same years, (the 1970s) some Old Testament scholars became fascinated by what their colleagues in the departments of literature studies were doing. In modern literary criticism, the focus shifted from *the author* to *the text* and eventually to *the reader* of the text (Powell 1992:6; Marguerat & Bourquin 1999:5). The historical-critical methods focused primarily on the author and the text, while modern literary studies focus primarily on the text and the reader. New methods of reading and studying the Bible emerged.

Some scholars argued that the different methods of studying the Bible are anchored to where scholars deem the locus of meaning to be found. Philip Kennedy formulates this idea as follows: “Some methods are anchored to the idea that meaning rests with the author; others proceed from the presupposition of a text-centred understanding of meaning; while a third category is tied to the belief that meaning lies with the reader” (2006:128). Given this, eighteen major interpretative approaches to the Bible are identified (Gillingham 1998:115–186; Shillington 2002:219–275; Kennedy 2006:129):

| Meaning rests with ... | Approaches |
|-------------------------------|---|
| the author | Source Criticism Form Criticism Redaction Criticism Tradition Criticism Historical Criticism Canonical Criticism Rhetorical Criticism |
| the text | New Criticism Literary Criticism Textual Criticism Formal Criticism Structural Criticism Social Scientific Criticism |
| the reader | Reader-Response Criticism Reception history Narrative Criticism <i>(can also be linked to the text)</i> Poetic Criticism <i>(can also be linked to the text)</i> Deconstructive Criticism Feminist Criticism |

3.2 NARRATIVE CRITICISM AND THE BOOK OF DANIEL

The Daniel story forms part of the narrative collections in the Bible, and is focused on Daniel and his three friends. It explains why Daniel and his three friends find themselves in Babylon, are given new names, and rise to prominence in a foreign country (Dn 1). “Like the rest of the narratives in Daniel 1–6, its genre is wisdom court legend” (Redditt 1999:42) and is thus similar to the Joseph narrative (Gn 37–50). One that Daniel is an exceptional Jew who did things that the ordinary person could not imitate. The Daniel stories thus became a model for Jews in the Diaspora. Daniel and his friends struck a fine balance between loyalty to the pagan rulers and fidelity to their God and their religious tradition (Collins 2007:280). Loyalty to the Mosaic covenant and God’s sovereignty are the leitmotifs in the stories.

3.3 CONCLUSION

Narrative criticism assists one in reading with attention or reading properly, as Fokkelman prefers to say: “[r]eading properly is always active puzzle-solving; comparing elements, checking on a character’s history, sometimes consulting an atlas or a Bible handbook. Asking questions is more important than committing ourselves to answers” (Fokkelman 1999:206). Narrative analysis thus helps the reader to ask appropriate questions. It can also assist in reflecting on the type of leadership which the character Daniel exhibits. The next chapter will analyse the stories in the first part of the book of Daniel to gain knowledge about how the main characters are presented and how their leadership is described.

CHAPTER 3
A NARRATIVE CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF DANIEL 1–6 FROM THE
PERSPECTIVE OF LEADERSHIP

1. INTRODUCTION

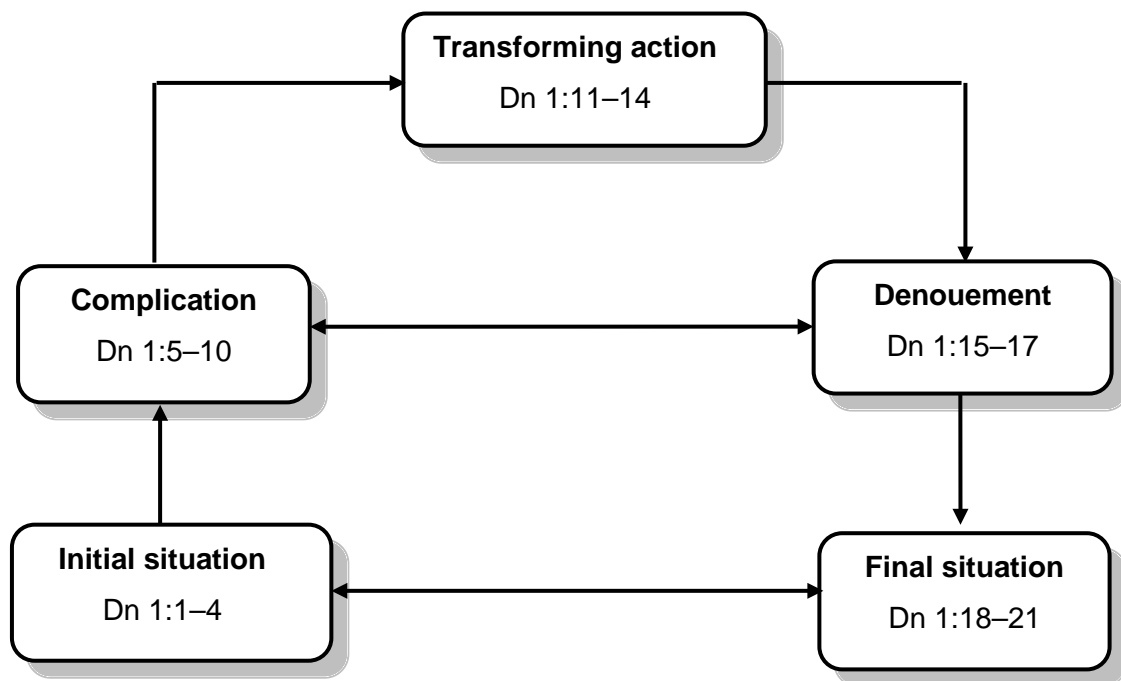
Since narrative criticism can assist in a better understanding and appreciation of the stories, the thesis will make use of the quinary scheme that Daniel Marguerat and Yvan Bourquin (1999) use to analyse the plots of biblical stories in commenting on the issue of leadership. The quinary scheme has the following five elements: (1) the initial situation, (2) the complication, (3) the transforming action, (4) the denouement, and (5) the final situation (Marguerat & Bourquin 1999:43–49). The plot of the stories in Daniel 1–6 will be analysed by means of this scheme to illustrate what can be gained by conducting narrative analysis. The chapter is important as it introduces the reader to the main character in not only the stories (Dn 1–6) but also the visions (Dn 7–12). Chapter 1 and Chapters 8–12 are written in Hebrew while Chapters 2–7 are written in Aramaic. It seems as though Chapter 1 was specially written to serve as an introduction to both the stories and the visions.

2. ANALYSIS OF THE PLOT OF DANIEL 1

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The first element of the plot (according to the quinary scheme) is *the initial situation* (Dn 1:1–4), which describes the exile of Daniel and his friends to Babylon after Nebuchadnezzar besieges the city of Jerusalem. The four friends are selected to be trained to serve in his court. The second element of the plot is *the complication* (Dn 1:5–10). This section is focused on the predicament of the king's prescribed food that Daniel and his friends have to eat. The third element of the plot is the *transforming action* (Dn 1:11–14), which concerns the Jewish dietary laws. Daniel and his friends decide to remain loyal to the covenant and not to eat from the prescribed royal food. The fourth element of the plot concerns the *denouement* (Dn 1:15–17). Obeying the Jewish dietary

laws, Daniel and his friends not only excel but also outstrip all the other apprentices with the help of God. The fifth and final element of the plot is the *final situation* (Dn 1:18–21). King Nebuchadnezzar appoints the four men to his court and Daniel remains there until the reign of Cyrus (Dn 1:21). The elements of the plot of Daniel 1 can be presented as follows:



Not only are the *initial situation* and the *final situation* closely related but *the complication* and *the denouement* are as well. The *transforming action* forms the pinnacle of the story. The two closing elements (*denouement* and *final situation*) make sense only because of the *transforming action*.

2.2 INITIAL SITUATION

The first element of the plot is *the initial situation* or the so-called *setting* (Dn 1:1–4). This section describes the exilic setting of Daniel and his companions in Babylon after Nebuchadnezzar besieges the city of Jerusalem and takes the temple vessels to Babylon. The elite of the Jewish exiles are selected for training to serve in the king’s palace, which includes Daniel and his friends.

According to this section, the exile was the result of the Judeans having broken the covenant. Their sins were lamented by the prophet Jeremiah: “The sin of

Judah is recorded with an iron stylus (...) Their altars and their sacred poles stand by every spreading tree, on the heights and hills in the mountain country. I shall make you serve your enemies in a land you do not know” (Jr 17:1–4). It is worth mentioning that the first deportation took place in 605 BCE. The second deportation in 597 BCE, eight years later, included King Jehoiachin, the son of Jehoiakim, and the prophet Ezekiel. The third and final deportation took place in 586 BCE during the reign of King Zedekiah (Barker & Kohlenberger 1994:1367; cf. 2 Ki 24:1–25:12; 2 Chr 36:1–20).

When the deportees arrived in Babylon, the best of the Jewish exiles are selected for training to serve in the king’s palace. These young men among the exiles are required to learn the Babylonian language and the customs of the land. The king’s purpose in this is to make wise men out of the choicest Israelite youths and select them as masters (employees) of the palace. However, if they prove themselves trustworthy, they might be delegated other responsibilities, such as becoming court officials. At the end of their training, the master of the palace brings the men before Nebuchadnezzar, who examines them by considering six conditions. They should be (1) physically without any blemishes, (2) must appear handsome, (3) politically well-educated, (4) wise and diplomatic, (5) insightful, and (6) competent to serve in the king’s palace (Redditt 1999:45; Adeyemo 2006:991). The main emphasis is placed on the first condition. Before the youths enter into the service of the king, they must receive special instructions. Therefore, the Chief Eunuch’s officer, who is in charge, is called Ashpenaz, a Persian name derived from a Hebrew name, which means “my father was (is) a helper” (Buchanan 1999:21). The criteria for selection and training by the officer initiate some reflections. Most of the captives are made eunuchs. Nehemiah asks: “What man such as I would go into the temple and live?” (Neh 6:11). The reason “such a man” as Nehemiah (Buchanan 1999:22) would not enter the temple may have been that eunuchs were blemished people who were forbidden by the Law to come near to the altar (Lv 21:17–20; 22:24). Are Daniel and his friends also eunuchs? What about Joseph? If Joseph had been made an eunuch when he was sold as a slave to Potiphar, then Potiphar’s wife would not have tried to lure him into sexual activity (Gn 39:6–20). Furthermore, as a vizier in

Pharaoh's court, Joseph was given a wife by Pharaoh. However, there is no proof that Daniel and his friends were eunuchs. The narrator does not venture the suggestion.

Concerning the subject matter of their education, there are divergent views among scholars. Some say they studied law; others say that was unlikely, because the king would not need people to become proficient in law. Nebuchadnezzar would have been training them for his own use in Babylon (Buchanan 1999:24). Their instruction was focused on literature and the Chaldean language, and referred to fortune-telling or astrological skills (Hartman 1978:129). The "Chaldeans lived in a special quarter of Babylon and were known as native philosophers", and as far as Daniel and his friends were concerned, it could be said that "it was more likely a politically motivated program than one geared to improving psychological or fortune telling skills in foreign youth" (Buchanan 1999:25). At the end of their training, Daniel and his friends have new names.

In fact, the captors of Daniel and his friends "began a process of depersonalisation, starting by changing their names, in order to disconnect them from their ancestors, their covenant relationship with Yahweh, and their collective destiny as a people" (Adeyemo 2006:991). This name-change is an indication of subordination (Redditt 1999:45). The names allocated to them derive from Babylonian deities (Adeyemo 2006:991), and are therefore by obligation, not by choice (Lacocque 1979:29). The new identity warrants new names (Redditt 1999:45), but is also unchangeable, so they have no choice in the matter.

The relationship between the introduction or *initial situation* (Dn 1:1–4) and the *final situation* (Dn 1:18–21) should not be overlooked. The introduction mentions that King Nebuchadnezzar ordered Ashpenaz to select members from the Israelite royal house and of the nobility. They should be brought to his court to be taught the writings and language of the Chaldeans (Dn 1:4). This is balanced by the four verses at the end of the chapter, which reflect the final situation (Dn 1:18–21). The four Jewish men pass the training and test with

notable success. They are not mentioned by name in the introduction but are mentioned in the final situation: Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah. An interesting fact is that their Jewish names are used and not their Chaldean names. The reader can only wonder whether this is a reflection of their triumph.

2.3 COMPLICATION

The second element of the plot is *the complication* (Dn 1:5–10). According to Daniel Marguerat and Yvan Bourquin (1999:44), the complication “triggers off the action”. Redditt (1999:44–45) is of the opinion that the Jewish men face two complications: (1) competition to learn the Chaldean language and literature, and (2) avoidance of the King’s diet. The situation which Daniel and his friends enter creates a religious predicament. Firstly, the Babylonian food does not conform to the Mosaic Law (Lv 7:11; Dt 14:3–21). Secondly, the food and wine might have been offered to the Babylonian gods. This meant that the offerings immediately became a prohibition as proclaimed in the Old Testament. The food predicament allows them to explain their reluctance to abide by the king’s laws. Daniel diplomatically does not boycott the king’s food but he politely requests vegetables and water.

The *complication* (Dn 1:5–10) mentions that the trainees would have to eat the same food and drink the same wine as that served to the king. This evidently creates a problem for the Jewish men, as, according to their culture and traditions, they must refrain from eating certain food. The training is evidently aimed at transforming them into “Chaldeans”. In this section, the men’s Jewish names are mentioned for the first time (Dn 1:8). However, they all receive new names and from now on they will be taught the Chaldean language and literature, which they have to master within three years. The change in language is reflected in the change of their own names. The change in diet is, however, postponed because of Daniel’s request not to eat the food and drink the wine from the royal table. This is the first of only two sections in which the direct words of a character are quoted. In this case the words of Ashpenaz are quoted to emphasise his predicament: “I am afraid of my lord the king: he has

“committed themselves to the most severe diet imaginable, confident that God would care for such dedicated servants” (Redditt 1999:47). In fact, the test of ten days is to see if that diet causes any health problems (Buchanan 1999:30).

Interestingly, the names of the Jewish men are again mentioned: Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah. These are their Jewish names, not their Chaldean names: Is this a hint that they will pass the test with flying colours? The reader wonders what will happen if they do not pass the test. Will they be dismissed from the course? Will the king dismiss Ashpenaz for not obeying his orders? There is a tangible *dramatic tension* in this section.

2.5 DENOUEMENT

The fourth element of the plot concerns the *denouement* (Dn 1:15–17) which is “a stage symmetrical with the complication”, since it “states the resolution of the problem indicated” (Marguerat & Bourquin 1999:44). Daniel and his friends pass the test. The outcome of the test is that “they looked healthier and better nourished than any of the young men who had lived on the food from the king” (Dn 1:15). It also proves that people can live very healthy lives without meat, dairy products or wine. Buchanan (1999:31) noted that, in recent years, “Westerners learned that avoidance of meat, dairy products, and alcoholic beverages, not only allows human beings to survive, but those who avoid these items of food have fewer heart attacks and do not face the many problems that alcohol causes”. God blessed their outward appearance and poured out his invisible spiritual gifts of wisdom, knowledge, understanding and skill upon them (Dn 1:17). Adeyemo (2006:992) states: “The best assets for any nation are people who are well trained, well endowed and well behaved” and this can be said of Daniel and his friends.

2.6 FINAL SITUATION

The fifth element of the plot is the *final situation* (Dn 1:18–21), which focuses on the outcome of the three years’ training. The king finds the Jewish men to be outstanding and appoints them to his court. “Standing before the king” (Dn

1:19) was a special honour for Daniel and his friends, because most people prostrate themselves at his feet. Whenever, the king asks a person to arise and stand, it shows a favourable reception (Buchanan 1999:32). In fact, the counsellor advises that it is not good to stand or to honour oneself before the king. However, promoting oneself in court may risk a public humiliation; but it would be an honour to have everyone in court hear the promotion from the king himself (Barker & Kohlenberger 1994:992; cf. Pr 25:6–7).

2.7 CONCLUSION

In Daniel 1, the reader is introduced to the characters who play a prominent role in the first section of the book (Dn 1–6). The chapter emphasises the steadfastness of the young Jewish trainees. They are willing to risk their lives by adhering to the Jewish dietary laws. It is also evident that Daniel is the group's leader.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE PLOT OF DANIEL 2

3.1 INTRODUCTION

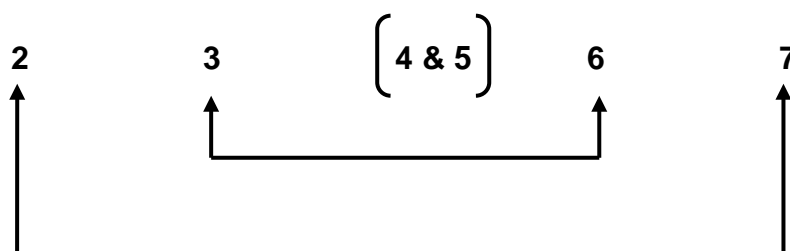
The link between Daniel 2 and Daniel 1 (the introductory chapter of the book) is somewhat problematic, as Daniel 1:5 states that the training course which the trainees have to follow lasts three years. However, Daniel 2:1 commences with the following words: "In the *second year* of his reign Nebuchadnezzar was troubled by dreams he had". The reader is confronted with the question: How was it possible for Daniel to act as interpreter before he had been promoted to serving the king? (Davies 1985:43, 45; Collins 1993:155; Hartman & Di Lella 1978:137). It is also problematic that King Nebuchadnezzar seems to have no prior knowledge of Daniel. This is evident in Daniel 2:25: "Greatly agitated, Arioch brought Daniel before the king. 'I have found among the Jewish exiles', he said, 'a man who will make known to your majesty the interpretation of your dream'."

It seems as though the story in Daniel 2 had existed before Daniel 1 was written as an introduction to the whole book. A later redactor probably added sentences (or phrases) to the story in Daniel 2 in order to establish a link between Daniel 1 and Daniel 2. Some scholars are of the opinion that Daniel 2:13–23 is one such addition (Collins 1984:49). The words “who was also called Belteshazzar” in Daniel 2:26 seem also to be an addition. They can be removed without changing the flow of the story. It is a redundant piece of information, but was added to link Daniel 2 with Daniel 1, as it is only in the latter chapter that we read about Daniel’s other name.

A further interesting fact is that the first three and a half verses of Daniel 2 are written in Hebrew, which creates the impression that it is a continuation of Daniel 1. But then suddenly, in Daniel 2:4b, the author switches to Aramaic. The Aramaic section of the book does not start in Daniel 2:1 but only with Daniel 2:4b. Daniel 2:1–4 reads as follows:

In the second year of his reign Nebuchadnezzar was troubled by dreams he had, so much so that he could not sleep. He gave orders for the magicians, exorcists, sorcerers, and Chaldeans to be summoned to expound to him what he had been dreaming. When they presented themselves before the king, he said to them, “I had a dream, and my mind has been troubled to know what the dream was.” The Chaldeans, speaking Aramaic, said, “Long live the king! Relate the dream to us, your servants, and we shall give you the interpretation.”

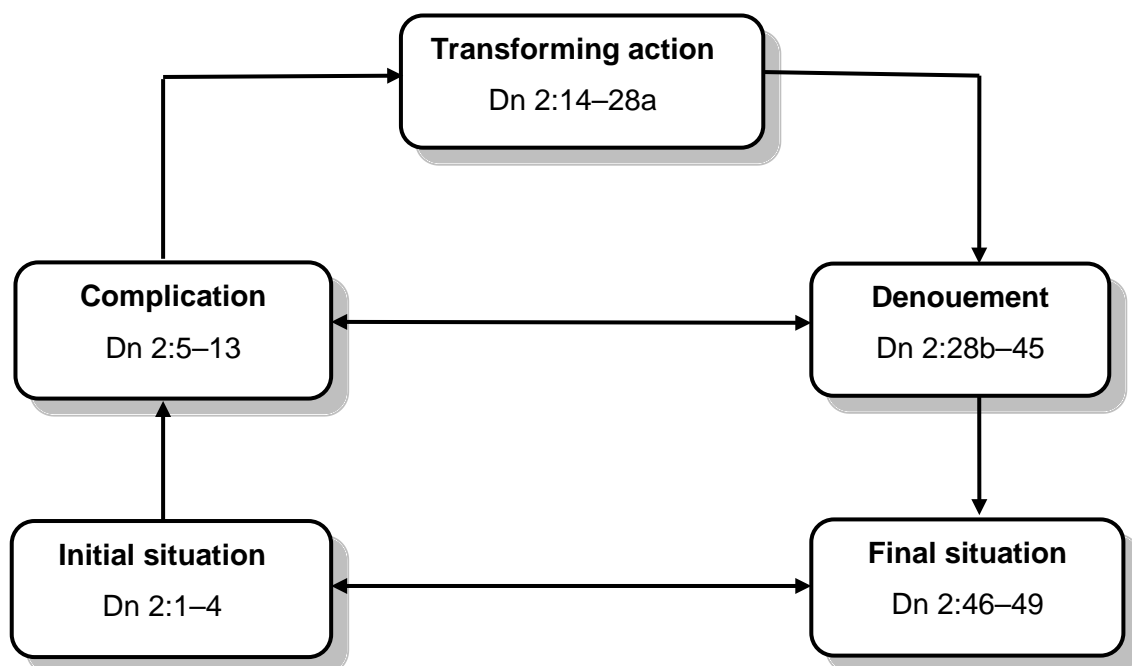
The change to Aramaic occurs when the Chaldeans start to speak in Daniel 2:4b. This is a very clever way of bringing about the change in language. All the other chapters up to and including Daniel 7 are written in Aramaic. The change back to Hebrew occurs in Daniel 8:1. According to Gabriele Boccaccini (2002:170–172), the Aramaic section of the book reflects a concentric arrangement which can be presented as follows:



Both Daniel 2 and Daniel 7 concern dreams (or visions) which have to do with four successive empires. Daniel 3 and Daniel 6 on the other hand, contain stories about *deliverance from total annihilation*. Daniel 4–5 stands at the centre of the Aramaic section of the book and emphasizes *God’s sovereignty* (Boccaccini 2002:171–172). It is, however, also possible to link Daniel 2 with Daniel 4–5, as the stories have to do with *interpretation*. The character Daniel interprets King Nebuchadnezzar’s dream in Daniel 2 and Daniel 4, and the writing on the wall for King Belshazzar in Daniel 5. According to Whybray (1974:103), the word *hokma* plays an important role in these chapters. He writes as follows: “In these stories [Dn 2, 4 & 5] it is clear that *hokma* has always played an essential role: without it there would be no story.” Philip Davies is of the opinion that the *interpretation stories* contain the following elements (1985:51–52):

- the king has a vision or dream;
- the wise men of his court cannot interpret its meaning;
- Daniel emerges and gives the interpretation;
- he is rewarded;
- the king acknowledges that Daniel’s God is all-powerful.

There is some overlap between these five elements of the story and the quinary scheme of the plot of Daniel 2, which can be presented as follows:



By reflecting on the quinary scheme of the plot one is able to learn more about the leadership and character of Daniel. The confession by King Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 2:47 (“Truly, your God is indeed God of gods and Lord over kings, and a revealer of secrets ...”) is important but the acts of Daniel are just as important, as these have brought the king as far as the confession. The story’s intention is to show that the path to success “is not simply through mastery of the techniques of the Babylonians (...) but through prayer” (Collins 1984:53).

3.2 INITIAL SITUATION

The *initial situation* (Dn 2:1–4) introduces the reader to the problem: King Nebuchadnezzar has a dream which disturbs him. The magicians, exorcists, sorcerers and Chaldeans are summoned to come and interpret the dream for the king. It is strange that Daniel and his friends are not brought along. They remain “back stage”, to be introduced in the last verse of the complication (Dn 2:13).

3.3 COMPLICATION

In the *complication* (Dn 2:5–13), King Nebuchadnezzar confronts the group with a totally unreasonable request. He not only requests them to expound the dream but to tell him the dream as well! If they are unable to do this, they will meet their death. Although the group tries to convince the king that his request is unreasonable the king remains adamant that they .tell him the dream *and* give him the interpretation. The section ends with the king’s order that all the wise men of Babylon be put to death since they could not tell him his dream and give him an interpretation. It is then that the narrator mentions Daniel and his friends. A search party is dispatched to find them (Dn 2:13).

3.4 TRANSFORMING ACTION

The *transforming action* (Dn 2:14–28a) contains a number of scenes which are not easily reconcilable with what is already known about Daniel and his friends from chapter 1. First, it seems that Daniel and his friends are totally oblivious to the events that led to the king's order to kill all the wise men in the kingdom for being unable to tell him his dream and give an authentic exposition. How was this possible if they are part of his court personnel (Dn 1:17–20)? Daniel has to approach Arioch (captain of the royal bodyguard) to enquire why the king wants to kill the wise men. He then goes to the king himself and requests an extension of time so that he can give the king an interpretation. One cannot but wonder: "Why would the king allow Daniel to address him? Does he not know that Daniel is an exiled Jew?" After Daniel receives a positive reply from the king, he summons his friends to pray to the Israelite God to reveal the dream and the interpretation to him. This indeed happens. But then the story makes a third strange turn. Daniel approaches Arioch again with the request to accompany him to the king. This is rather strange, as previously Daniel has been on his own to the king. Again, one cannot but wonder why Daniel does this. The king would surely have expected Daniel to return on his own with an answer. This time, Arioch plays the role of mediator. The way Arioch introduces Daniel to the king is also strange. He addresses the king in these words: "I have found among the Jewish exiles a man who will make known to your majesty the interpretation of your dream" (Dn 2:25). It seems that Daniel is a total stranger to the king. The king then repeats more or less the same words which he uttered at the beginning: he would like to hear both the dream and its interpretation (Dn 2:26, cf. Dn 2:6). Before Daniel narrates the dream and its interpretation he makes a confession: he is not able to do this of his own accord. He is only able to reveal the dream and its interpretation because "there is in heaven a God who reveals secrets ..." (Dn 2:28a).

3.5 DENOUEMENT

The *denouement* is the longest section of the story (Dn 2:28b–45). It has an introduction (Dn 2:28b–30) and an end (Dn 2:45b). Between these verses Daniel first reveals the dream to the king (Dn 2:31–35) and then gives the interpretation (Dn 2:36–45a). According to Collins (1984:49) this is where the

climax of the story is to be found. However, one could also argue that the climax is to be found in the transforming action (Dn 2:14–28a).

The dream concerns a statue made from different types of metals: “The head was of gold, its chest and arms of silver, its belly and thighs of bronze, its legs of iron, its feet part iron and part clay” (Dn 2:32–33). Suddenly a huge stone from a mountain struck the statue, pulverised all the metals which the wind swept away. The stone which struck the statue then grew and grew until it became a huge mountain which filled the whole earth (Dn 2:35).

When Daniel interprets the dream it becomes evident that the metals were symbols of different empires which succeeded one another. The huge stone also symbolises a kingdom, but this one will endure for ever (Dn 2:44).

3.6 FINAL SITUATION

In the *final situation* (Dn 2:46–49) the king acknowledges that Israel’s God is “God of gods and Lord over kings” (Dn 2:47) since he revealed to Daniel the dream and its interpretation. Daniel is then promoted to rule the province of Babylon and to be in charge of all Babylon’s wise men.

3.7 CONCLUSION

Daniel 2 is evidently a “court legend” since it is set in the royal court, is concerned with the wonderful, and is aimed at edification. The narrator of the story emphasises that Daniel did not succumb to the foreign culture but “sought help from his own religion” (Collins 1984:52). Although the story is fictional, the main character became a model for those living in exile or in Yehud under foreign rule. According to Paul Redditt (1999:62), it teaches that “fidelity to Israel’s God was the way for its readers to achieve success in a foreign court”.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE PLOT OF DANIEL 3

4.1 INTRODUCTION

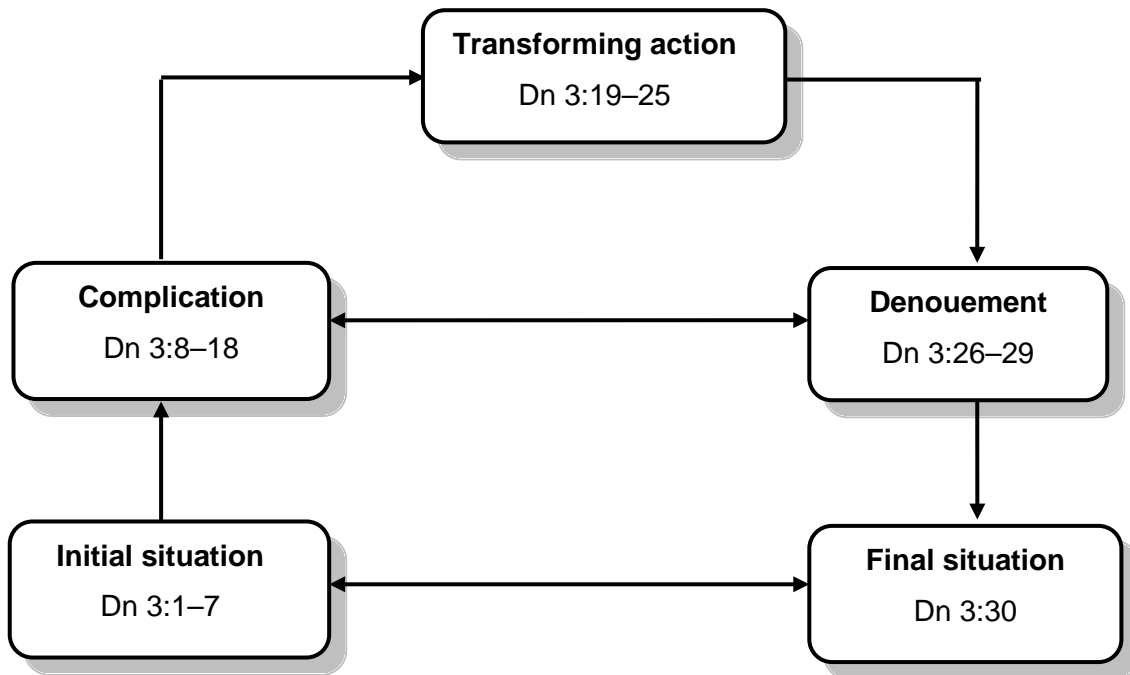
Daniel is not a character in this chapter, and the three friends never appear in the book again. The reason for discussing and analyzing this chapter is the close relationship between the stories in Daniel 3 and Daniel 6. Both chapters contain stories about miraculous deliverance. According to John Collins (1993:192), the story “conforms to the folkloric type of ‘The Disgrace and Rehabilitation of a Minister’.” This corresponds to what we have in the Joseph story (Gn 37–50) and the Esther novel (Est 1–10). The plots of these stories have the following five elements:

- The hero is in a state of prosperity;
- He is endangered by an event, act or command;
- He is condemned to death or imprisonment;
- He is released, for various reasons;
- His wisdom or merit is acknowledged and he is exalted to a position of honour.

According to Philip Davies (1985:51–52), the stories in Daniel 3 and Daniel 6 contain the following six elements:

- The king issues an order to worship an idol;
- The heroes (three friends) or hero (Daniel) is discovered disobeying;
- They refuse to adhere to the command and face annihilation;
- They are miraculously delivered;
- They are rewarded and their enemies are punished;
- the king acknowledges that Daniel’s God/the friend’s God is all-powerful.

Although Collins’ five elements and Davies’ six elements do not overlap precisely with the five sections of the plot (if the quinary scheme is used), it is helpful to understand what the story is about. This plot (according to the quinary scheme) looks as follows:



4.2 INITIAL SITUATION

The story commences with a command issued by King Nebuchadnezzar to worship a huge statue which he has made. The statue is reminiscent of the statue in his dream (Dn 2) and the measurements indicate that it cannot be taken as referring to a real statue. The measurements are aspects of the hyperbolic style of the story (Collins 1993:181). All the important officials of the king have to assemble in front of the statue and are instructed to worship it when a “band” consisting of different musical instruments starts playing. The person who disobeys will have to face the king’s wrath and will eventually be thrown into a “blazing furnace” (Dn 3:6). The initial situation closes with a scene of what happened when the band plays the tune: all and sundry worship the statue (Dn 3:7). No one disobeys, or so it is believed.

4.3 COMPLICATION

In the *complication* section the reader is informed that there are dissidents — the Jews (Dn 3:8). On account of accusations by certain officials, the Jews (Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego) are summoned to appear before the king to explain their actions. The king threatens them with death and even boasts

that their God will not be able to rescue them from the blazing furnace (Dn 3:15). However, he leaves a back door open for them. If they are willing to obey his command to worship the image, they will be set free. The three friends react with the following words (Dn 3:16–18):

Your majesty, we have no need to answer you on this matter. If there is a god who is able to save us from the blazing furnace, it is our God whom we serve; he will deliver us from your majesty's power. But if not, be it known to your majesty that we shall neither serve your gods nor worship the gold image you have set up.

According to David Gunn and Danna Fewell (1993:181), this statement “marks the first and the major climactic point in the story”. The king is confronted with disobedient officials and there is only one way he can now react — the Jewish officials have to be thrown into the furnace.

4.4 TRANSFORMING ACTION

The *transforming action* (Dn 3:19–25) commences with a description of how the king reacts to the three friends' confession: he is furious “and his face becomes distorted with anger” (Dn 3:19). He commands that the furnace be heated to seven times its usual heat. This is another example of hyperbole in the story. Another one follows soon afterwards when the king commands the strongest men in his army to bind the Jews. Readers are confronted with unsettling information: (1) that the furnace is hotter than normal, and (2) the strongest men in the Babylonian army tied the friends. Given this information, the question arises: Will the Jewish God be able to save his loyal worshippers? The narrator creates more tension by recounting that the furnace is so hot that the people who carry the three friends to the furnace are killed instantly when they approach it. The chances that the friends can survive such a fire are few. The reader is not kept in the dark for too long. Almost immediately after the three Jews are thrown into the furnace, the king jumps to his feet and claims that he can see four people walking around in the fire (Dn 3:24–25).

4.5 DENOUEMENT

At this stage, readers should be familiar with the idea that King Nebuchadnezzar is the “commander-in-chief” and, when he wants things done, he merely commands and takes it for granted that he will be obeyed. This section therefore opens with the king commanding Sadrach, Meshach and Abednego to come out of the blazing furnace (Dn 3:26). This time they obey. The other officials gather around them to see for themselves that the fire has not harmed them. What astonishes them most, is that no smell of fire “lingered about them” (Dn 3:27). Nebuchadnezzar praises the god of the Jews and decreed that no one should blaspheme against the Jewish God “for there is no other god who can save in such a manner” (Dn 3:29).

4.6 FINAL SITUATION

The final verse of the chapter is also the *final situation*. Nebuchadnezzar promotes the friends in the province of Babylon (Dn 3:30) and everything returns to normal.

4.7 CONCLUSION

Repetition, detail and hyperbole play an important role in the story and “set a tone of ridicule and absurdity” (Gunn & Fewell 1993:175). The king is characterized as extremely concerned about his status and authority. When he commands, people obey. The three friends, however, do not obey his orders when their religious convictions are challenged. The interesting thing about their acts and speech is that they do not act separately but as one, and when they speak, it is as if from one mouth (Dn 3:16–18). The whole story serves as illustration of how Jews living in a foreign country should act when confronted with commands and orders that are irreconcilable with their religious tradition and convictions. As in the previous story (Dn 2), the initial situation (Dn 3:1–7) and the final situation (Dn 3:30) run parallel. This is true of the complication (Dn 3:8–18) and the denouement (Dn 3:24–29). The transforming action (Dn 3:19–25) forms the climax of the story. It is in this scene that the king is baffled by what he saw, four men walking in the blazing furnace. The details are not

explained but the reader realizes that the friends were saved. Their God did not forsake them. According to Collins (1993:194), the story “affirms the universal right to freedom of religion and the right of a minority to resist the demands of an absolute ruler”.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE PLOT OF DANIEL 4

5.1 INTRODUCTION

A number of scholars maintain that the chapter has a complicated history of redaction. Paul Redditt (1999:74) is one of these, claiming that the opening verses of the chapter (Dn 4:1–3) were copied from the closure of the story (Dn 4:34–35) in order to link Daniel 4 to Daniel 3. John Collins (1984:61; 1993:216) regards the whole chapter as it currently stands as an epistle from King Nebuchadnezzar (cf. also Hartman & Di Lella 1978:175). As it is not possible to apply the quinary scheme to the format of the epistle but only to the story narrated in the epistle, I shall work only with the story of King Nebuchadnezzar and his dream. Redditt and others may be correct in their judgement that the epistle represents a secondary phase in the transmission of the story. It may also be that the “Prayer of Nabonidus”, which was discovered amongst the manuscripts from the wilderness of Judea, served as a literary source for the story about Nebuchadnezzar and his dream (Lacocque 1979:74–75; Hartman & Di Lella 1978:178–179; Collins 1993:218; Eshel 2001:387–388).

The story in Daniel 4 reminds us of the story in Daniel 2 (Hartman & Di Lella 1978:173). In that chapter Nebuchadnezzar also has a dream, but he wants the wise men to tell it to him *and give an exposition*. In Daniel 4, Nebuchadnezzar narrates his dream (Dn 4:10–17a) and expects only an exposition. Again none of the courtiers is able to give an exposition except for Daniel, who is now called Belteshazzar (Dn 4:8–9).

The *initial situation* concerns King Nebuchadnezzar and his dream (Dn 4:4–5 & 10–17). In this section the first person narrator (King Nebuchadnezzar) tells the story. The dream has two sections: the first tells of a big tree planted in the

centre of the earth (Dn 4:10–12), while the second section deals with the watcher who received the command to hew down the tree (Dn 4:13–17).

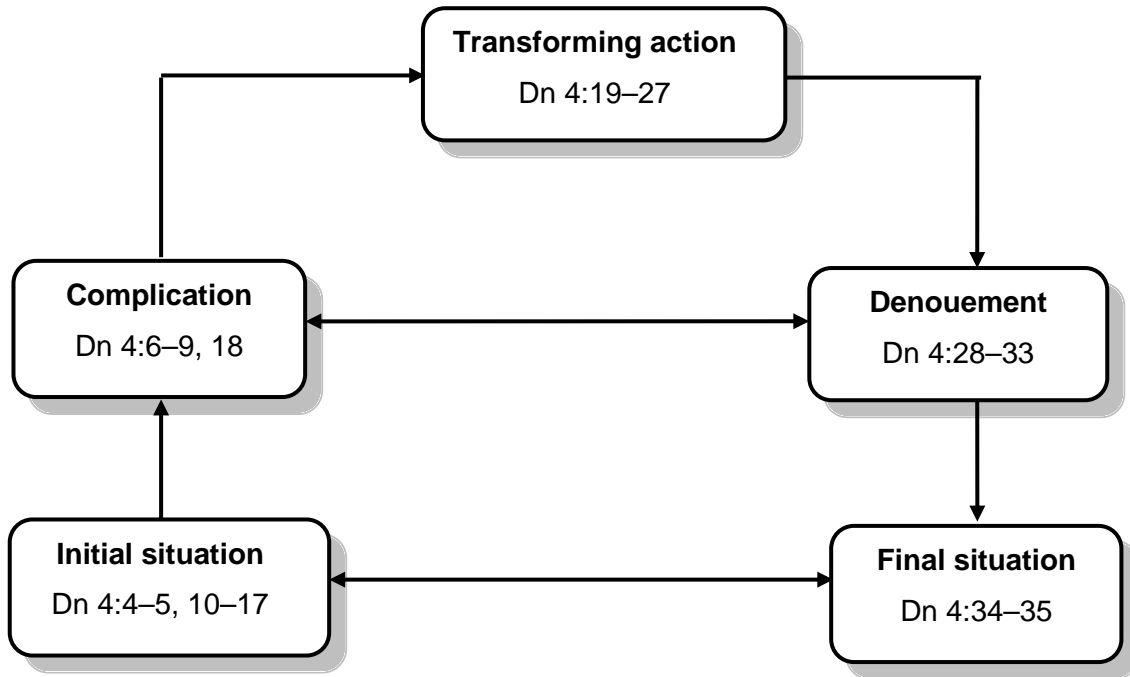
The *complication* starts in Daniel 4:6–9. The king summons all the wise men of Babylon to give an exposition but none is able to do so. Then the king calls Daniel in, claiming that he is well aware that Daniel is able to do what the king wants. This is repeated in Daniel 4:18 “This is the dream which I, King Nebuchadnezzar, dreamt; now, Belteshazzar, tell me its interpretation, for no one of the wise men in all my kingdom is able to make its meaning known to me, you can do it, because in you is the spirit of the holy gods”. The first person narrator (King Nebuchadnezzar) is again prominent.

The *transforming action* (Dn 4:19–27) commences with a remark that Daniel is dumbfounded for a moment (Dn 4:19). The interpretation itself is in two sections, which correspond to the two sections of the dream. The first concerns the tree that Nebuchadnezzar saw (Dn 4:20–22) while the second concerns the king’s banishment from society (Dn 4:23–27).

The *denouement* follows in Daniel 4:28–33. This section commences with the words: “All this befell King Nebuchadnezzar” (Dn 4:28). Again we have the third person narrator commenting. This is followed by the first person narrator (the king) who says: “Is not this Babylon the great which I have built as a royal residence by my mighty power and for the honour of my own majesty?” But then a voice comes from heaven conveying the message to King Nebuchadnezzar that he will be banished from society (Dn 4:31–32). The third person narrator closes the section (Dn 4:33).

The *final situation* follows in Daniel 4:34–35 when King Nebuchadnezzar is restored.

The quinary scheme of the story’s plot can be presented as follows:



5.2 INITIAL SITUATION

As already stated, the *initial situation* concerned Nebuchadnezzar's dream. The story begins in Daniel 4:4–5, with King Nebuchadnezzar narrating that he has had a bad dream. The dream itself is told in Daniel 4:10–17a. The last section of verse 17 narrates proleptic effects which the fulfilment of the dream has on King Nebuchadnezzar. In the correct chronological order the outcome of the banishment is narrated in Daniel 4:34b–35, which corresponds to Daniel 4:17b. Both sections emphasise the sovereignty of the Most High:

Thereby the living will know that the Most High is sovereign in the kingdom of men: he gives the kingdom to whom he wills, and may appoint over it the lowliest mankind. (Dn 4:17b)

I blessed the Most High, praising and glorifying the Ever-living One: His sovereignty is everlasting, and his kingdom endures through all generations. All who dwell on earth count for nothing; he does as he pleases with the host of heaven and with those who dwell on earth. No one can oppose his power or question what he does. (Dn 4:34–35)

The prolepsis evidences the relationship between the *initial situation* (Dn 4:4–5, 10–17a) and the *final situation* (Dn 4:34–35).

5.3 COMPLICATION

The *complication* is narrated in Daniel 4:6–9 and 18. As with the story in Daniel 2, no wise man of Babylon is able to interpret King Nebuchadnezzar’s dream. However, Daniel, who is now called Belteshazzar, is also summoned before the king. This name is thrice repeated in these five verses and it is stated twice that “he has the spirit of the holy gods” in him (Dn 4:9, 18). The interpretation is not given yet. It is only stated that no wise man is able to interpret the dream but that the king cherishes the hope that Belteshazzar will be able to do him the honour. As with the *initial situation*, we have two verses which read almost identically:

Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, you have in you, as I know, *the spirit of the holy gods*, and no secret baffles you; listen to what I saw in my dream, and tell me its interpretation. (Dn 4:9)

This is the dream which I, King Nebuchadnezzar, dreamt; now, Belteshazzar, tell me its interpretation, for, though no one of the wise men in all my kingdom is able to make its meaning known to me, you can do it, *because in you is the spirit of the holy gods*. (Dn 4:18)

In the quinary scheme, *the complication* and *the denouement* are closely related. In both sections, King Nebuchadnezzar’s words are quoted and the names of the two main characters (Belteshazzar and Nebuchadnezzar) are repeated three times.

5.4 TRANSFORMING ACTION

In the *transforming action* (Dn 4:19–27), Daniel tells the king what the dreams symbolize. The section commences with the remark by the third person narrator that Daniel is dumbfounded and dismayed by his thoughts (Dn 4:19a). However, with the necessary encouragement from King Nebuchadnezzar (Dn 4:19b), Daniel starts to narrate the exposition (Dn 4:19c). The exposition is given in two phases (1) Daniel 4:20–22, and (2) Daniel 4:23–27. It is evident

that the focus falls on the second section of the exposition, King Nebuchadnezzar's banishment from society. The king will be banned from society because of his haughtiness. Daniel advises the king to acknowledge God's sovereignty, humble himself and care for the poor. The advice is given in the form of two synonymous parallel lines (Dn 4:27b):

Let charitable deeds replace your sins;
generosity to the poor your wrong doings.

It is interesting that there is no comment on this advice in the closure of the story. It is merely stated that King Nebuchadnezzar acknowledged God's sovereignty (Dn 4:34).

5.5 DENOUEMENT

The *denouement* opens with a verse (Dn 4:28) claiming that everything has transpired as Daniel said in the previous section. The king is thrice named Nebuchadnezzar in this section as is Daniel, who is named Belteshazzar three times in the complication (Dn 4:6–9, 18). This is not the only similarity between the two sections. The denouement closes with a verse (Dn 4:33) that summarizes all that has transpired. Similarly, the complication closes in the same way, with a verse (Dn 4:18) that summarizes what is narrated in the previous verses. Daniel 4:33 reads as follows:

At that very moment this judgement came upon Nebuchadnezzar:
he was banished from human society to eat grass like oxen, and
his body was drenched with the dew of heaven, until his hair
became shaggy like an eagle and his nails grew like birds' claws.

Redditt (1999:83) is correct in regarding this section as the climax of the narrative.

5.6 FINAL SITUATION

The *final situation* (Dn 4:34–35) claims that, after the "seven times" (Dn 4:25, 32) the king humbles himself, acknowledges God's sovereignty and is restored

to his right mind. As already stated, this was prolepsis of what was narrated in Daniel 4:17b.

5.7 CONCLUSION

The focus in Daniel 4 does not fall on Daniel but on King Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel plays a secondary role in the story. He is merely the wise courtier who is able to interpret the king's dream. The message of the story is that rulers cannot claim that they are appointed on their own account and because of their knowledge, wisdom and ability to rule. God is the supreme ruler of the world and he appoints and dismisses rulers.

6. ANALYSIS OF THE PLOT OF DANIEL 5

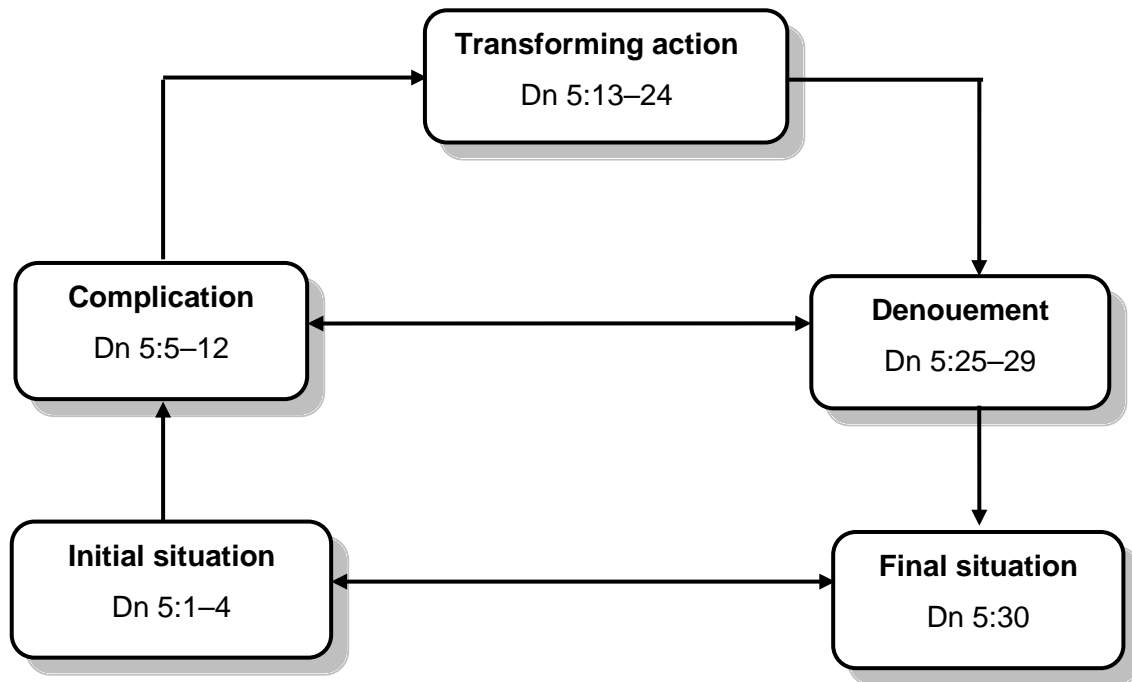
6.1 INTRODUCTION

Daniel 5 is the last of the three *interpretation stories*. The others are Daniel 2 and Daniel 4 (Davies 1985:51). While the previous two chapters concern dreams by the king, this chapter concerns a mysterious inscription. No Babylonian wise man could interpret the inscription and Daniel is again called on to demonstrate his ability to do what the others cannot.

The quinary scheme again serves as a guide to identify the different elements of the plot in order arrive at the core of what the story is communicating. The story opens with an *initial situation* (Dn 5:1–4). King Belshazzar invites his nobles to a banquet, during which they all drink from the temple vessels, to which Nebuchadnezzar laid claim during his siege of Jerusalem. Following this, one reads of a mysterious hand which writes on a wall of the banqueting hall. The king is frightened, as no one is able to read and interpret the inscription. However, the queen mother reminds Belshazzar about Daniel. This section represents the *complication* (Dn 5:5–12). Daniel is then brought to the banqueting hall to read and interpret the mysterious inscription. He uses the opportunity to castigate King Belshazzar. This section represents the *transforming action* (Dn 5:13–24). Then follows the *denouement* (Dn 5:25–29),

when Daniel reads the inscription and gives an interpretation. The *final situation* (Dn 5:30) consists of one verse which narrates the outcome.

The quinary scheme of the story's plot can be set out as follows:



6.2 INITIAL SITUATION

The first four verses of Daniel 5 take the reader to the banqueting hall of King Belshazzar, who is said to be the son of Nebuchadnezzar (Dn 5:2). He is also presented as the last king of the Chaldean Empire, since Darius the Mede succeeded in conquering it (Dn 5:30). The reason for the feast is not stated but the reader is informed that the nobles, the king's concubines and other courtesans are present (Dn 5:3). According to Donald Polaski, the feast "serves as an occasion for the exercise of imperial power" (2004:651). The king commanded the Jerusalem temple vessels to be brought to serve as drinking vessels. An inquisitive reader will immediately ask: "But why the Jerusalem temple vessels and not any other conquered city's temple vessels?" The reason is supplied in the closing verse: "They drank their wine and they praised their gods of gold, silver, bronze, iron, wood and stone" (Dn 5:4). It is evident that the narrator is creating a contrast between the God of Israel and

other deities whom the narrator regards as non-entities. Daniel 5 thus commences with a contrast and the reader wonders how the God of Israel is going to react to this act of sacrilege by Belshazzar and his entourage.

Daniel 5 is evidently a fictitious story, as we know from other historical sources that Nebuchadnezzar was not succeeded by Belshazzar but by Amel-Marduk (or Evil-Merodach, as he is named in 2 Ki 25:27). Moreover, there was never a Darius the Mede who conquered the Babylonian Empire (Rowley 1935; Goldingay 1989:111; Collins 1993:30).

6.3 COMPLICATION

The *complication* (Dn 5:5–12) is introduced by the word “suddenly”. The crowd in the banqueting hall are enjoying themselves when a mysterious hand suddenly appears and writes an inscription on one of the walls. Three characters, or rather, two characters and one group of characters enact this scene: the king, who is totally baffled by the handwriting on the wall, the group of wise men who are called to come and read the inscription and explain its meaning to the king, and the queen mother, who reminds Belshazzar about Belteshazzar. Polaski (2004:651) describes the effects of the inscription succinctly in the following words: “This writing unnerves the king, frustrates his bureaucracy, and provides the occasion for Daniel’s re-emergence at court”.

The complication thus has to do with the fact that neither the king nor his wise men are able to read and understand the inscription. An outsider has to be summoned to read and interpret the inscription. At this stage, not even the reader knows the words of the inscription, let alone what it meant. The inscription becomes legible only once Daniel arrives on the scene.

6.4 TRANSFORMING ACTION

The *transforming action* (Dn 5:13–24) is the longest section of the story. Only two characters are present: (1) King Belshazzar and (2) Belteshazzar (or Daniel) and they converse with each other. When Daniel arrives on the scene,

the king twice says that he has been informed about Daniel's exceptional abilities and wisdom. First "the spirit of the gods resides in him" (Dn 5:14) and second, he is able to "furnish interpretations and unravel problems" (Dn 5:16a). Both these verses recapitulate what the queen mother said in the previous section of the plot (Dn 5:11–12). Then the king repeats his promise to reward Daniel if he can read and interpret the inscription (Dn 5:16b). Daniel refuses the reward but promises Belshazzar to read the writing and "to make known its interpretation" anyway (Dn 5:17). However, before commencing with the reading and interpretation, he castigates the king. "Daniel responds not with a recitation of the inscription but with a brief homily on the practice of royal power, with Nebuchadnezzar as the key example" (Polaski 2004:656). Compared with his father, Belshazzar is nothing but feeble. He does not show real character and does not behave the way a king should. He does not realize that his authority comes from the God of Israel, a lesson his father also had to learn, but he has never committed sacrilege. The reference to King Nebuchadnezzar refers the reader back to the stories in Daniel 2 and Daniel 3, where one reads about the king's ability to "put to death whom he would and spare whom he would" (cf. Dn 2:5, 12; 3:19–23, 29; 5:19). Death is always looming around the corner when kings have absolute power.

6.5 DENOUEMENT

The *denouement* (Dn 5:25–29) refers the reader back to the *complication* (Dn 5:5–12) and the hand that wrote on the wall. This time Daniel reads the inscription and gives an exposition. Some scholars maintain that the original inscription consisted of only three words "*mene, tekel, parsin*" (Hartman & DiLella 1978:189) and that these refer to weights or monetary units in decreasing value: *mene* (minah), *tekel* (shekel), *parsin* (half minah) (Polaski 2004:657), or *mene* (minah), *tekel* (shekel), *parsin* (half shekel) (Goldingay 1989:110–111). Still others maintain that these words refer to the Babylonian kings Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonidus and Belshazzar, or to Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar and Darius (the fictitious Median king) (cf. Lacocque 1979:102–104; Collins 1993:251–252). However, when Daniel gives an exposition he applies the three words to the reign of Belshazzar:

| | |
|--------|---|
| mene | God has numbered the days of your kingdom and brought it to an end. |
| tekem | You have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. |
| parsin | Your kingdom has been divided and given to the Medes and Persians. |

The narrator does not describe Belshazzar's emotions when he hears the news that his kingdom will come to an end. However, in the complication, the reader is given a vivid description of the effects the sight of the hand and the inscription had on Belshazzar: "[T]he king turned pale, dismay filled his mind, the strength went from his legs, and his knees knocked together" (Dn 5:6). In this section it is merely stated that the king commands that Daniel be robed in purple, that a golden chain be hung around his neck and that he be promoted (Dn 5:29). It is as if King Belshazzar accepts his fate without betraying any emotion.

6.6 FINAL SITUATION

The *final situation* narrates that King Belshazzar is slain "that very night" and that Darius the Mede immediately takes over the kingdom (Dn 5:30), presumably without resistance, struggle or violence. This is contrary to what we know about rulers and their kingdoms in the real world. They usually have a group of supporters who fight to the end to defend the king and uphold his kingdom. But the story does not narrate history and in the world of fiction anything is possible.

6.7 CONCLUSION

It is evident that the stories in Daniel 4 and 5 are closely related: "Both stories illustrate the theme of divine sovereignty over human kingdoms" (Collins 1993:255). Furthermore, when the queen mother reminds King Belshazzar

about Daniel, she refers to the events narrated in Chapter 4 (Dn 5:10–12). When Daniel castigates Belshazzar, he also refers back to the events narrated in that chapter (Dn 5:18–24). However, there are differences between the two stories. In Daniel 4, Nebuchadnezzar has been advised to repent. Although he does not do so immediately, he eventually repents and is restored as king (Dn 4:34). In the case of Belshazzar, no such possibility exists and Daniel does not advise him to repent. He only castigates him for profaning the Jerusalem temple vessels and then tells him that his reign will be terminated and the kingdom will pass to the Medes and Persians. John Collins (1993:254) summarizes this as follows: “Chapter 4 illustrated a case where the divine punishment was of a disciplinary nature; in Chapter 5 it is fatal.”

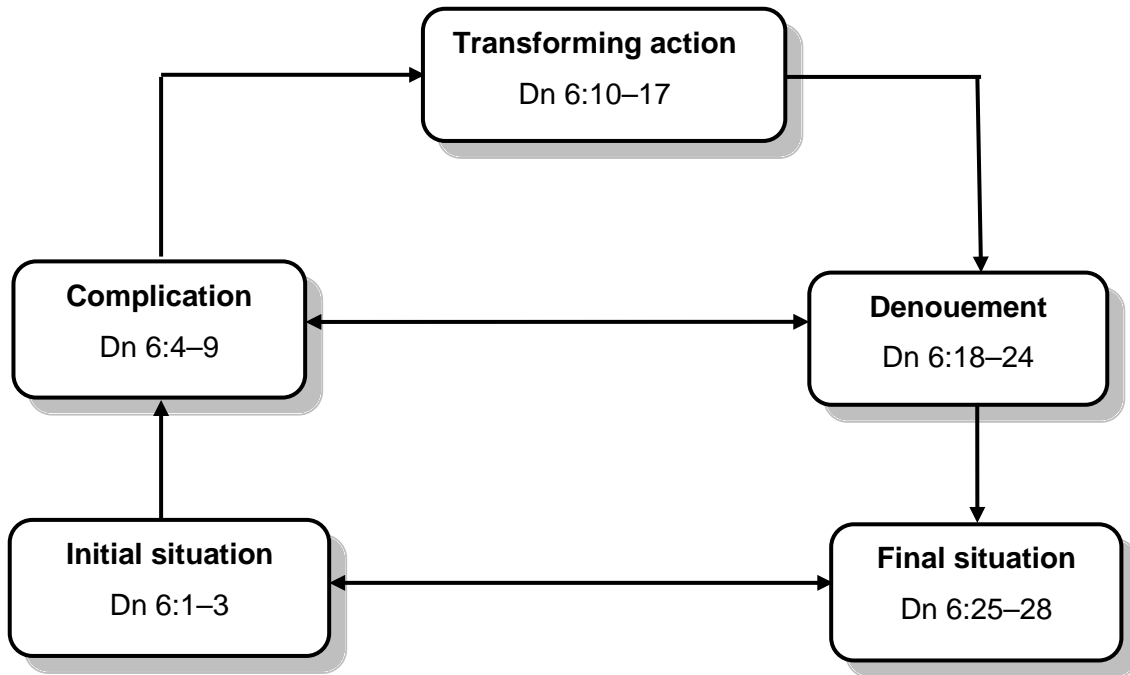
7. ANALYSIS OF THE PLOT OF DANIEL 6

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Daniel 6 is the second of the so-called *deliverance* stories and has more or less the same elements as the previous one (Dn 3). Philip Davies makes an important remark concerning these stories: “The significant consequence of the deliverance is not the respective fate of the courtiers but the acknowledgement by the king of the demonstration of divine power and hence sovereignty” (Davies 1985:52). But this aspect is emphasised not only in the deliverance stories but in all the others as well: God’s authority is superior to that of the king. Whether the Book of Daniel was written during the reign of Antiochus IV or was compiled and redacted only during that period, makes no difference. The stories demonstrated comfort for the Jews by emphasizing the Jewish God’s sovereignty. He is in charge and he rules the world.

The quinary scheme will once again be used to analyze the plot of this story. The story opens with the *initial situation* (Dn 6:1–3), sketching the context in which the events are going to happen. Following this, we find the *complication* (Dn 6:4–9) in which jealousy plays a role. The other ministers and satraps could not stomach the possibility that Daniel might be appointed as prime minister. Then comes the *transforming action* (Dn 6:10–17), in which the

“enemies” of Daniel caught him in the act of praying to the Jewish God and reported this to the king. The *denouement* (Dn 6:18–24), which runs parallel to the complication, narrates that what the “enemies” hoped for did not transpire. The lions did not kill Daniel. The story closes with the *final situation* (Dn 6:25–28) in which the God of Daniel is praised. The elements of the plot can be set out as follows:



7.2 INITIAL SITUATION

The initial situation (Dn 6:1–3) takes the reader to the reign of Darius and his reorganization of the administration of his kingdom. He appointed 120 satraps and three chief ministers over them. Daniel was one of the three ministers. As before, Daniel outshone the other two ministers and the king intended to make him “prime minister”.

7.3 COMPLICATION

The complication (Dn 6:4–9) set in when the other two ministers and the satraps became jealous of Daniel. They hoped to find something related to his work which would reflect that he was not particularly accomplished. However,

they were unable to do this and therefore decided to focus on his fidelity to his religious convictions (Dn 6:5). They approached the king and created the idea that, if the king issued a decree that no one in his empire should pray to any other god except the king, it would inform him of the loyalty of his subjects. The decree should also state that if anyone transgressed they would be thrown into the lions' den. The king stepped into the trap and issued an edict to this effect. The reader immediately realizes that Daniel now faced serious difficulties, as his religious convictions did not allow for such an act. Prayer to anyone else but the Jewish God would be a transgression of the Torah. Paul Redditt (1999:103) gives a good exposition of the tension which was created:

The dramatic tension of Daniel 6 was set up by Daniel 3. The friends Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego had been tested for their faith; now Daniel would be. The friends escaped. Would he escape too, or would he fare worse?

The reader has to wait for the transforming action (Dn 6:10–17) in order to hear whether Daniel reacted in the same way as his friends.

7.4 TRANSFORMING ACTION

The transforming action (Dn 6:10–17) narrates how the ministers and satraps (now called “enemies”) spied on Daniel to catch him in the act of praying to his God. Then they reported what they had seen and reminded the king about the edict he had issued. In Daniel 3, the three friends acted as if they were a single character. This time, the ministers and satraps acted as if they were a single character. After reminding the king about the edict, they said: “Daniel, one of the Jewish exiles, has disregarded both your majesty and the edict, and is making petitions to his God three times a day” (Dn 6:13). The “enemies” referred to Daniel as a *Jewish exile* and the reader immediately recalls the Decalogue in which it is prohibited for Jews to worship other gods. The reader immediately knows that Daniel now faced a predicament. He transgressed the king's edict and could not be pardoned. He had to face the consequences of his acts. To the reader's astonishment, it is narrated that the king tried to find a way to avoid the edict (Dn 6:14). Once again, the “enemies” went to the king

and reminded him that, according to the “law of the Medes and Persians”, no edict issued by a king may be altered. The king was thus in a compromising situation: if he did not punish Daniel then he would be acting against the edict. If he altered the edict, he could be accused of transgressing the “law of the Medes and Persians”.

The only solution to this situation was to behave like a king of the Medes and Persians and to act according to what the edict prescribed. He therefore commanded that Daniel be thrown into the lions’ den but he did so reluctantly, and said to Daniel: “Your God, who you serve at all times, may he save you” (Dn 6:16b). Contrary to Daniel 3, it was the king who expressed the hope that some miracle would prevent the lions from devouring Daniel.

The transforming action closes when a stone was placed over the mouth of the pit and sealed with the king’s signet and the signets of his nobles. This was done to ensure that no one could tamper with the opening to the den and rescue Daniel (Dn 6:17).

7.5 DENOUEMENT

The denouement (Dn 6:18–24) commences with the king feeling so anxious that he spent the whole night fasting, even abstaining from sex. One could interpret this as typical Jewish religious act. When the day dawned he immediately went to the lions’ den and called on Daniel in the hope that he would still be alive: “Daniel, servant of the living God, has your God whom you serve continually been able to save you from the lions?” (Dn 6:20). The king was overjoyed when Daniel replied and told him that he had not been injured. He evidently also fasted. What happened outside the lions’ den also happened inside the den with the result that God suppressed the lions’ appetite, and they also fasted. Daniel immediately assured the king of his loyalty. The king should not interpret Daniel’s dishonouring the edict as dishonouring the king himself. Honouring God does not entail dishonouring the king (Dn 6:22) although the “enemies” had tried to impart this idea.

This section closes with the king ordering Daniel's enemies to be thrown into the lions' den. However, not only were they thrown into the den, but their wives and children too. The lions had a festive day after their night of fasting. This is rather cruel but in the world of fiction the narrator may do as he pleases.

7.6 FINAL SITUATION

In the final situation (Dn 6:25–28), the king issued another edict: Everyone must fear and reverence the God of Daniel. The king motivates this by means of a doxology in which the God of Daniel is praised. Jan van Henten quite correctly states that the final situation “can be read as a summary of chapters 1–6, and offers an acknowledgement of the Judeans' God that surpasses that of Dan 3:28–30” (2001:151). In his commentary in which question are raised about the “God of Daniel” rather than the “god of the Babylonians”, Calvin made the strong point that “Daniel, as he had learned the Law of Moses, purely worshiped the God who had made his covenant with Abraham and the holy fathers and who had adopted the Israelites to be his own” (Calvin [Parker] 1993:273). Therefore, Calvin made the distinction between the god worshipped by the Babylonians and the God of Daniel. It must have been clear to the Babylonians that Daniel was not worshipping just any god, but the “God who had revealed himself to the world” (Calvin [Parker] 1993:273). This is the God about whom all eyes and ears, believers' or not, have heard and are convinced that He is still the true God. It is the reason why He is called *‘the Living God’* “not only because He has life in Himself, but from himself and because He is also the fount and the origin of life” (Calvin [Parker] 1993:274). The closing story makes the final point that the Jewish God rules the world. This fact will guide the revelations in Daniel 7–12.

7.7 CONCLUSION

Writing and interpretation play a dominant role in this last story. The king wrote and the nobles interpreted. Their interpretation left no room for any other reading and understanding of the edict. Like religious fundamentalists, they insisted that there was only one possible interpretation: If Daniel disobeyed the

edict it meant that he was disloyal to the king and that he did not honour him. Daniel, however, illustrated that other interpretations were indeed possible. One could dishonour the edict but still honour the king. Moreover, Daniel's loyalty to his God did not exclude loyalty to the king.

8. FINAL CONCLUSION

Although the stories in Daniel 1–6 were not written to inform readers about leadership styles, skills and competencies, one may gain some wisdom about being a leader by looking at how the different kings are presented in the stories. One may also gain some wisdom by looking at how the Jewish exiles (Daniel, Shadrach, Mechach and Abednego) behaved in a foreign environment. An analysis of the plot of the stories assisted the researcher in discovering this wisdom. But more than this was gained. Some of the stories shed light on the issue of living in a multi-cultural and multi-faith society.

It is evident from the stories that the narrator wanted to emphasize the Jewish God's sovereignty. According to his view this God rules the world and kings should acknowledge this. Time and again they had to learn the lesson that they were not supreme rulers but that they became kings according to God's will. He willed that they become kings and they should take note of this and behave appropriately. They should not claim that no God has authority over them and that they could do as they liked. It is especially the stories in Daniel 4 and 5 which "illustrate the theme of divine sovereignty over human kingdoms" (Collins 1993:255).

In some of the other stories, such as in Daniel 1 and 2, the Jewish exiles time and again outshone their colleagues because of their loyalty to the covenant. The stories were most probably written in order to teach the Jewish exiles (especially those who became court officials) how to behave and act in a foreign country (cf. Humphreys 1973; Talmon 1989:350–353). They should not turn their backs on their God, their comrades and their tradition when in a foreign country. They should remain faithful and rest assured that their God will

be with them in whatever predicament they may be (Collins 1993:232–233). One could argue that people's religious convictions should be respected.

The most important element of leadership in any responsibility is obedience to people higher up in the hierarchy, because responsible behaviour implies obedience to authority. This does not imply that blind obedience necessarily means responsible behaviour (Joubert 1979:62, 16).

Apart from this, leaders/rulers may even gain wisdom about how to treat minorities in their midst. John Collins (1993:194) emphasizes that especially the story in Daniel 3 “affirms the universal right to freedom of religion and the right of a minority to resist the demands of an absolute ruler”. This is important for countries where Christians and Muslims, or Buddhists and Muslims, or Muslims and Hindus have to live together, or where there are different cultural groups.

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL REFLECTIONS ON LEADERSHIP

1. INTRODUCTION

A narrative critical analysis of the stories in Daniel 1–2 forms the basis of the research into leadership. Now that this has been completed, the second part of the thesis will focus on what scholars are currently writing about leadership. The thesis will eventually try to dovetail the results of the narrative critical analysis of the Daniel stories with the theoretical reflections on leadership. In this chapter, attention will be given to these theoretical reflections before the issue of leadership in Africa in general and Chad in particular is discussed.

Yukl says: “Leadership is a subject that has long interested scholars and laypersons alike. The term connotes images of powerful, dynamic persons who command victorious armies and direct corporate empires from atop gleaming skyscrapers, or shape the course of nations” (1989:1–2). However the question of leadership has long been a subject for speculation, although scientific research into leadership did not begin until the 20th century.

Leadership is one of the world’s oldest occupations. The understanding of leadership has figured strongly in the quest for knowledge. In the biblical periods, leaders were known as priests, chiefs, and kings and served as symbolic representatives, as models for their people. Leadership was not limited to the classics of Western literature. The great leaders in myths and legends were important in the development of civilized societies. This demonstrates that leadership played an important role during the emergence of civilizations (Bass 1997:3–4).

According to Bass, “Around the year 2300 BCE, in the *Instruction of Ptahhotep*, three qualities were attributed to the Pharaoh: ‘Authoritative utterance is in thy mouth, perception is in thy heart, and in thy tongue is the shrine of justice’” (1997:4). This shows that speech, philosophical contemplation and the administration of justice were regarded as all important for a good king. At the

beginning of the sixth century BCE, the prophet Ezekiel (34:1–10) was instructed by the Lord to denounce the rulers of Israel. The leaders of Israel were not taking care of the people, and the Lord was warning them about their attitude and their actions. In the same century, Chinese classical writers were giving advice to the country's leaders about their responsibility towards their people. Later on, the philosophers, such as Plato in his *Republic*, looked at the requirement for an ideal leader of the ideal state. In politics, Aristotle, a disciple of Plato, was disturbed by the lack of virtue among those who wanted to be leaders.

Leadership continues to be the main occupation in the 20th and 21st centuries across the world. In the 20th century, at the crest of independence for African states, leadership became a contested issue. This is why this thesis is concerned with leadership. Leadership is something which impacts on people's lives. One can thus state that, although leadership is as old as mankind, it remains difficult to define what good leadership entails. It is only after a leader's lifetime that people are able to state why s/he was a good leader.

We find leaders everywhere — in small organisations, and in large ones, in business and in churches, in trade unions and in charitable bodies, in tribes and in universities. It exists in informal bodies, in street gangs and in mass demonstrations. Leadership is therefore an essential facet of all levels of human life. The quality of leadership, globally, nationally, and at the grass-roots level, determines the kind of world people live in, and the state of the world which future generations will inherit (Boutros-Ghali 1998:6).

We must also note that all leaders (political, religious and societal) have goals to achieve. They contribute directly towards the well-being of society. Therefore, leaders face immediate difficulties when they want to achieve anything, because strategic changes and innovations are usually questioned. However, the effort of improving leadership qualities and expanding the number of capable and efficient leaders is likely to bring about improvements in the management and development of a country as a whole.

This thesis may contribute towards identifying good leaders and may assist those in leadership positions to perform to the best of their ability. However, it focuses more on political and religious leaders, as in the African context these leaders play a dominant social role.

In this chapter, attention will be given to the following issues: For whom and for what is leadership important? In this section the definition and the issue of leadership will be taken into consideration. Then will follow a discussion of the characteristics of leadership. This will be followed by a discussion of leadership in the political arena. Thirdly the issue of traditional leadership will be discussed, before political leadership and the predicament of Christians and their political roles is discussed. The chapter will conclude with a consideration of the characteristics of a good leader but prior to that the qualities of a good leader will be the focus.

2. DEFINITION

The term leadership means different things to different people. It is a word taken from the common vocabulary and incorporated into the technical vocabulary of a scientific discipline, without being precisely redefined. This term is a relatively recent addition to the English language. It has been in use for only about two hundred years (Yukl 1989:2–3). Leadership, as opposed to headship, occurred predominantly in countries with an Anglo Saxon heritage. The word is a sophisticated, modern concept. In the earlier times, titles such as “head of state”, “military commander”, “princeps”, “proconsul”, “chief” or “king”, were common in most societies. These words differentiated the ruler from other members of society.

However, if the definition of leadership seems diverse in terms of its concept, one can say that leadership is conceived as a matter of personality, as an exercise of influence, particular behaviour, a form of passion, as a power relation, and as an instrument for achieving goals. Moreover, the important fact is that the definition of leadership carries, as a common denominator, the

assumption that it is a group of phenomena that involves the interaction between two or more persons.

3. LEADERSHIP: AN ISSUE IN AFRICA

Leadership as a task of leading a society or community is often seen as a predicament for Africa. Many questions arise among scholars and writers: Why is it an issue, and particularly for Africa? Moreover, the number of incompetence (not qualified) leaders in Africa is so much higher than the competence once. Strangely people never ask why this is so? Unfortunately the critics continue their way, even among African leaders themselves. Does it mean that the idea of Africans leading Africa is a negative proposition, or is the world hiding something from African leaders that would help them to perform better? How were African leaders guiding and leading before colonisation? Were there any problems then?

Among all these questions, a famous and courageous Nigerian writer, Chinua Achebe, put his finger on the problem when he said (1983:1):

There is nothing basically wrong with the Nigerian character. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or air or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to take responsibility; the unwillingness to set a personal example.

Moreover, the real problem is linked to power, as Van der Walt (1995:1–2) comments: “Power is power to do something; power is never power to be enjoyed as an end”). This identifies that idea that there is nothing wrong with Africa as a continent; nothing wrong with Africa as land and community or society. The problem is linked to the person as well as to the power executed by that specific person. It also seems that the African conception of power has lost its meaning. In fact, having power to rule or to lead is synonymous with authority and service to others with respect, dignity and fear. A good leader must always have a set of goals he wishes to achieve and he must use his authority and power to attain these. The lack of adequate administrative

capacity and a relatively inexperienced leadership is typical of many small-scale or grassroots organisations, not only in South Africa (or in Chad) but also in other African countries (Kihato 2002:89). In other words, the failure of African leadership can be found at all levels: educational, social, political, economic and religious, as well as in family life.

After independence, African countries were left with (Western) colonial forms of government. However, the leaders did not debate the issues but simply rejected multiparty democracy because it was considered a type of foreign rule as opposed to self-rule; a type of white government versus black government, and they concluded that "it is better to misgovern ourselves than to be governed well by foreigners" (Van der Walt 1995:70). This dramatic leadership situation in Africa is still the main issue for African leaders. Is Africa cursed with bad leaders? Are Africa's woes insurmountable? According to some, the ruling elite reflect the nature and interest of the class from which they come. In the case of African ruling elite, they are part of an African middle class which is described graphically by Fanon as a sort of greedy little caste, avid and voracious, with the mind of a huckster, only too glad to accept the dividends that former colonial powers hand out. The present ruling elite can be classified as "predator elite". They fight for the spoils of power rather than for national interest (cf. Bujra 2002: xx–xxi).

There is no doubt that the problems relating to leadership can be linked to the African educational situation. If African countries still do not have the quality of leaders that Africa needs, the colonial system is more involved in or responsible for that. African people at grassroots level are greatly in need of inspiration to change their situation. They think they are powerless. Colonial education and the type of Christianity introduced into Africa played an important role in this respect (Van der Walt 1995:5). According to Boer, the intention of the colonial educational policy "was to introduce zombies, creatures at the behest of the colonial regime, loyal, obedient, and ready to do its biddings, directly through the local chief or emir. Least of all was it the intention to produce critical and creative graduates who would think independently, for such people could become dangerous to the establishment" (1989:9).

It was (and still is) taught that the role of the Christian is to obey those in authority. Christians are taught to pray for them, to honour them, to assist them, and to pay their taxes. They are taught to be patient. After all, their rewards lie in heaven, certainly not on earth. They are encouraged to concentrate on religious things to bring peace, so that one day they will be delivered, after Christ's return. Many Christians' attention is directed to their future peace and reward without any hope for change in their present condition and without any thought about improving themselves in the here and now. Such attitudes led Karl Marx to refer to religion as the opium of the people: "... it puts them to sleep, thus giving their exploiters a free hand" (Van der Walt 1995:6).

The struggle of most African nations in the throes of hunger, disease and war continues to hamper the search for a meaningful cure. Their apparent inability to properly harness resources has crippled Africa's leaders for several decades. The beleaguered and oppressed masses are the victims of history and power. They became recipients of the socio-economic and political harshness unleashed upon them by colonialist and incompetent black leaders. Should we believe that, if we train new leaders, Africa's crises will disappear? Perhaps, yes. At least, it can be said that Africa has produced some powerful, capable and visionary leaders, such as Nkrumah, Nasser, Sekou Toure, Ben Bella, Julius Nyerere and Nelson Mandela, without any training. However, citizens are aware that corruption, scandals and crimes are committed by party leadership or at the governmental level. But the problem of leadership should not be confined to political leaders. All kinds of leaders are needed at all the levels, various sectors and institutions of society: in politics, administration and the public sector; educational and professional institutions; the private sector; and the military. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that there is a substantive cadre of capable leaders at all levels in all these areas. But, as Bujra (2002: xvii) maintains:

These present leaders in the wider sectors of society are: (a) caught up in the crises due to the structural causes and lack of effective strategies and policies; (b) not fully and effectively

utilized and, (c) need expansion and upgrading through appropriate relevant and selective capacity building.

Another relevant aspect is the issue of the media. This must be taken into serious consideration. It is one of the things that ruin African leadership. In fact, African leaders are not ignorant nor are they buffoons, as the media tend to paint them. The media adopted criticism of the government as their main occupation. But, on the one hand, where newly-registered parties are still too weak and fragmented to pose a serious challenge to the ruling party and its government, the independent press is quite active. On the other hand, critics of media functioning in Africa tend to see freedom of the press as being associated with multiparty democracy and lack of such freedom as associated with a one-party state. What is ignored by the organization is that the strongest influence as far as the media is concerned is the consumer, that is, the reader, the listener or the viewer, who wield power over the content and survival of media organs (Bujra 2002: xxi; Chachage 2002:149, 171).

Furthermore, the most important things that Africa needs are responsibility, accountability, the proper use of power and respect for the freedom of the people (Van der Walt 1995:2).

4. TYPES OF LEADERSHIP

The definition of leadership has been discussed, along with the predicament of African leadership after colonization. In this section the types and characteristics of leadership will be considered. Some scholars focus on transformational and instrumental leadership, others on charismatic or visionary leadership as an excellent way of achieving goals. All these approaches deal with leadership achievements in different ways and from different perspectives, such as the psychological, business, educational, philosophical, economic, political and religious.

4.1 THE TRANSACTIONAL LEADER

In transactional leadership, managers (leaders) engage in transactions with employees. They explain what is required of them and the compensation they will receive if they fulfil the requirements. There are two actions involved in this: (1) the leader concentrates on the task at hand, expecting it to be accomplished by the employees, as required. (2) Employees show consideration by focusing on satisfying self-interest for work well done (Bass 1997:318).

The leader accomplishes much of what has to be done by making, and fulfilling promises of recognition, paying increases and providing advancement for employees who perform well. By contrast, the employees who do not perform are punished. This transaction or exchange from well done for those who perform to punishment for those who do not perform demonstrates the defectiveness of leadership, and is called transformational leadership (Bass 1997:319–321).

4.2 TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADER

Those scholars who focus their reflections on transformational leadership agree that transformational leadership is a process of influencing. These leaders change their associates' awareness of what is important and move them to see themselves and the opportunities and challenges of their environment in a new way. These leaders are practical focused and are able to create self-worth among subordinates by paying extra attention to individual differences and stimulating individuals intellectually. However, the transformational leader is unable to pull people out of the morass they are in, and therefore seeks to raise the conscience of the followers by appealing to higher ideals and moral values (Bass & Avolio 2003:4; Bass & Avolio 1994:542; Yammarino & Bass 1990:975–995; Van der Walt 1995:4; Yukl 1989:210, 211; Yukl 1999:285–305; Antonakis, et al. 2003:264).

It is conjectured that transformational leaders are able to look beyond their own interests and articulate what is important for the organization, the workforce and the country in order to obtain optimal results. Furthermore, they can also

bring with them long-term commitment and take time to understand an organization's culture or a country's predicament before moving ahead to realign the organization's culture with a new vision, or the country's predicament with a new future.

Unfortunately, transformational leadership has been criticized because it includes a diverse collection of leaders' behaviours with no common elements among them (Yukl 1999:285–305). To understand the balance between transactional and transformational leadership, Bass (1997:320) suggested a very interesting demarche that I would like to present in the scheme below:

| Transformational leader | | Transactional leader | |
|-------------------------------------|--|--|---|
| character | Comments | character | Comments |
| <i>charisma</i> | Provides vision & sense of mission, instils pride, gains respect and trust, | <i>Contingent reward</i> | Contracts exchange of rewards for effort, promises rewards for good performance, recognizes accomplishments |
| <i>Inspiration</i> | Communicates high expectation, uses symbol to focus efforts, expresses important purposes in simple ways | <i>Management by exception (Active)</i> | Searches for deviation from rules and standards; takes corrective action. |
| <i>Intellectual stimulation</i> | Promotes intelligence, rationality, and careful problem solving | <i>Management by exception (Passive)</i> | Intervenes only if standard are not met. |
| <i>Individualized consideration</i> | Gives personal attention, treats each employee individually, coaches, advises | <i>Laissez-faire</i> | Abdicates responsibilities, avoids making decisions |

4.3 INSTRUMENTAL LEADER

In the case of instrumental leadership, scholars regards this as the leadership of change, which requires three specific elements of behaviour: structuring, controlling and rewarding, which should be used to complement charismatic leadership, and which are focused more on shaping current behaviour to support the vision of the charismatic leader. Furthermore, they argue that instrumental leaders aim at building competent teams, clarifying required behaviours, and administering rewards and punishments that assist individuals in attaining their goals (Nandler & Tushman 1996: 696; Spangenberg & Theron 2002:12).

4.4 CHARISMATIC LEADER

Charismatic leadership is viewed as the highest form of leadership or as an attribute of transformational leadership. However, subordinates observe the leader's behaviour and accordingly ascribe certain charismatic qualities to him/her. In their value-based theory on leadership, Conger, and House and Anditya identified leaders' motive profiles and leaders' self-confidence and conviction as predictors of charismatic leader behaviour (Conger 1999:145–179; House, & Anditya 1997:435). However, it is not suggested that “a leader endowed with charismatic authority will always emerge in a time of crisis. The crisis is necessary, but not a sufficient condition” (Blondel 1987:60).

4.5 VISIONARY LEADER

Some scholars comment that the *visionary leader*, once he has a vision, will articulate it in such a way that others will join in the pursuit of the vision. It may also be that he will act as a catalyst to assist others in formulating a vision and in pursuing it. This type of leader will make extraordinary self-sacrifices in the interest of the vision. Such a leader radiates *confidence*, *determination* and *persistence*. By displaying a high degree of confidence others will follow and join in the pursuit of the vision (House 1995:416–420; House & Shamir 1993:97–103; Bouthos-Ghali 1998:2; Van der Walt 1995:5). In this case, the leader selectively arouses followers' motives that are of special relevance to the successful accomplishment of the vision and missions. This involves a

voluntary sacrifice by taking a risk in promoting himself as being more of a leader than others. In turn, by doing so, the leader will definitely expect a great deal from his followers: commitment, determination, persistence, self-sacrifice, and performance above and beyond the call of duty.

4.6 DEVELOPMENTAL LEADER

After reading and exploring different characteristics of leadership, I have realised that developmental leadership needs to be considered at some specific points, even though leadership specialists do not point these out as relevant. Among the characteristics mentioned above, developmental leadership is more focused on experience based on the following: assessment, challenge and support. McCauley and others (2010:1–26) elaborate some important elements which might characterise leadership development.

To be successful in the leadership development process, certain elements have to be considered: motivate people to focus their attention and efforts on learning, growth and change; provide the raw resources materials for learning the information, observations and reactions that lead to a more complete understanding of the world. Focus will therefore be on, first, an assessment giving readers an understanding of their position now, their current strength, and the level of their present performance, by providing a benchmark for future development, stimulating people to evaluate themselves by asking: What is to be done? Where should there be improvement? How do others see me? How does my behaviour affect others? Assessment contributes to the leader's power and helps people generally to understand their situation and become motivated to capitalise on the learning opportunities available to them.

Secondly, challenging experiences force people out of their comfort zone. They create non-equilibrium, making people question the adequacy of their skills, mental frameworks and approaches. These experiences mean that people develop new capacities or development to understand whether they are going to be successful. People may not know how to continue and what they ought to change. Perhaps they believe that the way to solve difficult goals is merely to

work harder. They might not think of trying a new strategy. The challenge occurs when people encounter a situation which demands skills and abilities beyond their current capabilities. This should be addressed at a central point in the conflict. In this case, conflicts become a stimulus for mobilizing people to learn new ways. Challenges should also occur in the struggle to empower subordinates who do not take initiative and seem to resist taking a personal stand on their work; this can happen in the form of work in a complex environment (McCauley et al 2010:1–5).

Challenging experiences provide opportunities to learn how to negotiate without the space/office/area to practise for negotiation, to handle the perspectives that will be faced and to face people with different perspectives. People have to learn to cope with stress without feeling stressed. Taking on leadership roles and participating in the processes is often the source of the challenge, because the way is filled with disappointment, conflict, novelty and difficulties. In fact, leadership itself is a developmental challenge, that of learning by doing (McCauley et al 2010:6–8).

Lastly, support is a main element of leadership development, and means something different to each individual. It is a key factor for leaders if they are to maintain their motivation to learn and grow: the higher their self-efficacy, the more effort people try to master challenges and the more they persevere in a difficult situation. However, different people provide different kinds of support. It can also be given by organisational cultures and systems, taking the form of norms and procedures that tend to support and reinforce learning. If people do not receive support for development, and if their co-workers, bosses, friends and family do not allow and encourage them to challenge, the challenge inherent in a developmental experiences may overwhelm them rather than foster learning. Support can serve as a social cue that puts a positive valence on where people currently are and on the direction in which they are moving. Support mechanisms provide learning resources like talking or sharing with others about struggles, openly examining mistakes, expecting positive reactions from organisations to the changes they make. Support offers people the opportunity to confirm and clarify the lessons they are learning, ensuring

that they are on the right track, and being convinced that the feedback they are receiving is legitimate (McCauley et al 2010:9–26).

Developmental leadership as leadership of experience through learning is more suitable in certain business societies. In its individual aspects, it should therefore also be relevant.

4.7 SUMMARY

Whatever the leadership style, the leader as role model will set a personal example of the beliefs and values inherent in his vision; demonstrate integrity in dealings with followers both individually and collectively; and engage in persuasive communication to align followers' attitudes, values and perspectives with his own.

Vision and the ideas whereby vision is communicated are crucial. However, the leader with a vision is the most needed of all. A leader without a vision cannot be a real leader. The leader's task is to guide people according to a clear vision towards a specific goal. This vision has to provide the norms according to which he leads. This vision will inspire those who are being led.

When it comes to the leader's character, every characteristic responds to every circumstance and perspective the leader experiences. In political and religious leadership, focus is on achieving goals, whether they are charismatic, instrumental, transformational or visionary. The main concern is not what makes this leader the one Africa is expecting. Africa needs a leader who has feeling for his people, the servant-leader. This brings us to some of the elements that leaders use as key to their leadership.

5. INTERFERENCE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

Traditional leadership involves two important aspects. The first is linked to the way in which the former leader led the country at the advent of independence. What kind of traditional leadership was introduced? Did it help and how did it

accord with the democratization system? The second aspect focuses on traditional leadership and is linked to tradition and culture. How did it merge with the political system of government, and Western options?

By referring to the first aspect, the leadership traditions followed by former African leaders at the dawn of independence, Van der Walt (1995) pointed out some important elements: the paternalistic elder tradition whereby the first African presidents were regarded as a real father, commanding filial reverence, intertwined with tradition and African reverence for old age and wisdom. Examples would be Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, and Kwame Nkrumah, the first presidents of Kenya and Ghana respectively.

The sage tradition of the leader as the ultimate teacher in which ideology as a way of transmitting his ideas becomes the centre of his monopoly, to ensure substantive responsiveness. Among them, Leopold Sedar Senghor, poet-president of Senegal and Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, president of Tanzania could be cited as examples par excellence of the sage ruler.

The warrior tradition of liberation fighter and military ruler upholds the myth of discipline, compromising intellectual freedom, and relying on intimidating leadership based on fear and instruments of coercion to assert authority. Mu'ammar Gaddafi of Libya and Idi Amin of Uganda are examples.

There is also the monarchical style, whereby the leader is viewed as a redeemer, the leader of a personality cult, or as a hero, in the sacralisation of authority. Once again, Kwame Nkrumah is an exemplar. Some of these leaders succeeded in their leadership, even though this was not what the people had been expecting. It could even be said that their societies were built on their image (Van der Walt 1995:91–93).

The second aspect is linked to the power of tradition (in Swaziland the role is played by maintaining the traditional monarchical political system and traditional culture in general), which is so pervasive that the modern and traditional forms of governance more often than not collapse into one, thus

causing problems and uncertainty in the entire nation (Bujra & Buthelezi 2002:xii).

It seems that Swaziland is among those countries in Africa who pride themselves on observing and practising traditions and customs religiously and with great passion. Therefore, the centre of Swazi socio-political life is the institution of kingship. And the presence of the Queen is significant in that she ensures an heir to the throne. In fact Swazi do not worship the kingship, but in kingship they find their true identity as a nation. Kingship is always in dire need of elevation (Mtzizi 2002:165–167).

The total political independences could result in a backlash where traditional authorities might be undermined. Stories across Africa were rife that some kingdoms were brought down by simple plebiscites. However, the British were warned that any constitution that sought to undermine traditional authority would create a serious constitutional crisis. The British felt otherwise and insisted that Swazi independence should be contested democratically in Westminster style (Mtzizi 2002:172–173).

What should African leadership learn from the two aspects of traditional leadership? Do they make sense and are they useful for Africa? What should Africans learn from the previous former leader? Do they leave wounds that become gangrenous with democracy?

When it comes to the second aspect, has Swaziland as a nation and country in Africa, shown positive examples that Africans will be tempted to follow in its system of “*retour a la source*”? Or is there anything else that Swaziland should choose for the sake of harmony in African leadership? How do Westerners appreciate this “*goutte dans la mer*”? (“A drop in the ocean”). These questions made me conclude that we need to do more in terms of democracy in order to save African countries with totally free democracies.

6. POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA

Among the various aspects of leadership, political leadership, particularly in the nation-state, occupies a special position, because it seems to be vastly more visible, ostensibly at least, and vastly more important (Blondel 1987:1). Political intuition, according to Boutros-Ghali (1998:4), is the *summum bonum* of all these leadership qualities, since it requires timing, awareness that everything counts, and recognition that no issue is too small or too remote to be potentially significant.

What is political leadership? To hazard a broad definition, while hopefully not losing the essential context, one could define political leadership as manifestly and essentially a phenomenon of power: it is power because it rests on the ability of the one or the few who are at the top to make others do any number of things, positive or negative, that they would otherwise not do or at least might not have done. It appears to be a power exercised from the top down, and the leader is, in various ways, above the nation (in the case of national political leadership), and can give orders to the rest of the citizens (Blondel 1987:2–3).

7. CHRISTIANS ON THE FRINGES OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Cole and others (1993:4, 5) highlight this attitude of political leaders towards religious leaders:

With the loss of the mission schools, the church was forced into a retreat position of a separation of church and state. The politicians took advantages of this, telling the clerics to stay away from politics and stick to preaching about heaven. Among many evangelical groups, it became unspiritual for a Christian to show interest in party politics since it was regarded as the domain of the devil. More and more faith was privatized and the Church started drifting in its mission as salt and light of the society. The message of the church continued to be evangelistic but failed to be prophetic in the situation of corruption, injustice, tribal oppression and the new economic exploitation....

We cannot believe that the Christian view of politics was as negative as Ellul (1980) argues when he refers to the last three hundred years of Asian and

African politics as now fitting into the Western mould. The diabolical influence has taken on different forms throughout history, and currently the devil, the instigator of discord, is in politics and politics alone. We see the devil diabolically corrupting the law, lying about justice, arousing false hope, driving people into a labyrinth of hostility. Politics today is indeed the realm of the demonic in our society. It is the art of multiplying false problems, of setting up false goals, and of starting false debates, false when it comes to the concrete life of living people, and to the actual socio-economic trends. Politics mobilizes everyone's energy; it involves all of society in spreading falsehood. This element has to be combined with the mechanism of political mediation.

Politics becomes the necessary universal mediator between the individual and society. Through this political mediator, everything that happens is translated into the language of politics, thereby, supposedly becoming rationally comprehensible. It also means that politics has an irresistible force of absorption and assimilation, and inevitably corrupts in itself and by itself. What is hectic and dramatic in politics is that politics produces nothing but divisions and inner conflicts, which are useless, baseless and absurd. When fifty years have passed and we look at the division that led political adversaries to set upon each other with savage hatred, we are always stunned by the hollowness and stupidity of the motives of such hatred (and of war in general). Political motives behind our struggles will seem just as idiotic to our grandchildren (Ellul 1980:240–247).

Even in the wave of democracy, politics is not completely accepted by Christians as being motivated by the best interests of its citizens. Memory tells us that politics mobilizes people for wars which economic interests have made inevitable. It is politics that cause class division and shapes class struggle. Politicians who advertise themselves as bringing people together are preposterous (Ellul 1980:237).

Furthermore, the Christian mind sees politics as the contemporary image of absolute evil, satanic and diabolical. It divides, separates, disjoints, disrupts communion, causes divorce, and breaks up dialogue.

Are we going to stand arguing negatively against politics in its home base of the demonic and pretend to be citizens? Where is our responsibility towards the good of the country? We cannot ignore that politics is the acquisition of power; however, “politics as a means of establishing justice is nothing but a smokescreen” that on the one hand conceals harsh, vulgar reality and on the other justifies the universal passion for politics, the universal conviction that everything is political, that politics is the most noble human activity, whereas, it is really the most ignoble (Ellul 1980:235).

Yet, the Church did not abandon leadership training altogether, but took (and still is taking) a different approach. The Church turned primarily to training workers for churches and other Christian ministries and only after that (in fact in some cases by accident) for society at large. “While statistics show a proliferation of theological education programmes, impact or influence on society is not as visible, or discernible as during the colonial period” (Van der Walt 1995:4–5).

8. CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOOD LEADER

In a closer look at the issue of leadership in general, it can be said that in all sectors of society there are good and bad leaders across the board. However, different sectors of society have their own institutions for training leaders (Bujra 2002: xviii).

Leaders who hold power are not necessarily good leaders. Moreover, if a leader really has influence and authority over a situation, he has to prove it, and it will show. As the former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher once said: “Being in power is like being a lady. If you have to tell people you are, you aren’t.” While a leader takes people where they want to go, a great leader takes people where they do not necessarily want to go but where they ought to be (Adhiambo-Oduol 2002:12–13). One can describe a good leader by citing some characteristics of leadership such as have been discussed above.

Desmond Tutu (1998:67–70), in his reflections on leadership, listed some relevant points that should be considered along with some practical examples of the good leaders that Africa needs in this century.

The need is obvious to most people. A good leader has credibility, because he is believable. Hence the leader is able to establish his credibility by demonstrating that his involvement is not for personal aggrandisement, but is for the sake of others. The case of Nelson Mandela is an excellent example of the good leader Africa is looking for. As Tutu comments: “Mandela is not the most riveting orator, and yet thousands hang on every word as he addresses huge crowds who flock to hear him” (1998:69) Why? It is because they perceive that he is a great man who has credibility; because he is believable and people believe in him. There is a consistency between who he is and what he says. One could also add that Mandela was a leader undoubtedly ready to suffer for others. He proved it by spending 27 years in jail, and declared at his trial that he was even ready to lay down his life for the cause to which he had committed himself, that of freeing others. It could be said that Mandela is an example amongst good leaders, because he was a good man whose magnanimity was breathtaking. He showed a nobility of spirit in his willingness to forgive those who treated him so shabbily. When they inevitably depart, few will lament their passing. They will become just a part of “the flotsam and jetsam of history” (Tutu 1998:69–70).

The good leader is one who affirms others, nurturing their best selves, coaxing them to become the best they are capable of becoming. This style of leadership is not coercive but plays on the strengths of others, giving them space to be themselves. The good leader “has intuition, a knack, the capacity to read the signs of the times, and to have this uncanny sixth sense of knowing when to go for it. He also knows when to make concessions, when to compromise, when to employ the art of losing the battle in order to win the war” (Tutu 1998:70).

We must therefore not forget, in speaking of leadership, that any man who tries to be good all the time is bound to come to grief among the great number who

are not good. Being a good leader is not just about competence or eloquence, but it is about being near to the people, listening to them and considering their voice. It is not about spending time trying to get others to think highly of them, when instead they should be trying to get their people to think more highly of themselves. It's wonderful when the people believe in their leader. It's more wonderful when the leader believes in the people.

The leader model that Africa needs is not a visionary, nor a charismatic, nor transformational, or any other but a model leader, a responsible servant leader in politics as well as in religious matters. He is a leader with a heart for his people, a leader of sacrifice, ready to give himself/herself to his people through what he is, what he says and what he does. Let his being, saying and doing go together with his thoughts of appreciation for the people.

9. CONCLUSION

Bringing the reading of the Book of Daniel several centuries back to the context of African leadership will be a difficult exercise. The inclination will therefore be to link the quality of leadership to a focus on the fear of God. The fear of God, widely developed in the previous chapters, seems to be the model par excellence of good leadership. There is another question about the fear of God to consider. What is it supposed to be?

However, there is no doubt that Africa is already in the system of leading nicely, diplomatically and democratically. It is well known that all leaders, once elected as leader, take an oath and swear before the people who elected them that they will act according to the will of God. Thus it is demonstrated that the responsibility of leading people is taken before God and before the people. This also engages the determination to lead correctly by the grace of God. This symbolic oath cannot be without consequences, since it will reveal the weaknesses of leaders.

For this reason, in earlier centuries, God was acting directly with decision-makers. He could immediately punish the leader, which is not the case today in

Africa. However, the consequences of wrongdoing are still very severe (no freedom, exile, and killing/death).

Looking at the good leader, three dimensions attract my attention and need to be reflected as an image of good leaders. The first dimension is about your *being*. As a human being, with all your strengths and weaknesses, you must display your personality in terms of respect and credibility. It doesn't matter how big, how small, how tall, how short, how black or white you are. Every action must reflect your true personality.

The second dimension is your *speech*. This specific point illustrates that both flattering speech and authority and authentic speech demonstrate your capacity. The most important issue that people are expecting for the world is your genuine word, which should be like a word from God. Whatever you say must be reliable, which amounts to trust, since your statements will be executed. People are confused because leaders mesmerize them with their demagogic speeches, pandering to the worst wishes of their followers. Such leaders will certainly not be mourned by the majority (Tutu 1998:70).

The last dimension is your *deeds*. There is an adage: "Do what I am saying, but don't do what I am doing". A good leader cannot escape from what he is doing. His actions should reflect his personality, his credibility, and his aims to achieve it as a leader. In this specific case, African leaders have a lot to learn.

However, the theoretical reflections on leadership include the different types and characteristics of leadership in which the basis of leadership was explained. The leadership in Africa is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA

1. INTRODUCTION

In political circles, and even now in the Church, African leaders struggle to be good leaders. Once a candidate has rigged elections to become president or leader of any organization, that person has to do everything to remain in that position. African leaders are losing their credibility in terms of leadership. African leadership is rotten both in government and in the Church. The potential candidate is not elected because he shows leadership but because he has the right connections and relationships.

One can also argue that, in the course of the last few decades, “views about political leadership have begun to change. The leadership has come to be concerned principally with the improvement of social and economic conditions” (Blondel 1987:195). This “change in the principal role of leaders provoked the transformation of attitudes towards leadership that has been noticeable in the course of the last few decades” (Blondel 1987:197).

Furthermore, it is more than fifty-years since most of the African countries achieved their independence, but African leaders are still experiencing the impact of colonisation in their leadership. It could be said that the African leader, despite being African, must be a product of colonialism, even though he is democratically elected, because of the people’s dependence on their colonial masters. African leaders will not otherwise succeed in their leadership. Further, they have to realise that Africa is not a mistake of creation, but is fully part of it, along with its rules and leaders. African leaders must find the correct way to lead the wonderful and prosperous continent given by the creator.

This aspect of African leadership brought me to a critical analysis of the failure of African leadership, even though in the 21st century democracy is there as its sounding-board. However, it is time for African leaders to save this

beleaguered continent, and bring make it aware of the crucial situation it is facing, and try to identify the real problems that are ruining its leaders.

I am convinced that people do not raise the quality of their leadership by mere observation and reading. The principle of leading well is therefore still a main issue, because it is generally known worldwide that reports on most of the political and Christian leaders in Africa are still very negative. Why do African leaders fail? What is the meaning of democracy in Africa, if democracy exists? The answers will help pave the way for new perspectives on leadership.

This chapter will deal with leadership in Africa as a challenge for the 21st century, and will focus on (1) the political motives in the African context, in which attention will be drawn to the understanding of politics among politicians, and the broad views of religious leaders towards politics and political leaders. (2) The understanding of leadership by African leaders will give some insight into how leadership was understood by Africans themselves before colonisation and during the struggle for independence, linked to some principles of leadership. (3) Leadership in Africa: crises or challenges with the corollary of traditional leadership and the predicament of releasing power. (4) South Africa as a model of leadership will add to the leadership perspective. A conclusion will end this chapter.

2. POLITICAL MOTIVES IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT

Before focusing on political motives, it will be appropriate to record the Machiavellian ideology of political behaviour, which, in fact, is not in the domain of these reflections. Some important elements should therefore be recorded in terms of politics. Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) was an Italian philosopher who examined political effectiveness without regard to ethics and morality. He simply ignored moral considerations in exploring how people should behave, and how they actually do behave. “This identifies Machiavelli as the ultimate pragmatist, whose ideology is thought to be political treachery and manoeuvring” (Vecchio 1997:87). However, once someone is said to be Machiavellian, it is a serious insult. The question is still asked among the

politicians themselves: Is our politics Machiavellian? This takes us to some materialistic political ideology. Gemmil and Heisler (1972:53–67) tried to explain certain attitudes that reveal politicians' behaviour: (1) They make use of manipulative interpersonal tactics to flatter important people by not telling the truth; (2) Unfavourable views of human behaviour (people will not work hard unless they are forced to do so). Anyone who completely trusts another person is asking for trouble. It means that they are able to control social interactions and effectively manipulate others by using their skills in face-to-face settings, while at the same time entertaining strong feelings of hostility.

Furthermore, Machiavellians are thought to be socially domineering and manipulative, and they are assumed to engage in political behaviour more often than other organizational participants; lacking in emotional display in interpersonal relations, they remain cool and distant and treat others as objects to be manipulated. In their ideological commitment, they prefer to maintain personal power in any situation rather than adhering to relatively inflexible ideals.

Will Machiavellian ideology help us see what kind of politics Africa is used for? Is African politics related at all to the process of pure politics? This will help us understand political views and the relationship between politics and the broad views of politicians.

The next section will deal with politics from the ancient Near East to the Reformation and eventually to colonisation. Finally, there will be a section reflecting Christians and their understanding and practice of politics.

2.1 POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

The word politics itself has complex connotations. Therefore, Politics has a somewhat negative connotation among inexperienced people. It suggests that someone is attempting to use means or to gain ends that are not sanctioned by the organizations. Moreover, it can be said that political behaviour is quite neutral, because in the area of politics, everyone is player. Subordinates as

well as their managers can engage in the give-and-take of organizational politics (Vecchio 1997:80).

Nevertheless, there are several tactics that politics could employ Vecchio comments that, among these political tactics, some involve giving compliments and favour to superiors, and quote as an example: “if someone pays you a compliment, there is strong expectation that you should respond with a compliment of your own. If you fail to do so, you may be judged as being rude” (1997:81).

Some are quite honest in nature and others are difficult to defend on moral grounds. One tactic is to deal with the potential problem by “ruthlessly eliminating all individuals who may resent your past actions by having them fired or transferred” (Vecchio 1997:83). Another tactic is to create a feud among two or more people so that they will be continually off-balance and unable to mount an attack against you. This tactic usually encourages bickering among possible rivals by spreading rumours or promoting competition between subordinates. This means that someone else is really responsible for creating and maintaining their bad feelings.

Another tactic not to be ignored and which is often used is the exclusion of the opposition, which comes to excluding rivals from important meetings and social occasions. This can be done simply “by scheduling important affairs when the opposition is out of town or on vacation, on a business trip or attending other meetings. When the opposition is absent, it is possible to influence decision-making or to take credit for the rival’s efforts” (Vecchio 1997:84).

All these political tactics result in negative feelings about politics. It discourages those who intend entering politics, even for the sake of the community. Looking at these problems, there is, on one hand, “prudence impressed” for someone who wants to be involved in politics with all the risks. On the other hand, there are those keeping their distance from politics and remaining neutral observers. Unfortunately, all those things are being done in the name of “democracy”.

2.2 RELATIONSHIP POLITICS AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Political gamesmanship is carried to the extreme, and thus has many dysfunctional effects. Morale is lowered, victors and victims are created, and energy and time are spent on planning attacks and counterattacks instead of focusing on productivity. These combat politics must be part of a politician's responsibility.

How can people view politics as a positive aspect of human life? From Machiavellian ideology, which seems more or less rooted and anchored in so many people's minds, whether or not they are politicians, through to practical views of politics, is there any hope or encouragement to see politics as something positive that needs to be taken into account of for the sake of people generally? Many people still think that bad things like war, destruction, corruption, violence, or armed conflict have their roots, and their dire consequences, in politics.

We are aware that politics and political will use the same language for building reliable political leadership when "the more amiability and *esprit de corps* there is among the members of a policy-making in group, the greater the danger that independent critical thinking will be replaced by groupthink, which is likely to result in irrational and dehumanizing actions directed against the out group" (Janis 1997:166). Janis wishes to see "the individual members strive to develop unanimity and *esprit de corps* that will help bolster each other's morale to create an optimistic outlook about the success of pending decisions, and to reaffirm the positive value of past policies to which all of them are committed" (1997:173). Then, elections and politics will appoint the best of its citizens, and will exclude the dysfunctional aspects of political leadership where one could say "I don't want any yes-men (yes-women) around me. I want everyone to tell me the truth even if its costs them, all for the sake of the people, rather than being surprised when things get worse, and we are asked how we could have been so stupid.

2.3 RELIGION AND POLITICS

As mentioned previously, in Chapter 4 of this thesis, Christians are still under the impression that God is not concerned with man's social and political affairs. This being the case, men will not be over-concerned with such a God. It would be easy for the Church to find its way out of this dilemma of loyalties by taking the view that life must be kept in strictly separate compartments, so that religious activities are never to be confused with political, social and other secular concerns (Taylor 1979:9, 17).

However, faced with the problems of governing people of many faiths and no faith, the state assumes that it must be completely neutral and secular as far as religion is concerned. On the one hand, fear leads some officials and legislators to speak and enact laws as far as possible as though religion did not exist. On the other hand, the government, in turn, expects the Church to leave politics and economics strictly alone, and confine themselves to their own purely spiritual compartment of life. This attitude was saluted by the members of the Revival Fellowship groups in East Africa as positive. This group of Christians was marked during their conversion by an honest acknowledgment of hypocrisy and wrongdoing. They comment strongly that "society will never be improved by social and political action, until the individual human lives which are the materials of society have been purified from the sin which corrupts all systems and organisations" (Taylor 1979:18). This means that the problem is not tied to the organisation or government as a system, but in the transformation of the minds and hearts of the people, which is a domain of spirituality in which the Church is involved. This should be a kind of dysfunction between body and soul of which mankind is composed. A dysfunctional reality can ensue between the body and heart. This complex situation begs questions. How should the Church intervene in the government to make it more righteous in the transformation of its mind and heart, so that the body and heart reflect the man whom politicians and Christians could appreciate? Should the fight for transformation start from the inside (government as body corrupted) or from the outside (Church for transformation of the mind)?

Furthermore, this “*garde fou*” [safeguard] should be relevant if the common denominator between politician and Christian is updated for the sake of the people. Moreover, all people, as Joubert (1979:63–86) comments, have political responsibility and they should act accordingly, except when the political demands clash with their religious responsibility, which is the more important. God effectively controls earthly events and he is able to reverse the fate of individuals. All people, even pagan leaders, should live in humble acknowledgement of God’s power to control their lives and destinies, because they are directly responsible to him for their actions, and he can severely punish irresponsible leaders. Faithfulness may result in divine aid or even lead to political success (Joubert 1979:102–103, 116). We are aware that the message of the Church continues to be evangelistic. However, it fails to be prophetic in the face of corruption, injustice, tribal oppression and the new economic exploitation. This is because of the negative views Christians have on politics.

2.4 POLITICS IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

2.4.1 Politics during the Old Testament Period

The true God is a God who is concerned with the events of history and is active in them (Exodus 20:2). Therefore, the religion of the Bible is as much concerned with the things of this world as it is with the things of the world to come. It means clearly that it is not only men’s souls that are the object of God’s love (Taylor 1979:21). Therefore, the twelve tribes of Yahweh, which formed the policy of the Old Testament, were a theocratic society. Palestine was like a bridge with a great highway running across it. Whoever, as Taylor comments, “whoever lived there could not possibly be cut off from the rest of the world; a policy of isolation was unthinkable” (1979:22). The Israelites were not only called to be of the world spiritually, but socially, economically and politically, since they were bound completely to the world. Israel could not be a self-sufficient nation, but was bound to depend on trade with her neighbours with many objects: pottery (jars and bowls) imitated from Syria; clothes copied from the fashions of Mesopotamia; the introduction of Greek lamps into their

houses; temples modelled on the architecture of Egypt. There was no distinction or separation between religious leaders and civil rulers. The religious leaders were simultaneously civil rulers and vice versa. The law made special humanitarian provision for the landless, while false measures and weights were strictly forbidden. The Patriarchs, Joshua, the Judges and the kings played this double role (Magesa 1990:72), The prophets were stern in their denunciation of the growing class of land-owners, who were accumulating vast estates by extortion or by mortgage from small holders in financial difficulties (Isaiah 5:8; Micah 2:2; cf. Neh 5:1–6; Deut 17:14–20; Ps 72). They also reminded them about their civic and religious responsibilities to the people, and to the state, as represented by the king (Jr 22:15–17). The prophet Isaiah and others (Amos, Micah and Hosea) called on political justice and behaviour, against the will of God. These preconditions are the acceptable will of God (Isaiah 1:17; 10:1–3; Micah 6:6–8; Hos. 4:1–4). Therefore, the religious and political leaders who act contrary to the knowledge of God and who are against justice are subject to censure. If they fail to speak against injustice, they forfeit their *raison d'être* (Hos. 4:4 ff; Micah 6:6–8). However, the religious leaders of the Old Testament regarded their responsibility as being part of the realm of social and political action (Taylor 1979:25).

The identity and coterminous existence of civil society and the religious community prevailed likewise in Africa before the advent of colonial rule. In most of Africa, as in Ancient Israel, the supreme ruler was at the same time the high priest. The question of distinguishing between the political order and the religious order therefore did not arise.

2.4.2 Politics during the New Testament Period

During the New Testament period, there was a different dispensation, since during this period the Jews in Palestine were under Roman Imperial rule. Roman religion was different from the monotheism of Israel as prescribed by the Decalogue; it was therefore not acceptable for Jews to worship foreign gods (Greek/Roman) other than Yahweh, to whom Israel remained faithful. Consequently, “politics in the sense of the general organization of society, and

religious in the sense of belief in and worship of a particular kind of god, came to be seen at this point in the history of salvation as clearly distinct” (Magesa 1990:73).

In referring to Jesus himself, some present him as an absolutely apolitical or anti-political person. Others present him as a political revolutionary or agitator, an ally of the zealots. It also seems that he was executed as a political agitator (Luke 23:2f). The central theme of his teaching was the needs of society and justice in this world, one which he might redeem from sin. He was so fiercely against violence that he warned that “he who takes the sword shall perish by the sword”.

Jesus was someone who not only sought but also managed to sharpen the main conflicts latent in Israelite society. Both poor and rich were made conscious of their oppressive and dehumanizing situation, and of the socially harmful role played by the Roman foil, Herod Antipas, in abusing his position. This means that Jesus neither favoured nor opposed politics, but thought that the actions within politics were detestable.

2.5 POLITICS FROM THE FIRST CENTURY TO THE MODERN PERIOD

In the contemporary approach, even though the two orders (politics and religion) were accepted as truth as seen by Greek philosophers, Augustine made the religious order supreme, because the Catholic Church had the authority to set out criteria for political action. As far as Augustine was concerned, the Pope had power over princes and emperors if they were to be legitimate rulers. Emperors had to be crowned by him, and they could only rule by his consent.

Today, one can agree with Magesa that “the world is more religiously and politically pluralistic. The Catholic Church does not have the hegemony that it used to have over secular rulers” (1990:74–75). For this reason, the question remained: has the Church a role in politics? It is clear now that religion and politics are completely separate realities. However, the main issue is the

privatization of religion and its virtual removal from the public sphere. In other words, this is the “despiritualization” or “desanctification” of politics, in which the task of religion is to open the word up to its transcendental meaning. Furthermore, religion must be able to inform politics without taking it over into itself, by relating to politics with clarity of vision and with firmness when it comes to God’s will for the world.

The view of politics from the 20th century is somewhat different. People as a body must stand up and claim justice where it is denied and fight for the dignity of human beings as the image of God and the temple of the Holy Spirit. It can’t be denied that there are areas of the world where the Church sides with those in political power, and this is seldom considered by the same people as involvement in politics.

It is important for Christians in the modern world to pay attention first to the people as a body and to be the “voice of the voiceless” when they are deprived of the power to free themselves from any kind of oppression; second, Christians should encourage people to take responsibility where their contributions as citizens are needed rather than being on the fringes of politics. Desmond Mpilo Tutu is one of prominent Christians who took an unequivocal stand against South Africa’s apartheid policies, particularly during his position as Dean of Johannesburg (Du Boulay 1988:94–107) when he left England to go back to South Africa. It was a traumatic decision for his family and for Tutu as well to leave London where they enjoyed all the advantages of English life. He made his decision for the sake of the country.

2.6 CAN CHRISTIANS AND POLITICIANS WORK TOGETHER?

In this specific case, two points strongly remain. First, attention will focus on the reason why Christians and politicians should work together. Second, how Christians should be involved in politics will be considered.

The most important example in religious leadership is the risk in decision-making. There is nothing easy in the world if someone wants to reach a goal,

as one is supposed to pay a price. In the specific case of apartheid, one could say that Archbishop Desmond Mphilo Tutu was one of those who were prepared by God to dismantle the apartheid system.

Three considerations motivated Tutu to make a dramatic, even traumatic, decision. First was the physical consideration. As human beings, the physical dimension must be considered before taking any decision. We are aware that Tutu, Leah, his wife, and his children were living in England during the worst time for South Africa. They were comfortable and happy in England, with their own house and friends, and their children studying in good schools. Tutu himself was running the Theological Educational Fund (TEF). All those advantages would be lost if they went back to South Africa. It was true to say: "From the personal and domestic point of view he was in total agreement with his wife. He said he found life in England 'a paradisaal existence'" (Du Boulay 1988:94–95).

Second, there was the social dimension: his position would be Dean of Johannesburg, the first black African who was chosen to counter the process of apartheid while he was still living in England. He was called back to South Africa. He was advised of this in a letter written by Father Leo Rakale in these terms: The situation in South Africa needed an articulate black person in a position of leadership, someone who could express to the Church and to white society just how the blacks felt. He remembered what they told him in Zambia at the All Africa Conference of Churches Constitution, warning him once again to go home: "There won't be change until people like you come back and fight for it. (...) Either you go back now or you never go back, trying as well to persuade Leah to go back home so that her husband could contribute to the country's struggle" (Du Boulay 1988:95).

Third, there was the spiritual dimension: the life of the Church is involved, Black Christians were desperate, even though they believed they were created in the image of God, (black and white). From these perspectives, three conditions needed to be taken into consideration before making a decision. First, listen to yourself as an individual or as a family.

Despite his enjoyment of life in England, despite the wishes of his wife, despite his contract and the annoyance that some of his colleagues at the TEF would feel, but with the support of his children, Tutu and his family decided to go back home and offer their contribution as black people in the turmoil of South Africa.

Secondly, listen to others (What do people around you advise or think about it?) A letter written by Father Leo Rakale, and various pieces of advice from friends and others were crucial to the decision.

Then thirdly, listen to God (What is God's decision for this situation?).

After analyzing all the aspects of the situation through his own perspective, he calmed down and sought God's will for him, because it was a traumatic decision to make. It took courage to take a leap of faith, a jump into the everlasting arms of God. "God was looking for a man who would build up the wall and stand up before him in the gap on behalf of the land" (Ez. 22:30).

Considering the three dimensions and the three conditions for decision-making, we can say that the result was positive. Desmond Tutu took the risk of going back to South Africa as the first black Dean of Johannesburg and Rector of the St Mary's Cathedral Parish. Tutu was also able to demonstrate that a black man is not inferior to anyone else. He was confident that he would not allow racism in reverse. The new Dean astonished everyone with his confidence. Everyone felt: "He was a man of God. He really manages to bring God close to you. The way he involved them in running the Cathedral, it was no longer the white's man's church; for the first time black Christians had a sense of being at the heart of things" (Du Boulay 1988:95–96).

Tutu passionately affirmed black dignity by persuading them they did not have to apologize for who they were; that they were of infinite value because they were created in the image of God. Tutu was a reconciler in every dimension of his life including the humorous.

It is interesting that Tutu did not limit himself to Christian leadership perspectives. He was also interested in listening to the political leaders. He visited the young Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) leader, Steve Biko, and the young doctor Mamphela Ramphele. Unfortunately Steve was in detention at that stage, but he spent the two days with the group.

Speaking of her role (BCM) as a leader in the Black Consciousness Movement in the 1970s, and later the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) in the 1980s, Ramphele affirms that “this internal mass-based movement became increasingly led by faith leaders such as Desmond Tutu, Archbishop Emeritus of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa” (2012:206–207).

Africa needed a leader who would take risks, a leader who would abandon everything he was enjoying for the sake of the people. This brings us to remembering those Africans who were living overseas to think that, wherever they were, no matter how happy their life, Africa wanted them to come back and contribute to the continent’s struggle. It was no longer a time for lagging, but a time for action and practicality. Tutu is a practical example of Christian leadership. People can now refer to him as a Christian leader who contributed strongly as one of the leading figures against the apartheid system. He is well-known to his collaborators and political leaders like Mandela.

The case of South Africa during apartheid repression in which several popular organizations and political leaders were proscribed, and in which Church leaders pledged themselves to and participated in the campaign called “Standing for the Truth”, remains a positive and plausible example.

There are many reasons that should bring Christians and politicians together. But the most important reason in the case of South Africa is the common enemy. Once people know that they have the same goals in common, it is easy for them to be united without discrimination, because they know what they are fighting for.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu comments: “This action had an exciting vigour, attracting much overseas attention and sympathy” (1995:95). It was easy to galvanize people into action, because they were opposed to injustice by a common enemy. They were all together (theologians, Christians, politicians, leaders), “walking arm-in-arm with leaders of Muslim, Jewish and other faiths as an inter-faith witness against the evil of apartheid” (Tutu 1995:96). This was a more nebulous issue, being in favour of a just, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist dispensation. There are many rival options for defining the goal to which all had been striving, most of them legitimate and valid. One of the ways that could bring Christians and politicians together is the fact that they know their common enemy. If both are fighting against the same enemy, as in the case of South Africa struggling against Apartheid, there is no doubt, no hesitation and no negotiation to convince anyone. It came automatically from the bottom of the heart, with tears, because people (both Christians and politicians) were aware that they were suffering from the same evil, one which Tutu called an identity crisis (1995:95–97).

From the same perspectives, Lamola (1997:179–191) made a strong contribution to show the important role that Christian leaders played in their struggle for freedom and peace, and the obstacles that they faced in the negotiations in the apartheid period, The Church as a Christian entity “has to be a broker for the peace process and our work of being agents of reconciliation has been hampered when we have been thought to be biased in the one direction rather than another” (Tutu 1995:97). This confirms that the Church was a catalyst, a facilitator in political perspectives. There is no doubt that this contribution is saluted by most African writers, Christians and politicians.

In most Christian organizations and Church constitutions, they are unanimous on the issue of Christians being in charge of pastoral (clerical) responsibilities and of being involved in political parties. Tutu (1995:97) emphasises:

All I have seen in Africa and elsewhere confirms me in the view that no officially ordained representative of the Church should be

involved in party politics. If a pastor wants to be a party politician then he or she should resign his or her clerical position, and thereby save the Church from the embarrassment of compromise.

3. AFRICAN LEADERS' UNDERSTANDING OF LEADERSHIP

The impact of colonialism still reverberates throughout the African continent (Konneh 2002:1). It took time for African leaders to come to terms with colonialism. I will focus on the concept of leadership in Africa and will deal with the impact of colonisation then I will try to find out why leadership lost its principles.

3.1 CONCEPT OF LEADERSHIP BEFORE COLONISATION

Before colonisation, the fight for the liberation of Africa was more focused on writings by teachers, who, during their studies, wrote publications on their respective countries. This was possible because of the outstanding training they received from teachers the two famous Normal Schools of William Ponty in Dakar, Senegal, in French West Africa, and Edouard Renard, in Brazzaville, Congo, in French Equatorial Africa. Among them were Houphouet-Boigny (Ivory Coast), Modibo Keita (Mali) and Mamadou Dia (Abdoulaye Wade). These two great schools contributed to the training of senior managers and writers of the first generation who became also the first new leaders of the African Republic countries.²

These leaders were unanimous in trying to defend the cause of Africa. However, it was not easy for them. Some of them were very aggressive and the colonisers tried to silence them. But some left writings of great value. Africa is still grateful to them, because they contributed to the independence of their countries.

3.2 COLONISATION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

² http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%89cole_normale_William_Ponty (accessed 1 October 2013).

The most important thought to be revealed here is the attitude of colonisers. What hurts most is their attitude towards Africans. They did not hide their Western sense of superiority. Europe and the USA regarded Africa as a symbol of barbarism and non-civilization. They regarded the worldview of the African as primitive, pre-logical and without intelligence. The strategy of Western powers and missionaries was the negation of indigenous African culture and its replacement by the so-called superior Western culture. This, in most cases, caused the African traditional culture to be modified and transformed by Western influence, sometimes resulting in totally new cultural phenomena and institutions (Van der Walt 1994:10–11).

This confirms more or less that Africans were really manipulated from the outside by the colonisers and from the inside by those missionaries who brought the Gospel, which, in fact, was supposed to be a Gospel of peace. Unfortunately, it was tailored to blind the African people. Furthermore, the imperialist colonisers selected the strongest Africans as slaves for Europe and America, to be economically exploited. Two important periods characterise Africa. The first period was from 1520 to 1870, during which Africa experienced intrusion first by the Portuguese and then the Spanish on the Western coast of Africa. It emerges that during this period more than 26 million Africans were transported, predominantly to America. This was a great tragedy wherein Africa lost its heroes. The second period (1870–1914) was the actual period of colonisation. The entire African continent was colonised except for Liberia and Egypt. The objective was to gain political control of Africa. No one can ignore the fact that the invasion of Africa was coupled with the motive of evangelisation. Christianity was brought to the heathens and the virtues of Western civilisation to an uncivilised world, but these were the keywords used for covert colonisation (Van Rensburg 2009:26–27). This was a great problem among the colonial powers when it came to the distribution of portions of Africa. The competition was already high between Britain, France and Germany. In this regard, Europe was regarded as the most advanced continent on earth. The colonial powers were using a combination of warfare, threat and treaties with African rulers to gain political control over African territories. Once

political control was instituted, economics became the main concern for colonial governments and played a large role in the colonisation of Africa.

However, Western stereotyping and treatment of Africans was unacceptable. The African personality was treated as one without dignity, equality, worth and right or freedom. Africans were viewed as primitive in their culture, savage and without history or civilisation, and with only elementary forms of religion and social organisation (Van der Walt 1994:27). This demonstrates how Africans were treated then, and are still being treated today. Furthermore, to regulate European colonisation in Africa, Chancellor Otto von Bismarck of Germany initiated the Berlin Conference in 1884, which took place in 1885 (Glele 1981:86–94). The main items on the agenda were the creation of rules for the effective occupation of conquered lands. This had far-reaching consequences for Africans and the African continent. The Berlin Act was vital to the legitimisation of the partitioning of Africa. The European powers laid out the rules governing the European occupation of Africa, the most important being, as Konneh asserts: “Effective occupation in terms of physical presence, predominant in the form of soldiers... indicating ownership of a particular African country” (2002:4) Unfortunately, this partitioning of African countries among the colonisers took place “without considering the wishes of the indigenous peoples” (Van Rensburg 2009:28).

Colonisation had a positive and a negative impact. Senghor, a French-speaking, African intellectual, defended and promoted the cultural heritage of Africans. He warned that the French were trying to turn Africans into French people. They had taught the people to despise their original cultures and emulate the French. Although Senghor won a scholarship to study in Paris in 1935, and became the first African to receive the *agregé* (doctoral) degree, he tried to remain faithful to his roots. At one stage he taught at a French secondary school and used to say ironically: “J’enseigne le Français aux petits Français de la France” (= “I teach French to small French speakers in France”). Together with Aime Cesaire, his fellow student and poet from Martinique, they developed the concept of *negritude* to refer to the distinctive culture shared, or believed in, by Africans and all members of the Diaspora

(people of African ancestry around the world). They believed that all of these people should be proud of their negritude, develop it, express it, and offer it to the world as part of the universal human heritage (Konneh 2002:18–19). Senghor became widely recognized by the French as the authentic voice of Africa, the defender of the negritude. Concerning this, Senghor says: “*la colonisation en Afrique est un mal nécessaire*” (“The colonisation of Africa was a necessary evil.”)³

How to understand that this evil become necessary? It was so clear, in the awareness of African people, that colonisation brought more to the development of Africa. The effects of colonisation, on the one hand, are undeniably remarkable and immaculately assessed: formal education and medicine which clearly improved African lives; the infrastructure and communication through telecommunication reduced the distance and facilitated contact. We can add here the strong contribution of their ally who is the missionaries. No one can deny the effort they made. The thousands of schools and hospitals established by missions are proof enough as Van der Walt (1994:13) argues. In the meantime, he confirmed that the Gospel transmitted by the (Western) missionary was coloured by Western culture and worldview, and it was brought to Africa in Western clothes in which he used the example of the “Gospel flower in the flower pot” to illustrate the attitude of Western. On the other hand however, colonisation has negative effects. The infrastructures were built for destructive purposes and economic policy by using this opportunity to extract and drain natural resources. African people should not forget that such economical actions cannot be without consequences for both sides (indigenous people and colonisers).

Some of it cost the coloniser a lot; even though we try to ignore it, they lost their lives during this period because they faced strong attacks from the African traditional and religious leaders. The confrontation was not always feasible.

³ “‘La colonisation en Afrique est un mal nécessaire’ est le leitmotiv de la littérature négro-africaine. Elle avait bien son sens, même si cela n’a pas embrasse l’agrément de tous les élites de la littérature négro-africaine, elle a du moins atteint son point culminant.”

Outside the negritude, African traditional leaders were strong enough to defend themselves. In West Africa, the French faced two important resistances from two Muslim leaders, Amadu Seku and Samori Toure, the king of Malinche. Samori was one of the famous kings who resisted the French, until he was defeated, captured and exiled to Gabon where he died on 2 June 1900. Sometimes the colonisers' strategy to conquer Africa was to play off the one African group against the other and thus manipulating African leaders (Konneh 2002:11–23). But one coloniser oftentimes tried to outwit the other colonisers. The partition of Africa was a struggle between the different European states.

After the Second World War, except Egypt, Liberia and Ethiopia which were independent, the rest of Africa (including Chad) wanted a change. Some of these African states did suffer a lot during the war. They deserved their freedom. It was true that the superpowers were aware of what their colony/colonies contributed to their war effort. I recall the strophe that we were singing in primary school. It was the military hymn of the 2nd Armoured Division of General LeClerc after the Second World War. The song expresses the view that Chad was the first country to respond to the call of General De Gaulle:

Après le Tchad, l'Angleterre et la France
 Le grand chemin qui mène vers Paris
 Le cœur joyeux tout gonflé d'espérance
 Ils ont suivi la gloire qui les conduits.
 Sur une France, une croix de Lorraine,
 Ecusson d'or, qu'on porte fièrement,
 C'est le joyaux que veulent nos mairaines,
 C'est le flambeaux de tous nos régiments..⁴

Chad after England and France,
 The main road that leads to Paris.
 Joyful heart swells with expectation.
 They follow the road which guides them ...

It was very remarkable that France was well aware of what Chad had done for her. After the Second World War, Chad was supposed to be in the thought of France as well as its priority in terms of development. After its independence,

⁴ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KW0iCxTiAR8> (accessed 2 October 2013).

nothing specific from France as coloniser was done for Chad to show its appreciation. Chad is known as a very poor country in Africa. At least their request deserved to be heeded, even though Africa became a battleground among the superpowers of the world. Already in 1957, Ghana was independent. Most African countries gained their independence during the height of the Cold War.

Economically, Africa remains heavily dependent on external powers. Having been alienated for decades from traditional social and leadership structures, Africans find themselves in a morass of incompetence and ineffectiveness. However, the necessary levels of accountability and responsibility of African political leadership are sorely lacking (Van Rensburg 2009:29–31). For this reason as Khoza (1999:283) claims “Africa’s victim mentality needs to change.”

Guest (2004:12) correctly observes that Africans are aware of their problems as Africans and that true leadership is a main problem in African states. There is an unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to their responsibilities, and to the challenge of personal example, which are the hallmarks of true leadership.

It is sometimes easy to criticise the coloniser about their acts and the way they undermine the leaders in Africa. It was also right for Africa to claim its authority as African without weighing up the pros and the cons. Therefore, one can notice that most of African leaders who are in power are not doing better than what was expected of their citizens. When a leader is in power, the public immediately cease to think of him as their leader, but as a leader from one ethnic group. This system of African leadership needs to be better understood among the Africans themselves. The same happens among Christians and Muslims. What is understood by African leadership is very complicated. Whether or not a leader is elected democratically, democracy is just a name. No one respects it. African leaders can manipulate the system to their benefit, but not in the interests of the population. It is no surprise, then, that the dominant style of their authoritarian leadership is no different from the style modelled by the colonisers. When we look back on African writers’ criticism,

we see that they did not forgive the leaders' appetite for power and self-interest. Their consent was unanimous that the black elite should resist European culture, for the destiny of an educated Negro is not fundamentally different from that of his illiterate brother. It means that from the writers to the political leaders, the concept of fighting for relevant leadership must follow the same principles. We must agree with Konneh (2002:24) that colonialism has been a curse rather than a blessing. Sadly, this legacy of colonialism is still the driving force among African leaders today. This raises a question in my mind: have African leaders lost the principles of leadership?

3.3 LEADERSHIP AND PRINCIPLES

Leadership is not the function or the position a person holds. It has its foundation in the will of an individual to improve the circumstances of the citizens. Therefore, it must take into consideration the collective purpose to address the cause that is relevant to the particular sphere, as well as to the spheres of politics, economics, public service, health, education, scientific research, recreation or religion. Unfortunately, leadership in Africa has taken another tangent. The principle of "putting the right person in the right place" is no longer the priority of African leadership. Mostly, the leader will only look after his region; develop his area, and make the ethnic people or his tribe within this area more comfortable.

For others, being appointed to this position is first to fill his pocket before he is removed at the end of the term. Some leaders used to say, while I am here, it is not about what I must prove, but about what I must collect before I lose this position. This is the main reason why corruption or bribery takes place. Sometimes, it comes as a surprise, incomprehensible to everyone, to realise that "something is wrong here". If a leader has some goal to achieve, he will use only a third of the money allocated. The other two thirds will go into his pocket. At other times, the wealth of the country or the region becomes his property, and no one else has any right to it. This is how African leaders often operate. If this is the image of African leadership, it is lamentable. For this

reason, some people used to say that Europeans are far better and at least not as corrupt in terms of management.

What is killing Africa today is the racial or ethnic hostility that we find in our country, our region and our continent. These negative experiences of bribery/corruption or inefficiency and nepotism, the sad images we have in mind, and the horrible stories that we hear about Africa paralyse and erode people's hope. The worst weakness of our leaders is the fact that the vision they have is mostly not shared with others. It can be limited to the region or a target group that they belong to, or to their political party.

However, if we live in a society characterised by moral degeneration and lawlessness, we will not prevent those negative influences from coming into our own lives. If the vision is for the most part shared by others, we are convinced that it will definitely encourage the individual to seek an alignment of the different visions he has for his own life with the greater vision he shares with others. Van Rensburg (2009:10–11) formulates this as follows: "When a leader effectively articulates and paints a vision that is a living wish in the hearts of others and demonstrates his/her own commitment to the realisation of that vision, it has the power of transformation in what seemed to be a hopeless situation."

4. LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA: CRISIS OR CHALLENGE?

4.1 TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

Before colonisation, African traditional leaders were respected in their position of power because they were considered gods. They were constantly in contact with the ancestors. Their responsibilities and abilities were to resolve conflict and institute peace between communities. Furthermore, the leaders were expected to possess sufficient economic wealth to provide for those around them. They established their authority by caring for others and they practised "*ubuntu*" ("putting people first") (Adeyemo 2006:546). Africans are aware that: "when an elder dies, a whole library is buried with him" (an African proverb).

The African philosophy of respect for elders was based on the assumption that, all things being equal, those who were living in the world and experiencing life before others were born should possess greater knowledge. Thus, age-grade was one of the major factors in selecting leaders (Gordon 2002:2). This kind of organization already existed in African leadership but, unfortunately, it became the basis from which colonial powers operated in order to disrupt and dismantle the continent's political leadership.

African leaders must know that religiosity was already in African blood, but unfortunately it was seen "as ridiculous and primitive superstition" by Western colonisers and missionaries, even by some Africans who embraced Christianity (Van der Walt 1994:16). Presently, the challenge is that the African continent is looking for leaders who will stand up, uplift the people's spirit, mobilize the resources and act in the best interests of their communities, economically, politically and religiously. The character Daniel, in the critical situation at Babylon, made up his mind and acted with integrity. He thus presents himself as an excellent leader.

Leadership in traditional African communities must furthermore be understood in the context of their spiritual beliefs. Traditional African leaders were spiritually minded. The existence of God and the role that he played in providing the necessary protection, guidance and inspiration to their leadership, helped them understand that their primary responsibility was to take care of their subjects or communities. Spirituality therefore went hand-in-hand with the other dimensions of human life. At the same time, the culture of communal solidarity played an important role in uniting leaders with their subjects. They all strove for the prosperity of their communities (Van Rensburg 2009:58).

4.2 CRISIS IN AFRICAN LEADERSHIP

There is currently a crisis in leadership in Africa. We are aware that our political leadership's moral quotient is degenerating and we are fast losing the checks and balances that are necessary to prevent a recurrence of the past. Our

leadership should therefore seek to bridge the schisms and cleavages wrought by religious, tribal, social, ideological, economic and political diversity and sheer coercion and domination (Khosa 2012:14). Before these leaders come to power they offer wonderful promises in order to convince the citizens to elect them. However, once they become leaders, they destroy the freedom that they were hypocritically extolling when they ran their campaigns. They choose to enrich themselves with the money they have taken from the poor; pay themselves lavish salaries; bribe other leaders and enrich their family members. Eventually corruption becomes endemic and leadership departs. Most African people are still living in dire poverty.

However, there are certain attitudes that characterise the followers and the leaders. The attitude of followers towards their leaders: Do they admire and respect the leader? Are they strongly committed to carrying out the leaders' requests? Are they resisting? Some of this behaviour must be considered: absenteeism, voluntary turnover, grievances, complaints to higher managers/leaders: Does the leader enhance groups' cohesiveness, member cooperation, member motivation, problem-solving, decision-making, resolution of conflict among members, the readiness of the group to deal with change and crisis. It must also be asked whether he improved the quality of work life, built up the self-confidence of the followers, increased their skills, and contributed to their psychological growth and development.

The community's expectation of the African leader was that he would be strong in dealing with law-breakers and would govern according to the customs of society. They were expected to promote the common good and ensure justice, peace and tranquillity. King Moshoeshoe of the Basotho was a great chief and leader of many clans. According to Max du Preez (2004:17) he used to say:

Learn to understand men and know their ways. Learn to bear with their human weaknesses and shortcomings in their disputes, adjudicate with justice and sympathy. Your closest friends should be the children. The poor and the troubled need you more than those with wealth and status. The land you shall rule should be a home to travellers and fugitives. Always be slow to take up arms — lean heavily on the rod of peace.

It is clear that no one should limit leadership to the exercising of influence, resulting in enthusiastic commitment, by using authority and control over rewards and punishments. Manipulating or coercing followers is not really leading them (Yukl 1989:4). However, leadership is not something that is achieved through academic or technical knowledge or military determination; it is essentially about improvement in any field of human existence. Therefore, to lead is to claim the power of your freedom, your essence as a self-starter. In other words, it is often predominantly seen as strategic ability in which the personal side must support the strategic side. Paradoxical as it may seem, the personal precedes the strategic; good strategy is created by a brilliant mind and implemented by a strong character, not the other way around (Koestenbaum 2002:2–4). It means that in your responsibility, you must live with the belief that you and your people always have a choice as to how you are going to respond to your environment and circumstances. This translates, of course, to the following: you cannot lead others if you cannot lead yourself.

Leadership is a game that leaders must take seriously. When you determine what a man should think, you do not have to concern yourself with what he will do. If you make a man feel inferior, you do not have to compel him to accept inferior status, as he will seek it for himself. If you make a man think he is justly an outcast, you do not have to order him to the back door; he will go there without being told. And, if there is no back door, his very nature will demand one. In this specific case, leaders will need more advice.

The crisis in African leadership is related to classical leadership, where the dominance of a leader or an elite group of people is taken for granted. This kind of leadership is only plausible and more effective in terms of low levels of complexity or stability. It cannot possibly be sustained all the time at different levels of leadership. The leader must expect to be criticized at all levels of his career. He should not expect to be pampered or spoiled by his people. Once they discover his weakness or lack of education, he easily becomes the prey that the elite can use as an entry to power.

It is salutary for African leaders to lead accordingly and to look ahead to the future and to what is sustainable and desirable. Afterwards, they can look around them to discern their influence within an interrelated world; and then to look within themselves at what is meaningful, authentic and part of their life story. Otherwise, African leadership will remain “in the deep troubled waters” (Gordon 2002:182) in which only the swimming specialist will survive, and Africa will lose its credibility and will be disqualified from leadership in their own country/continent.

4.3 ABUSE OF POWER

The abuse of power has become endemic in Africa. People seem to think that staying in power for a long time is better, so its abuse in African leadership needs more attention. I do not know what to call it. Is it ignorance linked to our culture, or is it leaders' hubris? Sometimes people ask themselves where African countries are going in this process of democracy. Should we seek further for another super-power behind this phenomenon?

The media (radio, TV) both national and international have also played an important role in this abuse of power. On the one hand, as Eriksson and Hagstromer argue, “During election campaigns, non-state radio stations were not allowed to broadcast political programmes or debates. This increased general insecurity, violence, and crime in the fact state maintain a certain degree of institutional which is more rational mode of handling violence” (2005:28–29).

On the other hand, the current regime (leader) maintains his position by committing continual electoral fraud and human rights violations, and it is possible that his removal from office would have the same violent nature as the way in which all his predecessors passed through (Eriksson & Hagstromer 2005:52)

In African countries there is always a “fight for power”. The ideal of serving others seems not to exist. There is competition to get in and stay in. Most of

the African leaders know well that once they get in, it becomes final, it is done. No one will remove them from their position. The leader becomes a “master” of the constitution to satisfy his egotistical appetites, thereby jeopardising the national interest, because power is in the hands of the one on the throne. During this turmoil, democracy will be totally ignored and even buried. According to Gordon (2002:167), there is a reason for this: “African society, its body politic, is being polluted by certain aspects of cultural transition, corruption, violence, ostentation, nepotism, parasitism, and the party system... this pollution is brought because people are moving from one set of values to another”.

African shortcomings are still very obvious, and it is sometimes a very complex undertaking to oust a leader from his position. As soon as they set themselves to the task, they become useless dictators. The only way to shut their own citizens’ mouths is to use atrocities to oppress them. Democracy will be used as an “umbrella” for their own protection. Who is the principal actor in Africa’s drift? Is it still the hand of neo-colonialism? Can we learn from our bloody past and be wise enough to build a better future? Our decadence lies in the transposition of the rules of the game from traditional leadership to the other domains. It is evident that Africa’s leadership is more positional than professional (because, people are not judged by merit or skills, but by origin and power of relationships), more monarchic than productive (Shu 2004:11–12). While Africa is living in socio-political instability and insecurity, impunity and nepotism still predominate.

Another critical issue is the management of the country’s wealth. It seems that the predominant desire to be a leader could be linked to financial gain. Being remote-controlled by the “big brothers”, deliberately manipulated by their former colonial masters, they pretend to develop their nations, but unfortunately they do this for their personal interests.

Shu asserts (2004:18) that before the end of their first term some of them, for fear of losing their position or being caught, do as follows:

These embezzlers are coaxed to save their ill-begotten wealth under a secret coded name known only to him and the high ranking officers of these foreign banks. When anyone comes to verify the name of a given person, no account is found in that person's name because of the secret code.

Another very important thing, Shu continues, is "when the person dies or is unable to negotiate transactions, the account remains frozen and finally becomes the property of the bank" (2004:18). This is why Africa is becoming more and more paralyzed and destabilized. These leaders choose to enrich themselves with the wealth of the country, where corruption within the rank of labour leaders has become endemic, like an incurable cancer. This is also the responsibility of the citizens as moral people who have elected or voted them in, knowing that they are liars, perjurers, thieves and embezzlers. Such action cannot be without adverse consequences. It is what we are still paying the price for.

Another dilemma is raised from inside from the citizens and the government. Once the former leader fails and is no longer a leader, everything that he did for the country must be systematically destroyed. Did he build with his own money? Was he not using the country's property? Africa has a serious problem. We cannot see far into the future unless God intervenes and opens the eyes of our mind, otherwise we don't know where Africa is going. We are admonished to do something for our continent.

African leaders are known over the world as "specialists" in devastation and as destroyers of administrative continuity. They are the looters and plunderers of wealth, possessions and property. Their ignorance has brought them as far as destroying everything that was built by their former leaders.

In Chad, some wonderful palaces were completely destroyed during several sad events during the fighting. Others were abandoned as monuments, and right now are in ruins. What can we say about Rwanda, where Tutsis destroyed all that the Hutus did; in the DRC, monuments were destroyed, in the Central African Republic, the Emperor's palace was destroyed, or at least

renovated, at great expense. Recently it was the same in Libya, Somalia and so on. The list is very long and sad. It is better to continue the re-building than destroy. Otherwise, as long as the African continent exists, it will always be destroyed by the people themselves. The African mind is positive in terms of destruction but not when it comes to re-building.

There are two reasons for the

because democracy does not have the place it should have, and the external and internal conflicts. The leader, as previously mentioned, is chosen by the “big brothers”, with serious promises of compensation, or by the people who choose a new leader, as the former had no credibility. At this point, two aspects come into play: on the one hand, the leader wants to modernize by adopting Eurocentric values, and, on the other hand, he wants to Africanise. That is why we find that African leaders can sometimes be said to have two souls, an African soul, and a European colonial and neo-colonial soul. The reconciliation of these two souls is problematic, but it has provided an interesting basis for exploring leadership theories on Africa (Gordon 2002:169). This affects religious leaders as well, as to be a potential candidate, the potential leader must prove that he is known or has contacts overseas (referring here to western nations). It is not his ability and competence to lead that count, but his overseas contacts. These seem to be relevant to the interests of the Churches.

The second game is linked to the tireless external and internal conflicts. External conflict could arise when the present leader is proud of developing his country without any external support. He can sometimes reject the barbarism of neo-colonialists. Dissatisfied, the neo-colonialists will look inwards to find the way to manipulate the “power blind”, to fight against his brother or sister. If the leader is highly educated, the supporters will find someone ill-educated so that, if he wins, they will be able to manipulate him. These neo-colonialists have many strategies for getting into power. The other factor is religion, namely Christianity versus Islam. These factors are the “phenomenon that has so profoundly influenced Africa in modern times” (Gordon 2002:179), particularly in the 21st century. It depends on who is in power. I realised that this factor is

the most successful if the country under discussion is half Muslim and half Christian. This is the easiest one for the neo-colonialists to use when they want to succeed.

Internal conflict is more ethnic and tribal. It can also take into consideration the regions to the north and the south or the west and the east. Therefore, the future of African leadership will depend on the ability of African leaders to mobilize Africa's vast human and material resources to solve African problems. Unfortunately, not everyone is ready to raise their voice and say, "Enough for Africa", because a leader who raises his voice would definitely lose his position, the system being so static that everyone is afraid even to try. Those who have tried to raise their voices are no longer here. Patrice Lumumba, Thomas Sankara and others are examples. Their absence becomes history. No one can take their place, and they become the voiceless.

Given all this, African leaders are faced with three predicaments: (1) They are not free when they lead because of pressure from the big brothers; (2), They are not sure about the terms of leadership and think only of filling their pockets; (3) Once they are dismissed by the people, they destroy what they have built for the good of the population. These unfortunate conditions put leaders in a difficult position, as they cannot feel free to act in their individual way. All their movement is controlled. African leaders have to be aware that independent action inevitably has adverse consequences. This can definitely affect the leader's family and destroy infrastructure. This leads us to consider the challenges of democracy as the basis of leadership.

4.4 LEADERSHIP AND FAMILY

When it comes to leadership and the family, two important aspects need to be taken into consideration: the unavailability of the leader to his family, and the fallout of bad governance. The first aspect indicates that most of the leaders do not have enough time for their family. In the family system, leadership is needed. Parents commit themselves to their children and lead them as well as they can through the challenges and situations that confront them. One could

say that the leadership displayed within a community, a society, a country or a continent shapes the culture and conditions that people enjoy. Where people have only their own interests in mind, it leads to the degeneration of the social fabric of society. In this case, individual performances and excellence remain isolated and limited in value (Van Rensburg 2009:2). As parents, we are called on to transcend our personal gratification through what we understand from our children, and what we see in their growth, which can be encouraged for the purpose of their future. The sad truth is that most African leaders are busy for their people, but not for their families. This is particularly reflected in religious leadership. Therefore, if we want and expect good leaders for Africa, the preparation of these excellent leaders must begin at home.

The second aspect seems relevant to most African countries, particularly during the 21st century, during which Africa is supposed to shake itself free of the colonial yoke. The fallout of bad governance obviously leads to dramatic consequences for the leader's family, relatives and personal friends. This will definitely result in many massacres and/or exiles of those mentioned above. Thus a question which arises in my mind: Is it in the thoughts of African leaders, once in power, that the relatives must be sacrificed, that the preparation of coffins must begin, or that people should flee the country in advance? However, African leaders must think carefully about these sad situations which always happen after the death or exile of a leader who was in power.

Unfortunately Africa is still drowning in the blood of her sons. Everything that is happening now on our continent does not surprise or preoccupy any African. The genocides or wars and massacres without a future have simply become a daily event. It is foremost in any information on Africa. The orchestrators of these occurrences are proud of all that is happening, and they know what will be done or what will happen tomorrow. The questions are still arising: Where is Africa going? Is Africa in the 18th, 19th or 20th century? Is there no longer a Martin Luther King who raises his voice to defend the black cause? Mandela and Gandhi are the images of non-violence. What about Samori, who resisted during the African conquest? Aime Cesaire and Leopold S. Senghor, the

fathers of negritude, through their writings, extolled negritude and took pride in being black. In discussing these challenges, attention will be given to South Africa as one of the African countries that struggled to attain freedom. This country could be an example for African leadership.

5 SOUTH AFRICA'S LEADERSHIP MODELS

South Africa is one of the most noted countries in Africa and “is considered to be one of the continent’s most successful, with a good track record of democratic leadership and a strong focus on human rights. It is often the benchmark for other African countries on how to make the transition from colonial oppression to democracy” (Khosa 2012:14). In this regard, I am referring to South Africa as a model and example of African leadership. I may be wrong, but at least, what I read, see and hear confirms that it is still a model to which African leaders can refer. The infrastructure, education, scientific research, politics and economics are well developed. African leaders should realize that there is no development without infrastructure, excellent education, an economy under control, and a well-functioning democracy.

At this point it is good to look at those countries where there has been a positive change and where leaders take their responsibility seriously. Attention will be given to South Africa as one of the African countries that struggled to attain freedom. This country can now be an example for African leadership. I will focus on the spheres mentioned above, which are the key areas of the development of the country.

5.1 THE MENTORS OF SOUTH AFRICAN LEADERSHIP

Reliable leadership can be seen by the leader on the scene or in power, who influences his people on the one hand, and the world on the other. I will focus on the mentors who led South Africa in the period of transition after apartheid. The focus will be on Mandela, then Thabo Mbeki, and will conclude with the present leader, Jacob Zuma. Each of them influenced in different ways the model of leadership.

5.1.1 Nelson Mandela's leadership

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was an ordinary person, like other leaders in Africa. He was born in Mvezo, a small village located in the district of Umtata in the Eastern Cape Province. He never planned to be in prison or president of South Africa, but he was already prepared by God to lead the country. In this case, I can say that all leaders who rise to power are more or less there by "God's fingers". Sometimes we must learn to accept anyone who rises to power as a gift from God for specific circumstances.

I am not sure whether I am able to accept to suffer and die for people, and for what price? God reads into every heart and prepares the person to confront the danger in front of him/her. For this, Mandela is a type of Daniel in the lions' den. Obama, president of the USA, on Mandela 92nd birthday said: "We strive to build upon his example of tolerance, compassion and reconciliation" (Jackson 2010).

On 18 July 2007, Mandela and others (Desmond Tutu, Graça Machel, Kofi Annan, Ela Bhatt, Gro Harlem Brundtland, Jimmy Carter, Li Zhaoxing, Mary Robinson and Muhammad Yunus) convened a group of world leaders in Johannesburg to contribute their wisdom and independent leadership to address the world's toughest problems. At the formation of this new group, *The Elders*, he delivered a speech on the occasion of his 89th birthday, and said the following: "Together we will work to support courage where there is fear, foster agreement where there is conflict, and inspire hope where there is despair."⁵

Nelson Mandela is one of the leaders who through his legacy has modelled and inspired African leaders. With warmth, a sense of justice, an ability to forgive, his personal aura and worldwide influence, Mandela led South Africa into its new dispensation (van Rensburg 2009:90). In 1964, during the Rivonia

⁵ <http://theelders.org/article/nelson-mandela-and-desmond-tutu-announce-elders>. (Accessed 2 October 2013)

trial, Mandela articulated a vision of a democratic and free society in South Africa in the following words (Guest 2004:146):

During my life, I dedicated myself to the struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought black domination. I have cherished the ideal of the democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

Only the power of truth can set people free and open up possibilities to create new things, new understanding and new relationships. Why not new leadership? It is what we are expected to be. Even if there are serious problems, we feel confident that the leaders will be able to turn things around and lead the way towards a better future. Yesterday it was Martin Luther King in the USA; today it is Nelson Mandela in South Africa. No one can ignore that millions of people could be part of the visions that burned in the hearts of leaders such as Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela (Van Rensburg 2009:95–96).

Later in 1999, Mandela, in his speech to parliament, referred to the need for the reconstruction and development of the soul of the people of South Africa after the apartheid dispensation (Mulemfo 2000:68), in what he called the “Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of the soul”. Nelson Mandela claimed with insistence that religion must return to the national public realm, because he was convinced that the religious sector had the primary role in working towards an RDP of the soul. West (2010:862–868) asserts, as did Mandela: “We should take up the summons of an RDP of the soul without being pietistic or moralistic”.

The relevant praise cannot be only inside or from outside. It is influenced by the thoughts. Therefore the failure in leadership perhaps recently prompted former American President Bill Clinton to advise South Africa to have “a united vision embodied in a viable civil society”. In his address to delegates at a two-day conference titled “Kicking off the civil society Initiative”, Clinton joined

former South African President Nelson Mandela to encourage South Africans to strengthen their churches, community groups and labour unions. Adhiambo-Oduol (2002:76–77) comments as follows:

A strong civil society was needed to work with the government on the next steps of liberation, the liberation of potential, intellect, initiative and spirit. ... It is obvious that having a unified vision embodied in available civil society is critical to what you want for children in South Africa, what I want for children in America, and the entire world.

These voices and thoughts across the world come to emphasise to the people of Africa that there is truly an example of a leader to follow. We are not saying that he is a perfect leader in Africa, but his actions touched the heart of the African people. Until now he has been praised not only because he deserved it, but because he risked his life for people in South Africa, like a lamb to the slaughter and as a sheep before her shearer, he did not oppose any suffering inflicted on him. Thirty years was not thirty hours, nor thirty days, nor thirty months but thirty years. If we want to introduce everything that writers, politicians, religious, and economists across the world wrote and said about Mandela as an example of a leader, it would take up many volumes. One could comment: “Mandela played the main role in attaining our freedom. He resisted attempts to rewrite history, perpetuated the myth of our organization the ANC, resisted hero-worship... he regarded himself as servant leader, entering into the covenant that we will build our society, in which black and white will be able to walk tall, without fear in their heart” (Ramphela 2012:207, 217).

Historically, at the very least, he embodies the model of a sacrificial leader for the sake of his people, to which the whole world is eye-witness. His background as a Methodist, his faith in and fear of God brought him to understand the meaning of life. One could say today that Mandela is registered in the book of Africa as a prominent leader.

5.1.2 Thabo Mbeki’s leadership

As much as leadership is about living intentionally, it is also about responding

effectively to the challenges emanating from the external environment. Therefore, only sustained leadership of the highest quality will ensure a brighter future. San asserts that Thabo Mbeki, in sobering words, placed the African Renaissance on the agenda of all Africans: “Africa does not have a divine right to succeed in her endeavours in the current age. Nor is there a supernatural force that can will us to fail. How events unfold over the next 20 or 50 years depends largely on what we as Africans do” (2003:vii). However, according to San, with these words Mbeki embraces the leadership challenge and invites all the people of Africa to do likewise.

During his leadership Thabo Mbeki emphasised the morality of the nation. His main focus was on how to rebuild a system of morality in the country. According to West (2010:868–874), Mbeki was overt about the role of religion, particularly the Bible, and the Word of God, which can change the morality of the nation. As a wise leader, he was passing on his wisdom to the next generation. As proof, Mbeki is known as the father of the African Renaissance for the development of essential vision. Nelson Mandela has evidently put up his hand for this challenge.

5.1.3 Jacob Zuma’s leadership

In his leadership, Jacob Zuma has not deviated from what his predecessors have already focused on. He has also mentioned the key role played by the religious sector in the struggle for freedom in South Africa, and he is aware that people’s moral vision embodies the values of a just and caring society. West (2010:874–880) argues that, although Zuma, like Mbeki, sanctions the Christian faith, he acknowledges the role of a plurality of religions in South Africa’s public domain.

5.1.4 Conclusion

In summary, the mentors of South African leadership focus on the fear of God, which was the basis of their freedom. There is no leadership without the fear of God. The leaders should remember that Daniel’s success was owing to the

superior power of the God of the Jews, who is the source of wisdom (Joubert 1979:85). Therefore, “*retour à la source*” for an African Renaissance, based on faith in God as practised during the Renaissance (16th century), will be the suitable option for leading according to the will of God.

5.2 DEMOCRACY

5.2.1 Democracy as a system of good governance

At the beginning of 1989, just a handful of African states were operating relatively democratically, competitively and through multi-party systems, while the majority was ruled by the authoritarianism of a single party and military regimes. However, in South Africa, Nelson Mandela was still a political prisoner and anti-apartheid groups such as the African National Congress (ANC), existed either underground or in exile.

By the beginning of 1995 the political situation had changed dramatically. Multi-party systems, admittedly embodying varying levels of democratic credibility, were in place in the vast majority of African states. President Mandela presided over a government in which ANC members held the majority of ministerial portfolios following a democratic election which even the most cynical observers had found emotionally moving. Certainly, more negative examples of African politics were still observable in some states. However, although the picture was mixed, nobody could deny that Africa as a whole had made substantial strides in the direction of democracy during this period.

By 1995, the vast majority of African states had held genuinely competitive elections. Therefore, the political environment in which a struggle for and against democracy in Africa has taken place has been subjected to a number of important changes. Furthermore, there was no doubt that in “many states there were mass demonstrations in favour of democratization” (Wiseman 1995:5). Although it is impossible to be precise as to the numbers participating, there were several cases which involved hundreds of thousands of demonstrators out on the streets demanding democracy (Wiseman 1995:1–6).

Is democratization likely to involve any significant challenge to the integrity of African states where it can be accommodated within the existing state? Or must democratization be accompanied by a level of upheaval that vastly complicates the process?

These give at least the impression that African states can be rescued from the consequences of their own misgovernment. None of those African states that have collapsed into anarchy could remotely be described as democratic. Political collapse can be directly related to the gross abuse of power, as Clapham and Wiseman maintain: "The success of democratization must depend on the overall process of economic development and the ability of elected regimes to demonstrate their effectiveness to the electorate" (1995:223). Clapham and Wiseman therefore conclude: "The consolidation of democracy in Africa also requires a demonstrable relationship between political accountability and the quality of government" (1995:227).

The real problem of democracy lies in the uncertainty of the prospects for stable and effective non-democratic states, and should authoritarianism then fail to work (as has been evident in so many African states over the past three decades) the traumatic experience of a state collapse becomes frighteningly narrow (Clapham & Wiseman 1995:232).

In fact, democracy is supposed to be understood in its real terms. Democracy, as Van der Walt argues: "... is merely a means to an end (such as a more just society), and not an end itself. It is not a magic concept which will solve all Africa's problems in the wink of an eye – even while injustice can still be committed, in the name of democracy" (1994:35). Today, our democratic society demands ethical leadership in all of our institutions and communities. More often we experience confusion about the meaning of leadership, and disappointment in the quality of our leaders. In the past five years, research has shown that public confidence in the government has steadily declined, reflecting a widespread perception of leaders as distant, corrupt, or unable to deal effectively with complex social problems. In this specific case, I would say

that most of our problems are our own creations which come from bad leadership claiming to be democratic, even though it is far from the real democracy expected by the people.

Africa is not totally blind. There are some countries who do understand the key rules of neo-colonialism. Benin and South Africa are some examples of African countries that do identify the game rules of democracy. After one term, if you are not elected, it will be best to listen to your people. If you respect the principle of national democracy, it is possible that you can be once again re-elected if your people still need you, or else you can be a person of respected reputation in our country, like Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki in South Africa.

We can also mention the case of Benin in which Ahmed Kerekou, who was the first President of Benin from 1972 to 1991, and also the “first leader of a mainland African state to be voted out of office in a democratic election in 1991” (Clapham & Wiseman 1995:229). Subsequently he rose once again to be democratically re-elected as president of Benin from 1996 to 2006. This demonstrates the maturity of people who understand the meaning of democracy and good governance.

5.2.2 The misuse of democracy

In many African countries, there is the situation in which nobody cares about the state. If one aspires to a political position, he will simply enrich himself. Government is only a tool for politicians or retired army generals. The task of the state is no longer viewed as providing good government to the benefit of all the citizens. Even the cry for democracy is sometimes merely the voices of selfish individuals, because once they gain position in government, they amass wealth for themselves (Van der Walt 1994:23). However, there is nothing wrong with corruption, as Van der Walt claims, therefore, “as long as one shares it with one’s own tribe or class, for instance, if one used some of the money to build a hospital, church or mosque for one’s people” (1994:24). This

will be seen as fraud, as embezzlement of funds, even though it is for the better of the people.

A sense of democracy used to exist in African societies. The leader was chosen according to the rules of extended families or lineages. Their responsibility was to facilitate and be in the service of the community. For this reason, the leadership is built from the foundations of service to the community to the level where the chief is the custodian of the community. As Mulemfo claims: “they did not make the traditional law on their own but they worked together with the whole community” (2000:49). Therefore, Ngambi adds that “a successful leadership is embedded in genuine care for the well-being of all stakeholders” (2004:112). From this description of democracy, I can say that there are several examples of democracy that help us learn from the mentor leaders of South Africa.

Nelson Mandela, as South Africa’s first African leader, was supposed to continue to lead the country until he got old or died, but he cut short his period of power after the first term. It was not taken from him. He bequeathed the power, not because he could no longer exercise it, but out of respect for democracy, to see somebody else carrying the people. His example needs to be saluted across the world. Shu (2004:13) supports this with enthusiasm:

Except if God intervenes in our continent political arena we are on the downward trend. The laudable example of Nelson Mandela who after he was democratically elected by South Africans as their first black president in 1994 voluntary stepped down after his first term of office to allow someone else to rule is among the rare cases.

He was determined to set a precedent for all who followed him by choosing to set the course but not steering the ship forever. As a charismatic leader, Mandela was a great leader. He was also a man of flesh and blood; of weaknesses and flaws; he was willing to own up to his flaws and worked at being triumphant over them. Therefore, the emotional connection which he invoked in his people is still authentic and credible, because of his track record of sacrifice and the cause he believed in. Real power is with the one who

remains a servant and rejects the temptation to retaliate. Power demonstrates the morality of the leader since it is believed that power should be used to set others free (Van Rensburg 2009:71). At least, the world could testify that there is someone who has a heart for his homeland, and who does not attempt to rule forever, but has a humble heart which allowed him to release power.

In referring to Thabo Mbeki as one of the famous leaders, it still reminds me of what happened in South Africa in 2008 when the ANC asked President Thabo Mbeki to step down from office. By consensus and democratically, the former president acquiesced to the ANC's recommendation without any problem, and he was gone. No war, no conspirators, no murmurs and simply as a good citizen, and he left the power to whoever wanted to take up the task. It doesn't mean that he was unable to do things like mobilizing people for confrontation where blood would be shed until the strong won, but as a leader who knows democracy, who loved his people who trusted him and who brought him to this position, he just followed the decision of the majority. He never ran away, he never went into exile; he is still in his country, respected as the second black South African leader. For many Africans, this is the story of democracy in South Africa. Leadership is an experience whereby everybody must learn and follow the voice of the people. Today Thabo Mbeki, as one of the senior managers, is still a respected leader in South Africa. He can take part in political debates, and he can also represent his country anywhere where negotiations or contributions are needed. When Mbeki wants to hold a conference, the lecture room is full of people as proof of the respect he commands and his popularity. This demonstrates people's confidence in him. This explains also the reality of a free country. I am still "*tire-chapeau*" (lifting my hat) to our African leaders to open their eyes and look around Africa. I think this is the time for actions rather than words.

Leadership is the catalytic element that is crucial and central to Africa's transformation. I believe, with Khosa (2012:14), that Africa's destiny will not be a consequence of predestination; in other words we are not predestined to be sufferers, we are not predestined to be poor. Africa has been crying out and

is still crying out for leaders who do not gloss over the truth. This must be changed.

5.3 THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP

President Senghor, at the inter-parliamentary Conference in Cannes on 3 October, 1959, declared: "Africa is a huge reservoir of faith as the heart of each African holds in its deepest fibres an invaluable capital of belief in God and trust in his power".⁶

In terms of school, in some cases, particularly among Christians, it seems that some of the missionaries were not in favour of advanced studies. This caused misunderstanding among fervent Protestant believers and their children, as this attitude has its advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, the parents were aware of the spiritual life of these children, and wanted to see them growing spiritually. This attitude was more developed among Protestant Christian missionaries. It was clear that those children who were sent to undertake advanced studies did not return to their Christian beliefs, as expected by their parents. They denied their faith, and became the enemy of the word of God. On the other hand, this attitude was to delay the evolution of Christian children. It brought about some kind of misunderstanding between African believers and Western missionaries. Few succeeded, and some went to the Roman Catholic schools to get an excellent education. Others who did persevere with their parents did succeed. Everything was possible after independence.

The common saying is that religion has no place in politics and it must be separate and adhere to the issues and character of the candidate. However, some questions remained: Does character not have some connection with a person's relationship with God? Obviously, we cannot know whether any public figure has a close relationship with God. It does not mean that a non-Christian

⁶ This citation was quoted by Houphouet Bogny, the President of Ivory Coast, at the Church Conference of CETA in Abidjan 1970.

can't show the outward expressions of good character. But it would be preferable for his/her character to flow from God.

John McCain said in an interview that he would prefer a Christian president over someone of different faith, calling it an important part of our qualifications to lead and he adds: I just have to say that as this nation was founded primarily on Christian principles. Personally, I prefer someone who I know has a solid grounding in my faith. But that doesn't mean that I'm sure that someone who is Muslim would not make a good president. Later, McCain said: "I would vote for a Muslim if he or she was the candidate best able to lead the country and defend our political values"⁷ The most important thing for any leader is to have "fear of God", responding directly to Him through people who elected him/her.

We must recognize that some leaders were influenced by the background of their religious tradition with the fear of God in their heart. Among them we can cite as example Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki from the Methodist Church, which motivated them to practise tolerance. Balandier reveals the relationship that has always existed between religion and power and "the sacrality of power is also expressed in the feelings that bind the subject to the sovereign a veneration or total submission that cannot be justified by reason, a fear of disobedience that has the character of a sacrilegious transgression" (1970:99). He added: "Independent Africa revives the distant past; she sought the roots of its modern personality and sometimes the suggestion of its future borders" (Balandier 1969: 298)

The power was born in the temples because in primitive times religion was the only object of collective thought. But the village chief, the king does not always hold both political and religious powers. At the side of the political leader, there is a land chief, representing the first occupants of the land. He has power and religious authority, but both leaders avoid seeing each other. Custom, as a fundamental issue, requires them to live in two different neighbourhoods. It

⁷ <http://politicalticker.blogs.cnn.com/2007/09/30/mccain-i-would-vote-for-muslim-president/> (accessed 4 October 2013).

was what happened in the Yoruba kingdom. Therefore they should not live in the same city (Glele 1981:51–54).

In fact, it is well known that black African people are influenced by the religious spirit. In the beginning religion and the colonial were associated (Glele 1981:66–70). Already in 1491, Alfonso, the king of Congo, also called “Mani-Congo” was converted to Christianity, and thus influenced the whole kingdom, in which Christianity became the state religion. Therefore, the kingdom of Congo traded directly with Rome.

5.4 CONCLUSION

Primarily our focus is on the positive aspects of what we see or hear from South Africa. It doesn't mean that there is nothing bad in this country. What is important is that the country is aware of the ethical and moral matters. It is one of the main points which are still of great concern. Thus South Africa, at least, could be the reference point for African countries whose people and their leaders could learn about specific areas in terms of infrastructure, democracy, economy and education. These are the main points in the development of the country. Therefore, South Africa must jealously protect the power that has been bequeathed by her mentors.

However, we are aware, as Khosa asserts, that South Africa's “democratic society demands ethical leadership in all of our institutions and communities. More often, though, we experience confusion about the meaning of leadership and disappointment in the qualities of our leaders” (Khosa 2012:14). To justify his argument, his analysis shows that “in the past five years research shows public confidence in the government has steadily declined, reflecting a widespread perception of leaders as distant, corrupt, or unable to deal effectively with complex social problems” (Khosa 2012:14). A burning question in South Africa, as Khosa claims, concerns the alarming outcry over the other African countries.

In terms of leadership, Ramphele (2012:211) emphasized that “not everyone can be a leader in the traditional sense, but each one of us has leadership capacities in niche areas that need to be identified and developed”. Therefore, she deplored the fact that the leadership weaknesses are visible not only in senior positions... but also at the middle and lower levels and there is a crisis of leadership in our public service. She argues that “subsequent leadership in government has paid less attention to excellence than to their pursuit of equity (Ramphele 2012:213-214).

As a practical example, Ramphele (2012:214) believes that the “Mandela style of leadership was enabling in that he was not threatened when surrounded by people who knew much more than he did about the technical aspects of governance. He was a leader who believed in excellence as an essential element in ensuring equity in the provision of public services.

As catalyser, she emphasized that the new generation, who are ultimately the custodians of democracy, must lift their eyes and see where they are going. What is missing is mindset change, or the revolution of the spirit, which starts with you, at the personal, professional and political levels. There is no fear for your rights and responsibilities, as she said these were “guaranteed by the constitution”.

Thus South Africa could be the reference point for African countries in which people and African leaders should learn about a specific sphere in terms of infrastructures, democracy, economy and education which are the main points of development for the country.

Leadership means for us a process of social influence in which one person can enlist the aid and support of others in the accomplishment of a common task. However, what we see, what we live, and experience in African leadership is still dictated by the attitudes and habits of our leaders. Therefore, our prayer will link with the desire that Mandela expressed in his inaugural address as President of Republic to bring together South Africans who would build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white, would be able to walk

tall, without fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity – a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world (Ramphela 2012:207, 217).

African countries are still watching the enormous impact of South Africa as the most remarkable country on the continent. There should therefore be a conscious effort to eradicate the corruption which has ruined and continues to ruin African leaders, and move towards excellence in leadership in the true sense of democracy.

CHAPTER 6

THE PREDICAMENT OF AFRICAN LEADERSHIP: THE CASE OF CHAD

1. INTRODUCTION

Leadership is a fascinating subject because of its multi-dimensional or various perspectives. Leadership is a difficult and a complex task which involves change and encouragement. It has to do with the aspirations and dreams of people for a better life. Experiencing its dynamics, people can only respond to the leader who calls up such vision.

Leadership is not something that can be pinned down in detail. It is not about information or knowledge. It is “more weaving of relationships” (De Pree 1989:3). If one could say that a good leader must show interest in the body, mind, heart, spirit, and soul of [a leader’s] followers, it would imply a promise of morality based or grounded on his intention to be a leader. A better future for Africa therefore has to be a priority for every leader who has in his heart the challenge to transform and to lead Africa in the way all African people are expecting.

I realise that the African challenge to build a better future by means of strong leadership is not congruent with the unique quality and strengths of Africans themselves. Therefore, African leaders must find the correct way to lead the wonderful and prosperous continent given them by the creator.

It seems also that the context in which Africa is led depends more or less on the western leadership perspective. For more than fifty years, during which most of the African countries achieved their independence, African leaders still display the impact of colonisation in their leadership. One could say that the African leader, even though he is African, must be a chosen one of colonialism, even though he is democratically elected. Because of their dependence upon their colonial masters, African leaders will not succeed in their leadership. They must realise that Africa is not a mistake of creation. It is a full part of the creation, with its rules and leaders.

We are not aware that the concept of political leaders involves the religious leader as well. It could be said that “people are incurably religious. They are also unavoidably political. The intersection between the religious and the political is endlessly fascinating. It is also indescribably important. The one reflects the deepest meanings of our existence” (Wogaman 2000:ix). The other is the arena of human history in which our life is played out. Life is more than political, but politics permeates and affects virtually everything.

Furthermore, we cannot be sure that people do not raise the quality of their leadership by mere observation and reading matter. The principle of leading well is still a main issue, because it is common knowledge that the reports on most of the political and Christian leaders in Africa are still very negative. Who causes the failures of African leaders? What is the meaning of democracy in Africa, if democracy even exists? These questions will pave the way for new perspectives on leadership.

This chapter will focus on (1) a reading from a specific context – the context of a person living in the Republic of Chad. However, to be able to comment, it will be useful to present briefly the country of Chad. (2) The issue of leadership in Chad. In this section, there will be some focus on the political and religious leadership in Chad as an orientation for the reflection. (3) This will help in perceiving how leadership is challenged in Chad. Some aspects will serve as a guide to understanding the causes of this challenge. In the midst of what is a veritable gangrene, attention will be given to: armed conflict, corruption, geopolitics, poverty, development and infrastructures, and abuse of power. The chapter will examine the democratization process in Chad in which attention will be given to the challenge of political and religious leadership in the wave of democratisation. The chapter will end with a conclusion in which a short summary of the challenges will be presented.

2. A BRIEF APERÇU OF CHAD

2.1 THE REPUBLIC OF CHAD

It will be helpful to look briefly at the history of Chad. It is one of the longest recorded histories on earth. Chad is one of the world's 48 landlocked countries. This is disadvantageous, as it means that it is cut off from marine resources such as fishing but, more importantly, it has no access to sea-borne trade, which, even today, makes up a large percentage of international trade (Burr & Collins 2006; Collelo 1990; Kelly 1986).

Chad (or the Republic of Chad) is one of the African countries situated in Central Africa. It is bordered by Libya to the north, Sudan to the east, the Central African Republic to the south, Cameroon and Nigeria to the southwest, and Niger to the west. The area of this large and important country measures 1 284 000 square kilometres, in which water represents 24 800 km² and the land 1 259 200 km². It seems that the area of Chad is roughly (slightly more than) three times the size of California and twice the size of France, its colonizer. This country abounds with relevant potentiality, as Van Rensburg claims: "He who holds Chad, holds Africa" (1975:55).

Collier (1990:20–76) finds that Chad is populated by over ten and a half million people, most of them living in the southwest portion. The Sara is the largest group of inhabitants, followed by the Massa and the Moundang. This country is represented by 54% Muslims, 34% Christians (Catholics and Protestants) and 12% of the population who are animists and atheists. The land of Chad is a basin with deserts in the north, grassy plains in the central region, and tall grasslands and jungles in the southern parts. The central area is mostly used for raising cattle, sheep and goats.

Owing to its location in the Sahara zone, the climate is humid and hot. Lying in the heart of Africa, Chad thus has no seaport and, worse still, no railroads. Its

history therefore seems to be related to its geographical setting. The first people living there were called Sao, which means the giants.

Two important rivers, the Chari and the Logone, run into the basin of Lake Chad. Water drainage of the country thus runs into the lake, but its ground surface is scored mostly dry or contains water for brief periods only. The northern half of the country is desert, so arid and hot that it is scarcely inhabited. A considerable part of the soil is light sand, blown about by the wind. The irrigated and fertile portions consist mainly of a number of valleys separated from each other by low and irregular limestone rocks. They produce excellent dates, while barley (*orge*) is also cultivated.

The Emi Koussi is Chad's highest mountain, rising above 3 415 meters in the Tibesti. The Ennedi Plateau in the east completes the entity of a gradually sloping basin, which also descends towards Lake Chad. N'Djamena, the capital city, is located at the confluence of the Chari and Logone Rivers. There are no permanent streams in the North or in central Chad.

2.2 THE ORIGIN OF THE PEOPLE LIVING IN CHAD

The origins of people living in Chad remain unclear. "Several of the proven archaeological sites have been only partially studied, and other sites of great potential have yet to be mapped" (Collier 1990:13). However, there are two important sources to which people can refer: the oral tradition and the archaeological remains which prove the existence of the Sao in Chad.

According to legend, the Sao come from the ancient Near East, which refers to the legend (Gauthier 1979:15), while others see them as arriving after the deluge and inhabiting the basin of Chad, where an important civilization was developed. It seems that they were well-known to the Egyptians in 2300 BCE, who used to call them *Tehenou*, which means the black giants. Does this view bring the biblical texts to the fore? Are they known as *Nephilim* (Giants) and *Gibborim* (powers), like the sons of *Anakim* (Gn 6:4; Nm 13:27–33) or else as *Rephaim* (Dt 2:10; 9:1–2)? Scholars are still conducting research on the Sao,

which is generally available to those who like to delve. It is particularly useful for biblical archaeology. For others, the Sao came to Chad after the deluge. They were the first civilized settlers in the area of Chad and were the first major population centred on the east bank of Lake Chad, known for their height and weight and their expertise in pottery. From whence they moved west and south into the savannah, and lived by the Chari River in the south of Lake Chad in territory that later became part of Cameroon and Chad. They are the earliest people to have left clear traces of their presence in the territory of modern Cameroon and Chad. They may have originated in the ancient Near East, in the valley of the Nile, or near Lake Chad. Others think the Sao were immigrants from the ancient Near East as a consequence of the fall of the Assyrian Empire at the end of the seventh century BCE (Lange 2007:68–71), or else the Sao were the descendants of the Hyksos, who conquered Ancient Egypt in the sixteenth century BCE. These may have moved southwest from the valley of the Nile into middle Africa in several waves, under pressure from Arab invaders (Fanso 1989:15–19). A more widely-accepted theory is that the Sao “were simply the indigenous inhabitants of the Lake Chad basin and that their ultimate origins lie south of the lake” (Fanso 1989:18).

It is becoming more apparent that their presence was well established south of Lake Chad and near the Chari River, and that their city states reached their apex probably between the ninth and fifteenth centuries CE (DeLancey & DeLancey 2000:237).

When the Sao sneezed, the birds fought as if it was a cloud burst. Their voices were similar to the thunderstorm; when they talked, it was like a thunderous noise; they could knock down the mountains with their hands; and they were able to divert the rivers, and stop the wind with their breathing. They killed the hippopotamus and elephants and were able to carry them to the village. They were known as excellent and famous warriors (Joubert 2007:10–13).

The sites of the Sao were known in Chad, and are still centres of research. What we can learn about Chad is that the images of this part of our continent have always attracted attention and are still a rich and important country which

will attract relevant researchers. Van Rensburg tried to explain more about Chad when he argued: "Chad is where Arab first mixes with Black African. Chad is where the dry Saharan north meets the bushy savannah centre to form the Sahel. Chad is where camel caravans carry goods between northern traders and southern farmers and craftsmen" (Van Rensburg 1975:56). The implications of these images have not been understood or recognized (Van Rensburg 1975:56). Unfortunately, the credibility of Chad has been replaced by the polarization and the politicization of the religious differences between the Islamic north and the Christian or animistic south. For the past forty years, Chad has never ceased fighting, and seemingly the only way to shut down voices or to stop daily clamouring is to use the gun.

2.3 THE HOPE OF CHAD

Chad has not only oil, but also other important resources, such as uranium, sodium, kaolin, diamonds and gold. Lake Chad also produces a good supply of fish. The northern region of Chad practices camel breeding, sheep, oxen, cows and goats. Chad is one of the Central African countries which have very extensive herds of camels and livestock. No one can ignore the industries of cotton textiles, meat-packing, beer-brewing, sodium, soap, cigarettes, and construction materials. The main agricultural production in Chad is cotton, sorghum, millet, peanuts, rice, potatoes and manioc (tapioca).

The socio-economic indicators of Chad are among the lowest in the world. The average life expectancy at birth is 47 years for males and 50 years for females. 40% of its products derive from agriculture and livestock. Cotton and food are grown in the wet season (El-Khawas & Ndumbe 2006:78).

Hopefully, with the revenue from oil and with respect to the possibilities of an oil spill, project documents assert that the project design will comply with international standards. The risk of spill is minimal, so the World Bank chronologically plans to target revenue for poverty alleviation; improving local capacity to manage the expected revenues; promoting transparency in the use of revenues; increased participation by parliament, civil society and the private

sector in revenue management decisions; and an extensive information and education campaign for the oil project (El-Khawas & Ndumbe 2006:78–79). The government of Chad, with the help of the World Bank, will diligently be able to manage the interests of the country.

Over the last five years, Chad has become a peaceful country, according to Van Rensburg (1975:57), yet it mirrors Africa on a small scale, and so attracts attention.

3. LEADERSHIP IN CHAD

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Chadian activity from independence in 1960 up to now will be discussed first. This will give a picture of leadership in Chad. It will be preferable to review the positive and negative aspects of the political leadership. Attention will also be given to religious leadership.

Before discussing the political leadership, I would like to present a scheme that shows how the Republic of Chad was led after it became independent on the 11th August 1960.

3.1.1 Presidents of Chad since 1960⁸

| No | Name | Investiture | Title | Affiliation | End |
|----|------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|------------|
| 01 | Francois TOMBALBAYE | 11/08/1960 | Head of State | PPT | 23/04/1962 |
| | Francois TOMBALBAYE | 23/04/1962 | President of Republic | PPT | 30/08/1973 |
| | Ngarta TOMBALBAYE (1) | 30/08/1973 | President of Republic | MNRCS | 13/04/1975 |
| | | | | | |
| | Gral Noel Milarew ODINGAR | 13/04/1975 | Interim Head of State | Military | 15/04/1975 |
| | | | | | |
| 02 | Gral Felix MALLOUM NGAKOUTOU | 15/04/1975 | Chairman of CSM | CSM | 12/05/1975 |
| | Gral Felix MALLOUM NGAKOUTOU | 12/05/1975 | Head of State | CSM | 29/08/1978 |
| | Gral Felix MALLOUM NGAKOUTOU | 29/08/1978 | President of Republic | CSM | 23/03/1979 |

⁸ (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_heads_of_state_of_Chad) (accessed 2 October 2013).

| | | | | | |
|----|-------------------|------------|--|--------------|----------------|
| | Goukouni WEDDEI | 23/03/1979 | Chairman of Provisional Council of State | FROLINAT-FAP | 29/04/1979 |
| | Lol Mahamat CHOUA | 29/04/1979 | President of GUNT | MPLT | 3/09/1979 |
| | Goukouni WEDDEI | 3/09/1979 | Chairman of Provisional Administrative Committee | FROLINAT-FAP | 10/11/1979 |
| | Goukouni WEDDEI | 10/11/1979 | President of GUNT | FROLINAT-FAP | 7/06/1982 |
| 03 | Hissene HABRE | 7/06/1982 | Chairman of the Command Council of FAN | FAN | 19/06/1982 |
| | Hissene HABRE | 19/06/1982 | Chairman - Council of State | FAN | 21/10/1982 |
| | Hissene HABRE | 21/10/1982 | President of Republic | FAN | 1984 |
| | Hissene HABRE | 1984 | President of Republic | UNIR | 01/12/1990 |
| 04 | Idriss DEBY ITNO | 01/12/1990 | President of MPS | MPS | 02/12/1990 |
| | Idriss DEBY ITNO | 04/12/1990 | Head of State | MPS | 04/03/1991 |
| | Idriss DEBY ITNO | 04/03/1991 | President of Republic | | Still in power |

3.1.2 Political leadership

Since Chad's rise to independence on August 11, 1960, the country has given the impression that it was growing. Practically, however, there have been some disasters that bring the country completely down. This situation is known to every genuine citizen (1) Chad has endured crushing droughts, and as a consequence, its economy has been affected and has deteriorated. (2) Already in 1965, under the first president, Ngarta Tombalbaye, the rebellions against the government led to civil wars between the northern Muslims and the southern Christians and animists. From 1965 to 1975, tension grew between the north and the south. This situation provoked a series of conspiracies in the Muslim north, the violent repression of which quickly escalated into a full-blown guerrilla war.

We realize that most of the fights between the Chadian leaders were focused more on personal, familial or ethnical interest, while all the time the country was still unstable. From 1979 to 2008, most Chadians lacked the courage to live in their own country as free citizens because of the recurring wars. Some

of the people living in the capital city were unable to buy a bed and sleep on it, because the next day they might be going back into exile. My experience in February 2008 brings me to the understanding that Chad still has a lot to do. If as a citizen of your country, you cannot feel free to enjoy living there, it means something has to change.

Experience shows that when most of the leaders came to power, their first option was to fill their pockets, to think about themselves and/or their relatives. Democracy loses its meaning under these circumstances. A leader like this is every reason to continue the fight. And this one seems endless. It must be impressed on leaders that the leader for whom people are searching in the 21st century is one who accepts the idea of self-sacrifice on behalf of his people. A leader who responds to the will of the community or the country which he is called to serve cannot be a despot.

It would be very difficult if a leader were to mix his leadership with "*la politique du ventre*", the "politics of the belly", while the population is weeping. He only cares for himself and not for the community. There should be local leaders and national leaders. The local leaders and the national leaders should work together for the well-being of the whole society.

What are the reasons for these two types of leaders? How do these two domains link for an excellent leadership that responds to the will of the community? Any administration has a hierarchical structure. This hierarchical structure responds to the recommendation which was given for the benefit of the locals. The local leaders not only deal with issues the population raises but also with issues the national leaders raise. Furthermore, it is clear that the needs of local communities should first be addressed before leaders concern themselves with national issues. If the national leaders do not respond to the will of the local communities, their leadership, despite having an excellent reputation, will be destroyed, since most complaints come from the bottom. It will be better to encourage the national leaders to properly do their job as it was recommended by the leaders from the local communities.

Sometimes excellent projects are planned to develop local communities, but when the projects are given to local leaders who only care for a section of the community, the projects will veer off course because of personal interests of the leader. He may assign tasks to members of groups who support him and thus they will benefit and not others.

The national leaders should be sensitive to the needs of the local communities. Therefore, as Napoleon Bonaparte used to say “a leader is a dealer in hope” (Secretan 2008). A leader whether local or national should realise that humans are inquiring, curious and innovative beings that yearn for leadership that offers hope. In fact, hope is not a leadership style that a leader can practice or be competent in, since a leader has to become a dealer in hope. Moreover, such a leader does not carry the noblest associations. And as leader he is responsible for dealing with various matters and to making constant choices about these matters. These are the challenges that a leader, as a dealer, has to face, by changing his behaviour in simple ways. He must be attentive to the feelings and reactions of others, then, depending on who he is, whatever the pattern and roles of his life, he can now become a dealer in hope in which the “light will be shining from the darkness”.

Once the two leaders combine their efforts, hand-in-hand, fighting for the best for the community, there will never be murmurs among them, and their safety will be assured.

Misunderstanding arises when there is a lack of mutual trust. It would be most satisfactory if every level of power considered the others with respect; this would be the way to avoid confrontation. If the national leader is not happy with what the local leader is doing, the only choice would be to remove him from office and replace him. Unfortunately those dissatisfied with his poor leadership would mobilize the uninformed who have not understood what was happening, or who had been in the system themselves, and thus constitute another (new) problem. Further, those who are going to suffer from this misconception are the unfortunate citizens. As they say, “When the elephants fight, the shrubs suffer”.

The issue, on the one hand, is that the leader must know that he is leader for the whole community which he is called to serve, and he will therefore endure certain vicissitudes. In any case the leader is bound to be exposed to critics, although those who criticize could never do better themselves. People probably think criticism is inevitable, and, for some, it is their profession, in the blood, so to speak. It would be wise to ignore them. Critics are more focused on personal interest or personal gain. They work with a strategy that will benefit the people, and one could say: "The dogs bark but the caravan moves". On the other hand, there are constructive critics of whom the leader should be aware. As dealer, he must make constant choices about what he is going to face or deal with, by being aware of others' feelings and reactions. These critics are a challenge that must be taken into consideration in the best interests of the community. In doing this, the leader is able to be a dealer in hope. The "light will shine from the darkness" not only on his leadership, but on the peace, success and prosperity of the whole community.

Leadership is as old as mankind; it is universal. It could exist everywhere – in small and large organisations, at different levels: in "business, in the churches, in trade unions and in charitable bodies, in tribes and in universities. It exists in informal bodies in street gangs and in mass demonstrations (...) Leadership is, to all intents and purposes, the number one concern of all organisations (Blondel 1987:1). Among the various aspects of leadership, political leadership, particularly in the nation-states, occupies a special position, because it seems to be vastly more visible, ostensibly at least, vastly more important (Blondel 1987:1).

What is political leadership? Essaying a broad definition (and losing the context to which attention must be drawn) political leadership could be defined as manifestly and essentially a phenomenon of power: it is power because it depends on the ability of the one or the few who are at the top to make others do a number of things (positive or negative) that they would not have done, or at least might not have done. It appears to be power exercised from the top down, so to speak. The leader is, in various ways, above the nation (in the

case of national political leadership), and can give orders to the rest of the citizens (Blondel 1987:2–3).

Political leaders sometimes make the mistake of continuing to follow the same formula for success after circumstances have altered. Sometimes they give the impression that they have an intuitive grasp of new possibilities and a personal capacity to take advantage of them, or else create for themselves a great human movement after realising their failure (Wogaman 2000: 6).

This brings us to analysing how a particular leader or movement has been able to seize power and change the course of history and how to predict any such thing for the future. Who could have predicted the rise of the shepherd-king David to power in ancient Israel? The emergence of Hitler? The mentor-liberator of South Africa, Nelson Mandela? These are but a few examples amongst many others.

On the one hand, there are, of course, many different ways in which religious people can pay attention to politics. The struggle for political power can be portrayed as essential to religious life, while at the other extreme, politics can be conceived of, religiously, as the summary of all the evil against which the righteousness of God is ultimately arrayed. Both attitudes take politics seriously (Wogaman 2000:8).

Political practitioners and theorists cannot afford to take religion lightly. Whether they define their own life purposes in self-consciously religious ways or regard religion as trivial or dangerous, they must relate to its political effects. In North America, both right-wing fundamentalism and mainline religious convictions have affected political outcomes substantially.

Many seasoned political leaders in the contemporary world would doubtless like to see this religious influence simply go away, particularly when it is arrayed against their own political purposes. But both religion and politics are here to stand, and their profound mutual interaction will continue. For religion may be understood, basically, as the essence of what we believe to be good.

The values and the truths by which we live, and for which we may even be prepared to die, are constructed by our religious faith. It is these values and truths which are most important to us in the formation of culture and society. Hence religion can be used by politicians (Wogaman 2000:8).

The practical value of tolerance is an important political conclusion to draw, but it is also loaded with religious implications (Wogaman 2000:10).

Some used to say that a leader endowed with charismatic authority will always emerge in a time of crisis. The crisis is necessary, but not a required condition (Blondel 1987:60). Therefore, we must also notice that all leaders (political and religious) have goals to achieve or to be handled directly for the sake of society. A leader will start by facing certain difficulties in terms of their achievements. The impact of leadership is thus affected by the conditions under which the position can be exercised (Blondel 1987:161).

The aims are to go beyond what a leader might or should be like in order to examine what kind of leader our society needs for the 21st century. This could be a realistic aim which will ultimately help us discover how the political leader and the religious leader could help each other for the best organisation of a human society in need.

The charismatic leader De Gaule (former president of France) was known to use stately and pompous language (Jackson 1990: 103). His conversation was merely another sort of performance for a more intimate audience in which he would test projects and float initiatives. He was known as “a man of faith and calculation” (Jackson 1990:106, 111). Most of the leaders during the wave of independence were characterised by this kind of pompous leadership. Chad’s former president, Ngarta Tombalbaye, was known to use language described as “*authentique sans papier*”. One can say that, amongst those leaders, some “who achieved something valuable and lasting have been silent and solitary people, and thus gave words their greatest resonance” (Jackson 1990:102).

In any case, there is no doubt those political leaders are responsible for the social welfare of their subjects, especially for the less privileged, and this responsibility has religious connotations. Even the pagan rulers have to live in accordance with the moral law laid down by God (Joubert 1979:85). What is left is to find out whether political and religious leadership could work together for the sake of the society.

3.1.3 Religious leadership

Christian leadership cannot be distinguished from the rest of humanity by country, language or customs. They do not live in cities isolated on their own; they do not follow a separate way of life, at the same time giving proof of the remarkable and admittedly extraordinary constitution of their own commonwealth. They live in their own countries, but as aliens. They have a share in everything as citizens. What the soul is to the body is what Christians are to the world (*Epistle to Diognetus* [Richards 1953:216]). In this regard, politics and religious issues were encouraged to go together for the sake of the community.

The whole teaching of the Gospel of Jesus and the Epistles of Paul is to draw politics to achieving responsibility by respecting authority. In the early Church, especially during the period of persecution (1st century CE), Christian views of politics were understandably regarded by most political authority as evil. They failed to impress the governing authorities with their law-abiding behaviour. It was a paradox for them, so they did not question the legitimacy of the state as an expression of God's purposed on earth, "while eschewing atrocities, war and violence" (Wogaman 2000:36–37). But some Christians, with no political role to play, often supported those who did have one with their prayers and obedience.

Democratic thought began to reassert itself during the Enlightenment. The publications of John Lock and Jean Jacques Rousseau (and many other thinkers of the age) inspired others by their views. Each was influenced to some extent by Christian ideas (Wogaman 2000:45).

Roman Catholic teaching had begun exploring modern political and economic development more directly with a series of papal encyclicals, which “expressed a change in Catholic thinking about Church-State relations, religious liberty, and issues of political participation in the modern world” (Wogaman 2000:46).

Among the Protestants, the social gospel is a focus on the “right of workers, and the responsibility of society to care for the poor (...). In every era, of the 20th century, Christians have been unusually blessed, but have stimulated and shaped the Church in the modern world” (Wogaman 2000:46–47).

Ellul holds that Christians have considerable reason to participate in politics. Their participation is not to use the political order to achieve Christian values or ends (Ellul 1976:163–188; Wogaman 2000:59). Not that this is usually considered. In fact politics was not perceived negatively, and can be expressed as follows (Ellul 1976:382):

We have to work hard to get it admitted, by our selves first of all, that politics is an honest concrete exercise in administration or management but that it has no spiritual, ideological, or doctrinal content. By helping us to see politics in its actuality demystifies it.

If to be political means that we must put our Christian identity with its values and beliefs resolutely aside, it may be suggested that we cannot, ultimately, be Christian. On the other hand, the relevance of our Christian convictions to politics may be such that we are forced to change our way of thinking about politics and the ways in which we practise politics (Wogaman 2000:161).

This reflection occasions some questions: Is there a real democracy in society whilst there is dire physical need – or inadequate food, clothing, shelter and medical care for the homeless? Democracy, in fact, is the system of government that best ensures opportunities for all to assume part of the responsibility for the future course of human history. Therefore, we all affect the future in our actions, whether we intend to or not. A democratic system at least makes it possible to assume some direct responsibility for changing the

course of the state. However, Christians can also assume historical responsibility through acts of civil disobedience, because democracy provides the most direct opportunity. Therefore, we are not aware that sometimes democracy facilitates evil or the public will. People are capable of “rising to idealism”. Furthermore, Christian faith implies support for democracy and democracy expresses the Christian spirit (Wogaman 2000:213–220).

Who could be trusted to keep faith with the inherited economic verities that had plunged the United States into a terrible depression? It is not so easy to say what will happen in the future (Wogaman 2000:7). The prediction/vision of Daniel can be highlighted as an implementation of our understanding of religious leadership.

We are unaware that politics is also extremely important, good or ill. Its effect upon human life, conduct and well-being can hardly be exaggerated. Politics is important in determining whether a people will be at war or at peace. It is fundamental to the distribution of economic goods, including the definition of poverty rights. “Politics is basic to the definition of crime and the determination of how it will be punished” (Wogaman 2000:7). Therefore, the interface between religion and politics is obviously also important. “In every culture, religion has been important to people who were most concerned about politics, and politics has been important to people who were most concerned about religion, and not infrequently, these have been the same people” (Wogaman 2000:7). The attitudes of religious people toward politics have varied enormously. But the importance of the relationship between the two is crucial to each. Those who are serious about politics must take religion seriously. “Those who are most deeply committed religiously must pay attention to politics” (Wogaman 2000:7–8).

On the other hand, Wogaman (2000:8–10) tried to create balance between the two leaders whereby the political practitioners and theorists cannot afford to take religion lightly. Whether they define their own life purposes in a self-consciously religious way or regard religion as trivial or dangerous, they must realize its political effects. In North America, both right-wing fundamentalism

and mainline religious convictions have affected political outcomes substantially. Hence, the dilemma is still relevant in both types of leadership.

Many seasoned political leaders in the contemporary world would doubtless like to see this religious influence simply go away, particularly when it is arrayed against their own political purposes, but both religion and politics are here to stay, and their profound mutual interaction will also continue. For religion may be understood, basically, as the essence of what we believe to be good. The values and the truths by which we live, and for which we may even be prepared to die for, are constructive of our religious faith. It is these values and truths which are most important to us in the forming of culture and society. Religion can be used by politicians. The “practical value of tolerance is an important political conclusion to draw, but it is also loaded with religious implications” (Wogaman 2000:10).

There are several teachings that focus on leader quality, and these seem to be monumental and unchanging. Unfortunately, the religious leadership, which is supposed to be “a light that shines from the darkness”, seems no different from the political one. We are faced with some kind of syncretism that is about to engulf our genuine way of performing. People brought what they do in political leadership into the religious arena. When we look at Chad’s religious leadership, it initially seems an excellent, obviously attractive example to follow. The Evangelical fellowship to which seven evangelical denominations belong, is an impeccable organisation with excellent administration. Christian fellowship should therefore draw more on one of its vital components to effect genuine transformation. Our leadership would then be one of excellence, focused on the fear of God, which really comes from the heart. Unfortunately, our leadership is still far from our own reality, because tribalism and regionalism have taken the place of transparency, so the leader loses his credibility by sacrificing his religion, and faith for the benefit of things that do not honour God.

It is true that in most black African countries, the spread of the gospel preceded colonisation and served as strong battlements to attend its political

and economic objectives (Monelbaye 1997:27). The main role was to facilitate colonial administrators' tasks as well as those of industry. In their own way, the black people already knew and feared God. Schools were established to train black auxiliaries in different domains. This project was a wonderful success in Africa. It allowed colonial missionaries to acculturate the black people until they submitted. The aim of the schools was to focus on submission, by showing the blacks how to believe rather than think carefully, or to reason (Monelbaye 1997:27, 99; see extract in addendum). It was from these perspectives that many schools were created to respond to the impact of colonialism in Africa. As a positive alternative, most Africans should be grateful that they were able to read and to study up to the wave of independence. This allowed numerous different churches to be opened in Africa.

Already in 1663, the Roman Catholic Capuchins attempted to begin work in Chad, but as yet no permanent mission has been established. However, in 1920, Rev. and Mrs Berge Revnes, who later moved to Pala, were followed by Mr and Mrs Kaardal (Norwegian-Americans who arrived from Garoua, Cameroon in 1919). They established the Evangelical Lutheran Brethren Mission in Lere among the Moundang. It took them four years to secure permission from the French. With the method of teaching that the Evangelical Lutheran Brethren (now *Eglises Fraternelles Lutheriennes au Tchad*) practised among these people, one could say that the Moundang were the first Chadian tribe to have the Bible in their own language, and there is no doubt that, among these people, there is an important number of well-educated individuals. Later, in about 1925, Mr Metzler from the Baptist Mid Mission (now *Eglises Baptistes au Tchad*) was an itinerant among the Sara people. On the 26th February 1926, John Rameses Olley from New Zealand, with Chadian Christians from Nigeria, established the Christian Brethren (now *Assemblées Chretiennes au Tchad*) in Ndjamena, Abeche, Mayo-kebbi (Bongor, Kim, Gounou-Gaya, Fianga), and Kelo, Bitkine, via Arada.

In 1926, Walter Ganz established the Baptist Mid Mission in Doba before John Olley visited Doba in April, 1927. Later in 1927, Victor and Florence Veary from Canada established SUM (Sudan United Mission), which is now *Eglises*

Evangeliques au Tchad at Bebalem, then at Moundou and among the Nanjere. In 1927, John Olley, from his “*tournée*” from Abeche, Moissala to Ndjamena, received permission from the French authorities’ for public evangelism. Muslims were perfectly free to proselytise. In 1928, the Grace Brethren established the *Eglises evangeliques des frères*. Later in 1929, Roman Catholics established the first permanent mission (Wheeler 2004:9–10; Colin 1994:15).

The mission in Chad was to prepare competent national leaders in politics and religious perspectives. It seems also that these missionaries were on good terms with the government, hence the reason why some of the Chadian leaders from the first generation were religious leaders. Tombalbaye was a trade union leader before he became the first president of Chad. As political leader, he was also an active member in the Mid-African Baptist Church, and was attending Christian Assemblies in Ndjamena as an elder of the French Church service in the days of Dr Olley.

General Odingar, who carried out a *coup d’état*, was a fine Christian man. General Felix Malloum was from an Assembly background. This demonstrates that the arrival of foreign missionaries in Chad from 1920 to 1930 focused on three dimensions: the physical, the social and the spiritual. The spread of the Gospel was called “holistic” gospel (Lawman 2003:5–54). As mentioned in the previous chapter, every Christian missionary in Chad had his own strategy for spreading the Gospel, obviously considering the three dimensions (physical, social, and spiritual). The first focused on living, particularly showing them the way to survive, how to manage and how to save food, even though they were already excellent farmers. The second focused on their health and mental development: The creation of small clinics for preventive care, primary schools, later secondary schools, the carpentry centres, as well as the sewing schools developed. This second dimension was the main focal point for certain missionaries. These schools were located in the missionaries’ courtyard or in the grounds where the church was erected. The second dimension concerns human beings being capable of taking care of themselves. Chad abounded with hospitals: the Hospital of Bebedja, Goundi for Roman Catholics, the

hospital of Bebalem for the Evangelical Churches, Koumra for the Baptist Mid-Mission, and Koyom for the Christian Assemblies. There were numerous dispensaries and health centres. Some of these Christian schools (primary and secondary) are the best in the country, achieving excellent results and raising competent leaders. Other high schools, like the Polytechnic Institute, the Medical schools, and the agricultural institutes remain as the different training frameworks that have helped to train senior managers.

The last dimension was spiritually focused on the word of God, the fear of God and the respect for authority. Furthermore, as I previously stated, every missionary had its own strategy for spreading the Gospel. The first Netherlands missionary, Kaardal, the founder of the Lutheran Brethren in Chad, focused his teaching of his believers by using the multiplication method. This was the same strategy used by John Ramses Olley. Therefore, during the rainy season he visited the believers all over the country. During the dry season he used a specific method, that of teaching his elites according to linguistic groups, one of whom spread his teaching to others.

This left the important implementation of the Gospel in Chad. This initiative brought more responses from missionaries in Australia, New Zealand and Europe. In 1926, the New Zealand missionary J. R Olley was sent to Chad. As result of his ministry, there were more than 1200 Brethren Assemblies in Chad. His leadership influenced a considerable number of missionaries from Australia and New Zealand who together have made a significant impact for the Gospel, Bible teaching and Bible schools, which moved on to higher and higher levels of training.

The last missionaries (Alan & Lorraine Wheeler) who lived Chad in 1983 encouraged the Assemblies in Geelong (Victoria state) to establish a connection with the training program in Chad to give support to the potential leaders recommended by the Christian Assemblies in Chad (Young 2013:1). These who followed J R Olley's leadership focused on the ethnic groups by translating the Bible into the vernacular or by teaching in Bible schools according to the language that they were using. Some of them focused on

social aspects, creating dispensaries and health centres. Some of those dispensaries became the present Hospital of Reference in which the dispensaries and Health centers refer in terms of endowment in medication, periodic training or retraining of nurses, nursing aides, and midwives. For example, there are the Hospital of Koyom (Christian Assemblies), Bebaem Hospital (Evangelical Church), and Koumra (Baptist Mid Mission). They were working together with the local people in the Christian Assemblies. The primary and secondary schools were created as well.

John R Olley was a leader who had great concern for the Muslims. While he was doing pastoral visits and teaching, he was also involved in the translation of the Bible into two languages: *Mbai*, assisted by Otman Ndokinra, had already been published in 1943, and *Kim*, assisted by Audu Kim (so called David Weko), was published in 1956.

In a letter written 15 days before his death on the 20 September 1956, he wrote: "I hope to translate the Scriptures, etc, for the Tupuris, and teach the Kim, and finish the Mbai Old Testament Scriptures (he had made a draft of seven Old Testament books in *Mbai*), if God wills, or do any service he may appoint" (Colin 1994:16). Many missionaries were mobilised by this to work in Chad. Some joined him while he was still alive and in full ministry in Chad.

The missionaries who joined J.R. Olley have the same perspectives on teaching and helping people to grow spiritually, as well performing social work (creation of schools, dispensaries, buildings). Among them Mr and Mrs Walter Ganz and the Misses MacLachlan, William (Bill) and Margaret Rogers (1935–1968), Neville Taylor, Mr and Mrs Albert Burkhardt (1946–1987), Neville and Evelyn Taylor (1949–1968), joined later by Mr and Mrs Maurice Baar and Mr and Mrs Jean Metz, Miss Evelyn Rout, Miss Anita Lewis, James and Dorothy Ford (1949–1952), Marjorie Shaw (1950), Colin (a builder) and Ruth (a nurse) Price (1951–1966; 1983–1987), John and Dawn Elliott (1959–1967, 1976–1984), Janet MacDougall (1957–1993), Peter and Nerida Robinson (1958–1968), Mr Brace and Mr Cope, Margaret King (1959–1974), Richard and Mavis Saxby (1960–1974), Mr and Mrs H. Beattie, Miss D. Gounon and Miss C.

Bouttet, Charles and Pearl Marsh, Robert and Judy Price (1965–1973), Ivan and Alison Hewlett (1965–1977), Laurie and Margaret Cowell (1965–1975), Judith Price née Davies (1965–1973), Margaret Mansfield (1970–1974), Marguerite Byard (1972–1975), Lorraine Pegler, Alan and Lorraine Wheeler (1968/70–1983), Neil and Neralie Clark (1981–1988). Some of them did more than two terms in Chad. Since 1990, the former missionaries have not come back to check how the ministry is growing.

Today all these church structures are able to take care of themselves without any support from overseas, as was the case in the beginning. The missionary strategy was the same, even in other denominations like the Evangelical Church in Chad, the Lutheran Brethren Church in Chad, and the Baptist Mid Mission in Chad.

Churches have experienced dramatic growth, mainly in animist areas. Chadian Christians have played a huge role in evangelizing their own people. In the early days, some Chadian Christians worked cross-culturally with other tribes. Social work has always been a hallmark of both the Evangelical and the Roman Catholic denominations in Chad. Various missions have established hospitals, dispensaries and schools, as mentioned above. More recently, Chadian Christians have opened libraries, technical and agricultural training centers and cultural centers. Social programs have included AIDS awareness, literacy and community health.

The relationship between political and religious leaders was very strong. The political leaders of the first generation focused their leadership on the “fear of God”. This relates to the teaching given to them by the priests of that time. Even in the Holy Scriptures, it seems that that most of the leaders were appointed by God and were removed from power because of their lack of respect for the rule that God established for his purposes. Was it not a genuine democracy at that time? It is clear that many churches in the world in general and in Africa in particular, are dying owing to the lack of strong and competent leadership. Our religious principles became just a formality and we feel that we

did not need to improve on the strength of our beliefs or the genuine principles of our faith.

Given all these aspects of political and religious leadership, one has to ask whether these perspectives combine in the best interests of the community. No leader (political or religious) can afford to remain a spectator when it comes to the growth of the community. Moreover, he should focus on the fear of God. In fact, the fear of God is still the basis of excellent leadership. This can be seen when the leader is elected to power. He has one choice to take his oath before God and before the people, by hopefully assuming his tasks. This oath can be taken on the Bible if the leader is Christian or on the Koran if the leader is Muslim. This has to be done in absolute seriousness.

What we must also realise is that Marxism has exerted an influence on Christian political thinking, whether positively or negatively. Meanwhile in the United States there has been a continuous rise of right-wing Christianity as a political force. The paralleling to some extent to the political power of fundamentalism in a number of other countries and in other religions has challenged both the conscience of more moderate religious groups and the practical instincts of political leaders. It means also that it should continue to challenge “so long as humanity remains political and so long as we are driven to think of politics from the hearth of our faith” (Wogaman 2000: 1).

However, the leader must always focus on himself, and there is no doubt that the self-discipline necessary for leadership is difficult. It leads most of the time to an “intimate struggle more or less intense according to the individual” (Jackson 1990:104) as well as those who surround him as counsellors. The leader is condemned to melancholy solitude: what people agree to call happiness (a favourite phrase) is incompatible with leadership.

In view of this (political and religious aspects of leadership running together) Chad will challenge its leadership. This will be the main focus of the next section.

4. THE CHALLENGES OF LEADERSHIP IN CHAD

It has been a while that this landlocked country has been going through crucial situations in which Chad has become an international preoccupation at the very forefront of African debate. More vital is a proper understanding of the conflict. The Chadian crisis raises the theoretical questions of how such a weak and threatened state nonetheless manages to survive.

The international view is that, in development, peace and security go together. Former Prime Minister Louis de Guiringaud, as guardian, catalyst, and caretaker, once maintained, regarding the development of Africa, that there is “no development without peace, and no peace without security” (Kelley 1986:83). However, this conflict brought the country to prominence, to be heard across the world. Consequently, Chad has survived, not because they have been able to stand independently, but because they have been given political, financial and military support from the outset by the former colonial powers, with the moral and legal norms of international society guaranteeing their survival (Kelley 1986:1–2). The appearance on the international scene by this country was questioned.

However, “with the desire to maintain the Pax Africana and the system of balance of power in which the bilateral and multilateral relationship between Chad and other African states” (Kelley 1986:63), there was a need to help Chad out of this situation with the assistance of certain Francophile states, including Gabon, Togo, the Ivory Coast, the DRC, Benin and the Congo), and certain peripheral states, such as Egypt, Ethiopia and Morocco (Kelley 1986:63), as well as Chad’s neighbours Libya, Niger, Nigeria, Cameroun, Soudan and the Central African Republic.

In the 21st century, most attention is on the leader as sacrificial in the service of the community. The leadership in Chad is linked to the question of mentality, and, for that reason, it involves two factors that damage its leadership: the general context and the socio-economic context that is lamentably ruining our system of leadership. These two factors play an important role in the political

and religious leadership, because they are to do with human beings (Chadians).

It is important to mention that pollution, the deforestation of the earth, and impoverishment of the soil are some of the damages which undermine the survival of humanity. Are we still responsible for the destruction of nature? Are we aware of the advancing desert?

The socio-economic context goes together with the worldview whereby things are created. That is why I can say that this worldview is like special lenses that people use to justify their way of life, to analyze and interpret their environment, their behaviours and their relationship with their god. If a man is a thinking being, this means that he has the ability to think, the ability to invent, and to explore, which will lead him to the spirit of creativity. However, if our vision depends on what we think and how we interpret things, the context will obviously be different from the designs that surround it.

The challenges of leadership will focus on some observations on the perspectives of Chad's leadership, which will help us locate the gangrene which ruins countries. These observations will be on (1) corruption, (2) armed conflict, (3) Geo-politics, (4) poverty, (5) development and infrastructures, (6) the abuse of power, and (7) challenges to democracy.

4.1 CORRUPTION

Corruption and exaggerated military expenditures become harder to carry out without calling up public awareness. The role of the civil society organisations and independent and responsible mass media is crucial for successfully combating corruption and promoting law enforcement (Eriksson & Hagstromer 2005:18).

Corruption drags the country into turmoil. Chad is among the most corrupt countries in the world. In Africa, according to 2009 information, Chad was the

3rd most corrupt country in Africa after Somalia and Sudan. Later, on the 1st December, 2011, Chad was ranked 7th after Somalia, Sudan, Equatorial Guinea, Burundi, Libya and the DRC. It is 13th in the world after Somalia, North Korea, Myanmar, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Sudan, Iraq, Haiti, Venezuela, Equatorial Guinea, Burundi, Libya and the Democratic Republic of Congo. This is shown in an article written by Jack Morilingar (2012:3), with the provocative title [*“Les têtes continuent par tomber”* (heads continue to roll)]. Chad is still hoping that from its 7th position of corrupt countries, it will be placed lower among the 20 most corrupt countries!

There is no doubt that corruption and authoritarian governance are a chronic plague for Chad. Oil revenues will worsen these problems. According to civil society sources, Chad shows increasing signs of being a country permeated by the rent syndrome (Berilengar 2004). The external aid rent, democracy rent, geo-strategic rent, poverty rent, and continued armed conflicts rent received in Chad earlier are now augmented by the oil rent (Eriksson & Hagstromer 2005:70).

In the state with the highest corruption rates in the world, it would actually be very surprising if transparency and honesty were suddenly achieved. Would the military power base not look for other leaders if they did not receive “their share” of oil rent? (Eriksson & Hagstromer 2005:71).

4.2 ARMED CONFLICT

When we look at the crucial situation of Chad, one can argue without hesitation that, amongst the greatest challenge to the leadership in Chad, is that of armed conflict, which started in 1965 and lasted until the advent of democracy. The armed conflict was focused more on the interests of the leaders for whom the boundary countries were playing important roles, both positive and negative. Amongst these armed conflicts (regionalism, tribalism, the Aouzou Strip), focus will be on the Aouzou Strip, in which Libya was the key-player, particularly on behalf of its own interests. The Aouzou strip is located in the North of Chad. It is about 180 km wide and comprises 117 000 square kilometres of African soil

(where even Mussolini could not raise bananas). It borders on Libya. Its distance from Chad is 1 055 km, which makes the border difficult for Chad to patrol (see Map of Chad in appendix). Another aspect of the Aouzou Strip was the treaty between Great Britain and France, which gave the Strip to France. Thus, when Chad gained independence, the strip belonged to France (Burr & Collins 2006:91; Nicolaidis 1999:13–14).

The Aouzou strip has rich deposits of uranium and other minerals. Libya's interest is in the economic aspects, as they can use uranium in manufacturing nuclear weapons and to fuel nuclear reactors. The existence of uranium and the global demand for it was a direct cause of conflict between Chad and Libya over the Aouzou strip. Libya was not aware that armed conflicts in the North (rebels) of Chad against the Government would use this opportunity to destabilise the country as much as possible to fulfil his dream of gaining the Aouzou strip (Nicolaidis 1999:16).

It seems that the Aouzou strip was sold by former President Tombalbaye to Gaddafi in an agreement of friendship and cooperation wherein Libya pledged 60 million US dollars towards Chad's economic development. This situation of the Aouzou strip rose again, but was then definitely concluded in February, after the decision of the International Court of Justice, and Libya withdrew her troops out of Chad's territory on the 31 March 1994. It was also the end of war. (Burr & Collins 2006: 94, 248–249, 277–278).

As previously mentioned, armed conflict started in 1965 from President Tombalbaye, to General Felix Malloum; from Goukouni Weddei to Hissen Habre, and Deby, with incursions by the external Movement for Democracy and Development which created his party, the Patriotic Movement for Salvation (MPS), raised to power in 1990. We are unaware that most consequences of armed conflict emerged from the ethnic violence (since 1946). Yet, perception of the differentiation and political awareness, the representation for Chad's various ethnic and regional groupings should be the focal of the conflict (Kelley 1986:3–24).

Looking further afield, the external neighbours such as Libya, with its diplomatic and political view, wanted to keep Chad under its control by manipulating Muslim leaders for its cause in the name of Islam, even though Deby makes meaningful democratic changes and gives amnesty to all political prisoners. This democratisation became a pre-requisite for continued French aid. But the Zaghawah ethnic group who supported Deby were not all in favour of losing their grip on the state and were ready to maintain it by force if necessary. However, Deby is still facing problems with his own military support base, dominated by his ethnic group, the Zaghawah (Nicolaidis 1999:35-36; Eriksson & Hagstromer 2005:33).

The armed conflicts in Chad involved many other African countries (Nigeria, Senegal, Gabon, Cameroun, Tanzania, Togo, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Zaire (current DRC), Central African Republic and Congo, with national and International NGOs (Chadian Human Rights League, the International Court of Justice (like OAU), French army units and the Pan-African Peace force. This was to reconcile support by numerous power weapons and munitions, troops from different fronts, and financial aid/supports in terms of billions of dollars and Francs CFA, spent on the stability of Chad (Hanning 1983:12–14; Burr & Collins 2006:112–116; Nicolaidis 1999:35–36). The armed conflict was not limited to the North. Later, others were created, as well as “Commando Cocotier”, the national recovery Committee for Peace and Democracy.

From 1960 to 2010, Chad was at the centre of furious armed conflicts. This affected the whole population, and destabilised its leadership. Thus, after fifty years of independence, the time is no longer ripe for fighting. It is now time for Chadians to sit down and think about the future. When it comes to Chadian leadership, no leader coming into power has been averse to the plan of the Almighty God. Every leader has been different and their ideology has been irreplaceable; every leader has had his strengths and weaknesses, and each one has proved a Christian citizen. However, most of them have what Jean Paul Sartre called *Dirty Hands* (1951). In any case, every leader brought a contribution to the edifice that is Chad, to which the generation during that time

is still referring. On the other hand, after their period in office, some of them left incurable marks on the lives of Chadians, and others allowed incalculable damage, for which Chadians are still paying the price. They took the oath and served as citizens of Chad. Further, our parents were witnesses, and so the same things were brought to the new generation. Hence, some are gone, pathetically mown down by bullets; others passed on and were buried in their native country of Chad, whilst others remain in this predicament. In this disaster of armed conflict, we must not lose track of the death of our heroes, whom we can never replace.

Chad must look back to what happened in the past, and draw lessons for the future. The main aim in the new perspectives expected in the 21st century is to look forward and move on. Can the past help Chadian citizens to rebuild a new, prosperous Chad? Is there any difference between political and religious leadership? What will be the contribution by religious leadership? How can those two principles of leadership link together and bring a new perspective for this century? These questions will help draw attention to the religious aspect which should be the rudder of our leadership.

4.3 GEO–POLITICS

Geopolitics was at the centre of the conflict in Chad. Gaddafi was known as the main figure of geopolitical activity, aiming to conquer countries with the historic mission of the Arab and the frontiers of Islam. His main objective was to reject and frustrate the Christian colonial powers. He visited and organised marches in many Arab countries which he hoped would be favourable to his geo-politics, but he faced enormous resistance (Burr & Collins 2006:77–85). He turned to Chad by manipulating some North Muslim leaders, over a long period.

His intention was to keep Chad severely weak in this position by “manipulating it for Jamahiriya and the Western-states systems, in trying to play games with former President Tombalbaye’s vulnerable position, trying to convince him to abandon his relationship with Israel (Kelley 1986:28–29). He acknowledged his vulnerability with these words: Judaism differs from Christianity. Islam is

against Christianity. Israel has been seeking for a long time to return to the land of their forefathers and they have now done so with the help of the great powers. This affected the political system in terms of cooperation, and Chad was seen as “neo-colonialist and pro-Zionist, while former President Tombalbaye was seen as the pawn of Semitic imperialism which must be overthrown (Burr & Collins 2006:84–85).

Most of the armed conflict centred on the tendencies of colonialism. Amongst these powerful supports (inter alia, troops, munitions, finances) one can see the influence of geopolitics, especially in the case of the armed conflict in Chad, which undermined the face of Chadian leadership. As an example “the USA was only too ready to help anybody who opposed Libya” (Hanning1983:13).

4.4 POVERTY

There is no need to demonstrate the importance of poverty in Chad. It is so alarming that it demands immediate attention. Clearly, the level of poverty in Africa in general and in Chad in particular, is very high. Most people thought that the oil in Chad would stabilize the problem of poverty, but unfortunately, the poorer citizens have been reduced to an even lower level. There is a great gap between the poor and the rich. The poor are very poor and the rich are at a level which the poor could never reach. Today a poor Chadian cannot buy even a simple bicycle, which could cost around USD 90. However, more than 1/3 of the rich are driving the latest model car, which costs around USD 400 000, 00, and are living in luxurious conditions. Three-quarters ($\frac{3}{4}$) of the people living in Chad are still sleeping in houses covered with earth from wall to roof. Every rainy season, these poverty-stricken citizens are obliged to rebuild their houses.

The traditional attitude to retaining information, deeply rooted in the Chadian administration, is still the rule, in a country perceived as one of, if not the most corrupt states in the world. It would indeed be remarkable if the oil resources were used fairly. The future democratization process is under serious threat, as

new oil income cannot be said to have had a positive impact so far (Eriksson & Hagstromer 2005:69).

Since the armed conflicts started in 1965, even though the fighting was at a high political level it did not immediately affect the poor population. The north of Chad was amongst those with the most flourishing livestock in Africa. The owners of billions of herds of camels, oxen, sheep and cows were constantly crossing the borders to sell this livestock in Nigeria, the Central African Republic, and Niger. I cannot imagine the taxes that this livestock brought in during my childhood.

In the South of Chad, there was some agricultural competition. Certain farmers and their agricultural goods, particularly cotton, were decorated by former President Tombalbaye. The famine was there, but not as it is today. The regions in the south were known for the variety of their agriculture. The Tandjile géographique, with its office, Mise en Valeur de Sategui Deressia (OMVSD), was known as a great producer of rice, followed by Mayo-Kebbi East with its project Casier A & B, as well as Doba (casier C). This was to promote a better life for poor citizens. Mayo-Kebbi West, and Moyen Chari, followed by Logone Occidental, were famous producers of cotton.

The drought-stricken areas in Africa, particularly Chad, from 1973–1975, lost all their livestock. The climatic conditions were more drastic in the south of Chad, where the rainy season covers only lasts for only four to six months. To save the remains of their livestock, the farmers were obliged to move to the south of Chad during the rainy season in order to graze their flocks and herds. Unfortunately, this movement from the North to the South created enormous conflict. For more than two decades, the so-called “conflict éleveurs–agriculteurs” (“conflict breeders and famers”) were central to the concerns of our political and religious leaders. Several people were killed or injured in this conflict.

The poverty in Chad has ultimately affected the poorer citizen's family. There is a "storm of criticism" over the issue of education. This situation is located on two levels: education for the poor and for the rich.

The poor cannot afford good quality education and it has been lost from their schools. Some parents are obliged to send their children to private schools, where they can at least have basic training. This entails further sacrifices by the parents. Once the children finish secondary school, another challenge is faced, a very complicated one.

The parents will make more sacrifices if they do not have the funds to send their children for appropriate study. They are obliged to sell their land and focus on the children's future studies, hoping that they will take care of their parents once they have completed their studies. Something like a moral debt is thus established in the family. Unfortunately, experience has shown in these last two decades that, after studying, unemployment becomes critical and has caused heart attacks, followed by serious and incurable diseases.

Unfortunately, most of those who studied on their own are unemployed. They become more and more frustrated and angry with everyone, including the governmental system. Some have refused to return to the country because they feel like strangers, abandoned there.

The second level is the education of the wealthy. Some of them are already employed while they are out of the country. They don't feel the pain that their compatriots are facing. They can go back to their country and get a job with more advantages in terms of position.

Hopefully, the World Bank will take this situation into consideration. We are not sure that oil could really solve the situation of the Chadians in general and the poorest Chadians in particular.

What we know about the border countries with mineral resources, yet in the very same predicament of poverty cannot be a simple observation, but an

imperative to look ahead and to be prepared. In order to avoid inequalities and poverty, poor oil exporting countries must try to diversify their economy (Eriksson & Hagstromer 2005:15, 17).

4.5 DEVELOPMENT AND INFRASTRUCTURES

Sometimes a leader would like to correct a situation according to his own planning, but certain realities must become priorities: (1) the infrastructure must be the main strategy for the development of the country, without any discrimination. In the case of Chad, I would say that Chad belongs to Chadians, from north to south, and from east to the west. This country has immense potential resources. There is still much to do everywhere. Three-quarters ($\frac{3}{4}$) of the north is still desert. From Aouzou via Bardai, Faya to Fada, there are wonderful date trees, our incalculable camels and natron which would make the desert profitable for all Chadians. The central and south of Chad are still far from becoming reality in terms of development, therefore, from Mao via Moussoro, Ati, to Ouaddai and to Am-timan, passing by Mayo-Kebbi geographical, are we aware of our countless cattle? From Goz-Beida to Masenya, there are numerous sheep and goats. Lake-Chad, the main source of fish, is drying out, and is now losing its potential in terms of fish productivity. Mayo-Boney is a very important producer of fish. Sategui-Deressia, Casier A, B & C are excellent centers of rice production and ought to be boosted. Chadian should be proud of the immense wealth of oil in Doba and Sedigui, apart from the new fields discovered in Mayo-Kebbi and Chari Baguirmi.

The second aspect is the infrastructure which needs more attention. The progress to date can be acknowledged, though, and is being encouraged. From the capital city to the south, access was rather difficult. Today one can travel from Ndjamenà to Sarh via Moundou or Lai without too much difficulty, and the same applies from Ndjamenà to Abeche (northern city).

Chad could consider these points, and try to encourage the poor citizen to grasp at and start a new and better life before the long-term revenues of oil materialize. Returning to agriculture and livestock, which are the principal

resources and have possibilities, the poor could easily grasp at and focus on a better life, without expecting too much or depending too heavily on huge state projects. By this I mean developing irrigation, agriculture (rice, maize, and vegetables) where there is little rain, equipping the poor citizen with adequate machinery for groups.

4.6 CHALLENGES FOR DEMOCRACY

There is a sense of democracy in African societies. It means that the democratic tendency to participate was already in people's hearts in general and in the community concerned in particular.

For many decades, African leaders have failed to develop their countries, blaming everyone (especially the legacy of colonialism) for the state of Africa's underdevelopment. They have complained about the structure of the world economy and western domination within the global economic systems (El-Khawas & Ndumbe 2006:xi), as in the case of Chad and its coloniser, France.

Democratisation is not a process that is inevitably carried out in different stages over time to finally be fully implemented. The process is liable to be slow, messy and difficult. This has certainly been true in Africa. In the 1990s, the democratisation process got off to a good start, opening up the political system and guaranteeing liberties (freedom). Other countries have not yet passed the test of democracy with a transfer of power from one civilian government to another (El-Khawas & Ndumbe 2006:13). The transition to democracy in Africa began as part of the worldwide political transformation that took place in the aftermath of the cold war. The crumbling of the Berlin wall, the demise of communism in Eastern Europe, and the collapse of the Soviet Union sparked the globalization of democracy, first in Europe and then in Africa (El-Khawas & Ndumbe 2006:3).

The African drive for political liberation was also boosted from abroad. The World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Western donors refused to help African governments deal with their deteriorating economies

until economic and political reforms had been put in place (Wiseman 1995:3–4).

Students, professionals and civil associations, trade unions, Churches, women's groups, human rights organisations, the press and others spearheaded protests against un-democratic regimes (Wiseman 1995:5; Diamond 1994:5 cf. El-Khawas & Ndumbe 2006:4).

While several African leaders were struggling deeply with their crisis of democracy, Yoweri Museveni (Uganda's president) addressed African leaders in these terms "If you think you do not have a democracy, then you should rather vote for it instead of pinning your hopes on international organisations" (Onapide 1998:118).

At least the institutionalisation of more democratic structures and governmental procedures has been a positive development. The "use of term-limit for presidents has led to the retirement of strongmen who had held on to power for a long time" (El-Khawas & Ndumbe 2006:107). This issue did not reach all African countries, and some continued to lead for life. Once some presidents were elected in multiparty elections, they forgot about democratic reform and took measures to prolong their stay in office. This could obviously have meant that multiparty elections had led to the rise of ethnic politics, and would have led also to increased ethnic violence and armed conflicts, whereby the consequences would act as a prelude to civil war.

The fact is that some African countries are rich in mineral resources, yet their revenues have done little to develop their societies or reduce poverty. Some governments started by using these resources to increase their wealth and to promote their own personal agendas. For some, the misuse of mineral revenues has increased the rise of popular discontent, ethnic violence or civil war (El-Khawas & Ndumbe 2006:110). Hence, democracy is rare in oil states, owing to the centralised powers in the contracting process. The most important of these are the mutual link between governments and people. This is created by taxes (some oil exporting countries remove or lower taxes).

However, in order to avoid unemployment, inequalities and poverty, impoverished oil exporting countries must try to diversify their economy (Eriksson & Hagstromer 2005:15, 17). These are some important aspects to be taken into consideration.

Africa's human resources problems should be addressed in any strategic planning for development. African professionals are migrating out of Africa because of the intolerable conditions of political instability, armed conflict, and deteriorating economic and social conditions. As result, African countries have missed out on the service that professionals could have rendered to their communities and possible contributions to their societies. Their departure has caused severe shortages in skilled manpower and has rendered many countries unable to tackle poverty, disease, and underdevelopment.

Once political, economic and social reforms have been implemented to improve living conditions, professionals will choose to stay rather than seek employment overseas. Another strategy is to develop programs to entice expatriates to return home permanently or for short periods to help rebuild human capital. This may require removing bureaucratic red tape and adopting more flexible labour policies (El-Khawas & Ndumbe 2006:109–112). African countries have many institutional democratic features, and the “legalisation of opposition has not brought democracy” (Diamond 1994:51).

Unfortunately, the issue that seems to be very questionable is that of military service. The military still poses a serious threat to democracy in Africa. Coups d'état, mutinies, and armed conflicts are causing havoc in certain countries, ending civilian rule, halting democratisation, and increasing ethnic violence in society. El-Khawas & Ndumbe (2006:14) suggest that “African governments need to find a way to place the military under civilian control in order to minimise its threat. If democracy is to survive in Africa, the military must stay above politics”.

Chad started its democracy in the particular situation in which it is now, searching for a way to get out of the problem of extreme poverty. In the search

for democratisation, two groups have emerged on the political scene in Chad: the democratic political parties, basing their power on popular support and the politico-military movements of the armed forces, and the political elite, who believe in democracy or who follow foreign advice. This is a risk that Chad's democracy process is facing. In the North of the country, democracy is determined more by traditional conservative sultanates, whilst in the South of Chad, people are more committed to a struggle for the respect of human rights (Eriksson & Hagstromer 2005:30–31). Do democracy and law go together?

Eriksson & Hagstromer (2005:33) tried to summarize three relevant factors, relating application of the law to democracy as follows:

- The high rate of illiteracy: non-educated patriots are offered high level posts as compensation after a military takeover, yet have not learned to follow law but only to obey orders.
- The notion of power and responsibility is linked to the family and ethnic groups, not to a nation.
- The nomination practices betray one of the recommendations of the National Sovereign Conference (CNS): “Set the right person in the right position”.

In fact, the desire of CNS was to have not only the respect of state institutions but also to have credible persons working there. The partisan phenomenon leads to a situation where many morally doubtful persons are nominated to responsible posts. The disputes around these nominations have weakened their authority. The absence of authority leads to disorder and impunity.

It is hard to tell whether the political liberation of Africa was boosted from abroad. The World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Western donors refused to help African governments deal with their deteriorating economies until economic and political reforms had been put in place (Wiseman 1995:3–4; El-Khawas & Ndumbe 2006:3–4). Ahead of these “unknown equations”, political and religious leaders must move hand-in-hand, and work together for democracy in the real sense of the term.

5. CONCLUSION

The issue of political and religious leadership has become an incurable disease in our country because of corruption, armed conflict, geo-politics, poverty, development and infrastructures and abuse of power (including education). The situation is rotten both in the political arena (government) and religious leadership and affects the community to which we belong. This has led to the painful social and political situation, destabilizing the efficient functioning of our leadership through our endless armed conflicts. In referring to our geo-politics, it was clear that the political turmoil in the leadership of Chad took its toll on Chad's economy, in which the transition from colonialism to political independence was undoubtedly a major source of the armed conflict that ravaged the country until Libya's evacuation from the Aouzou strip in 1994. It is evident that Chad today is an autonomous actor on the African stage, and its capacity to decide its own international relationship is evident, if it is used wisely. These armed conflicts in Chad and foreign military interventions cannot be separated from the colonial legacy, knowing that colonial boundaries were composed with the interests of the colonisers in mind. The fact that Chadian leaders were basically illegitimate and relied on French military and financial support to maintain power, made increasingly more Chadians dependent on France and what is seen as neo-colonialism (Nicolaidis 1999:37–39).

Considering everything the country is lacking, the diversity training of senior managers in different economic aspects is one of the top priorities; and the creation of many accredited universities with competent staff and academics will be the channel of development, fostering the credibility of the country. Neglect of this specific domain of training for senior managers in Chad is currently lacking. Unfortunately, it seems clear that most of the very few senior managers are still overseas, or are involved in politics and are not following their careers. A primary school teacher can earn a better salary than a senior manager. If the professional senior manager is involved in politics or has formed a party, he will definitely have to give up his career.

The challenge to mineral resources is that the discovery of oil has been seen as an opportunity for Chadian development, which has long suffered from high energy prices. The major challenge now is to allocate Chad's oil revenues efficiently and transparently to finance projects for road construction, water supply, education, health and rural development, in accordance with the country's poverty reduction strategy (Eriksson & Hagstromer 2005:54–56).

If Chadians know that the country has so much potential oil, a Chadian leader (politician and/or religious), or economist should first claim strong action for moving out of poverty so that all can benefit. Chad is improving economically, even if there are only a few positive signs in the daily life of the population. The real challenge will come when the oil prices decline in the future. This is what all Chadians are hoping for, particularly if it is in the best interests of the country (JAI 2004).

As religious leaders, we have the same responsibility to make an impact as political leaders have. We are not supposed to live on the fringes of society, but inside it, so that we can actively participate. It cannot be said that man loses his freedom when he uses it against God, and receives it back when he re-establishes dialogue with Him (God). This is what happened to Adam, who ignored God's commandment when under the serpent's influence. By giving it another purpose and meaning, his relationship with God was broken and Adam's limitations became his alienation (Ellul 1976:145). Our responsibility is not fighting against flesh and blood, but against the principalities and powers in which man uses human methods and acts on the socio-political plane. He will always be finally vanquished by his only enemy, or be saved from the powers of darkness only by an external intervention which necessarily has to become internal (Ellul 1976:158–159).

In the Old Testament, God describes the calamities that will follow (1 Sam 8:7), but He lets his people make their mistake. Then He uses the error and disobedience of his people and integrates them into his plan (Ellul 1976:171). However, the religious leader is bound before men and God to accept the consequences of his profession of faith.

We must remain aware that peace is very difficult to achieve because of the many years of internal and external conflict at the heart of the political, religious, economic and social crisis. There is no ideology of common nation building and development vision (Eriksson & Hagstromer 2005:37). If criticism becomes a weapon of the war with pseudo-liberalism, it mounts an attack on the Bible and leads to a denial of God's existence. It becomes an apologetic machine which brings no truth to the glory of God and his people (Ellul 1976:167).

Furthermore, the culture of violence as a means for political claims must cease and be replaced by confidence-building measures; it will be one of the priorities in facing poverty, corruption, armed conflicts, abuse of power and geo-politics. The existence of decentralized democratic structures, good governance, good social and economic politics, and a broadening of the market economy to favour the poor constitutes basic requirements for promoting and guaranteeing an exclusive development. (Eriksson & Hagstromer 2005:72–74).

The Chadian government must comply with the law and avoid severe corruption, domestic and foreign violence and widespread popular discontent, if it is to create the real dreams expected by Chadians for a prosperous Chad.

CHAPTER 7

THE BOOK OF DANIEL, LEADERSHIP AND CHAD

1. INTRODUCTION

Coming to the end of the research into the Book of Daniel and the issue of leadership, readers may ask: Can the Book of Daniel really contribute to a discussion on leadership, leadership styles, skills and competencies? Is this book not too far removed from the 21st century to make any meaningful contribution? James Barr's warning concerning using the Bible to solve modern society's ethical questions cannot be ignored. He wrote (Barr 1984:122):

In principle ethical questions cannot be answered from the Bible alone: for, at the very least, they require a consideration of whether the human situation with which we seek to deal is the same as, or sufficiently analogous to, that for which the biblical commandment was given.

This warning applies also to the issue of leadership. One cannot use the Book of Daniel when discussing the issue of leadership, leadership styles, skills and competencies and leave the impression that no new material has since been published. One has to read books written by modern authors and experts on leadership in the 21st century in order to understand what is at stake. However, I am convinced that this book could become a "conversation partner". Readers can gain wisdom about leadership from reading a biblical book like Daniel if they read with a critical mindset. Not every value the Bible offers us may be applicable to our context. Jonathan Magonet emphasises this point brilliantly by saying: "It is our duty to read the Bible 'critically', with open eyes, with questions, even with judgments on the values it is offering us" (1997:7).

While reading the stories in Daniel this warning came to mind when I read what Daniel told King Belshazzar about his father, King Nebuchadnezzar. He said: "He put to death whom he would and spared whom he would, he promoted them at will and at will abased them" (Dn 5:19b). Daniel did not criticise these acts. It is evident that he cherished the view that this is how kings should act. A

king who cannot make a stand and force his will onto others does not show the character and ability to rule. King Nebuchadnezzar only misbehaved when he became haughty, stubborn and presumptuous. No political leader should have the power to put citizens to death if they do not obey his orders. Our century does not value leaders who behave in this way. Many of us live in democratic societies and value the lives of other citizens. The universal declaration of human rights serves as a guide for these governments (Clapham 2007:57–80). According to these rights every human being has the right to food, education, health, housing and work; should be treated equally and not suffer discrimination (Clapham 2007:119–136). These rights had not been formulated when the Book of Daniel was written and one should keep this in mind when discussing the issue of modern leadership.

However, the discussion will focus on (1) the research history and a contextual reading in the Book of Daniel; (2) attention will be drawn to the crisis in African leadership; (3) It will be considered how Daniel from the 6th century BCE could contribute to a discussion on African leadership in the 21st century CE. The chapter will end with a conclusion.

2. LESSONS FROM THE HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION

2.1 HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The research history of the Book of Daniel was studied and an idea of how the different contexts influenced reading of the stories was considered. This research history of the book clearly revealed that readers from different centuries wrestled with different issues. These issues evidently influenced their reading and understanding of the book.

During the pre-critical phase, readers regarded the book as a prophecy in which they could discover clues for what is happening in society and what may happen in the near future. The book gave confidence that God is in control and that He is guiding history towards a goal. These readers were not really interested in the issue of leadership.

During the historical-critical phase scholars were less interested in where history was heading and focused more on when the book originated and what the authors had tried to communicate to the interested elite of their day. These scholars did not focus on the issue of leadership. It was of minor importance to them as well.

However, leadership is a burning issue in the 21st century and in the context in which we are living. The issue of leadership therefore influenced my reading of the Book of Daniel. It is interesting that scholars are becoming increasingly aware of the role readers play in reading and understanding texts.

Gunnar Hansson describes this well when he says: “[M]eanings are not ‘found’ or ‘discovered’ in the text, but they are taken out of the mind of the individual reader and from there attributed to the text” (1990:109). One should also keep in mind that readers belong to different interpretative communities and that this may also influence a reader’s reading of a text. The fact that modern biblical scholars are aware that there is no single reading of a text and that context and community influence a reader’s reading, gave me confidence to do my own reading of the stories in the Book of Daniel.

My reading was done from the perspective of someone living in a context where leadership is a burning issue and where people are looking for wisdom and advice on the matter.

2.2 A CONTEXTUAL READING

My reading of the Book of Daniel may be classified as a contextual reading. However, it was informed and guided by modern literary studies of biblical texts. The guidelines that Gunn & Fewell (1993), Marguerat & Bourquin (1999) and Fokkelman (1999) formulated for analysing narrative texts assisted me in understanding the narratives in Daniel 1–6. By way of a summary, the following lessons on leadership became apparent while I was reading and studying the book:

- Daniel 1: The four Jewish friends did not drink or eat the food given to them while they were being prepared to serve at the court of King Nebuchadnezzar. They showed courage by adhering to their religious and cultural traditions. Leaders without the courage to go against the stream and to do what is believed to be best for all cannot be classified as good leaders. The four friends excelled and were appointed at the king's court not only because of their appearance but surely also because of their courage in adhering to their traditions. Courage is an important characteristic of a good leader.
- Daniel 2: This story is evidently another court legend. This time round Daniel plays the dominant role. The narrator of the story emphasises that Daniel did not succumb to the foreign culture but that he remained true to his religious convictions. It is evident that the narrator would like readers to see Daniel as a role model for those living in exile under foreign rule. One may conclude that the story teaches that fidelity and trustworthiness are characteristics of a good leader.
- Daniel 3: "The friends in the fiery furnace" is one of the best-known stories in the Book of Daniel. King Nebuchadnezzar is the commander-in-chief and when he wants things done, he merely commands people and expects them to obey and do as he wishes. The king is characterized as extremely concerned about his status and authority. When he commands, people should listen and do as he says. The three friends, however, do not obey his orders when their religious convictions are challenged. *There are* "two" leaders in the story from whom one can learn: (1) the king, and (2) the three friends (who act as one character). The friends are courageous and trustworthy and act according to their religious convictions. The king, on the other hand, is easily manipulated. He is readily influenced by others and then acts with the stubbornness characteristic of absolute rulers concerned with their own status. The friends' leadership is presented in a positive light while the king's leadership is presented in a negative light. The story may also serve as a guide for societies with different religious communities. The story "affirms the universal right to freedom of religion and the right of a

minority to resist the demands of an absolute ruler” (Collins 1993:194). Good leaders will try to be neutral when it comes to serving different cultural and religious communities.

- Daniel 4: The focus in this story does not fall on Daniel but on King Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel plays a secondary role. He is merely the wise courtier who has been able to interpret the king’s dream. The message of the story is that rulers cannot claim that they were appointed on their own account and because of their knowledge, wisdom and ability to rule. God is the supreme ruler of the world and he appoints and dismisses rulers. Good leaders should be humble and not regard themselves as “God’s gift to mankind”.
- Daniel 5: This story is the last of the three stories in which interpretation plays an important role. Some scholars discuss Daniel 4 and 5 together, as both stories illustrate the theme of divine sovereignty. Once again, the narrator emphasises that humility is a characteristic of good leaders.
- Daniel 6: “Daniel in the lions’ den”: This story is also well-known and is often retold in children’s Bibles as an example of religious fidelity. The aspect of loyalty to superiors plays an important role in the story. Daniel once again shows character by being loyal to the king but when it comes to turning his back on his religious convictions he would rather die than break the covenant which the Jews believed God established with them.

Apart from learning lessons from the stories one may learn a lesson from the whole book. The author wrote (or compiled) the book during the second century BCE. It was a period of crisis in the history of the Jews since Antiochus IV tried to impose the Greek culture and religion on them. A large number of scholars are of the opinion that the stories in the first section of the book were written for the sake of the Jewish elite who were tempted to turn their backs on their religious tradition and forsake the covenant. On account of this, one may conclude that the author of the book should be classified as an “inspirational conservative leader” (Nye 2008:130), as he empowered others to remain

faithful to their culture and religious convictions by narrating the stories of Daniel and the three friends. This leads us to the crisis of leadership in Africa

2.3 CRISIS IN AFRICA'S LEADERSHIP

The crisis in Africa's leadership is so disquieting that the image of Africa is a completely negative one. Some important things affect this crisis. To remain in the context of Daniel, I would like to draw attention to what happened to him and his friends. The text itself is quiet on the matter and does not tell us why Daniel and his friends, after being selected, must be trained. Was it the first priority of the king to select and train or educate the people who were going to serve in his palace? Did the king necessarily selected them from among foreign people and then have them trained for court procedures? Was there nobody from Babylon who could have been selected and trained to be in the service of the king? Was there a strategy behind this focus on the foreign people in order to get them qualified? These questions will point to education as the main objective for all countries that need to be developed.

The main problem that African leaders are facing is that of training or education. This is a great challenge for the African continent. The chances of developing educational systems that can make the 21st century an African century is doubtful. It is clear that African leaders are not interested in the education of their people, and only a small handful of the elite's children have access to education.

In the context of Daniel, it is a king who grants the initiative not to educate his own people but the foreigner who was deported for personal purposes. He selects from amongst the young those who are to be well-trained in order to serve in his palace. Babylon was amongst the most renowned centres of education in the ancient world. These exiled young men were required to learn the Babylonian language and the customs of the land.

This means that education, as Gordon asserts, "remains the single important variable for upward mobility in any civil society. Therefore, African educators

and university professors must be valued. Research must be demanded and rewarded accordingly” (2002:183). Therefore, three things must be taken into consideration: most African countries do not have doctoral graduates, much less professors. The few that they do have are overseas in Western countries, owing to the instability of their own countries, which do not accommodate them. However, Bankie & Angula (2000:43) maintain that more than 30 000 Africans holding PhD degrees are living outside the continent. The few graduates who stayed behind have been obliged to abandon their careers in order to be involved in the party, which accordingly has become the only way to be employed. Daniel and his friends achieved education, which indicates that all leaders should do the same before they can pretend to any political or religious credibility as leaders. Leadership is neither a joke nor folklore; leadership is the determination to lead. With an educated basis, then, a leader can lead according to the characteristics of leadership for which he has the competencies and skills.

Where the underlying basis is harmed is in the relationship between the politics and the qualification linked to skills, since these are two diametrically opposite qualities. You will find that the politician who does not qualify for a specific post or domain is appointed to that career, not because of his level of training, but because he is an active and (deserving) member of the party he fought for. Consequently it is possible for an illiterate to be leading literates. These circumstances create confusion and discomfort at the workplace.

African leaders must learn to motivate the masses. University graduates must learn to respect and value dignity in hard work (Gordon 2002:183). The criterion of putting the right person in the right place must be taken into consideration for this purpose, particularly when it comes to the country’s reputation. A country is respected outside its borders because of the prominent leaders.

A further crisis is linked to the characteristics of leadership. A great need for Africa in the 21st century is to find a leader who has a heart for his community, a leader willing to make personal sacrifices. This leadership requires

awareness of certain elements: (1) The corruption caused by authoritarian governance, which drags the country into turmoil and chronically plagues the continent; (2) The armed conflict, which is the main cause of the destabilisation of its leadership, affects the whole population; (3) Geo-politics, which is the concern of the two protagonists; (4) Poverty, which has ultimately affected the poor citizens' families suffering from the wide gap between the poor and the rich, as the level of poverty in Africa is far higher than expected; (5) development and infrastructures as the main strategy of development for the country is still far from the reality expected by some African countries; (6) abuse of power, which is like gangrene, since it has become a system in Africa, owing to the slogan, "Power is in the hands of the one who is on the throne"; democracy will be just used as an "umbrella" for their protection, and (7) Democracy still has a long way to go to achieve its goal.

We are aware of all this from international and national viewpoints; from scholars and writers (politicians Christians and others), who all agree that leadership has failed in Africa. However, we have not yet arrived at a conclusion that stipulates precisely the causes of and the solution for the leadership crisis in Africa. Is it the problem for politicians or Christians or society in general? The real issues of political and religious leadership which became incurable diseases in our country through the challenges of corruption, armed conflict, geopolitics, poverty, development and infrastructures and abuse of power, including the education of the leaders, are to be found in the African mentality. The situation is rotten in both the political and religious leadership and it affects and wears down bit by bit the whole community where it resides.

How are we to link the crucial situation where Africa is currently (21st century CE) with the context of Daniel in the 6th Century BCE? This will mean remembering the characteristics of the leaders that Africa is expecting. It will be good to summarise each of them and see how one or more should be linked to the context of leadership.

For example, in transactional leadership, which concerns management, two actions are involved: (1) the leader is concentrated on the task that on hand, expecting it to be accomplished by his employees as required. (2) The employees show consideration focusing on satisfaction for work well done. The leader achieves things by making, and fulfilling promises of recognition, pay increases, and advancement for employees who perform well. In contrast, the employees who do not perform well are punished (Bass 1997:318–321).

Further, transformational leadership is a process of influencing in which a leader changes his associates awareness of what is important and moves them to see themselves and the opportunities and challenges of their environment in a new way. However, he seeks to raise his followers' consciousness by appealing to higher ideals and moral values and their ability to look beyond their own interests and to articulate what is important for the organization. They must achieve through creating, collective interests, and helping followers achieve extraordinary goals (Bass & Avolio 2003:4; 1994b: 542; Yammarino & Bass 1990:975–995; Van der Walt 1995:4; Yukl 1989:210, 211; 1999:285–305; Antonakis et. al. 2003: 264).

In the two characteristics of leadership, we realise, on the one hand, that the transactional leader abdicates responsibilities and avoids making decisions, even though there are rewards for good performance. A transformational leader can emphasise and gain respect and trust from the community when he takes on responsibility. The instrumental leader builds competent teams, clarifies required behaviours, and administers rewards and punishments that help individuals attain their goals.

However, the charismatic leader, identified by motive, profile and self-confidence and conviction as predictors of charismatic leader behaviour, is viewed as having the highest form or attribute of transformational leadership. But experience demonstrates that a leader endowed with charismatic authority is not guaranteed to emerge in a time of crisis.

The visionary leader as catalyst and facilitator and passionate person, having grasped the vision, makes extraordinary self-sacrifices in the interests of his vision with confidence, determination and persistence. He selectively he motivates the followers motives in ways that are relevant to the successful accomplishment of the vision and missions. This involves voluntary sacrifices like risk-taking, to which leaders are more prone than others. In turn, the leader confidently expects a great deal from his followers: commitment, determination, persistence, self-sacrifice, and performance above and beyond the call of duty.

This is linked to the idea of leadership in South Africa during the apartheid era. Nelson Mandela grasped the vision with confidence, determination and persistence, with his strong ties with the community. Once they understood, the followers accepted the vision with the requisite determination, commitment, persistence and self-sacrifice, and decided to die with their visionary leader for this cause. Yes, it was a high price for the leader to pay (30 years in jail). It was the same for the followers. Important people were lost to society, all levels of which were affected. It meant disequilibria in the educational system as well as in the family.

Another alternative is developmental leadership, which is focused more on experience in which the bases are: assessment, challenge and support. The assessment contributes to leaders' power, and helps people to understand their current situation, their strength, the level of their present performance, assessed by stimulating people to evaluate themselves (what is done, and what needs improvement), and how others see them and how their behaviour affects others.

The challenging experiences force people out of their comfort zones, and created disequilibrium, causing them to question the adequacy of their skills, frameworks and approaches. People may also believe that the answer to achieving difficult goals is merely to work harder. The challenge occurs when people encounter situations demanding skills and abilities beyond their current capabilities. This also happens in the struggle to empower subordinates, in the form of work in a complex environment, in the conflicts in which people learn

how to negotiate or to learn new ways, the perspectives to be faced and faced with people with different perspectives, coping without feeling stress. Therefore, actually participating in a leadership role and process is often the source of the challenge, because it is filled with disappointment, conflicts, novelty and difficulties. This means that leadership itself is a developmental challenge that is, learning by doing.

Support, as the main element of leadership development, means different things to different people, and is a key factor in leaders' maintaining their motivation to learn and grow: the higher their self-efficacy, the more effort people exert to master challenges and the more they persevere in difficult situations. If people do not receive support from development, the environment, co-workers, bosses and friends, and the encouragement to face challenges, developmental experiences may overwhelm them rather than foster learning. Support, serving as a social cue provides learning resources, sharing with others their struggles, openly examining mistakes, expecting positive reactions from the organisation to the changes they make, obviously ensures that they are on the right track, then being convinced that the feedback they are receiving is legitimate. Developmental leadership, as a leadership of experience through learning, is more suitable in some kinds of business society. With all its individual aspects, it should also be relevant.

What can we learn about leadership development by reading the Book of Daniel? Are the stories suitable as models for leadership? Life is filled with challenges, and to face these challenges, support seems to me to be relevant. In this specific case, leadership with learning linked to the leadership of experience is based on assessment, challenge and support. Daniel and his friends, through God's divine will, were in the training school of Babylon (long training), and faced experiences involving diet, and were then thrown into the lions' den and the furnace. In the end, King Nebuchadnezzar has strong motives, and is convinced of his goal in selecting these young foreigners.

In the challenge, some examples of Daniel and his friends should be considered: while training, Daniel and his friends "committed themselves to the

most severe diet imaginable, confident that God would care for such dedicated servants, as well as give divine deliverance from the furnace and the lions' den. Is it not pertinent to say that: "the best assets for any nation are people who are well trained, well-endowed and well behaved"? (Adeyemo 2006:992) This surely can be said of Daniel and his friends.

In support, there are other important elements to be considered: one is the attitude of the king towards Daniel and the worship of the God of Daniel. The leader as a role model with integrity serves as a symbolic figurehead and spokesperson for his people, because his task is to guide his people according to his clear vision for a specific goal. The reason why one can argue that a leader without vision cannot be a real leader is that he will not inspire those whom he leads. The main interest is not the characteristics which make the leader that Africa is expecting, but a leader who has a feeling for his people, the servant leader.

3. DANIEL AND AFRICAN LEADERSHIP

3.1 THE CONTEXT OF THE STORIES

3.1.1 Introduction

Daniel 2 and Daniel 7 concern dreams (or visions) featuring four successive empires. Daniel 3 and Daniel 6, on the other hand, contain stories about *deliverance from total annihilation*. Daniel 4–5 stands at the centre of the Aramaic section of the book, which emphasizes God's sovereignty (Boccaccini 2002:171–172). It is, however, also possible to link Daniel 2 with Daniel 4–5, since the stories have to do with interpretation. The character Daniel interprets King Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Daniel 2 and Daniel 4 (Dn 4:10–17a) and the mysterious inscription on the wall for King Belshazzar in Daniel 5. Again none of the courtiers was able to give an exposition except Daniel, who is now called Belteshazzar (Dn. 4:8–9; Dn 5:1–4).

3.1.2 The kings and their predicaments

There are three important roles in the story. King Nebuchadnezzar with his bad dream is in two sections: the first deals with a big tree planted in the centre of the earth (Dn. 4:10–12) and the second deals with the watcher who receives the command to hew down the tree (Dn. 4:13–17). Both sections emphasise the sovereignty of the Most High. The second role is played by the wise men, when King Nebuchadnezzar summons the wise men to give him an interpretation. The third role is played by the interpreter. During his banquet, King Belshazzar sees a hand writing on the wall of the banqueting hall. In this second section of dreams, four persons are involved: (1) King Belshazzar with a mysterious hand; (2) the wise men; (3) the queen mother, who reminds Belshazzar about Daniel, and (4) Daniel as interpreter. King Darius, with his edict, involved the conspirators (enemies) and Daniel (cf. Daniel 6).

How do these three (or four) actors emphasise the people in this story? What can we learn in terms of leadership in the Daniel story? These questions will help us to analyse every case and learn lessons from them. To understand the story itself, it will be better to look back from Chapter 2 to Chapter 5 and see how we can learn from the two kings, the wise men, and the queen mother as elements in the Daniel leadership exposition. There will be attention to Daniel 6, in which King Darius plays an important role.

3.1.3 The attitude of the three kings

King Nebuchadnezzar (Dn. 2 and 4) plays an important role as a leader. When he has dreams, he is like everyone else who struggles with a crucial choice. But the important thing is that he calls on the people who surround him. Two important things need to be considered in the king's attitude. First, there is his harsh attitude towards the wise men, who are supposed to give an authentic exposition or else they will meet their death. This demonstrates that the king should be surrounded by people with wisdom and ability, not just those who are there to praise him, or sycophants, concerned only with what they can get. It also reveals that the staff around the leader must be men or women with wisdom.

Secondly, the king has the ability to listen to his people. This calls upon his responsibility as leader. Once he discovers someone who can interpret the dream, he expresses his gratitude: “I have found among the Jewish exiles a man who will make known to your majesty the interpretation of your dream” (Dn 2:25). The king cherishes the hope that Belteshazzar, who “has the spirit of the holy gods” in him (Dn 4:9, 18) will be able to do him the honour (Dn. 4:18). Even though he has made a mistake, he repents by accepting this. The king acknowledges that Israel’s God is the “God of gods and Lord over kings” (Dn 2:47), and humbles himself, acknowledging God’s sovereignty. As a result of his repentance, he is restored to his right mind (Dn 4:34–35). This demonstrates also the sense of humility necessary to be in the service of the people.

During his banquet, King Belshazzar, a son of Nebuchadnezzar (Dn 5:2), displays the exercising of imperial power and commands that the Jerusalem temple vessels be brought in so that they can be used as drinking vessels (Dn 5:4). Suddenly, a mysterious hand appears and writes an inscription on one of the walls. This writing unnerves and frustrates the king and his bureaucracy. King Belshazzar has been informed about Daniel’s exceptional abilities and wisdom. “The spirit of the gods resides in him” (Dn 5:14), and he is able to “furnish interpretations and unravel problems” (Dn 5:16a).

After listening to the interpretation, King Belshazzar is slain “that very night” and Darius the Mede immediately takes over the kingdom (Dn 5:30) — presumably without resistance, struggle or violence. This is contrary to what we know about rulers and their kingdoms in the real world. They usually have a group of supporters who will fight to the end to defend the king and uphold his kingdom.

Unfortunately, under Kings Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, this was not the true of the wise men. They were unable to give even one interpretation to the different dreams occurring at the royal court, which makes us question their

quality. Are they qualified to be called wise men? What were the criteria in their selection to be in the royal court?

What we can learn from the two kings is their religious positions. Even though they were surprised by the God of Daniel, they were not so convinced that they abandoned their gods and to serve the God of Israel. Their respect for the God of Israel is there, but not as far as worshiping Him as their God goes. However, King Nebuchadnezzar is in the act of worshiping a huge statue he has made, and all the important officials assembled there are instructed to worship it. Whoever disobeys will have to face the king's wrath and will eventually be thrown into a "blazing furnace" (Dn 3:6).

The three friends of Daniel become dissidents because they are not willing to obey the command to worship the image on account of their religious positions: "Your majesty, we have no need to answer you on this matter. If there is a god who is able to save us from the blazing furnace, it is our God whom we serve; he will deliver us from your majesty's power".

The only thing to do is to throw them into the furnace. The king commands that the furnace be heated to seven times its usual heat and commands the strongest men in his army to bind the Jews. The three friends do not obey his orders when their religious convictions are challenged. They do not act separately but as one, as if from one mouth (Dn 3:16–18). What is important here is that they act as if they are a single character. This shows the truth of unity in action, unity in mind.

During the reign of King Darius, the story is not about dreams, but about a practical life linked to political issues. The conspirators are jealous of the position of Daniel over them as Prime Minister. They hope to find something related to his work which will show that he is not all that good. However, they find nothing and therefore decide to focus on his fidelity to his religious convictions (Dn 6:5). They then approach the king and suggest that he issue a decree that no one in his empire should pray to any other god except the king. The decree should also state that, should anyone transgress, they will be

thrown into the lions' den. The king issues the decree, which later troubles his conscience, but they convince him that no edict issued by a king may be altered. This draws the king into a situation from which he cannot escape: his responsibility is already engaged both positively and negatively. He must deal with the consequences of his decision.

3.1.4 The attitude of the queen mother

The queen mother reminds Belshazzar about Daniel. Then Daniel is brought to the banqueting hall in order to read and interpret the mysterious inscription. It is sometimes important to remind people about the best actions to be taken. The queen mother plays an important role in the story as a counsellor for King Belshazzar. Furthermore, the question remains: Where are those wise men? Have they forgotten about Daniel? Or are they afraid that the king will put them to death?

3.1.5 The attitude of conspirators

It is also interesting and relevant to consider the idea that people are motivated to do something, for better or worse. The conspirators (ministers and satraps) act as if they were a single character. Reminding the king about the edict, they say: "Daniel, one of the Jewish exiles, has disregarded both your majesty and the edict, and is making petitions to his God three times a day" (Dn 6:13).

This is the sort of practical situation that people are faced with every day in their leadership. Everyone fights for his own interests, not those of others. He becomes a conspirator in political system. If we say that politics is the art of good governance, the practical conception of politics means liars. The more you bring lies against someone, the more you apparently prosper in your political career.

3.1.6 The attitude of Daniel towards the kings

During the three different reigns, Daniel plays an important role according to the particular circumstances of each king. King Nebuchadnezzar's dream leads to the events that result in the king's order to kill all the wise men in the kingdom for not being able to interpret his dream and to give an authentic exposition. Daniel does not succumb to the foreign culture but "[seeks] help from his own religion" (Collins 1984:52), because the friends believe "fidelity to Israel's God was the way to achieve success in a foreign court" (Redditt 1999:62). Daniel therefore summons his friends to pray to the Israelite God to reveal the dream and the interpretation to him. Daniel proves to the king "there is in heaven a God who reveals secrets ..." (Dn 2:28a). After that Daniel reveals the meaning of the dream to King Nebuchadnezzar (Dn 2:31–35) and then gives the interpretation (Dn 2:36–45a) by telling him what the dream symbolizes (Dn 4:19–27). A voice comes from heaven conveying the message to King Nebuchadnezzar that he will be banished from society because of his haughtiness. He will eat grass, like oxen, and his body will be drenched with the dew of heaven, until his hair becomes shaggy like an eagle and his nails grow like birds' claws (Dn 4:31–33). Daniel therefore advises the king to acknowledge God's sovereignty, humble himself and care for the poor. The advice is given in the form of two synonymous parallel lines: (1) let charitable deeds replace your sins; (2) generosity to the poor your wrong doings (Dn 4:27b). It is interesting that this advice is not commented on and it is merely stated that King Nebuchadnezzar acknowledges God's sovereignty (Dn 4:34).

In this section Daniel plays a dual role: that of both interpreter and advisor. It is important to advise someone who has to do certain things. By advising him, you save him from the worst. Society is characterised by wrong attitudes. Betraying someone becomes common. As a result, King Nebuchadnezzar humbles himself, acknowledging God's sovereignty, and is restored to his right mind (Dn 4:34–35).

However, with King Belshazzar, Daniel acts differently. King Belshazzar, as the son of Nebuchadnezzar, offers the feast to his nobles as an occasion for the exercise of imperial power. He commands that the Jerusalem temple vessels be brought to serve as drinking vessels. They drink their wine and praise their

gods of gold, silver, bronze, iron, wood and stone” (Dn 5:4). Suddenly, a mysterious hand appears and writes an inscription on one of the walls. This writing unnerves the king and frustrates his bureaucrats. Daniel is then brought to the banqueting hall in order to read and interpret the mysterious inscription. Even the reader does not know the words of the inscription. It becomes legible only once Daniel arrives on the scene.

Daniel uses the opportunity to castigate King Belshazzar. “Daniel responds, not with a recitation of the inscription, but with a brief homily on the practice of royal power, with Nebuchadnezzar as the key example” (Polaski 2004:656). Compared to his father, Belshazzar is feeble. He does not show real character or behave the way a king should. He does not realize that his authority comes from the God of Israel. Daniel reminds the king that his father never committed sacrilege.

Daniel reads the inscription and gives an interpretation of these three words “mene (God has numbered the days of your kingdom and brought it to an end); tekem (You have been weighed in the balance and found wanting); parsin (Your kingdom has been divided and given to the Medes and Persians).

“[T]he king turns pale, dismay fills his mind, his legs go weak, and his knees knock together” (Dn 5:6). He is slain “that very night”. Darius the Mede immediately takes over the kingdom (Dn 5:30), presumably without resistance, struggle or violence. The king commands that Daniel be robed in purple, that a golden chain be hung around his neck and that he be promoted (Dn 5:29). It is as if King Belshazzar accepts his fate without showing any emotion.

In the case of Belshazzar Daniel does not advise him to repent. He only castigates him for profaning the Jerusalem temple vessels and then tells him that his reign will be terminated and the kingdom will pass to the Medes and Persians. Chapter 4 illustrates a case where the divine punishment is of a disciplinary nature. In Chapter 5 it is fatal.

Furthermore, as far as King Darius is concerned, we realise that the edict issued by the king was not according to his will. It is also possible for a leader to be trapped by the people who surround him. This is not because they do not like the king, but because there is someone above them who is prospering from this. I am convinced that Daniel is aware of that. The king has no intention of punishing his prime minister, whom he trusts. The conspirators (ministers and satraps now called “enemies”) spy on Daniel to catch him in the act of praying to his God. They remind the king that no edict issued by a king may be altered. The king tries to find a way around the edict (Dn 6:14), but in vain. If he does so, it will be against the law. Daniel is thus in a predicament and will be thrown into the lions’ den. However, the king does this reluctantly and says to Daniel: “Your God, whom you serve at all times, may he save you” (Dn 6:16b). Contrary to Daniel 3, it is the king who expresses the hope that some or other miracle will prevent the lions from devouring Daniel.

We can learn from Daniel’s positive attitude to the king and his conviction that God will deliver him. We can also learn that there is strong support from King Darius. The king was worried and spent the whole night fasting — he even abstained from sex as a typical Jewish religious act, even though he is not a Jew. The attitude of Daniel, the man of God that he knows and trusts, has thus made an impact on him.

It is important to feel the support coming from the king. It renews Daniel’s strength and sustains his confidence. Not only does the king offer support, but he fasts all night like a Jew. As the day dawns and before he reaches the lions’ den, he cries in a low voice: “Daniel, servant of the living God, has your God whom you serve continually been able to save you from the lions?” (Dn 6:20). When the king hears Daniel’s voice assuring him that he has not been injured, the king is overjoyed and becomes more confident in the God of Daniel whom he trusts and continues to trust.

Daniel immediately assures the king of his loyalty. The king should not interpret Daniel’s dishonouring of the edict as dishonouring the king himself. Honouring

God does not mean dishonouring the king (Dn 6:22), although his “enemies” have tried to create this idea.

From the three kings, one can learn that the rulers cannot claim that they were appointed on their own account and because of their knowledge, wisdom and ability to rule. God is the supreme ruler of the world and he appoints and dismisses rulers. “Thereby the living may know that the Most High is sovereign in the kingdom of men: He gives the kingdom to whom he wills, and may appoint over it the lowliest of mankind” (Dn 4:17b, cf. Dn 4:34–35).

3.2 THE LEADERSHIP OF DANIEL

Having focused on these stories (Dn 2, 4 & 5), it is clear that *hokma* (wisdom) has always played an essential role: without it there would be no story. The plot helps us learn more about the leadership and character of Daniel. The confession of King Nebuchadnezzar to Daniel 2:47 (“Truly, your God is indeed God of gods and Lord over kings and revealer of secrets”) are important, but the actions by Daniel are relevant, as they brought the king as far as making this confession. The story’s intention is to show that the path to success “is not simply through mastery of the techniques of the Babylonians (...) but through prayer” (Collins 1984:53).

Furthermore, the leader, as role model, through his integrity towards his followers, serves as symbolic figureheads and spokespersons’ for his people, because his task is to guide his people according to his clear vision of a specific goal, which is why a leader without vision cannot be a real leader. A leader with vision will inspire those he leads. The main interest is not these characteristics that make a leader one of those whom Africa is expecting, but a leader who has genuine feeling for his people, the servant leader.

However, it is important to notice that God has been in control over his people. He is the one who selects or raises them to power; he is also the one who removes them from power if they are not leading properly. Humanity is aware that there is no leadership without fear of God. This conscious fear of God

continues to grow in people's minds (believers or non-believers). At least, everyone who comes into power knows that he must deal with God first.

3.2.1 Leadership as a career

Leadership is a career in which the leader is a dealer in hope. The career can be a snake with a double head. If you don't pay attention to it, it will bite you. A leader must thus be reminded that leading is to claim the power of his freedom, his essence as a self-starter, and could be seen as strategic ability in which the personal side must support the strategic side. Africa is called on to be a dealer in hope from where the "light will be shine from the darkness". The key factor is based on the fear of God, and the leader's availability to serve others.

The moral predicament in the career of Daniel's leadership as a young man starts with material temptation linked particularly to delicious food and wine. By virtue of their upbringing, the friends decide unanimously and with respect not to be defiled (Lev 7:11; Dt 14:3–21). It is clear that the heart is still central to the "connection with God, where the moral meets the immoral". Unfortunately, Andeyemo (2006:991) claims that "self-control is terribly lacking among the spiritual leaders of our day". Most African leaders fail in their careers because of this kind of trap. What we realise is that African leaders like to run behind the title, and want to be immediately known by their position. They even want to be where they have never deserved to be.

One of our former famous Christian leaders, Rev. Daidanso Rene, used to talk ironically of "la jeunesse à la titro-manie" [titro: "title" and manie: "foolish"], which means "the youth are foolishly craving for titles" and need to be appointed immediately after their career without taking the time to observe and listen to themselves, or listen to the will of God. "Titromanie" is not found only among unemployed graduates, but at all levels of our society.

On the contrary, Daniel's consistency, faithfulness and strength were oriented to God in prayer. In fact, through these challenges, Daniel was focused on God. We are aware that, during the Renaissance (16th century), leadership

focused on faith in God. It was later, during the 18th century, the age of reason and logic, with the power of rationalism based on the elevation of sciences, that the so-called “*siècle de Lumières*” (the Enlightenment) occurred. During the 18th century, religious truth was dissipated, and philosophy and science increased in prominence. This was the start of imbalance for Africa, because it lost its way with what we know today as, inter alia, corruption, the abuse of power and robbery.

Most of today’s African leaders are known to be corrupt. Corruption is in the blood of these leaders and remains alarming in both religious and political spheres. In theory, leaders are people who are able to inspire, encourage and guide others. Ethical leaders are trustworthy persons of integrity and competence, who encourage and enable others to develop moral character and achieve goals that are just and good. Such leaders are driven by principles and compassion rather than by mere expediency (Covey 1991:94–95). Africa needs leaders of integrity and competence, not leaders who are immoral and who misuse or abuse power. The need is for authentic leaders to emerge and operate in a way which pleases our society (Kretzschmar 2002:46). Therefore, the alternative way, as Usue claims, “to respond to these challenges requests a fundamental shift in the manner we as Africans, including our leaders, perceive reality and the manner in which we respond to it” (2006:648). Usue, referring to Northhouse (2004:1–329) and Avery (2004:1–294), asserts that African leaders both past and present have used various leadership paradigms, but several challenges still persist. However, his suspicion is that these paradigms lack the basic foundation from which leaders could draw their wisdom, strength and skills for their task. Anyway, our prayer is still that God would “open the eyes of our mind” (Shu 2004:4), and “the eyes of our heart” to understand our reality.

3.2.2 Leadership as a tiresome responsibility

Daniel and his friends are going through experiences in which they commit themselves to the most severe diet imaginable, confident that God will care for such dedicated servants during the ten days. After a gruelling examination,

God gives them the skill and knowledge they need to excel. They excel over all the long-term professional wise men with the skill and knowledge they need.

The conspirator is concerned about his position, his special quality and ability, and he is trusted by the king. They need Darius to find Daniel guilty in order to have victory within their grasp, and to affirm his prohibition against praying to anyone but himself as king, and to force Daniel into agreeing with them that the rule cannot be broken.

It is not the king's intention to punish Daniel; unfortunately, Daniel falls into the conspirators' trap against the will of King Darius. He is really concerned, and even agonizes about Daniel. The king struggles with the issue until the sun goes down, and then, he retires to his palace to spend the night fasting, miserable and without sleep. King Darius and Nebuchadnezzar know that the God of Daniel is a God of justice (Dan 4:27). He will protect Daniel as He did the friends in the fierce furnace. After a sleepless night, the king rises at daybreak, in the brightness of dawn.

We are aware that Africa is filled with evil thoughts, focused particularly on lies, and endless accusations against one another. That is the African definition of politics. If someone does not know how to accuse or to lie, they are very far from away from the political context.

It is generally accepted that Africa needs trustworthy leaders who have skills and are competent. In fact, if you need to get into political power, you must prove yourself able to bring false news or accusations against whoever is challenging you.

In the African context, the conspirators are found at two levels: the external and the internal light the fire from outside towards the inside. Once they discover that an African leader (or African country) is prospering independently without depending on the western world, the external conspirators start probing to discover his strength. When they discover his weaknesses, though, they reveal them or disclose them to

the public to discredit him. This is the strategic secret that the external conspirators use to destabilise Africa. This can be at the national level, where these external conspirators are the neo-colonialists. The internal conspirators are those who do not understand the strategy for re-building the country, and they are used by the external conspirators to destroy our functioning machines. Most of them are the illiterate, the malcontents, the dissatisfied, and the “*beni oui oui*” (“the yes men”) who are used to discouraging the positive initiatives in the country or on the continent. What is happening in Africa in general and in our country in particular in the 21st century is that history is happening in what we are experiencing internally.

The essence of leadership ability is therefore more clearly seen when the personal influence of the leader is met by his willing followers, or in a service to others for the common good, then a leader needs to take a balanced view on their roles. We must be aware that leadership is a process and not a position. It involves complex interactions between the leader, the followers, and the situation they are in (Hughes et. al. 2002:1). Clearly, it is not the position that makes the leader; it is the leader who makes the position (Maxwell 1998:13). It is time for the politicians and religious to lift their eyes, and together start rebuilding leadership in Africa. This is not a light comment; it is a reality that involves the two groups.

Leadership is surrounded by the system of accusations and attacks against others. This image of Africa is still reflected in the African soul in the tendency whereby people are ready to push others to self-destruction.

3.2.3 Leadership and influence

Leadership influence describes the steps that Daniel and his friends took to achieve victory. The first step in their achievement demonstrates that, after a gruelling examination, “God blessed their outward appearance, and their flesh, and then He poured out his invisible spiritual gifts of wisdom, knowledge, understanding and skill upon them and they excelled over all of the long-term professional ‘wise men’ in the kingdom” (Dn 1:15, 17).

After the first step, when they experience good health, Daniel and his friends in the lions' den outstrip all the other apprentices, with the help of God (Dn 6:18–19). As previously mentioned, King Darius does not sleep all night. Very early in the morning, he rushes personally to the lions' pit to learn what has happened to Daniel. When he reaches the lions' pit, he cries out in a pained voice, addressing Daniel as the servant of the living God (Dn 6:19–21). Through these two experiences, two things draw our attention to leadership influence: a leader as gifted and the leader as sacrifice.

In the section showing the leader as a gifted person, focus is on the personal attitude of the leader through his character, ability and competence. This will describe the personal attitude or character of Daniel and the king as gifted leaders who recognise the honour due to the leader.

The leader who influences is not the one who obviously establishes himself as leader, but the one who listens to his people, accepts the reality of any situation, good or bad, and with fear. Daniel and his friends accept the situation in are facing and with joy and peace. They follow the principles and the rule dictated by the king without complaint.

The leader who influences is someone whose people view God with respect.

The final observation is on Daniel's attitude to the king: "May the king live forever" (Dn 6:22). In fact, the goal of the Book of Daniel is not to honour foreign kings but to acknowledge God's intervention and to show that Daniel is blameless. This experience of being thrown into some kind of danger and surviving it is a trial by ordeal.

In the section on the leader as sacrifice, the focus is on availability and the self-sacrifice by the leader for his people. This will also describe the sacrifice by both Daniel and the king as leaders.

The leader who influences is someone who cares, and who is not pleased

when things are going wrong. The king's attitude is remarkable. He did not sleep while the conspirators were snoring in their comfortable beds, enjoying life with their wives and children, because the one who disturbs everything has been taken away, not into exile but as prey for the hungry lions.

The leader who influences has no time to sleep. He listens for the voice of his people and his eyes are wide open to what is going on. Are his people still alive? Earlier in the morning, the king goes to find out what has happened to his favourite, the one he knows as a servant of the God of life (Dn 6:21). It is strange in this section to find a pagan using this expression, "God of life". It may imply that the king has himself become a believer. However, this expression is probably used to distinguish the God Daniel worships from the gods of the Medes and the Persians.

The leader who influences is someone who can cry for his people. The king runs anxiously to the lions' den. This is relevant to the leader who is caring or has compassion for someone who is unjustly in a predicament.

The main point of leadership influence revolves around the problem of using power. If power means the ability to influence and change other people or circumstances, it should take into consideration the law and the social structures that influence their lives. Power is less a possession than a gift to be shared in our interactions (Kretzschmar 2002:51). If power is used for personal interest, it will not influence other people. If it is regarded as a possession, it is often exercised without accountability. But if power is a gift held in stewardship from God, it needs to be exercised within the context of a community in a responsible, transparent and accountable way. Power is not a commodity possessed by a few leaders, but the dynamic interaction for better or for worse, that moves through a group of people (Whitehead & Whitehead 1993:17).

In these two sections which focus respectively on the gifted and the sacrificed, I would like to make a particular point about the relationship between Christian and political leaders. A Christian as a leader among the

non-Christians must make a difference if he wants to influence the people around him. Daniel is a religious leader working with political leaders. He does not deny his belief in God. He does not spend time going from place to place to preach or talk about God to the people who surround him. He also does not spend all his time worshipping rather than doing his work.

After his training, Daniel is in the king's service. He has a strong belief in God, but he never boasts about it. He dutifully does his work as expected by his government.

It is through his confidence, his competence and ability, knowledge and strong belief that he is identified. Across the world, people can be easily identified as religious in the way they do their work, particularly Christians. The main reason is that they are honest, credible and respectable. They are never late, and never leave early. They do their job properly without grumbling. They never disparage their work, no matter its value, great or small, negligible or important. They always trust God in every kind of job that God gives them.

Two important things were remarkable during my career. The first is one relating to a tribe in Chad, the Moundang. Those people have a sense of respect, courage and diligence at work and in study. Of those people, two thirds of those who were working started their careers very early. They were never in a hurry to look for a more prestigious job. They were not grasping at power. Nevertheless, they are among the most intelligent Chadians.

The second important thing is that during my studies at the Bangui Evangelical Graduate School of Theology (BEGST). I realised that the Faculty of Theology was full of people from Zaire (now the DRC). I was always wondering why there were so many of them. Were they all being called to the ministry of God? In conversations with my colleagues from Zaire, most of them confirmed that some of them were able to work in Mubutu's government because he trusted the Christians for their honesty and devotion to work. These two examples influenced and shaped my life.

By referring to the king, he is also the type of leader who really takes care of his people. He is not happy when things are going wrong. He is trapped by the conspirators, but he takes his responsibility to defend Daniel and his friends seriously. He also destroys the conspirators with their descendants. Can we say that prudence was a default on the king's part? Why did he not engage in research to find out the reasons for this story? Was he convinced because he was being praised? Regardless of this, he was already caught in the net. Then, to prove that he, as king, is responsible, he is obliged to act, not because he signed the decree, but because he is honest. It is clear that if a leader knows the truth, then the truth will set the leader free.

We are also aware that to be a man or woman of integrity is not easy. People who live lives of integrity are often misunderstood, falsely accused and maligned in many different ways. The way in which most people choose to live goes against the grain. "Daniel's life proves that a person of integrity is a powerful instrument in the hands of the Almighty God" (Swindoll 1996:880).

One has to ask: Is there no one like Daniel who has the spirit of God?

Can we understand what the conspirators did? It is said that "If the wicked man in his arrogance digs a pit (sets a trap) for others, he will (fall) get caught in it. If a man rolls (a stone) a boulder down on others, it will (roll back on) crush him instead (Prov 26:27; Ps 10:2). The consequences of the false accusations affected these conspirators' men, their children and their wives. They were overpowered and their bones were broken into pieces by the lions (Dn 6:25). This was the application of the law against the false witness (Dt 19:16-19).

The many negative images and stories that we see and hear about Africa can leave us numbed: negative experiences of, for instance, corruption, bribery or inefficiency erode people's hope for a better Africa. By looking forward, making the vision realistic and realisable, planning for, and working towards it, we can

move closer to that mental picture of something desirable happening in the future (Van Rensburg 2009:11).

The problem of conspirators, truth to tell, is a reality among Africans. Being a conspirator has become a business among both politicians and religious and they specialise in it. The influence leader is read inside out through his competence, ability, and performance. He is there and is seen by his people in good moments and bad. The influence leader is the one who fights for the causes of his people, who cares about his people, who puts his people first, who is ready to die for them, the leader of sacrifice. These are the influential leaders that Africa is expecting in the 21st century.

In fact, if a leader is no longer seen by his followers as relevant to their needs, he might still have the position, but he will have lost his influence as leader. The real leader is therefore focused on the needs of others, individually and collectively. If he wants to be served rather than serve, he can no longer engage others so that that they want to support and follow him. He can only use his positional power and ability to manipulate and coerce.

However, Africa is already characterised by moral degeneration, wars, genocide, endless crimes, ignorance, neo-colonialism and lawlessness. We will not escape those negative influences that continue to contaminate us. It is time to make Africa understand its endless pain by informing the local communities.

3.2.4 Humility as a characteristic of a good leader

Humility relates to the second test of their wisdom (Dn 1:18–21) concerning the decree that Darius issues (Dn 6:26–29), which is extremely unrealistic. Most of the people prostrated themselves at his feet. But the fact that the king asked Daniel to stand showed a favourable reception. This section shows also that the conspirators were confused because they did not succeed in trapping him. They believe that the “edict written in the name of the king and sealed with the king’s ring cannot be revoked”. According to a Yoruba proverb, “Ashes follow

the one who throws them into the air". The consequence of their evil is mentioned in the previous section. The key message of the decree issued everywhere in the kingdom is to fear and revere God. Yahweh, known over the world as the God of Daniel, is a living God, not a dead one. When a man's ways are pleasing to God, he makes even his enemies live at peace with him (Dn 6:7). As indicated earlier, Christians in Chad were respected, because they were found to be honest. Some leaders appointed them to positions because of their transparency, credibility and trustworthiness, like that of Daniel. Hence, the fear of God, trustworthiness and a hatred of bribery are mentioned as essential characteristics for leaders (Ex 18:21). Where are these Christians now? Have they drowned in the corruption, theft, and other kinds of evil? If all of them are blinded, who will guide the rest? When the blind lead the blind, the two will fall into the pit. This is the sad image of Christians among the political leaders.

Politicians and Christian leaders are slowly and surely straying from the true dynamics of leadership, and their failings are considerable. The need for an immediate awareness is therefore absolutely essential.

The fear of the Lord is motivated by a sense of the holiness of God, and the degree to which a child of God fears the Holy One is quasi-absent among both Christians and politicians. Therefore, Christians, politicians and African leaders need to be aware of the ambiguity of power. Africa must realise that power is paradoxically both destructive and creative, demonic and holy (Whitehead & Whitehead 1986:151).

3.2.5 Practical examples of leadership focused in the fear of God

In any case, being a good leader (political or religious) needs some character. Politically, the good leader must have eliminated certain personal traits over time. Good political leaders are made, not born. Moreover, to be a good political leader you must have will power and the determination to succeed. "A

good political leader in order to succeed needs a good education, training and experience".⁹

If the leadership is not focused on the fear of God, argues Loader, if man disregards the rules, he is opposing God's authority and disrupting God's order. He is being a fool, and his folly is rewarded with failure and adversity (Loader 1986:110). This is why people used to say that a people without knowledge of their past history, origin or culture is like a tree without roots. Loader's advice takes into consideration all the things the leader should be. It also shows the quality of leadership in the Daniel story. Most of the African leaders in religious and political systems are faced with the same issues in terms of leading. All those leaders who focused their leading on the fear of God were always successful. Having a president or African leader who fears God seems to be a practical necessity. A leader has to be focused on fearing God, being guided and planted firmly on the rock of the word strengthened by God and made wise by him. Jimmy Carter, the former President of USA, who was once a Sunday school teacher, is an example.

4. **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

We stand before five challenges that need more attention, more determination and more sacrifices to shift Africa from the darkness into the light. These challenges depend on any African (leader or citizen) who is ready for change. The sudden awareness, motivation and mobilization must go from the bottom up. The time for folktales is past.

The main problem for African leaders, which seems to be the most important, is education. This is a challenge to the African continent. It seems that not all African leaders are interested in the education and training of their people. Only a small number of children (children of the elite) have access to good education. When one reads Daniel 1, it is evident that leadership and education go hand-in-hand. The king takes the initiative to educate and train

⁹ Good political leader 2008.

people to serve in his court even if they are foreigners. He selects from among the youth people to be trained in order to serve in his palace. These young men were required to learn the Babylonian language and the customs of the land. African leaders must learn to motivate the masses to have a good education, not only for the sake of having good leaders in the country but also for the sake of having citizens who are well aware of what is expected of a good leader. Joseph Nye makes a number of important remarks concerning education and leadership in the closing pages of his book *The Power to Lead* (2008). The following two underscore my reading of the stories in Daniel (Nye 2008:144):

The good news is that leaders can change. They are mostly made, not born, and leadership can be learned. (...) Leadership is broadly distributed throughout healthy democracies, and all citizens need to learn more about what makes good and bad leaders.

The first challenge, which seems to me to be imperative, is the training and education at different levels and in different domains. If we agree with Adeyemo (2006:992) that “the best assets for any nation are people who are well trained, well endowed and well behaved”, the ball is in our court. The time is no longer for talking. It is time to act, which means quality teachers and competent professors, at different levels must be trained. This is also the “*word order*” of the king (obviously the leader) to start sending people overseas if the national institutions, schools and universities do not adequately fulfil the criteria for education. There is also the challenge to negotiate with other African countries that have credible institutions and universities to open their doors to these who are in need of training. We must move out by crossing the linguistic barrier (French or English) and go ahead to seek what will be better for excellent and sufficient training. This is also the time for Africa to be united in thought, in research and the desire to rectify and become aware of our gaps/shortcomings, then move on for the best training.

We are aware that the future of African leadership at the time of writing does not seem promising unless drastic changes occur very soon. And it must be

sooner rather than later if the 21st century is to be the African century (Gordon 2002:180).

People used to say that we do not need an educated leader but a leader who makes an impact on his people's lives, in other words a charismatic leader. Technically speaking, this charismatic leader is not educated and will definitely not be able to solve certain issues which call for experts. Nevertheless, God blessed some African countries that presented Egypt in the time of Pharaoh and Babylon in the time of Nebuchadnezzar as having excellent centres of training. Today, for example, South Africa is among some famous African countries with more than 11 universities (higher learning institutions) which are ranked amongst the best in the world and with excellent professors. This is also an opportunity for African leaders to open their eyes and look across Africa, as they will find other countries that are available to help in terms of training. In any government, the presence of the elite at different levels seems absolutely relevant. However, the training must take into consideration the main domain of politics and religion. If neither has adequate standard training, it means that we will still be ruled by puppets rather than qualified leaders. "If Africa cannot be welded in the fight to face the huge mountain, we will be prisoners of our past for another century therefore determinism is the mark for losers" (Shu 2004: 9).

The second challenge is the leader's career. When we hear of political leaders who resign from their positions because of scandals, failures or errors, they are usually conscientious personalities, whilst dominant leaders do everything possible to strengthen their grip on power, even going against public opinion. The conscientious ones are very ready to sacrifice their positions if they are found wanting. They are also ready to incur the loss of their reputation in the interests of the others if it was going to save that society (Shu 2004:78).

The third challenge is the leader's unwavering motivation; there is no success without sacrifice. Certain people made sacrifices for our freedom or our success. Leaders must also learn to do so for others. African leaders must be available for the sake of their people. In the Old Testament, Moses was serious

with God and needed him to intervene. The fear of God was in the heart of some African leaders. As Moses used to say: "If your presence does not go with us, do not send us up from there" (Ex 33:15). This showed that leading requires the presence of God. Unfortunately, many African political leaders today turn to mediums and witchcraft, especially when the elections are looming (Andeyemo 2006:992).

The fourth challenge is an influencing leader: Effective leadership is all about influencing the life of the people through social development, economic improvement, moral transformation and spiritual awakening (Shu 2004:8). Africa needs a sacrificial leader like Moses, who asked God to remove his name from the book for the sake of the salvation of the Israelites he was called to lead: "... please Lord, forgive their sin, but if not, then blot me out of the book you have written" (Ex 32:32).

We are grateful for the first steps taken by some devotional elites for the creation of certain institutions or organisations focused on the training of leaders. If these different organisations or institutions (political and religious) could lend a hand in united and stronger leadership for transformation, it would be beneficial to Africa.

Some refer to the African Renaissance, in which a vision is sought to relieve psychological and physical suffering, and to restore the dignity and self-respect of human beings created in the image of God.

And the vision of an African Renaissance will be the goal in which all Africans will be involved. As Khoza (1999:285) maintains, "The vision has not been translated into language that is accessible and understandable to the masses of Africa. This runs the risk of the vision being regarded as a preoccupation of intellectuals and elite". Therefore, in the conference organised by the African Union in Dakar, the idea was strongly supported that any Renaissance must correspond to a period of strong emotion, intense creativity and flames illuminating the countryside, an exceptional period when a generation's creative genius discovers its mission, fulfils it its best without betraying,

diminishing, reducing or downsizing it (Obenga 2004). According to Sebelebele (2004), the vision for Africa in the 21st century should be:

an Africa that is integrated, prosperous and peaceful, an Africa driven by its own citizens, a dynamic force in the global arena ... an Africa reconciled with itself and with its Diaspora, an Africa using its resources to play a major role that it can legitimately claim in a polycentric and more equitable world in which there will be no economic, political and ideological hegemonies which characterised the previous century.

These are the potential starting points for which Africa is hoping. This engages political and religious leaders at different levels of its dynamics.

crown of leadership. In this regard, we must move away from the attitude rooted in our colonial history in its failure to distinguish between party politics and political participation. They regard politics as dirty dealings which Christians should avoid. While Christians tend to avoid political participation, Muslims understand its importance. Many Christian leaders have left politics with the excuse that it is a dirty game. What excuse shall we give when the world is plagued by crime, civil unrest, corruption, embezzlement, occultism, or mysticism? Today the evils of Africa are economic oppression (poverty), physical oppression (diseases and disabilities), political oppression (injustice and oppressive rule) and demonic oppression (various forms of occult practice). We cannot overlook the biblical examples of political participation when Joseph saved many from hunger and starvation in Egypt (Gn 41); Amos warned the political leaders of his time against injustice (Amos 4), Nehemiah made personal sacrifices in order to serve his people (Neh 1–2, 5) and Daniel, the mentor leader of our study, and his friends changed the political equation in Persia.

There is no doubt that Daniel is for us and all of Africa an example to follow. We have seen his competence in obeying the instructions given to him; his devotion to doing things in the correct way, as the king was expecting; his enduring the false accusations by the conspirators; his ability to give good

advice, and his focus on the fear of God. It is very evident that he is humble and fully aware that God is in control.

However, for the political and religious African leaders after neo-colonialism, two important factors are important: (1) Leaders should not ignore the needs of those officers who have selected and appointed them. If they do that they will deliver their country into serious trouble, which they may one day regret, as they will have neglected the noble position to which they were appointed. (2) Leaders should engage the citizens and encourage them to take responsibility for their physical, social and spiritual needs.

Nevertheless, the other side of the picture must not be overlooked. If Christians continue to withdraw from the challenges, the unrighteous will continue to rule, even in the name of God, and darkness, wickedness, underdevelopment, poverty and epidemics will continue to plunder our nations.

God's desire is to see us ultimately focusing our lives on His kingdom through our leadership style. Politics, like other careers, therefore has no colours. Political leaders could perhaps define and control life and progress in the material sphere, but what we need to develop and renew in our country is primarily the inner spiritual life of our people, which is the first task of the Church.

the strength and the true freedom of Africa will come from a leader's capacity to generate (thoughtful) acts and accept the consequences. I am not obliging people to be political and religious, but it is important that, "apart from political responsibility man has religious responsibility, the latter being the more important" (Joubert 1979:16). In fact, Daniel does everything he can to remain faithful. He receives divine aid from God, but the divine aid is no mere substitute for his religious responsibility. This divine aid helps Daniel and his friends to reach a better political position. The basis of religious leadership (or responsibility) is the acknowledgement that God controls everything and that man should accordingly be humble, like Daniel (Joubert 1979:40).

dignity and respectability come at a price. Are we willing to pay that price? If not, our fate will be to be 'sent to the kitchen' to ensure comfort for others.

Nevertheless, building our leadership under the fear of God will effect a change in the image of Africa. We can be challenged by those leaders who are rebuilding their country in the fear of God. All leaders must remember the oaths they took before assuming power. It is not symbolic, and it already goes without saying that every country should be ruled in the fear of God.

In view of what has been explained, Daniel is an example for African leadership. The study of Daniel 1–6, by means of a narrative analysis, has highlighted the qualities of the good leadership to which leaders should aspire. We are therefore drawn to conclude that any study of leadership should also pay attention to the Daniel stories.

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ADDENDA

ADDENDUM 1: LETTER OF THE MINISTER OF COLONIES

Extrait de la causerie du Ministre des Colonies, M. Jules RENQUIN en 1920 avec les premiers missionnaires catholiques du CONGO-BELGE
Les devoirs des Missionnaires dans notre colonie,

Révérands Pères et Chers Compatriotes, soyez les bienvenus dans notre seconde patrie, le Congo Belge.

La tâche que vous êtes conviés à y accomplir est très délicate et demande beaucoup de tact. Prêtres, vous venez certes pour évangéliser. Mais cette évangélisation doit s'inspirer de notre grand principe : tout avant tout pour les intérêts de la métropole (Belgique).

Le but essentiel de votre mission n'est donc point d'apprendre au noirs à connaître DIEU. Ils le connaissent déjà. Ils parlent et se soumettent à un **NZANBE ou un NVINDI-MUKULU**, et que sais-je encore. Ils savent que, tuer, voler, calomnier, injurier... est mauvais.

Ayant le courage de l'avouer, vous ne venez donc pas leur apprendre ce qu'ils savent déjà. Votre rôle consiste, essentiellement, à faciliter la tâche aux administratifs et aux industriels. C'est donc dire que vous interpréterez l'évangile de la façon qui sert le mieux nos intérêts dans cette partie du monde.

Pour ce faire, vous veillerez entre autres à :

1. Désintéresser nos "sauvages" des richesses matérielles dont regorgent leur sol et sous-sol, pour éviter que s'intéressant, ils ne nous fassent une concurrence meurtrière et rêvent un jour à nous déloger. Votre connaissance de l'évangile vous permettra de trouver facilement des textes qui recommandent et 'font aimer la pauvreté. Exemple : "Heureux sont les pauvres, car le royaume des cieux est à eux" et "il est plus difficile à un riche d'entrer au ciel qu'à un chameau d'entrer par le trou

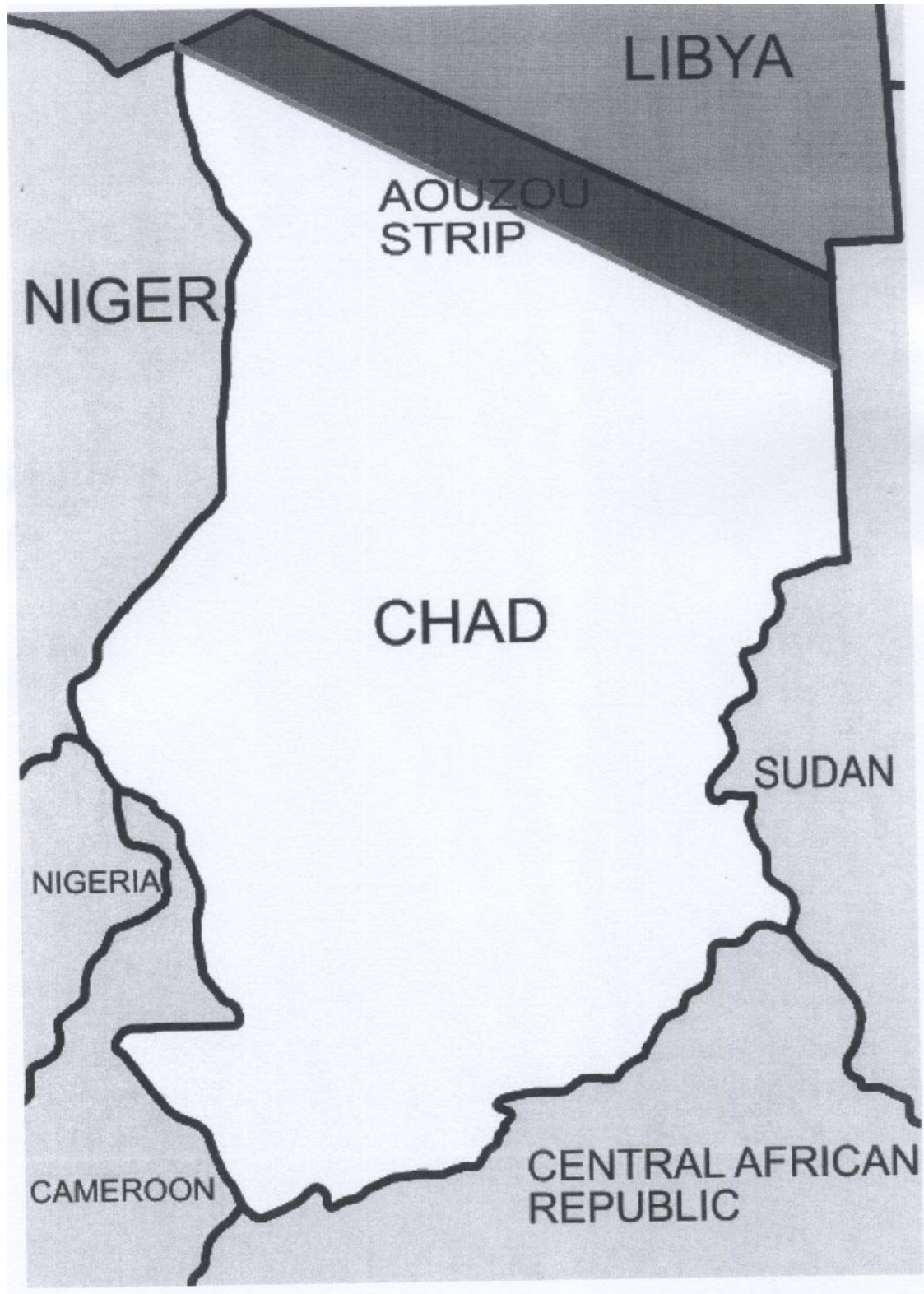
d'une aiguille". Vous ferez donc tout pour que ces Nègres aient peur de s'enrichir pour mériter le ciel...

2. Les contenir pour éviter qu'ils ne se révoltent. Les administratifs ainsi que les industriels se verront obligés de temps en temps, pour se faire craindre, de recourir à la violence (injurier, battre...). Il ne faudrait pas que les Nègres ripostent ou nourrissent des sentiments de vengeance. Pour cela, vous leur enseignerez de tout supporter. Vous commenterez et les inviterez à suivre l'exemple de tous les saints qui ont tendu la deuxième joue, qui ont pardonné les offenses, qui ont reçu sans tressaillir les crachats et les insultes.
3. Les détacher et les faire mépriser tout ce qui pourrait leur donner le courage de nous affronter. Je songe ici spécialement à leurs nombreux fétiches de guerre qu'ils prétendent les rendre invulnérables. Étant donné que les vieux n'entendraient point les abandonner, car ils vont bientôt disparaître, votre action doit porter essentiellement sur les jeunes.
4. Insister particulièrement sur la soumission et l'obéissance aveugles. Cette vertu se pratique mieux quand il y a absence d'esprit critique. Donc évitez de développer l'esprit critique dans vos écoles. Apprenez-leur à croire et non à raisonner. Instituez pour eux un système de confession qui fera de vous de bons détectives pour dénoncer tout noir ayant une prise de conscience et qui revendiquerait l'indépendance nationale.
5. Enseignez-leur une doctrine dont vous ne mettez pas vous-même les principes en pratique. Et s'ils vous demandaient pourquoi vous comportez-vous contrairement à ce que vous prêchez, répondez-leur que "vous les noirs, suivez ce que nous vous disons et non ce que nous faisons". Et s'ils répliquaient en vous faisant remarquer qu'une foi sans pratique est une foi morte, fâchez-vous et répondez : "heureux ceux qui croient sans protester".
6. Dites-leur que leurs statuettes sont l'œuvre de Satan. Confisquez-les et allez remplir nos musées : de Tervurene, du Vatican. Faites oublier aux noirs leurs ancêtres.

7. Ne présentez jamais une chaise à un noir qui vient vous voir. Donnez-lui tout au plus une cigarette. Ne l'invitez jamais à dîner même s'il vous tue une poule chaque fois que vous arrivez chez lui. **NE JAMAIS DIRE "VOUS" A UN NOIR, CAR IL SE CROIRAIT L'ÉGAL DU BLANC...**
8. Considérez tous les noirs comme de petits enfants que vous devez continuer à tromper. Exiger qu'ils vous appellent tous "mon père".
9. Criez au communisme et à la persécution quand ils vous demandent de cesser de les tromper et de les exploiter. Ce sont là, Chers Compatriotes, quelques-uns des principes que vous appliquerez sans faille. Vous en trouverez beaucoup d'autres dans des livres et textes qui vous seront remis à la fin de cette séance. Le Roi attache beaucoup d'importance à votre mission. Aussi, a t il décidé de faire tout pour vous la faciliter. Vous jouirez de la très grande protection des administratifs. Vous aurez de l'argent pour vos œuvres évangéliques et vos déplacements.

mapage.noos.fr/dsiroy/missionnaire.htm (accessed on 23 October 2013).

ADDENDUM 3: MAP OF CHAD (AOUZOU STRIP)



ADDENDUM 4: POSITION OF CHAD ON THE MAP OF AFRICA

