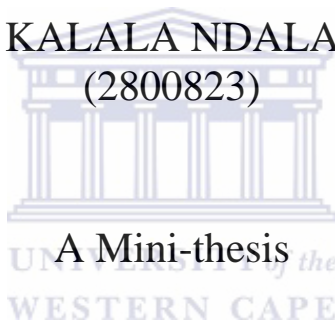


IN SEARCH OF AN APPROPRIATE LEADERSHIP ETHOS: A
survey of selected publications that shaped the Black Theology
movement

BY

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A Mini-thesis

Submitted to the University of the Western Cape in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the Masters Degree (MTh) in the faculty of Arts

Supervisor: Prof EM Conradie

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this mini-thesis has been prepared by me, and that it has not been previously submitted to any university or institution of higher learning or for publication. All the sources of information specification in this work have been duly acknowledged both in the text and the bibliography.

Signed.....

Ken Kalala Ndalamba (the author)



Signed.....

Prof EM Conradie (the supervisor)

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This work would not have been accomplished without the contributions of so many people who, through their supports, showed interests in what was being investigated here. In this respect, it would have been wonderful to name every individual. Unfortunately, it is not possible. Mention to a few, however, must be made.

I want to acknowledge the grace and love of God, the Almighty, which provided me with strength to undertake this work to its completion. To my beloved wife and son (Neusa and Ema), I am deeply grateful for their love, inspiration and all the supports throughout.

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To papa Robert and mère Yve (my beloved parents), I say “Ne mi fuija, Leza a muendele”. To pai and mae (my beloved parents in law), I say “Obrigado”. My thanks and appreciations extend to Christ Church through Barb and Dave Martins, and also to Linda and Chuck Humston for their invaluable supports and guidance. In the same line of thoughts, I offer my tribute to all my siblings and friends with a particular mention to Freddy and the Amankosis (Liz, Amondine, Israela) for sharing their love and prayers.

Last but not least, appreciation is expressed to authors and publishers whose works have been quoted from or cited in this thesis.

ABSTRACT

The understanding and practice of leadership in Sub-Saharan Africa, in all spheres, is at the heart beat of this work. Questions and concerns over the quality of leadership in most countries in this particular region are reasons which have led to revisit and investigate the formative training of the current cohort of African leadership with a special focus on the ethical aspect of leadership.

It is an assumption, in this thesis, that the contemporary cohort of African leadership received their formative training especially in the 1960s and 1970s and that they were deeply influenced by the black consciousness movement and, in association with that, by the emergence of black theology. In this respect, this research project explores the notions of ethics and leadership with a view to determine ways in which an appropriate leadership ethos was portrayed and articulated in the writings of selected exponents of the black theology movement, namely ML King (Jr), Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak.

The purpose of this work is therefore mainly descriptive: to map discourse on a leadership ethos in the context especially of black theology.

KEYWORDS:

Black consciousness

Black theology

Boesak, AA

Burns, JM

Ethos

Ethical Leadership Project

King, ML (Jr)

Leadership

Rost, JC

Sub-Saharan Africa

Tutu, DM



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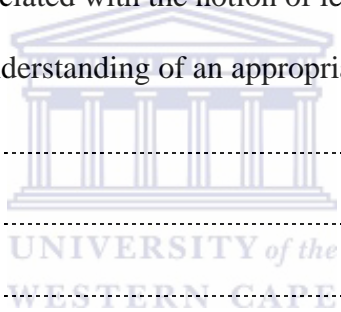
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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis should be understood in the context of widespread public concerns in Sub-Saharan Africa over the quality of leadership in the spheres of government, the judiciary, civil society and the church. These concerns touch on issues such as democratic decision making, institutional transparency and service delivery at the heart of which is corruption. These concerns raise questions not only about individual leaders and their leadership practices but also about the ways in which such leaders understand and appropriate leadership ethos. The work is based on the assumption that the contemporary cohort of African leadership received their formative training especially in the 1960s and 1970s and that they were deeply influenced by the black consciousness movement and, in association with that, by the emergence of black theology as a particular approach to Christian theology.

On the basis of these observations, this work investigates the ways in which an appropriate leadership ethos is understood and articulated in the writings of selected exponents of black theology. The focus here is on the publications (that are relevant in this regard) of an American theologian, namely Martin Luther King (Jr) and of two South African theologians, namely Desmond Mphilo Tutu and Allan Boesak. I will seek to identify and describe the specific connotations that are attached to an appropriate leadership ethos in such publications. On this basis the different ways in which such leadership ethos are portrayed would be compared, contrasted and analysed. The purpose of this project is therefore mainly descriptive: it seeks to map discourse on a leadership ethos in the context of black theology.

1.2 Context and relevance

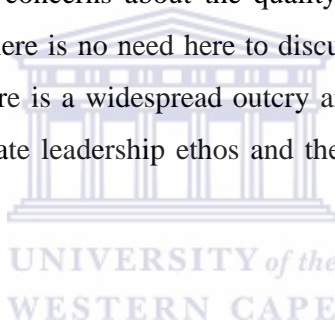
a) Contextual framework

From the backdrop of the above, it is apparent that such public concerns have prompted considerable resentment amongst ordinary citizens who typically feel betrayed and deceived by their own leaders.

For instance, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire) where I originally come from, there was turmoil in the early 1990s regarding the former government's way of

handling the political and economic challenges that the country was facing. The response by the government of President Mobutu Seseseko was captured under the directive of “Debrouillez-vous”, which means “find your way out”, indicating to ordinary citizens that they need to do whatever they can to survive in such circumstances. This was widely understood to condone crime and corruption. This directive was soon referred to as “Article 15” in order to highlight that the government’s response was unconstitutional as there were only 14 articles in the country’s constitution at that time.¹ Koen Vlassenroot observes that Mobutu thus allowed his citizens to behave as he did himself. As a leader, Mobutu assumed the right to plunder the state and the nation without any regard of the consequences of his action. Ordinary citizens could presumably adopt the same attitude to resolve their daily problems.

There are numerous similar examples regarding the misappropriation of funds in Sub-Saharan Africa, raising serious concerns about the quality of leadership, especially in the higher levels of government. There is no need here to discuss or conduct empirical research in order to demonstrate that there is a widespread outcry amongst ordinary citizens of such countries regarding an appropriate leadership ethos and the very concept of leadership that seems to be prevalent.



b) The relevance of the thesis

The public concerns over the quality of leadership in the spheres of government, church and civil society have prompted a number of current initiatives to promote an appropriate leadership ethos. It is noteworthy that such initiatives have come not only from civil society but also from business and industry. Within the South African context, the former President Nelson Mandela had identified what could be viewed as sources of moral chaos as early as 1997. He said: “Our hopes and dreams, at times, seem to be overcome by cynicism, self-centeredness and fear. This spiritual malaise sows itself as a lack of good spirit, as pessimism, or lack of hope and faith. And from it emerge the problems of greed and cruelty, of laziness and egotism, of personal and family failure. It both helps fuel the problems of crime and corruption and hinders our efforts to deal with them.” (Mandela 1998).

This statement by Mandela raises questions and concerns about morality in leadership and

¹ For a discussion on “Article 15”, see Koen Vlassenroot, “Conflict and social transformation in Eastern DR Congo”, <http://books.google.co.za/books?id=Oerkap1eWMAC&pg=PA168&dq=published+books+-on+congolese+social+live>, retrieved 27 August 2009.

with respect to lifestyle. Taking these concerns as a matter of urgency, Mandela invited religious leaders to become part of the solution by involving themselves actively in strengthening the moral fabric of society. From that time on, meetings with religious leaders were taking place regularly. As a result, the National Religious Leaders Forum (NRLF) was established as early as 1997 in order to facilitate meetings between the president and religious leaders. In his speeches and meetings, Mandela articulated the phrase “moral regeneration”. For him, this was a necessity for everybody in South Africa to be part of the process, as it was recorded in one of his speeches saying: “... we need a campaign of moral regeneration. As we construct the material conditions of our existence, we must also change our way of thinking, to respect the value and result of honest work, and to treat each law of the country as our own. This is our call to all South Africans to firm up the moral fibre of our nation.”

This call for moral regeneration prompted further reflection on *how* the moral fibre of the nation may be strengthened? Upon seeking answers to the “How” question, a series of meetings took place between the president and religious leaders. These meetings came to be known as “moral summits”. The first was held in Johannesburg in 1998 where Mandela addressed the nation and launched the campaign for moral regeneration. In his speech, he said: “The symptoms of our spiritual malaise are only too familiar. They include the extent of corruption in both public and private sector, where office and positions of responsibility are treated as opportunities for self-enrichment; the corruption that occurs within our justice system; violence in interpersonal relations and families, in particular the shameful record of abuse of women and children; and the extent of evasion of tax and refusal to pay for services used” (Mandela 1998). This speech stresses his commitment to deal with moral issues in the society. At the end of that summit, documents were issued by the NRLF on the Code of Conduct for individuals in leadership positions in order to reinforce moral conduct in exercising leadership. Mandela’s initiative was followed by calls to the members of his government to share his vision in trying to clarify and to attend to the need for moral regeneration.

Such initiatives led to what became known as the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM) which was officially launched in early 2000.² This was followed by many national and regional workshops. In each of the initiatives there was a call, especially to those working in the public sphere, to ensure that all conduct was situated within the framework of the Moral

² See www.mrm.org.za retrieved on 13/09/09.

Regeneration Movement.

Richardson (2003:4) argues that every discussion within the movement was centred on things that were being done, things that should be done or things that could be done in order to realise moral regeneration in society. This was due to the unacceptable state of public morality within the South African society. As the preparatory document of the launch stated: “ The moral assault on the majority of South Africans has left clearly visible manifestations of a society urgently in need of targeted and concrete efforts to extend the scope of transformation process beyond the redefinition of our political institutions...” (Richardson 2003:5).

This led to the establishment of a Section 21 company supported by all sectors and government. (Richardson 2003:8). Richardson further commends the work of the MRM which, to him, displayed a crucial moral insight by declaring itself to be a bottom-upwards movement without having the intention of setting up a national body to reform the nation’s morals. The MRM recognised that such reform could only happen in and through the people themselves while working in their existing organizations. Richardson believes that the MRM could be more successful than the previous moral summits as it aimed at developing “an ethos, spirit and commitment to a higher moral social order” (Richardson 2003:8).

In order to fulfil its objectives, the MRM developed various initiatives in each of the provinces in South Africa. One of the initiatives taking place within the framework of MRM is the Ethical Leadership Project, a joint research and teaching project situated in the Western Cape Province, since ethical leadership has been identified as a priority in this province. Established in 2006, the project is funded from the premier’s office and was intended to run for three years until 2009. Conferences and workshops have been taking place in order to provide platforms for interactions between people from various disciplines (academics and non-academics, leadership practitioners and those who are not) to share their views and understanding of leadership.³ One of the objectives of the project was to contribute to the development of ethical leadership in various spheres of society.

Since 2006, various themes on leadership such as “ELP in and through Religion” (2006), ELP in and through Gender (2006), ELP in and through Youth (2006), “ELP in and through Labour” (2007), ELP in and through Business (2007), ELP in and through Politics (2007)

³ See www.elp.org.za retrieved on 3rd /09/09.

and, more recently, and “ELP in and through Media” (2009) have been explored.⁴

Such initiatives to promote an appropriate leadership ethos are not exclusive to the South African government. Private and public academic institutions have embarked on projects in pursuit of similar goals. The African Leadership Institute (AfLI, South Africa), for instance, aims at building the capacity and capability for visionary and strategic leadership across Africa, especially among the promising leaders of the future.⁵ Likewise, the Mandela Rhodes Foundation aims at building exceptional leadership capacity in Africa through its various leadership development and leadership training programmes.⁶

This work is not restricted to the South African context. Across the South African borders, Africa University (Zimbabwe) has established an Institute for Peace, Leadership and Governance (IPLG) where it seeks to provide a forum for debate, training and research which actively promotes peace, good governance and responsible leadership to meet the challenges being faced on the African continent.⁷

Elsewhere, the Pan Africa Christian University in Kenya, aims at developing godly Christian leaders, growing disciples of Jesus Christ who are thoroughly equipped to serve God, the Church and their communities as they strengthen and actively multiply believers in Africa and around the world. They have introduced a post-graduate programme with an emphasis on developing leadership skills applicable to the student's place of work. To ensure that participants learn leadership skills relevant to their needs and those of their organization, adult learning principles and requirements are implemented.⁸ Further examples may be mentioned but the mentioned projects indicate that public concerns over an appropriate leadership ethos are widespread and that this has prompted widespread initiatives to address the problem.

c) The notion of leadership

It remains to be seen whether the above mentioned initiatives to promote an appropriate leadership ethos will be influential and whether they will make a significant difference in terms of the quality of leadership in the spheres of government, civil society and the church. At the very least such initiatives have stimulated reflection on the very notion of “leadership”

⁴ See www.elp.org.za retrieved on 3rd/09/09.

⁵ See www.alinstitute.org retrieved on 13/09/09.

⁶ See www.mandelarhodes.org, retrieved on 13/09/09.

⁷ See www.africau.edu, retrieved on 13/09/09.

⁸ See www.pacuniversity.ac.ke, retrieved on 13/09/09.

and an appropriate “leadership ethos”.

The notion of leadership is of course widely discussed in various academic disciplines, including human resources management, public administration, business and industry, education, psychology, sociology, philosophy and also in Christian theology. In practical theology, for example, there are numerous topics around leadership that have been explored at some length, including episcopal authority, ordination, the role of women in leadership positions in the church, lay leadership and their ministries and a theology of leadership, for example regarding the notion of “servant leadership”.

Given the enormous volume of literature on the notion of “leadership”, I will – in chapter 2 of this thesis, draw on the works from Burns and Rost as one illustration of the radically different approaches to leadership. The selection of both Burns and Rost is significant in this study because of their contribution in the field of leadership studies. While the former coined the notion of morality in leadership, the latter expanded on that notion when exploring the concept of leadership in a post-industrial society. This discussion is followed by reflections on an appropriate “leadership ethos” that have been presented within the context of the conferences organised by the Ethical Leadership Project (ELP). It however has to be noted that the positions of Burns, Rost and participants in the Ethical Leadership Project are not considered as normative, but are important analytical tools in the search for an appropriate leadership ethos.

Rost believed that contemporary discourse on leadership is still dominated by what he referred to as “the industrial paradigm” within which most researchers and leadership practitioners operate (Rost 1991:29). In response, he explored a “post-industrial paradigm” that would offer a conceptual framework to study leadership within a societal context.

1.3 Demarcation and statement of the problem

a) The moral formation of the current cohort of leadership

This thesis is situated within current discourse on an appropriate leadership ethos, especially within the context of the moral regeneration movement in South Africa and the Ethical Leadership Project. Within this context there is a need to investigate the understanding of an appropriate leadership ethos amongst the current cohort of political and ecclesial leadership in Sub-Saharan Africa. Although, given the widespread public concerns in this regard, such leaders (especially those adopting a Mobutu style of leadership) may not necessarily practise

such a leadership ethos. It may be interesting to articulate and describe their own self-understanding of such an appropriate leadership ethos. In order to address this question, it would require a detailed biographic and empirical work on individual leaders or groups of leaders. On this basis the tensions between their understanding of an appropriate leadership ethos and the way in which they practise such an ethos may be highlighted. The specific variables of a leadership ethos (vision, virtues, values and obligations) may be at stake in this regard.

However, this cannot be undertaken in the context of this work. Instead, the focus will be on the formation and education that the current cohort of political and ecclesial leadership received.

b) A selection of three authors and their texts

As a movement, black theology in both the USA and RSA, played a significant role in providing a solid platform for theological, political and socio-economic reflections and exchanges in periods of rapid social change (see chapter 3). On this basis, I will investigate in this thesis the ways in which an appropriate leadership ethos is articulated in the writings of classic exponents of the black theology movement. Given the considerable volume of literature in black theology I will focus on the work of Martin Luther King Jr., Desmond Tutu, and Allan Boesak who articulated aspects of a leadership ethos in their writings. These authors are placed here in a chronological order to indicate how their views upon an appropriate leadership ethos emerged.

i) Martin Luther King Jr. (January 15, 1929 – April 4, 1968) was an American clergyman, activist and prominent leader in the African-American civil rights movement. His main legacy was to secure progress on civil rights in the United States, and he has since become a human rights icon.⁹

In challenging the leadership of the American administration during that period (1954-1968) until his death, King contributed extensively through his public speeches, sermons, including letters and books that he authored, through which he shared his own experiences as far as leadership was concerned. It has to be mentioned that after his death many of his speeches and sermons were included in several books by various authors.

⁹ For a biography on Martin Luther King, Jr., see Carson, C. (et al) (2001). Also see Marable, M. (1984), Williams, J. (1970), King, Jr., (1958)

ii) Desmond Mpilo Tutu (born on October 7, 1931) is a South African cleric and activist who rose to worldwide fame during the 1970s as an opponent of apartheid. Tutu chaired the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and is currently the chairman of The Elders.¹⁰ Tutu is vocal in his defence of human rights and uses his high profile to campaign for the oppressed.¹¹

Tutu's contribution in the fight against apartheid has been enormous. He dedicated his youth to that particular cause. As soon as he entered the priesthood ministry (1956), Tutu became aware of his duties as a priest – to advocate for the oppressed and stand against injustice. Tutu made use of all the resources available to him to pursue and achieve what he set as a goal. He preached, made public speeches and wrote extensively, challenging both the church and the government in South Africa during the apartheid era. Even in the current post-apartheid era, Tutu continues to write in order to exhort and teach not only his fellow citizens but the world at large. His works have been published as books, some in various articles – academic and non-academic while others were published in different journals.

iii) Allan Aubrey Boesak (born on February 23, 1945) is a South African Dutch Reformed Church cleric. Boesak became famous as an anti-apartheid activist. He was sentenced to prison for fraud in 1999. In 2004 he was reinstated as a cleric, and in 2008 he was involved in politics as Cope's¹² candidate to the Premier's office in the Western Cape. But after the 2009 general elections in South Africa, Boesak resigned from his position in the party¹³.

Boesak's early involvement in activism could be traced as far back as the 1970s. It was until 1999 (when he was sentenced to prison) that he wrote extensively to challenge the apartheid system. He is always remembered for what some people regard as a major presentation he gave at the founding of the United Democratic Front of South Africa (UDF) in 1983.

Considering the amount of published materials by each exponent, it is almost impossible – if we are to achieve the purpose of this thesis, to work with every single piece of published material. It is for such a reason that the texts are selected using the probability sampling method. It is a random selection of their texts according to (1) the different period of time and (2) the circumstances surrounding such a period of time in a chronological way. This selection method analyses their understanding of an appropriate leadership ethos while

¹⁰ The Elders are an independent group of eminent global leaders, brought together by Nelson Mandela, who offer their collective influence and experience to support peace building, help address major causes of human suffering and promote the shared interests of humanity.

¹¹ See Allen, J. (2006) for a detailed biography on Desmond Tutu. Also see Webster, J. (1982).

¹² Cope - the Congress of the People is a South African political party founded by ANC dissidents in 2008.

¹³ For a biography on Allan Boesak see Hopkins, D. (1989). Also see Boesak, A. (1984).

assesses their consistency in portraying values embedded in the notion of leadership

c) Statement of the research problem

On the basis of the above, the problem that will be investigated in this thesis may be formulated in the following way:

In what ways is leadership ethos portrayed in the writings (published in the period between 1950 and 1994) of the following exponents of the black theology movement:

ML King Jr., Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak.

The problem indicated in this formulation is therefore one of the identification and classification of the ways in which leadership ethos is portrayed in the writings of the selected scholars in the black theology movement.

d) Limits of the thesis

In this work I will consider only works published by these scholars between 1950 and 1994. I will not consider any work that was published before or after the date, as I work under the assumption that the contemporary cohort of African leadership received their formative training especially in the 1960s and 1970s. I will not scrutinise all the works of these authors published during this period of time since my focus is on published material associated with ethical leadership only.

1.4 The procedure

Although it could have been quite meaningful to do qualitative research, based on empirical data regarding leadership issues and involving case studies, questionnaires and interviews, this limited mini-thesis will instead entail a close reading of the relevant literature. This methodology will allow me to identify and describe various way(s) in which a leadership ethos is portrayed in the writings of the three selected scholars.

In order to address the objectives of this study, the thesis will be structured as follows:

Chapter one is the current chapter which provides relevant information about the thesis (including the context) and the methodology followed.

Chapter two assumes current philosophical and ethical discourse on leadership. In the second part, the concept(s) of leadership is explored through an analytical reading of Burns, JM (1978) and Rost, JC (1991) – two scholars who are highly regarded for their contributions to

the discipline of leadership studies. This leads to the formulation of the working definition of an appropriate leadership ethos taking into account positions emerging from the Ethical Leadership Project initiated within the context of the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM).

Chapter three focuses on the understanding of leadership within the context of black theology, while the third part entails a brief survey of the emergence and subsequent history of black theology in the USA and in South Africa. The following sources are used as a point of departure for such a broad survey: Cone, JH (1969), Moore, B. (1973), Boesak, AA (1976a/b), Cone, JH and Wilmore, G (1979), Hopkins, DN (1989), Mosala, IJ (1989), Sono, T (1993) and Kretzschmar, L (1986). The results of this survey, outlining only the major factors, figures, conferences and publications in this regard, is elaborated in this chapter.

The fourth to the sixth chapter constitute the core of this thesis. Here a close reading and critical analysis of relevant sections from the publications of the selected exponents of the black theology movement is conducted. In each case the purpose is to determine in which way (s) an appropriate leadership ethos was (were) portrayed. The results of the findings are stated in the preceding chapters.

- The sources of information for Chapter 4 on Martin Luther King, Jr. include King 1968, 1986 and 2001;
- The sources of information for Chapter 5 on Desmond Tutu include Tutu 1982a, 1982b, 1982c, 1983, 1985, 1989 and 1994;
- The sources of information for Chapter 6 on Allan Boesak include Boesak 1976a, 1976b, 1979 and 1984.

Chapter seven provides an integration and classification of the various views on an appropriate leadership ethos discussed in chapters 4 to 6 and also offers an assessment of the discussion. Recommendation(s) is made in this regard.

CHAPTER TWO

The Notion of Leadership: A brief overview

2.1 Introduction

Leadership as understood and practised in various fields is a concern for this work, particularly in governments and private sectors. Given that this research project is undertaken from within the discipline of theology, I will firstly identify a number of issues pertaining to leadership that are typically discussed in the context of practical theology. I will then widen the scope of the inquiry to explore the concept of leadership in general. Following the enormous volumes of literature on the concept of “leadership”, I will, for the purpose of this thesis, consider only what is relevant in the study on leadership by J. Burns in *Leadership* (1978). I will then offer an analytical reading of J. Rost in *Leadership for the 21st century* (2001) who made a considerable contribution in the study of leadership in the last decade by advocating for a new understanding of leadership in a post-industrial society. On the basis of this discussion I will then submit a working definition of the concept of “leadership ethos”. I will make use of position papers emerging from the Ethical Leadership Project (ELP) initiated within the context of the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM) in order to add flesh to the content and connotations of such a leadership ethos.

This chapter provides a broad conceptual framework for contemporary leadership in the context of practical theology and leadership studies. This conceptual framework will facilitate a more detailed investigation of the ways in which the selected exponents of the black theology movement understood an appropriate leadership ethos within their context time and space.

2.2 Current discourse on leadership in practical theology

In practical theology, there are numerous issues pertaining to leadership that are typically discussed. Some of the issues have been the cause of conflicts and longstanding hostility among church officials not only inside churches but between various churches as well. For instance, issues pertaining to the Petrine office have been of a major concern in ecumenism as far as the relationship and cooperativeness between Roman Catholic and Protestant churches are concerned. Le Bruyns (2003) conducted a study on this particular issue with an attempt to build a case for Protestants to accept the Petrine office as a Petrine service of moral

leadership that may potentially benefit all churches. However, the concerns that Protestants have regarding the Petrine office, concerns the authority of the Pope. In this regard, Protestants call for a reform in the office as Le Bruyns (2003:184) noted, “While many Protestant churches are open to the Episcopal value and other benefits of the Petrine Ministry, there is the understanding that Protestants still cannot truly embrace the papal office in its present form. Certain modifications must be addressed and realised for the future ecumenical discourse on the papacy.” Le Bruyns (2003:186) concludes his study by stating “Future ecumenical relations depend on Protestants being more open and honest about the authenticity and propitious nature of this ministry, as well as Catholics following through with a process of papal reform...”

Another issue pertaining to leadership that is often discussed in the context of practical theology is the ordination of women. As much as some mainline churches today, including the Methodists and Anglicans, ordain women to the ministry of the word and sacraments, others still consider the issue very sensitive as this leadership office does not appear to be appropriate for women. Manda (2001) conducted a research project that focused on the participation of women in social transformation processes in the Church of Central Africa of the Presbyterian in Malawi (CCAP). The CCAP comprises of three synods, namely the Livingstonia in the North, Nkhoma in the Centre and Blantyre in the South. Her study reveals that women in these synods have been denied the opportunity to exercise leadership by not being ordained to the ministry of Words and Sacraments regardless of their theological education. Consider for instance, the recommendations made by the Nkhoma Synod report of 1969, which stated the following:

- According to the Bible, women cannot be allowed to the office of elder (overseer) because they do not have ruling power. This also applies to the ministry.
- It appears that the Bible is not against women becoming deacons, as deacon is not a ruling office.
- Although women cannot hold office in the church, they must be urged to serve the Lord in the church through the office of all believers (Manda 2001:243)

On the basis of the above recommendations, women expressed their concerns which resulted in an emergency meeting of the Synod’s Executive. One of the resolutions of the meeting as far as leadership role for women are concerned, “The Church should recognize and encourage

the gifts and talents of women for ministry and provide those gifted women opportunity to exercise their ministry gifts. Those women who are capable, should be considered for the following positions: Session Clerk, Treasurers, Parish Chairpersons, Education Secretary/Agency, Conveners of Presbytery and Synod Committees, Presbyterial Youth Directors, Schools/Hospital Chaplains, Music Directors on “congregational Presbyterial” levels etc...” It was observed that the question of women ordination was still to be addressed (Manda 2001:245). The above observation implies, in the words of Chingota, that “the sacraments become closely related to the issue of power, because the administration of the sacraments is linked to ordination. The administration of sacraments therefore comes to be regarded as a status symbol, a position of power” (Manda 2001:246). Manda (2001:248) concludes: “Although openness towards the involvement of women in different leadership spheres in the CCAP has developed, the issue of the ordination of women as ministers seems to be [a complex and contested issue].”

The same issue (of women ordination) is also critical in the Roman Catholic Church. Here Le Bruyns (2004) engages with what is regarded to be the official position of the Roman Catholic Church with regard to the ordination of women. His study reveals that on October 15, 1976, Paul VI issued an apostolic letter *Inter Insigniores* where women’s ordination was effectively ruled out. Despite advocacy for women ordination, John Paul II, in his apostolic letter *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*, released on May 22, 1994, reiterated the position of the Catholic Church on the question of women ordination as it is recorded in §1 of the letter “Priestly ordination, which hands on the office entrusted by Christ to his Apostles of teaching, sanctifying and governing the faithful, has in the Catholic church from the beginning always been reserved to men alone” (Le Bruyns 2004:242). This apostolic letter closed the case on the issue of women ordination in the Roman Catholic Church as discussion on the issue was categorically forbidden including its advocacy. Furthermore, according to the Vatican statement, the position was not only to be part of the “Church divine’s constitution” but also a definitive teaching. As a result, the pope moved the prohibition to a higher level in the “hierarchy of truths” in order to be out of reach in regard to any prospect for change (Le Bruyns 2004:242-43). After a further study on the position of the Roman Catholic church with regard to women ordination, Le Bruyns (2006:56-62) concludes that “the question of women’s admission to the priesthood will continue to be debated and advocated within and beyond the Roman Catholic Church, whether the Vatican likes it or not, whether the Vatican knows it or not. It is an issue that strikes at the very heart of the doctrines

of ministry, humanity, mission and ecumenism”. Analysing the above issues pertaining to leadership in practical theology, Kofferman (2007:269-277) from a human rights perspective, observed that “Churches have a record of neglecting human rights in their internal lives, in spite of their history of advocating human rights in political life, and in spite of the theological value of human rights as such.” Therefore some controversial issues such as women ordination should be regarded from a human’s rights perspective and be challenged before what he refers to as a “church’s court”. This must be established to deal with such issues threatening human rights in the church.

The discussion above illustrates contemporary debate on issues pertaining to leadership in practical theology, and they emerged as a result of different understanding of leadership in this particular discipline. The other aspect involves, the understanding of the nature of leadership emerging from models including episcopal leadership and authority to govern the church; the ministry of unity to help overcome differences, leadership in the form of teaching authority – the role of rabbis, servant leadership in the sense of diakonia, a leader as a visionary agent who helps people to see where they are going and portray the promised land, a leader as the senior pastor - guiding a team of people and directing them towards set goals; managerial leaders who ensure that certain tasks are done and that goals / targets are reached efficiently etc...

This is where the real differences of opinion in practical theology lie. For instance, Roman Catholics, on the one hand, tend to understand leadership in terms of the Petrine office which according to them is devoted to the task of maintaining and encouraging unity in the faith, while promoting morality as a form of pastoral ministry and guidance. Furthermore the Petrine ministry is, by its very nature and essence, intended to be a service of love that extends to all spheres of human existence (Le Bruyns 2003:180). On the other hand, most Protestant churches subscribe to episcopal¹⁴ authority for effective leadership. As an illustration, I will draw on the United Methodist Church (UMC). As far as the office of bishop is concerned, there has been significant development from the time it was instituted, where bishops held exclusive authority to do practically everything including appointments of pastors to their places, nominate clergy and laity into various positions within the governing board of denominational agencies. However, it has been observed that over the years, much of the authority and work of oversight in the church has been transferred from

¹⁴ Episcopal authority is a form of church governance, mostly in mainline churches, in which the chief authority within the hierarchical structure is a bishop.

bishops to what is referred to as “conciliar bodies” comprised of laity and clergy. For instance, the nomination of governing board members has now become the responsibility of a nominating committee. Educational requirements for ministry are now suggested and managed by a general agency and its governing board. General Conference decisions and resolutions are reviewed according to the constitution, by a Judicial Council consisting of clergy and laity. With regard to making appointments, the bishops must now consult with lay members of a local church as well as the pastor involved before pastoral changes are made.

This implies that bishops have become less a figure embodying authority of office, and more of a super-pastor and administrator of regional conference initiatives. Yet the expectations of bishops are as high as before, since both laity and clergy look to the bishops for “leadership”.

Servant leadership is another common model from which the understanding of the nature of leadership emerged in the contemporary discourse. As an illustration, I will draw on the UMC. The understanding of leadership here underpins servant leadership from leaders as essential to the mission and ministry of congregation, as it is stated in the Book of Discipline. “The United Methodist tradition has recognised that laypersons as well as ordained persons are gifted persons and called by God to lead the Church. The servant leadership of these persons is essential to the mission and ministry of congregations.”¹⁵ However, no paragraph in the Book of Discipline elaborates and interprets what “servant leadership” is.

This has led Frank (2006:125) to assert that the term bears two implicit meanings, suggesting the following: “The first is that all persons, but especially persons who assume responsibilities within the church and its working entities, are to understand themselves as “servants.” Brief reference is made to Jesus Christ as servant in this regard. The second meaning of the phrase is that authority apparently now derives not from office but from performance. That is, an ordained minister or bishop may hold an office, but what matters is their “leadership” as a “servant” of the “goals of the institution”.

In any case, Frank (2006:130) argues the following; “If leadership is truly an ecclesial practice, then its form and content must express the images, culture, languages, and vision that are the heritage of centuries of Christian communities”. With regard to Methodism, he carries on, “it has been among the more dynamic of those communities for nearly 300 years”. Finally, in his conclusion, Frank believes that United Methodism can draw upon those riches

¹⁵ See paragraph 132, *The Book of Discipline of the United Methodist Church 2004*.

to attract, call, and form new leaders for the twenty-first century.

In addition to these aspects of leadership as exercised within an ecclesial context, one may also consider Christian theological perspectives on leadership exercised outside an ecclesial context. However, such discussions are not often found in discourse on practical theology. Practical theologians do explore views on leadership emerging from other disciplines but seek to make that relevant to ecclesial leadership. In this respect black theology is a notable exception as several black theologians have also exercised leadership positions in civil society and have been deeply interested in social transformation in the public sphere.

In order to investigate such theological reflections on leadership in the public sphere it is even more important to see how the dynamics of exercising leadership are investigated in other disciplines. It is neither necessary nor possible to offer a brief survey of the literature emerging from each of these disciplines here. In the discussion below I will, nevertheless, engage with the concepts of “leadership” drawing on Burns and Rost. On the basis of their discourse on leadership, I will attempt to offer an understanding of a “leadership ethos”, also taking into account positions emerging from the Ethical Leadership Project (ELP).

2.3 Rost on leadership theory

Rost was professor at the University of San Diego (USA). He has been dealing with the issue of leadership for more than three decades from an inter-disciplinary perspective. Rost became famous through his book *Leadership For the Twenty First Century* (1991/1993) in which he strongly criticised the way in which leadership is understood and practised in terms of the values and the cultural norms of what he calls the “industrial paradigm”.

Leadership is a concept which carries a complex set of connotations. In order to reflect on the concept of leadership it is important to gain clarity on different paradigms that have emerged in leadership theories. In the beginning of the twentieth century leadership theories focused on the narratives of “great men” (and a few women) who were considered to be leaders on the basis of their personal traits (Rost 1991:17-30). This begged the question what is meant by “great” and on what basis such great men/women were identified? In response, a number of social psychologists in the 1930s (whilst in the depths of the Great Depression) made use of group studies on leadership in order to establish how leaders emerge and on what basis they exercise effective and democratic leadership. This approach to leadership studies did not last long. During World War II, leadership scholars returned to attempt to identify some

essential traits of people in positions of leadership. However, the essential traits theory of leadership appeared to be unsuccessful. This led social psychologists and managerial theorists' to look at leadership from a behavioural perspective. The behavioural theory of leadership focused on combinations of behaviours which are associated with effective leadership. This theory, however, failed to explain why the behaviour of leaders is insufficient by itself to provide for effective leadership. Subsequently, in the 1970s a theory of situational leadership emerged in which the focus was on the situations which prompted the behaviour of leaders. In the 1980s the pendulum swung back to theories of leadership excellence. This theory suggests that it is not so much situations that prompt the emergence of leadership, but that it is the leadership that produces excellent organizations. Leaders are thus portrayed as executives with certain personal traits (such as high energy, trustworthiness, charisma, vision, goal oriented, just to mention a few) that help them choose the appropriate behaviour in response to a specific situation (Rost 1991:19).

According to Rost, except for the “great man theory”, all other theories were developed and articulated by social psychologists and management theorists who focused on leadership within the context of management positions. This reflects an industrial paradigm of leadership. This paradigm limits the concept of leadership in many ways. It was not before the early 1980s that other views on leadership emerged. Rost refers to these as alternative leadership theories (Rost 1991:29). One of the leading scholars in this regard is James MacGregor Burns who proposed a transformational theory of leadership which was oriented towards leadership in the political sphere. He acknowledged an ethical/ moral dimension to the concept of leadership which has not been recognised in leadership theories prior to 1970.

Rost believes that contemporary discourse on leadership is still dominated by this industrial paradigm within which most researchers and leadership practitioners operate (Rost 1991:29). In response, he explores a “post-industrial paradigm” that would offer a conceptual framework to study leadership within a societal context.

2.4 Defining leadership: Burns vs Rost

On the basis of this sketch of changing leadership paradigms, Rost seeks to offer a definition of leadership. He draws on Samuel Johnson (1755) who suggested that to lead is “to guide by hand; to conduct as head or commander; to introduce by going first, to guide, to induce; to prevail on by pleasing motives etc...” (Rost 1991:39). Following on Johnson’s suggestions,

Perry (1805) included the notion of “exercising dominion”, while Richardson (1844) added “following” and “persuading” in his understanding of leadership. A formal definition of the concept of “leadership” was first offered in the *Century Dictionary* (1889-1911) (“the office of a leader; guidance; control”) and the *Universal Dictionary of the English Language* (Hunter & Morris, 1898) (“the office and position of a leader; guidance; premiership”). The *New English Dictionary based on Historical Principles* (1908) defined leadership as “the ability to lead” – which was used by all subsequent twentieth century lexicographers. These definitions did not prevent people from attaching different connotations to the notion of leadership.

In the first three decades of the twentieth century leadership was understood as “the ability to impress the will of the leader on those led and induce obedience, respect, loyalty, and cooperation” (Moore 1927:124). The control and centralization of power is thus emphasized in such concepts of leadership.

This understanding led leadership scholars from the 1930s and late 1970s to understand and define leadership in terms of the following concepts: “Do the leaders’ wish”, “achieving group or organizational goals”, “management”, “the ability to influence”, “character traits”. These concepts were largely held by social psychologists and managerial theorists’ (Rost 1991:68-95).

By contrast, in terms of his transformational theory, Burns¹⁶ (1978:1) blamed what he calls “the mediocrity” and “irresponsibility” of men and women in positions of power, which to him led to the crisis of leadership. This mediocrity and irresponsibility might have presumably raised questions on morality in leadership. Burns, however, acceded that the question of morality in leadership was not new. In that respect, he (1978:3) argued that “Long before today’s calls for moral leadership and ‘profiles in courage’, Confucian thinkers were examining the concept of leadership in moral teaching and by example”. To support his argument, Burns stresses the following: “Long before Gandhi, Christian thinkers were preaching non-violence”. All these unfortunately, did not establish a school of leadership for the purpose of setting standards from which potential leaders in the past, present and future would be assessed and measured. In his views, “Although we have no school of leadership, we do have in rich abundance and variety the *makings* of such a school”. Burns (1978:3)

¹⁶ Burns, JM was a political scientist and Professor at Williams College while serving as President of the American Political Science Association by the time this book was published in 1978.

argues that “the richness of the research and analysis and thoughtful experience, accumulated especially in the past decade or so, enables us now to achieve an intellectual breakthrough”. Furthermore, Burns praises the work in humanistic psychology which for him made possible to generalise leadership processes in every field including culture.

It is against this backdrop of historical leadership characteristics that Burns undertook to explore critical notions in leadership. Burns investigated notions such as the power of leadership. As he explored the political arena, he argued that politics, power and leadership are three different entities which are interrelated and play different roles depending on one another. For this notion, he drew mainly on the tale of an encounter with Mtesa, the king of Uganda, that John Speke is believed to have brought back from his early travels to the source of the Nile. This experience led Burns (1978:11) to state that “Viewing politics *as* power has blinded us to the role of power *in* politics and hence to the pivotal role of leadership”. This failure, according to him, is partly empirical and psychological. Burns extended his investigations to notions including the structure of moral leadership, the psychological matrix of leadership, the social sources of leadership, the crucibles of political leadership, the intellectual leadership (where he discussed ideas as moral power). Furthermore, he investigated the notions of opinion leadership, group leadership, party leadership, legislative leadership as well as executive leadership. As he drew his conclusion, upon analysis of each one of the above mentioned notions, Burns (1978:425) defines leadership as “the reciprocal process of mobilizing by persons with certain motives and values, various economic, political and other resources, in a context of competition and conflict, in order to realize goals independently or mutually held by both leaders and followers.”

However, this transformational theory was dismissed by social psychologists and managerial theorists for not operating within their “inner sanctum”, i.e. the managerial locus in which leadership is exercised in the context of business and industry.

Rost, after having analysed and studied the definition of leadership following from the transformational theory, argued that this definition is incomplete. To him, “leadership is an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes” (Rost 1991:102). This definition suggests that leadership is primarily situated within a multidirectional and non-coercive *relationship* between leaders and followers. Within this relationship *influence* is exerted by leaders in order to *achieve* specified *purposes* that the leaders and followers have in common. Rost (1991:119) prefers

the use of the word “purposes” in order to focus on the broader, more holistic and integrated articulation of visions and accompanying mission statements. This is contrasted with “goals” which refer to quite specific, more segmental and often prioritised objectives, typically stated in quantitative terms. In this way Rost seeks to move beyond the managerial view of leadership that is typical of the industrial paradigm.

Rost noted that this definition of leadership contains certain assumptions and values that are crucial for a transformed and post-industrial model of leadership. What is important here, is the emphasis on, especially four values embedded in this notion of leadership: (1) the mutuality implied in this notion of relationships, (2) the consent implied in the notion of “followers”, while recognizing a certain inequality in the relationship, (3) the emphasis on effectiveness in reaching the intended aims and (4) the participatory process required to identify common purposes.

Rost did not investigate any specific purposes that are being pursued since this notion of leadership may be applicable in various spheres of life. For my purposes the four values associated with Rost’s definition of leadership are important since this may help to characterise an appropriate leadership ethos. They may be regarded as characteristics and indeed as criteria for such a leadership ethos.

2.5 The notion of “leadership ethos”

How should the notion of “leadership ethos” be understood? There are different ways in which the term ethos is understood. One approach is to focus on the Greek word “ethos” which originally meant a shelter or dwelling *place*, for example for domestic animals. It suggests the need for a place of protection and nutrition. This indicates the connotations of a daily routine, a sense of familiarity and stability, a place that may be called “home”. Accordingly, the term ethos may be regarded as the distinguishing features, beliefs or moral values of a group, or institution.¹⁷ Seen from a broader anthropological perspective, it may refer to the distinctive spirit of a culture or an era.¹⁸ The term ethos is thus employed to describe certain features of a home, a group or a whole era.

By contrast the term ethos may also be used to refer to the character, virtues and moral selfhood pertaining to a person, group, culture, or movement.¹⁹ Along a similar line, the term

¹⁷ See www.gbgm-umc.org/umw/corinthians/glossary.stm retrieved on 6th / 08/09.

¹⁸ See www.wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn retrieved on 6th /08/09.

¹⁹ See [www.en.wiktionary.org/wiki/ethos](http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/ethos) retrieved on 6th /08/09.

could also indicate a certain “attitude”, predisposition or comportment towards others, suggesting a particular bond with others.²⁰ Burgess, for example, understands “Ethos” as the disposition, character, or fundamental values peculiar to a specific person, people, culture, or movement.²¹

For the purposes of this thesis these connotations may be integrated to focus on the characteristic ways in which particular groups (for example families, institutions, organisations, movements, sub-cultures) enact, embody and practise their moral convictions and moral judgements, their sense of what is right and what is wrong. Such moral convictions may be expressed with reference to a range of ethical concepts, including moral visions, virtues, social values, goals and obligations or rules (Conradie 2006:2).

On this basis one may describe a “leadership ethos” as *moral judgements* concerning the *characteristic way* in which *leadership is embodied and exercised* within particular “*influence relationships*” (Rost). In the rest of this thesis I will use this as a working definition in order to engage with the relevant literature.

A key aspect of this definition that needs to be addressed is the nature of moral judgements. It is important to recognise that such moral judgements may be exercised in three distinct ways. One may judge something (an act, a person, an institution, a society or a form of leadership) to be moral, immoral or indeed amoral. An amoral judgment is a judgment that is neither moral nor immoral (Conradie 2006:3).

In this thesis I will use the term “appropriate leadership ethos” to indicate that a particular way of exercising moral leadership is judged to be “moral” and not immoral. In terms of Rost’s analysis, such appropriate leadership ethos would adhere to the four values identified above which describes the core content of my theoretical framework.

2.6 Literature survey on “ethical leadership”

This notion of appropriate leadership ethos may be used as a point of departure to explore further contributions to reflection on ethical leadership, especially within the context of the Ethical Leadership Project (ELP).

The ELP is a research and teaching project working within the framework of the MRM. The

²⁰ See www.texascollaborative.org/Urban_Module/glossary.htm retrieved on 6th / 08/09.

²¹ The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition. Houghton Mifflin Company. 2009.

project does not provide an explicit definition of leadership. However, a leader is viewed as a person of integrity who is regarded as a role model and who aspires to set moral standards. Therefore, leadership could be understood in such a context. This understanding of leadership allows the ELP to identify leadership in various spheres of society – politics, economy, the media and civil society: educational institution, faith communities, religious organisations, sport, culture, families, neighbourhoods, advocacy groups, etc.

In this context, contemporary South African scholars from various academic disciplines and leadership practitioners, who have been taking part in the project attached to leadership connotations from their disciplines. Barnes (2006), when speaking from a gender perspective, defines a leader in institutional settings as an individual who plays a transformational role in the sense of reorienting and reallocating power and authority according to gender. Parallel to this view, Mndende (2006) speaking from the perspective of African Traditional Religion underpins that leadership is understood and practiced within the context of elder. These (elderly) men and women have special roles to play for the well being of their people. By the virtue of being the first-born of the family, one must uphold the rules of purity in order to lead. In support for Mndende's view, chief Kutela (2006) added that a leader is a quiet person who listens. By listening, one becomes wiser. In the same line of thought, Lazarus stated that the values of leadership in the African context rest upon respect for the dignity of others, group solidarity, teamwork, service to others in the spirit of harmony, and interdependence as articulated by Mbigi (2005:218-9). Mbigi's emphasis is, however, on the importance of listening, empathy, persuasion, healing, self-discipline, and consciousness in African leadership. (Lazarus 2006).

These assertions provides us with insights on how leadership is portrayed and understood from a traditional African perspective. Although "leadership" is usually not strictly defined, it allows for certain relativity, the notions of *influence relationship*, *the consent implied in the notion of "followers"* and *the participatory process required to identify common purposes* that could be identified in this notion of leadership.

To understand leadership in the African context, one must consider both the African traditional ways and the contemporary "Western" ways of leadership. In addition to Mbigi's assertions (2005:218-9) from within a traditional African context, both Chief Kutela and Mndende emphasised that leadership is exercised in the context of the elderly and wise men and women respectively. Leadership is evident in the way such individuals demonstrate the

ability in communities to look after their people. Such abilities give them the right to rule over the people, and such rights are referred to as “power”. It is to be noted that power is regarded as sacred in Africa; the ancestors alone identify and choose individuals who demonstrate such abilities. Once one is chosen, it is the whole family lineage which is chosen to rule for generations thereafter. This way of identifying leaders may explain an African understanding of “kingdoms”.

2.7 Conclusion

In the contemporary African context such traditional ways of understanding leadership appear to have become conflated with Western understandings of leadership. In the traditional African context leadership was exercised almost exclusively within communal structures. By contrast the processes associated with Western forms of industrialisation and urbanisation has led to a differentiation of social structures within which leadership is exercised. This prompted an understanding of leadership where the focus is on the character and capacities of the leader as an individual person (Shutte 2006). Such a notion of leadership has become deeply entrenched in the African context due to the impact of Westernisation. It appears that many African leaders find it difficult to separate themselves from the traditional concept of leadership, and yet they must exercise such leadership within an industrialised pluralistic society. This has resulted in conflicts and tensions in the fabric of society and in the recognition of leadership.

It is on the basis of these tensions that this thesis investigates the impact that the black theology movement has on the present cohort of African leadership. The underlying assumption is that, contemporary cohort of African leadership received their formative training especially in the 1960s and 1970s and that they were deeply influenced by the Black Consciousness movement, in association with the emergence of black theology as a particular approach to Christian Theology.

In the rest of the thesis, I will investigate the understanding of leadership that is expressed in the work of representatives from the black theology movement in order to describe and assess how such understandings relate to the notions of leadership and appropriate leadership ethos discussed in this chapter. To achieve this objective, it is appropriate to analyse the ways in which the four values embedded in this notion of leadership are portrayed in their writings. This does not imply that the positions of Burns, Rost and participants in the Ethical

Leadership Project could be considered as normative. The survey offered in this chapter would at least help to situate the contributions emerging from the black theology movement within a wider context in which their distinctive emphases could be recognised. In order to do this, a brief survey of the emergence and subsequent history of black theology in the USA and in South Africa will be necessary. They will provide the background through which the discussion in chapter 4 to 6 has to be understood. This is the task of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

A Brief Historical Survey of Black Theology

3.1 Introduction

Owing to the fact that this research focuses on the understanding of leadership within the context of the black theology movement, this chapter is a survey of the emergence and subsequent development of black theology in the United States of America (USA) and in South Africa (RSA). The literature on the black consciousness movement, which many scholars in this discipline regard as the point of departure for the emergence of black theology, especially in South Africa, will be reviewed in this chapter. Different movements associated with the concept of black consciousness in the USA and South Africa will be highlighted.

The purpose here is to revisit the emergence of the black theology movement in order to determine different understandings and approaches that various critics in the movement had as far as leadership is concerned. This will facilitate the search of ways in which an appropriate leadership ethos was portrayed by selected exponents in the movement – which will be explored in the subsequent chapters.

3.2 The black consciousness movement

James Cone (1979:465) argued that black consciousness began with the experience of and resistance to white domination in the USA during the slave era. However, the black consciousness movement emerged amongst black intellectuals in France in the mid-1930s through an exploration of the notion of *Négritude*. The term *Négritude* was used for the first time in 1935 by Aimé Césaire, a black French-speaking author who later used it for the

second time in 1939 when he was advocating for black identity and black culture, which were being undermined by white colonialists.²² From France the movement spread to Francophone Africa, the Caribbean islands, the USA and later to South Africa. It is a movement that helped to raise the consciousness of the marginalized, the discriminated against and the vulnerable, especially black people who suffered under oppression.

The concept of *Négritude* was further developed in *Présence Africaine* (1947) in which Léopold Sédar Senghor defined *Négritude* as “l’ensemble des valeurs culturelles de l’Afrique noire” (the “set of cultural values of black Africa”). By this, Senghor implies that *Négritude* is a set of economical, political, intellectual, moral, artistic and social values of African people and the black minority of the USA, Asia and Oceania.²³ “Négritude” became associated with the anti-colonialist movement which later spread beyond French-speaking black people around the world and influenced other movements such as the Black Nationalism movement in the USA and Africa significantly.

The Black Nationalism movement in the USA was especially prominent within religious groups. As early as in 1917, the first great national organization entitled the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) was formed by Marcus Garvey from Jamaica. This movement advocated the return of black people to Africa for their independence as they stated in their motto: “One God! One aim! One destiny”.²⁴

A second movement called the “Nation of Islam” (NoI) emerged in the 1930s through the work of Wallace Fard Muhammad, who advocated a separated state for black people in the South of the USA.²⁵ A third movement, the Black Panther Party, emerged in 1966. This movement, founded by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton, neither advocated the return of blacks to Africa nor a separate state in the South of the USA, but a self-organization of the black community leading towards its recognition by whites.²⁶

In South Africa, the black consciousness movement was prominent especially in the context of the South African Student Organization (SASO), which was formed in 1969 and AZAPO in 1978. Bantu Stephen (Steve) Biko is generally regarded as the most prominent voice and indeed as the father of the black consciousness movement. His views were expressed mainly

²² See <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/N%C3%A9gritude> retrieved on 8 /12/09.

²³ See <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/N%C3%A9gritude> retrieved on 8 /12/09.

²⁴ See http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_nationalism retrieved on 8/12/09.

²⁵ See http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nation_de_l%27islam retrieved on 8/12/09.

²⁶ See http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_Panthers retrieved on 8/12/09.

through public speeches at rallies held on campuses and in townships (informal settlements). Given the suppression of political resistance in the early 1970s, as a result of which many of the leaders of the black consciousness movement were imprisoned. These rallies were typically held clandestinely. Such oppression was exposed by the Soweto uprisings and the infamous death of Biko in detention in 1977.

One of Biko's collaborators, Themba Sono,²⁷ observed and noted that there was a sharp contrast between Biko's public and private personae. He went on to declare that "His public ideological stance was unimpeachable, while his private epicurean tendencies remained of course highly questionable till death", adding that, "He was Stoic and Epicurus all bundled in one. A purist and a hedonist"(Sono 1993:93). These are forces which according to Sono battled in Biko's soul. Sono believed that Biko was widely cultured and broadly gifted. In addition, Biko was a man who occupied the moral high ground, with a certain sense of arrogance but without hubris. He noted that humility and modesty formed part of Biko's life. Sono saw Biko as a formidable and articulate philosopher. He was an organiser and propagator of black people's passion for equality, which made him both a man of theory and action. According to Sono, Biko was "unequivocally" a hero, especially within the black community (Sono 1993:90).

Unfortunately, not many of Biko's views were published. Most of his works are recorded in his well known book entitled *I write what I like*. Ironically, the dissemination of the ideas of black consciousness to the outside world depended upon white journalists and authors such as Alan Paton and Donald Woods, friends of Biko (see Biko 1978).

Steve Biko is believed to have championed the black cause by effectively implementing the slogan of his "chief lieutenant", Barney Pityana: "Black man, you are on your own". When defining "black consciousness", Biko stresses that black consciousness "is in essence the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their operation – the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude" (Biko 1978:49). This according to him implies that black consciousness takes what he refers to as "cognizance of the deliberateness of God's plan in creating black people black" (Biko 1978:49). Furthermore, black consciousness seeks to "infuse the black community with a new-found

²⁷ Sono worked with Biko in the leadership of SASO. He is currently Professor of Political Science and Director of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Bophuthatswana.

pride in themselves, their efforts, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life” (Biko 1978:49).

Pityana (2007:5) describes and understands the movement as “a call first and foremost to the black society to take responsibility for their liberation, to free the human spirit and claim back their nature as free humanity.” Pityana observes (in rather andocentric language) that most black people in South Africa in the 1970s believed that the black person had lost his manhood, that he was reduced to an obliging shell, that he looked with awe at white power structures and accepted what he regarded as an “inevitable position”. All in all the black person had become a shell, a shadow of man, completely defeated, drowned in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity. In response, the black consciousness movement helped black people to find their identity in themselves. On this basis they could no longer see themselves as what Mbeki (2007: 6) refers to as “an extension of a broom or additional leverage to some machine”. In its rhetoric the black consciousness movement (as articulated by Biko) was clearly aimed against the hypocrisy of white liberalism. It was equally addressing the social, economic and political oppression associated with the system of apartheid in South Africa.

It is against the backdrop of the above historical discourse on the black consciousness movement that the discussion below will entail the emergence of the black theology movements in both the USA and South Africa.

3.3 The black theology movement in the USA

In the USA the practice of slavery left a legacy of oppression which overruled and undermined the rights of black people. In order to address the issue, the fight against white racism and the liberation of blacks, the civil rights movement was forged. Black theology emerged from this context in the 1960s. As Hopkins (1989:8) stated, “In the United States Black Theology developed out of the Civil Rights and Black Power movements.”

Theologians and church leaders used the message of the gospel, especially the message of the year of the Lord’s favour recorded in Luke 4 and Isaiah 61; “The Spirit of the Lord is on me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, to release the oppressed, to

proclaim the year of the Lord's favour..."²⁸, to put pressure on the oppressive political system and to strongly support the civil rights movement (Hopkins 1989:7). Resistance to the legacy of slavery and the message of the gospel were key components of the civil rights movement. In other words, black theology in the USA entailed a fight for justice. Martin Luther King (Jr) is generally regarded as one of the most prominent voices and a leading figure in the Civil Rights movement. The movement began in Montgomery (1955) with Rosa Parks's act of radical defiance of southern segregation laws in the bus by refusing to give her seat to a white man who according to the law was entitled to have the seat by virtue of being white. King regarded Mrs. Park's act and the entire eruption of the civil rights movement as what he referred to as "being tracked down by the *Zeitgeist* – the spirit of the time". For, it propelled him and the other blacks to struggle for justice into the national and international arenas.

He led the Civil Rights movement which was advocating for a political, social and cultural renaissance. As a leader of the movement, King Jr. organised black communities at different levels (for instance the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, SNCC). He also organized rallies where he made public speeches to raise the consciousness of blacks and to challenge the oppressive political system.²⁹ It is through the civil rights movement that blacks moved from the court chambers into the streets and backwoods of the southern states. Other acts of resistance included massive boycotts (such the case with the 382 days boycott of city buses to protest segregation and to walk for freedom successfully organised by King in Montgomery), sit-ins, kneel-ins, and other acts of civil disobedience aimed at undermining Jim Crow practices and segregation ordinances. While the civil rights movement was underway, another movement emerged; the Black Power movement (in 1966). This movement arose from leaders who once belonged to the civil rights movement but could no longer share King's pacifist philosophy or his approach to fight segregation and injustice through non-violent resistance.

Despite the commitment of the Civil Rights movement to fight for justice through non-violence, changes were being undermined by the American authorities. Hopkins (1989:9-10) identified the following as strands that led to the emergence of the black power movement in

²⁸ See the Bible – The New International Version (UK)

²⁹ For an overview of such conferences, meetings and minutes, see King (1986) as well as Cone and Wilmore (1979).

the USA:

- The increasing suffering amongst masses of black people,
- The widening of the gap between black and white in every sphere of American society,
- The myth of the decade of Negro progress applied only to a minute sector of the black community,
- The hypocrisy of white liberalism,
- The disillusioning process for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) following the failure of federal government support for voter registration,
- Responding to the white segregationist terrorism in the South,
- The revelation of the resurrection of the spirit of Malcolm X, the contemporary father of Black Nationalism (1950s to early 1960s).

Black power did not only have a social agenda, its agenda had political, cultural as well as theological dimensions. In its political programmes, black powers engaged in opposing white racism while promoting what can be referred to as “black emancipation”. Hopkins (1989:11) believes that from that end the political platforms of black power diverged from building socialism to operate within the Democratic and Republican parties. The black power movement was led by Stokely Carmichael and Huey Newton who attributed the lack of freedom for black Americans to a lack of political power. These two leaders of the black power movement advocated for black political representatives, as they stressed, “politics is war without bloodshed and war is politics with bloodshed” (Hopkins 1989:13). In their cultural programmes, the aim was to promote black liberation and self determination. This could be achieved through connecting identity and power. Here Malcolm X’s philosophy is believed to have played a significant role³⁰. Malcolm X’s philosophy fought against what he referred to as the black subservience to white supremacy. They (blacks) were not fully African, nor were they fully American. The lack of resolution of this identity question was at the soul and deep being (heart) of blacks. This led Ron Karenga and LeRoi Jones to embark in dealing with these questions of identity. Their theological programmes promoted the slogan “We Shall Overcome”. Here, the voices and protests of black people raised concerns over the role of Christianity on the black community. There was an outcry for black pastors

³⁰ See Archer (1993) for a detailed discourse on Malcolm X.

to be relevant and black. These (pastors) were challenged to re-examine their beliefs and conducts through what was referred to as a “disengagement from the opprobrium of a white racist Christianity” (Hopkins 1989:16). Furthermore, Black power as a concept emerged in an attempt to answer the following questions: what did it mean to be black and Christian? Where was God and Jesus Christ in the urban rebellions? Was the black church simply serving an Uncle Tom, another-worldly role, or was it aiding in black control of the community and black people’s destiny? Could blacks continue to uphold the theology of integration and liberalism – a theology where all power remained in the hands of whites?

From an academic point of view, both male and female black American theologians such as James Cone, Gayraud Wilmore, Frances Beale and Theresa Hoover, just to mention a few, have contributed considerably to an engagement with the above questions and promote the black theology movement. They fought a theological and intellectual battle for justice. As Cone (1979:352) stated: “... we intended to fight on a theological and intellectual level as a way of empowering our historical movement, one that was derived from and thus accountable to our people’s fight for justice”. Black theology, within the social and religious contexts, was initially understood as the theological arm of black power which enabled them to express their theological thoughts in their struggle for freedom without interference from white theologians. Black theology, according to Cone (1969:116) implied that black religionists were called to conduct a serious and honest thinking about the significance of Christian obedience in an age of black revolution. White American “Christianity” was irrelevant as it appeared to have supported white racism and oppression. There was a need for a theological paradigm, aimed at destroying racism in the American society. Black theology emerged as an answer, being a theology for the oppressed black people in America. The task of black theology, as stated by Cone (1969:117) was “to analyse the black man’s condition in the light of God’s revelation in Jesus Christ with the purpose of creating a new understanding of black dignity among black people, and providing the necessary soul in that people, to destroy white racism.” Furthermore, according to Cone, the notion of black theology denotes a confession of the Christian faith which receives its meaning only in relation to political justice. Thus, black theology was primarily a theology of and for black people who share what Cone (1969:117) called “the common belief” over the destruction of white racism. It is for this reason that black theology is regarded as a theology of liberation. This understanding of black theology is critical in so far as justice in relation to human life is concerned. Justice, however, should not only receive its meaning in relation to politics but to every system that is

associated with human life.

Frances Beale made use of the opportunity provided by black theology to reflect on the conditions of black women in America as she regarded it as a double jeopardy to be black and female. For her, it was time for black women not only to begin by asking questions about the type of society they wish to live in but also by participating in the building of that kind of society. She stressed that, “the black community and black women especially must begin raising questions about the kind of society we wish to see established ... A people’s revolution that engages the participation of every member of the community, including man, woman, and child brings about a certain transformation in the participants as a result of participation” (Cone 1979:368-76). Theresa Hoover, added that the status of black women and the churches was what she called a triple jeopardy. Hoover believed that black theology provided an opportunity where a truthful dialogue amongst various churches’ stakeholders’ would take place as she states “the black churchwoman must come to the point of challenging both her sisters in other denominations and the clerical-male hierarchy in her own. In many ways she has been the most oppressed and the least vocal. She has given the most and, in my judgement, gotten the least” (Cone 1979:377-88).

The above arguments from feminist theology offer an illustration of how black theology provided a platform where blacks in the USA – academics and non-academics – would engage in discussions and share beliefs and feelings around their conditions in so far as political, social and religious status were concerned.

Black theology, being primarily a theology of and for oppressed black people, found its way across the American borders and beyond the seas to reach out to other nations including South Africa. The discussion below gives a brief historical survey of the emergence of the black theology movement in South Africa.

3.4 The black theology movement in South Africa

In South Africa, black theology is primarily understood within the context of black consciousness and the fight against the oppressive regime of apartheid during the late 1960s and the early 1970s. Within the apartheid system, the church, especially Christian theology was expected to play an important and more positive role. The church, however, appeared to have let down the people who had such high expectations from it. As Mosala (1981:1) states: “Black theologians argued, justifiably, that not only was the church silent on the question of

oppression but that the thoroughly Western and white outlook of its theology helped to reproduce the basic inequalities of an apartheid society...”

In this respect, black theology came to be regarded as an instrument in the struggle for liberation. Boesak (1976b:14) states: “black theology believes that liberation is not only part of the gospel or consistent with the gospel, it is the content and framework of the gospel of Jesus Christ.”

Church leaders and theologians from old and younger generations including Desmond Tutu, Itumeleng Mosala, Manas Buthelezi, Basil Moore, Buti Tlhagale, Frank Chikane, Simon Maimela, Allan Boesak, and Tinyiko Maluleke, just to mention a few, wrote extensively to promote black theology in South Africa and in the whole region. In South Africa, their contributions were not limited to academic work since such black theologians and authors were also involved in activism. Tutu, for instance, made use of his various positions in leadership. Firstly, as the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg and later as the Secretary General of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and Archbishop of Cape Town, amongst other positions, to speak out and challenge the apartheid regime,³¹ while Boesak, was mainly involved in political activities, being one of the first theological spokespersons for the United Democratic Front of South Africa UDF-Freedom Charter political opposition.

Today, the above mentioned theologians are highly regarded on the African continent, more particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa following their remarkable contributions towards promoting black theology in addition to their prophetic critiques.

The term “black theology”, according to Moore (1973:1-10) emerged from black theologians in the USA. This came as a response to the rise of the black power movement. Moore argued that although the term was imported into South Africa from the USA, its contents were not. For the content of American black theology is different from the content of black theology in South Africa even though, there are few similarities.

Moore (1973:5) believed that black theology is what he called a “situational theology”, and in the case of South Africa, blacks appear to be the situation. According to him, the aim of black theology was to cut across what he referred to as the “classically arid detachment” that many theologians had to their academic activities (i.e. research) rather than focusing on human problems (Moore 1973:6). That is the call of black theology. In this respect, it begins

³¹ For the various leadership positions held by Tutu, see Allen (2006).

with people – specific people, in a specific situation and with specific problems to face (Moore 1973:6). These were black people in the South African situation facing the strangling problems of oppression, fear, hunger, insult and dehumanization. Furthermore, black theology according to Moore (1973:6) tried to understand as clearly as possible who these people were, what their life experiences were, and the nature and cause of their suffering. This was what Moore (1973:6) called an “indispensable datum of black theology”. When elaborating on the methods, Moore argued that black theology operated within the context of the Scripture and tradition which he regarded as the classical sources of doctrine.

Boesak (1976b:9), understands black theology in South Africa as what he refers to as “the theological reflection of black Christians on the situation in which they live and on their struggle for liberation.” To him, black theology emerged from the theology of liberation and denotes what he calls a “fundamentally different approach to Christian theology”. This is according to Boesak a new way of looking at the world we live in and at the responsibility of the church in the world. Furthermore, black theology according to Boesak (1976b:9) signifies what he refers to as an “irreversible reordering of the ecumenical agenda.” This means that black theology reflects on the black situation which “Christian theology” has ignored. Boesak, states that black theology seeks, “the God of the Bible who is totally and completely different from the God whites have for so long preached to them. The God of the Bible is the God of liberation rather than oppression; a God of justice rather than injustice; a God of freedom and humanity rather than enslavement and subservience; a God of love, righteousness and brotherhood rather than hatred, self-interest and exploitation”. It is against the backdrop of the above that Boesak challenged and confronted his church’s theological support for the apartheid system. The Afrikaner political regime was what Hopkins (1989:103) called a “collection of white racist politicians” who, most appeared to be Dutch Reformed Church (NGK) leaders. Boesak, in various ways, made his voice heard when joining the struggle against apartheid; first in an article entitled “Courage to be Black” published in *South African Outlook* (October 1975) and in his writings during the 1970s where he addressed the questions of oppression and injustice mainly to blacks. In one of his statements recorded in Hopkins (1989:104), Boesak said, “Apartheid is more than an ideology; more than something that has been thought up to form the content of a particular political policy. Apartheid is also pseudo-gospel. It was born in the church ... The struggle against apartheid [...] is, therefore more than merely a struggle against an evil ideology”.

Black theology provided an ideal platform for theological reflection on the situation of blacks in South Africa under the apartheid regime. Apart from Boesak, whose emphasis is on the liberating Word of God, many other scholars contributed to such theological reflections aimed at transforming the society. Manas Buthelezi for instance, when reflecting on black theology, articulated the concept in terms of a theology of “racial fellowship”. Buthelezi (1974:162-64) argues that “... other theologians have also searched the Scriptures in good faith and came up with theological findings with different social and political implications”. Buthelezi here refers to a paragraph in *A Message to the People of South Africa*: “The Bible’s teaching about creation has nothing to say about the distinctions between races and nations. God made man – the whole human race – in his image. God gave to man – the whole human race – dominion over the rest of creation. Where differences between people are used as badges or signs of opposing groups, this is due to human sin” (Buthelezi 1974:163). Buthelezi concludes, “Any scheme which is proposed for rectifying of our disorders must take account of this essentially sinful element in the divisions between men and groups of men”. In addition, he stresses that “Any scheme which is claimed to be Christian must also take account of the reconciliation already made for us in Christ, for wrong exegetical theology may lead to wrong politics in as far as politics deals with such basic questions as human dignity and social justice” (Buthelezi 1974:163). Apartheid with its policy of racial separation must, in the words of Buthelezi (1974:163) “ultimately require that the church should cease to be the church” in order to function. Thus, a theology of racial fellowship (explained above) would be appropriate in the South African context.

Simon Maimela, another prominent South African voice in black theology, would agree with Buthelezi’s concept of “racial fellowship” but on condition that it is aimed at achieving what he referred to as a “theological anthropology of social transformation” (Hopkins 1989:119).

In the same line of thought, Kretzschmar (1986:xii) concedes that black theology in South Africa is an umbrella term under which South African theologians reflect on the concepts of African theology, black consciousness and liberation theology. She defines African theology as “the relationship between Christianity and African traditional religion and culture”, black consciousness as “those writings which emphasise that blackness is not to be negated as inferior, but affirmed as part of God’s creation, and which draws out the implications of a Black Theology for the Church”, and liberation theology as a theology “which stresses that the Gospel is a Gospel of liberation – a liberation of individuals from the oppressive social

structures in which they live and the creation of a new society”. It is for such a reason that theologians like Desmond Tutu’s approach to black theology is on all the three concepts, while Boesak’s emphasis is on black consciousness and liberation, to name but a few.

It has transpired that these (above) notions and concepts associated with black theology in South Africa were not only subjects of discussion among scholars and theologians, but were well confined in various South African institutions. These include the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, the Institute for Contextual Theology, the South African Council of Churches, to name but a few. Such institutions played a significant role in helping the voices of South African black theologians to be heard. This was done through publishing their works in various periodic journals which included the *Journal of Black Theology*, *South African Outlook*, the *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, and the *Journal of African Studies*, to name but a few.

3.5 Conclusion

The black theology movement in both USA and South Africa, despite their weaknesses, must be commended for providing a solid platform for theological, political and socio-economic reflections and exchanges in a period of rapid social change. Although the movement was primarily understood to be for blacks, it could be regarded as an invitation and a call to other races (whites particularly) to think deeply, more critically and honestly about the awful inhuman practices and actions toward their fellow human beings as far as race relationships were concerned.

Being a movement, various scholars contributed in different ways in promoting its ideals and teachings. In the following chapters, I will investigate the ways in which an appropriate leadership ethos is understood and articulated in the writings of selected exponents of the black theology movement focusing mainly on their speeches.

CHAPTER FOUR

Martin Luther King, Jr.

4.1 Introduction

Martin Luther King Jr. is well known for leading the civil rights movement, especially in the quest for social justice, in which he was actively involved. Over time, his non-violent resistance approach became a legacy to some individuals while others disagreed with him. In any case, King is (arguably) regarded as one of the greatest leaders in history. His contribution in leadership might have influenced many leaders in various areas today.

In this chapter, I will investigate the understanding of leadership that is expressed in some of King's speeches. In this respect, I will offer an analysis of the ways in which the four values embedded in the notion of leadership – drawing on the discussion with Burns and Rost (refer to chapter 2) are portrayed in King's approach to leadership.

King inspired many people – both whites and blacks through public addresses, sermons, essays and interviews. Most of them are included in his well known books *Stride Toward Freedom*, *The Strength to Love*, *Why We Can't Wait*, *Where do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* and *The Trumpet of Conscience*. Unfortunately, the limitations of this work do not provide enough room to analyse all his writings in this chapter. Therefore, texts are selected using the probability sampling method. It is a random selection of his texts according to different periods of time and the circumstances surrounding such periods of time chronologically. In this way, an analysis of his understanding of an appropriate leadership ethos and the way(s) he portrayed such a leadership ethos will be feasible.

It would, however, be appropriate to start by offering a biographical survey on Martin Luther King, Jr. This will be followed by a close reading and analysis of selected extracts from his speeches as mentioned above. A summary of the close reading and analysis will be provided in the form of a conclusion.

4.2 Martin Luther King, Jr.: A biographical survey

Michael King, who later became Martin Luther King, Jr. was born on January 15, 1929 in Atlanta, Georgia. It was on the verge of the Great Depression, which, according to him, would spread out its disastrous arms across his beloved country for over a decade (Carson 1998:1). Born in a religious family, King grew up in a church surrounded by ministers. His

father was a minister, his grandfather was a minister, his great-grandfather was a minister, and his only brother was a minister too, as well as his uncle. It seems that there was something about the ministry that his family ought to offer to humanity, and King appeared to be the chosen one to offer.

In his early education, King went to public schools, studied at the Atlanta University Laboratory High School, and then later attended the Booker T. Washington High School. He grew up in an ordinary black community where most people were of average income (Carson 1998:2). King believed that his parents, following his home situation, which he described very “congenial”, played a significant role in shaping his determination for justice. He stated, “I think that my strong determination for justice comes from the very strong dynamic personality of my father, and I would hope that the gentle aspect comes from a mother who is very gentle and sweet” (Carson 1998:3). In his mother, Alberta Williams King, he saw, in his words, “a very devout person with a deep commitment to Christian faith”. Furthermore, he continued “Although possessed of a rather recessive personality, she is warm and easily approachable”. His father, Martin Luther King Sr., was an admirable person to him. For the first 25 years of his life, King had not experienced hardship or any feeling of not having basic necessities. His father made sure that they lived a comfortable life, not because he made more than an ordinary salary but because, in the words of Kings, “He has always had sense enough not to live beyond his means” (Carson 1998:5). In the midst of such of economic security and relative comfort, King’s growing personality was influenced by segregation and what he calls “its barbarous acts” of violence – police brutality, the oppressive law of segregation and injustice of which he was a victim on several occasions. These barbarous acts were supported by an organisation called the Ku Klux Klan. This organisation used violent methods to preserve segregation and oppress the Negro (Carson 1998:5-10).

In 1944 King, as a freshman, entered Morehouse College for his bachelor degree in sociology. While at the college King made his first contact with the theory of non-violent resistance through a reading of Henry David Thoreau’s essay “On civil disobedience”. From his reading of Thoreau, King became convinced that, in his words, “noncooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good” (Carson 1998:14). Furthermore, King maintained that Thoreau’s teaching insisted that evil must be resisted and that no moral person can patiently adjust to injustice. Thus, he dedicated his early years in college to organisations trying to make social justice a reality. As a result, he had difficulty in deciding

on his future profession while feeling a call to the ministry after having served as an assistant to his father for several months. More and more, his studies made him sceptical with regard to religion (Carson 1998:14-15). Following his religious background, in his words, “I wondered whether it (religion) could serve as a vehicle to modern thinking, whether religion could be intellectually respectable as well as emotionally satisfying”. With the help of two personalities, Dr. Meyes and Dr. G. Kesley, whom he respected deeply, King’s dilemma was put to an end. As he states, “Both were ministers, both deeply religious, and yet both were learned men, aware of all the trends of modern thinking. I could see in their lives the ideal of what I wanted a minister to be” (Carson 1998:16). Following what he calls the “effect” of his father’s noble moral and ethical ideals, King entered the ministry at the age of 19 and was ordained at Ebenezer in February 1948 before he received his Bachelor of Arts degree in sociology from Morehouse in June of the same year..

Immediately, King entered Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania. His seminary experience challenged him intellectually to search for a method to address what he regarded as social evil in society. Here, he was determined to study various social and ethical theories from great philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Hobbes, Bentham, and Mill. Their theories shaped his thinking. The question, however, was to reconcile social theories with theological thinking. Here Walter Rauschenbusch’s *Christianity and the Social Crisis* was helpful in providing a theological basis for his social concern, suggesting that “the gospel deals with the whole man – not only his soul but his body; not only his spiritual well-being but his material well-being”, although he disagreed with him on some points (Carson 1998: 18). In the light of the above statement, King was convinced that a religion which was not concerned about the social conditions that crippled people was what he called a “moribund religion”, waiting for the burial day. Against the backdrop of the above, King saw in the preaching ministry an opportunity to advocate the social gospel. He stated, “I see the preaching ministry as a dual process. On the one hand I must attempt to change the soul for individuals so that their societies may be changed. On the other I must attempt to change the societies so that the individual soul will have a change. Therefore, I must be concerned about unemployment, slums, and economic insecurity. I am a profound advocate of the social gospel” (Carson 1998:19).

King continued his quest for a theory that would help diffuse the tension in his society. Upon engaging with Karl Marx and communism, King rejected its materialistic interpretation of

history. For him, “History is ultimately guided by spirit, not matter.” King disagreed with Marx’s theory on ethical relativism as he argues, “Constructive ends can never give absolute moral justification to destructive means, because in the final analysis the end is pre-existent in the means” (Carson 1998: 19-20). King also opposed communism’s political totalitarianism. On this topic, he argued in the following way: “Man must never be treated as a means to the end of the state, but always as an end within himself” (Carson 1998:20). Nevertheless, King agreed with Karl Marx when he discussed the weaknesses of traditional capitalism, contributed to the growth of a definite self-consciousness in the masses, and challenged the social conscience of the Christian churches. While at Crozer, King was exposed for the first time to pacifism by Dr. A .J. Muste. Again this was a subject of deep reflection for King. He reflected on war, its positive and negative aspect in solving social problems; he also considered the power of love – the Christian ethic of love in solving social problems. He furthered his thinking by consulting the philosophy of Nietzsche, which shook his faith in the power of love. In order to clear his dilemma on the issue of war, pacifism, and the Christian love ethic, King also read parts of *The Genealogy of Morals* as well as *The Will to Power*. Theories and arguments emerging from the above readings did not help much (Carson 1998:23).

It was not until he seriously read books on Mahatma Gandhi’s life and works, following a presentation on Gandhi, presented by Dr. M. Johnson, that King became moved and deeply fascinated by Gandhi’s campaigns of non-violent resistance. Gandhi’s concept of *Satyagraha* (truth love or love force) impressed, amazed, and was significant to King. The more he read on Gandhi, the more his dilemma began to vanish. According to King, “Gandhi was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale.” He added, “Love for Gandhi was a potent instrument for social and collective transformation” (Carson 1998:24). Gandhi was inspiring to King in his quest for the method for what he calls “a social reform”. King’s satisfaction in finding the method did not stop him from further reading. In order to be certain of the non-violent resistance method, King studied the views of a few individuals who criticised the method. Critiques by R. Niebuhr were helpful to King in following his own involvement in pacifist ranks. The weaknesses of Niebuhr’s critiques were, however, King’s strengths to understand his method not according to Niebuhr who understood the pacifist method as passive method. For King, this was a serious distortion and he stressed that “My study of Gandhi convinced me that true pacifism is not non-resistance to evil, but non-violent

resistance to evil” (Carson 1998:26). Niebuhr’s philosophy and theology, however, were helpful to King, especially with regard to the complexity of the behaviour of nations and social groups as well as his deep understanding of the relationship between morality and power.

With a desire to teach in a college, King entered Boston University’s School of Theology for his doctoral studies in 1951. Here, his intellectual journey with regard to non-violent resistance was deepened following opportunities to exchange views with many exponents of non-violence. It was during his doctoral studies at Boston that King met Coretta Scott, who became his wife in 1953, and with whom he parented four children, Martin Luther III, Dexter Scott, Yolanda Denise, and Bernice Albertine (Carson 1998:30-38). Coretta (also called Corrie) played a significant role in supporting King. As he said: “My devoted wife has been a constant source of consolation to me through all the difficulties. In the midst of most tragic experiences, she never became panicky or overemotional”. Furthermore, he added “My wife was always stronger than I was through the struggle. ... In the darkest moments, she always brought the light of hope. I am convinced that if I had not had a wife with the fortitude, strength, and calmness of Corrie, I could not have withstood the ordeals and tensions surrounding the movement” (Carson 1998:37). Coretta supported King with strength and courage all the way until he was assassinated on April 4, 1968.

It is against the backdrop of the above that I will now offer an analysis of King’s approach to leadership, in order to identify the way in which he understood and articulated an appropriate leadership ethos.

4.3 A close reading and analysis of selections from King’s published speeches

King’s involvement in leadership came during a period of segregation endured by black people in the USA, more particularly in the 1950s, and his main objectives were to achieve integration, promote the rule of justice and the practice of human rights as these were his major concerns. In this regard, he stated the following:

Around that time I started working with the NAACP³², the Alabama Council on Human Relations also caught my attention. This interracial group was concerned with human relations in the State of Alabama and employed educational methods to achieve its purpose. An affiliate of the Southern Regional Council, and the successor

³² The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

to the Alabama Inter-Racial Committee, the Council on Human Relations sought to attain through research and action equal opportunity for all people of Alabama. Its basic philosophy recognised that all men are created equal under God. Interpreted into the life of our nation, this means that each individual is endowed with the right of equal opportunity to contribute to and share in the life of our nation. No individual or group of individuals has the privilege to limit this right in any way (King 1958:32).

It has emerged from the above that an appropriate leadership ethos can be seen in the way in which he defined his objectives – to achieve integration and promote both justice and human rights for all regardless of people’s colour, gender or social status. Such an approach demonstrates moral judgments that are needed in leadership. As he worked in both organisations, King appeared to have identified education and legislation – philosophies from the Alabama Council on Human Rights and the NAACP respectively – as means to help him achieve his objective. He stated the following:

Through education we seek to change attitudes; through legislation and court orders we seek to regulate behaviour. Through education we seek to change internal feelings (prejudice, hate, etc.); through legislation and court orders we seek to control the external effects of those feelings. Through education we seek to break down the spiritual barriers to integration; through legislation and court orders we seek to break down the physical barriers to integration. One method is not the substitute for the other, but a meaningful and necessary supplement. (King 1958:33-34)

Attitudes and behaviour alongside other factors are identified as critical in establishing a healthy relationship amongst people in a society. King’s ability to identify these factors which according to him are critical in establishing people’s characters and finding ways to address them demonstrate characteristic ways in which leadership is embedded and exercised. His personal traits – high energy, trustworthiness, charisma, visionary purpose, obsession with goals, just to mention a few with reference to the theories of leadership excellence (see chapter 2), might have been influential in this regard.

4.3.1 The fourth value associated with the notion of leadership: The participatory process

When people’s attitudes towards one another are appropriate and behaviour regulated, all can strive together towards a common goal with respect and consideration of one another. This

means, the more people come to understand, consider and respect one another, the more they will all be willing to participate in a process required to identify common purposes. King's efforts in this respect are identified with the fourth value embedded in the notion of leadership with reference to Rost – the participatory process required to identify common purposes. It is for such a reason that King hereby acknowledges the importance of education and legislation in leadership, and uses them as means to promote integration, justice and human rights.

Education refers to the process of educating – a systematic training and development of the intellectual and moral faculties.³³ Interpreted otherwise, education instils in people the ability to think critically. As such, education can help people change attitudes and open their mindsets to see things through different perspectives, for they will be intellectually and morally challenged. In other words, education leads to inspiration and inspiration leads to aspiration. In this way, education played a significant role in helping to promote integration, justice and human rights. It can, however, be a double-edged sword in the sense that, if not used effectively, it may turn against one. This implies that education may be also used as a tool to brainwash people's minds.

Legislation refers to the act or process of making laws.³⁴ King was a strong believer in the rule of law and order. Without laws, people would be living in a place similar to a jungle. Laws regulate people's behaviour while promoting the practice of human rights. This will enable cohesion and integration. The rule of law, however, is meaningful only if these laws are not biased. It has been King's fight to ensure that laws are bias free.

From the above observation, it is apparent that education and legislation are regarded as important means in the non-violent method as an approach to leadership. Especially in the case of King who intended to achieve integration, justice and the practice of human rights.

4.3.2 The first value associated with the notion of leadership: Influential relationship and mutuality in the relationship

As a leader of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) and later the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), King's writings suggest that he did not exercise leadership in isolation. In addition to involving his allies Stokely Carmichael and Floyd

³³ See The Cassell Compact Dictionary New Edition (1998)

³⁴ See The Cassell Compact Dictionary New Edition (1998)

McKissick – leaders of the SNCC and CORE respectively, he appeared to have involved his followers in the process of leading. In his first public speech as the elected leader of the MIA, King invited his followers to get involved in the process of leadership in the following terms:

We are here this evening for serious business. We are here in a general sense because first and foremost we are American citizens and we are determined to apply our citizenship to the fullness of its meaning. We are here also because of our love for democracy, because of our deep-seated belief that democracy transformed from thin paper to thick action is the greatest form of government on earth....

You know my friends, there comes a time when people get tired of being trampled over by the iron feet of oppression, there comes a time, my friends, when people get tired of being plunged across the abyss of humiliation, where they experience the bleakness of nagging despair. There comes a time when people get tired of being pushed out of the glittering sunlight of life's July, and left standing amid the piercing chill of an alpine November.

And we are not wrong, we are not wrong in what we are doing. If we are wrong, the Supreme Court of this nation is wrong. If we are wrong, the Constitution of the United States is wrong, if we are wrong, God Almighty is wrong. If we are wrong, Jesus of Nazareth was merely a utopian dreamer that never came down to earth. And we are determined here in Montgomery to work and fight until justice runs down like water and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I want to say that in all of our actions we must stick together. Unity is the great need of the hour, and if we are united we can get many of the things that we not only desire but which we justly deserve. And don't let anybody frighten you. We are not afraid of what we are doing, because we are doing it within the law. There is never a time in our American democracy that we must ever think we're wrong when we protest. We reserve that right.

We, the disinherited of this land, we who have been oppressed so long, are tired of going through the long night of captivity. And now we are reaching out for the daybreak of freedom and justice and equality. May I say to you, my friends, as I come to a close ... that we must keep ... God in the forefront. Let us be Christian in all of our

actions. But I want to tell you this evening that it is not enough for us to talk about love. Love is one of the pivotal points of the Christian faith. There is another side called justice.

Standing beside love is always justice and we are only using the tools of justice. Not only are we using the tools of persuasion but we've come to see that we've got to use the tools of coercion. Not only is this thing the process of education but it is also a process of legislation.

As we stand and sit here this evening and as we prepare ourselves for what lies ahead, let us go out with a grim and bold determination that we are going to stick together. We are going to work together. Right here in Montgomery, when the history books are written in the future, somebody will have to say, 'there lived a race of people, a black people, fleecy locks and black complexion,' a people who had the moral courage to stand up for their rights. And thereby they injected a new meaning into the veins of history and of civilization³⁵ (King 1958:61-62).

Inspiring his followers to subscribe to the principles of law and order is the key in this speech. However, it is apparent that King has been making efforts to establish a mutual and influential relationship between himself and his followers. The statements such as "You know my friends, there comes a time when people get tired of being trampled over by the iron feet of oppression, there comes a time, my friends, when people get tired of being plunged across the abyss of humiliation, where they experience the bleakness of nagging despair" and "I want to say that in all of our actions we must stick together. Unity is the great need of the hour, and if we are united we can get many of the things that we not only desire but which we justly deserve", testify to these efforts. And these can be identified with the first value embedded in the notion of leadership as described by Rost – the mutuality implied in this notion of relationships.

In the first paragraph, King reminds people of their identity as American citizens while putting emphasis on democracy as a system that governs their country. This entails that being citizens of a democratic country have the right, according to the legislation, to express themselves and protest when things are wrong. This is the essence of democracy.

³⁵ Speech delivered at Holt Street Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama on December 5, 1955 following his election to the leadership of the newly formed protest group MIA – the Montgomery Improvement Association.

From the second paragraph until the end, King describes the problems while acknowledging emotions and the feelings of bitterness that were growing stronger among his fellow, including himself, toward whites following their disregard of blacks and poor people. In a sense, this was a way to identify himself with the people (his followers). In other words, King was trying to assure his followers that he was aware of the problems that they experienced while instilling the principles of law and order which must guide their response and actions. All these suggest King's efforts to promote mutuality in the relationship established between himself and his followers. Thus, followers may imply people with whom you work together to achieve common purposes.

4.3.3 The second value associated with the notion of leadership: The acknowledgment of certain inequalities in the relationship

For King any action taken in the process of claiming justice must be morally and legally justified. This means morality and legality must be forces behind their actions. Thus, as he stated, the non-violent movement that he led subscribed to the principles of law and order:

These organizations are protesting for the perpetuation of injustice in the community, we are protesting for the birth of justice in the community. Their methods lead to violence and lawlessness. But in our protest there will be no cross burnings. No white person will be taken from his home by a hooded Negro mob and brutally murdered. There will be no threats and intimidation. We will be guided by the highest principles of law and order (King 1958:62).

It is apparent that while promoting mutuality in the established relationship with his followers, King seems to be clarifying the nature of such a relationship. In the text above, King appears to be giving instructions and at the same time exhorting his followers. These efforts suggest that the nature of the mutual relationship is influential but not all are equal in such a relationship. This means that there is a certain degree of inequality which must be acknowledged in an authentic relationship between leaders and followers. King's efforts here identify with the second value embedded in the notion of leadership with reference to Rost – the consent implied in the notion of “followers”, while recognizing a certain inequality in the relationship.

When trying to elaborate on the method, King showed that he believed that it is the most efficient way to challenge an opponent. This is illustrated in the following quotation:

You see, this method has a way of disarming the opponents. It exposes his moral defences. It weakens his morale, and at the same time it works on his conscience, and he just doesn't know what to do. If he doesn't beat you, wonderful. If he beats you, you develop the quiet courage of accepting blows without retaliating. If he doesn't put you in jail, wonderful. Nobody with any sense likes to go to jail. But if he puts you in jail, you go to jail and transform it from a dungeon of shame to a haven of freedom and human dignity. And even if he tries to kill you, you develop the inner conviction that there are some things so dear, some things so precious, some things so eternally true, that they are worth dying for. And I submit to you that if a man has not discovered something that he will die for, he isn't fit to live³⁶ (King in Carson 2001:61-73 at 66).

In support of my analysis, the text above demonstrates how King tried to comply with the mutual and influential relationship that he established with his followers. Instructions and exhortation in the text testify to the inequalities that must be acknowledged in an authentic relationship defined in a context such as leadership. Once again, his personal traits are suspected to have been influential here. For, unless personal traits make a difference, it is difficult to have an influential relationship especially within the context of leadership.

In the text above, King appears to have attached much importance to people's ability to make moral judgments. In other words, King urged his followers to exercise their conscience,³⁷ for moral decision making is guided by the conscience. It is for this reason that he argued that his method of non-violent action, challenges the conscience of people who exercise leadership according to their feelings and emotions. Furthermore, it is this conscience that helps find something worthy to die for. These observations support the view that his personal traits were influential in helping him establish the influential relationship between himself and his followers.

4.3.4 The third value associated with the notion of leadership: The emphasis on effectiveness

It is within the context of such a relationship that King used to write remarks to exhort his followers on a weekly basis. In one of his remarks, King stressed friendship and

³⁶ Extract of speech delivered in Detroit, Michigan on June 23, 1963 in a freedom rally.

³⁷ Defined as moral sense, the sense of right and wrong, an inner feeling of guilt or otherwise according to the *Cassell Compact Dictionary*, new edition.

understanding in the following terms:

The use of violence in our struggle would be both impractical and immoral. To meet hate with retaliatory hate would do nothing but intensify the existence of evil in the universe. Hate begets hate; violence begets violence; toughness begets a greater toughness. We must meet the forces of hate with the power of love; we must meet physical force with soul force. Our aim must never be to defeat or humiliate the white man, but to win his friendship and understanding³⁸ (King 1958:87).

As observed in the text above, in addition to exhorting his followers, King ended his remarks with an interesting statement which reads, “Our aim must never be to defeat or humiliate the white man, but to win his friendship and understanding.” This statement appears to highlight the purpose of his leadership. It suggests that they have well defined objectives which they intend to achieve together. In other words, integration, justice and the practice of human rights (being the ultimate objective) cannot be achieved unless friendship and understanding of one another has occurred. This was also emphasised in his sermon entitled “The birth of a new nation”, which he preached on his return from a trip to Ghana on its independence day. As he concluded his sermon, he said,

O God, our gracious Heavenly Father, help us to see the insights that come from this new nation. Help us to follow Thee and all of Thy creative works in this world. And that somehow we will discover that we are made to live together as brothers. And that it will come in this generation: the day when all men will recognise the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Amen³⁹ (King in Carson 2001:17-41 at 41).

In addition to highlighting the ultimate objective to be achieved, these texts demonstrate the emphasis that King had put on effectiveness in reaching the intended objective. These efforts adhere to the third value embedded in the notion of leadership that Rost identified – the emphasis on effectiveness in reaching the intended aims.

As non-violent actions (boycotts) intensified from the mid 1950s and early 1960s, King was confronted by various different officials and fellow colleague ministers to solve the impasse. In one of the exchanges that he had with these officials, King made the following statement:

³⁸ See also speech when addressing the crowd after the bombing of his house while away attending a mass meeting at the first Baptist Church in Carson (1998:137).

³⁹ Extract of the sermon delivered at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama on April 7, 1957 upon his return from a trip to Ghana.

We have been talking a great deal this morning about customs, it has been affirmed that any change in present conditions would mean going against the cherished customs of our community. But if the customs are wrong we have every reason in the world to change them. The decision which we must make now is whether we will give our allegiance to outmoded and unjust customs or to the ethical demands of the universe. As Christians we owe our ultimate allegiance to God and His will, rather than to man and his folkways⁴⁰ (King 1958:117).

In this statement, King addresses customs that are used to oppress a group of people at the expense of others – such was the case in Montgomery in particular. In this way, King’s effectiveness in implementing and exercising leadership for common purposes is demonstrated especially by lobbying for change when he stated, “The decision we must make now is whether we will give our allegiance to outmoded and unjust customs or to the ethical demands of the universe” (King 1958:117). This question challenges not only the system in place but exposes also the weaknesses of a leadership associated with such a system. It appears that King did not only instil the principles of law and order to his followers in order to promote an effective leadership but lived up to them. These principles empowered him to challenge the unjust and illegal system. He went further when challenging the legislation with regard to the right to vote:

Give us the ballot, and we will no longer have to worry the federal government about our basic rights. Give us the ballot, and we will no longer plead to the federal government for passage of an antilynching law; we will by the power of our vote write the law on the statute books of the South and bring an end to the dastardly acts of hooded perpetrators of violence. Give us the ballot, and we will transform the salient misdeeds of bloodthirsty mobs into the calculated good deeds of orderly citizens. Give us the ballot, and we will fill our legislative halls with men of goodwill and send to the sacred halls of congress men who will not sign a Southern Manifesto because of their devotion to the manifesto of justice. Give us the ballot, and we will place judges on the benches of the South who will do justly and love mercy, and we will place at the head of the southern states governors who will, who have felt not only the tang of the human, but the glow of the Divine. Give us the ballot, and we will quietly and non-violently, without rancor or bitterness, implement the Supreme

⁴⁰ Statement made in a meeting called by the Montgomery mayor between the citizens committee, the bus officials and the Negro leaders on December 17, 1955.

Court's decision of May seventeenth, 1954⁴¹ (King in Carson 2001:47-56 at 48).

The above speech, in addition to supporting the emphasis on effectiveness – through the way in which the call for ballot is made, highlights values associated with mutual responsibility within the influential relationship that is assumed when leadership is exercised (see chapter 2). The phrases “give us” and “we will” point to this fact as he advocated for the principles of democracy which include the right to vote. To emphasise his interest in the well-being of the people – integration, justice and human rights, King in his famous “I have a dream speech”, concluded by saying the following:

From every mountainside, let freedom ring. And when this happens, when we allow freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: Free at last, Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last⁴² (King in Washington 1989:217- 220 at 220).

The result of his approach to leadership implies that an appropriate leadership ethos must be defined and applied in any method of leadership (i.e. non-violent action). This will help not only to achieve common purposes but to exercise leadership within a particular context. In the case of Montgomery for instance, the Supreme Court of the USA ruled the decision in favour of King and the movement over the issue of bus segregation in Montgomery. The court report reads, “The United States Supreme Court today affirmed a decision of a special three-judge U.S. District Court in declaring Alabama's state and local laws requiring segregation on buses unconstitutional” (Carson 1998:93). King's response to the court ruling (see speech below) is an expression of a leadership defined and exercised within an influential relationship to achieve common purposes. In his speech, King said:

We must respond to the decision with an understanding of those who have oppressed us and with an appreciation of the new adjustments that the court order poses for them. We must be able to face up honestly to our own shortcomings. We must act in such a way as to make possible a coming together of white people and coloured people on the basis of real harmony of interests and understanding. We seek an

⁴¹ Speech delivered at the prayer pilgrimage for freedom in Washington, DC, on May 17, 1957.

⁴² Speech delivered at the march on Washington for jobs and freedom on August 28, 1963 in Washington, DC.

integration based on mutual respect. This is the time that we must evince calm dignity and wise restraint. Emotions must not run wild. Violence must not come from any of us, for if we become victimized with violent intents, we walked in vain, and our twelve months of glorious dignity will be transformed into an eve of gloomy catastrophe⁴³ (King in Carson 1998:96).

4.4 Conclusion

To conclude, I would like to recall that the purpose of this chapter was to investigate the ways in which King understood and articulated an appropriate leadership ethos. The task was to provide a close reading and analysis of his selected works that are critical to this quest.

On the basis of the above observation, it appears that King understood an appropriate leadership ethos mainly as the ability within any human being to strive for justice and respect for human dignity. He articulated this leadership ethos in the way he defined his objective. While establishing an influential relationship between himself and his followers, King managed to get his followers involved in leadership process in order to achieve common purposes. In this respect, the analysis suggests that some of his personal traits, especially visionary purpose and goal oriented, are believed to have been highly influential.

King might have not achieved everything before the time he was assassinated (April 4, 1968). Nevertheless, what was achieved, social integration and justice demonstrate that the understanding and practice of an appropriate leadership ethos is significant for an effective and successful leadership.

⁴³ Speech delivered on December 20, 1956 following the bus integration order from the US Supreme Court.

CHAPTER FIVE

Desmond Mpilo Tutu

5.1 Introduction

Desmond Tutu is a well known and respected figure in the history of South Africa following the crucial role he played as a cleric. This is regarded as his contribution in the fight against the segregation endured by his countrymen and women during the apartheid regime. His leadership ability has earned him credibility beyond the South African borders.

Just like in the previous chapter, in this chapter, I will investigate the understanding of leadership that is expressed in Tutu's publications. In this respect, I will offer an analysis of the ways in which the four values embedded in the notion of leadership – drawing on the discussion with Burns and Rost (refer to chapter 2) are portrayed in Tutu's approach to leadership.

I will, in this respect, start by offering some biographical information on Tutu, even though he needs no introduction. This will be followed by a close reading and analysis of selected texts by Tutu included in *Crying in the Wilderness, Hope and Suffering: Sermons and Speeches* and *The Rainbow People of God* amongst others. Texts are selected following the same method as in the previous chapter, and for the same reasons and purposes.

The same structure is used in this chapter as in the previous one, starting with a biographical survey; this is followed by an analysis then a conclusion.

5.2 Desmond Tutu: A brief biographical survey

Desmond Mpilo Tutu was born on October 7, 1931 at Makoeteng in North West Province. He is the son of Aletta Dorothea Mavoertsek Mathlare and Zachariah Zelilo Tutu (Allen 2006:9-18). According to Allen (2006:19), Tutu was born in the period when there was no vaccine against polio, and he contracted polio in the first year of his life in addition to fly-borne infections from the sewage buckets. Although the family could not do anything to help apart from waiting for his death, Tutu was miraculously healed.

Tutu is regarded not only as one of the leading figures of black theology, but as an “outstanding patriot”⁴⁴ in South Africa. From being a teacher at the Munseiville High School

⁴⁴ In the words of Mandelain in his foreword to Tutu's book *The Rainbow People of God*.

in Krugersdorp (1955-58) to becoming the Archbishop of Cape Town, Tutu's rise to leadership positions of the Anglican Church was rapid. Upon his ordination to the priesthood in 1961, Tutu served in pastoral ministry at St Philipi's Church in Thokoza in 1962 after his transfer from Benoni. Following the need to have African lecturers and principals in colleges and seminaries, Tutu was encouraged to further his tertiary education. He did so and completed both his bachelor's and master's degrees at King's College in London. He later enrolled at Unisa for a PhD after leaving King's College. In 1972, Tutu returned to London following his appointment as director for Africa at the Theological Education Fund (TEF). His job was to assess and make recommendations for TEF grants to theological training institutions and students across Sub-Saharan Africa. He was required to travel extensively, paying 48 visits to 25 countries over three years. This provided an opportunity for him to learn firsthand of the challenges, successes, and failures implicit in the enormous enterprise of creating national identities, developing economies, and uniting disparate peoples arbitrarily thrown together within national boundaries imposed by European powers. As part of his responsibilities, Tutu had to travel to numerous African countries including the Democratic Republic of Congo (formally Zaire), Nigeria, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Zimbabwe (formally Rhodesia), Mozambique, Sudan, Burundi, Rwanda, Ethiopia just to mention a few.

It was not until 1975 that Tutu returned to South Africa, after he was recalled to take up the position of Dean of Johannesburg to replace Leslie Stradling (Bishop of Johannesburg), following his election by the council of St. Mary's Cathedral in March 1975. Assuming the responsibilities in this office was challenging because of the role of the dean in the midst of apartheid. At this stage, Tutu and his wife Nomaliza Leah Shenxane, to whom he had been married since 1955, had a family of four children, namely, Trevor, Thandi, Naomi and Mpho. A year later, Tutu was elected Bishop of Lesotho in 1976. While in Lesotho, the South African apartheid crisis grew from bad to worse. In 1977, he was summoned home at short notice to replace Bishop Alphaeus Zulu as a speaker and to preach at the funeral of Steve Biko. After a short stay in Lesotho, Tutu returned to South Africa to assume his new responsibilities after being appointed as the executive head of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) in March 1978. It was during this period that Tutu became, in the words of Allen (2006:202), "The black leader white South Africans most loved to hate". Ironically, it was during the same period that the international community showed an appreciation for his work by awarding him the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984. Tutu fulfilled his responsibilities in the SACC until he was elected Archbishop of Cape Town in 1986. He also became president of

the All Africa Conference of Churches, a position he took in 1987 during his term as Archbishop of Cape Town. In 1995, a year after the first democratic election in South Africa, Tutu was named Chairman of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) by former president Nelson Mandela. Later, he became the Chairman of the Elders⁴⁵ (Allen 2001: 26-396) but has since retired from public life.

As a leader, Tutu has been highly concerned with issues pertaining to freedom, justice and the practice of human rights during the apartheid regime in the South African society. The next section entails a close reading and analysis of selected works by Tutu in order to demonstrate the ways in which he articulated an appropriate leadership ethos.

5.3 A close reading and analysis of selected texts by Tutu

During the apartheid era Tutu was instrumental in pushing for change in South Africa. He regarded himself as representing ordinary citizens in the quest for change. He did so when political activism was banned and political leaders were arrested, while others opted to go in exile. He called for change in order to bring about freedom, justice and respect for human rights. His second letter to Prime Minister BJ Vorster reads as follows:

Dear Mr Prime Minister, This will be my second letter to you ... I am writing to you, Sir, in all deep humility and courtesy in my capacity as Anglican Dean of Johannesburg and, therefore, as leader of several thousand Christians of all races in the Diocese of Johannesburg. I am writing to you as one who has come to be accepted by some Blacks, as one of their spokesmen articulating their deepest aspiration, ... I am writing to you, Sir, as one human person to another person, ... I am writing to you, Sir, as one who is a member of a race that has known what it has meant in frustrations and hurts, in agony and humiliations, to be a subject people,... I write to you, Sir, because our Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Botha, declared that South Africa was moving away from discrimination based on race,... I write you, Sir, to give you all the credit due to you for your efforts at promoting detente and dialogue,... I write to you, Sir, because like you, I am deeply committed to real reconciliation with justice for all, and to peaceful change to a more just and open South African society in which the wonderful riches and wealth of our country will be shared more equitably. I am

⁴⁵ The Elders are an independent group of eminent global leaders, brought together by Nelson Mandela, who offer their collective influence and experience to support peace building, help address major causes of human suffering and promote the shared interests of humanity. See www.theelders.org

writing to you, Sir, because I have a growing nightmarish fear that unless something drastic is done very soon then bloodshed and violence are going to happen in South Africa inevitably ... we are ready to accept some meaningful signs which would demonstrate that you and your government and all Whites really mean business when you say you want peaceful change,... I hope to hear from you, Sir, as soon as you can conveniently respond, because I want to make this correspondence available to the Press, preferably with your concurrence, so that all our people, both Black and White, will know that from our side we have done all that is humanly possible to do (Tutu 1994:7-14).⁴⁶

The above correspondence to the prime minister demonstrates clearly Tutu's approach to leadership. In this correspondence, Tutu regards himself as representing people – therefore, people's interests must be put first. He continues by suggesting that the humanity of all is what must be preserved and regarded as important above all. He then defines his commitment, which is to bring about change, while warning of consequences if such change does not occur. The ability to develop such an approach to leadership (people's representative) can only be explained if personal traits – trustworthiness and visionary purpose, associated with theories of leadership excellence (see chapter 2) are taken into consideration in this particular situation and context.

5.3.1 The fourth value associated with the notion of leadership: The participatory process

Following the above observations, it can be suggested that Tutu understood an appropriate leadership ethos as a faculty in all to see and promote the humanity of people. As a result, freedom will reign, while the practice of justice and human rights will take place. How can the humanity of people be promoted? This question leads to a discussion on the ways in which Tutu articulated an appropriate leadership ethos. In his address during the memorial service for Steve Biko, Tutu said:

Steve saw, more than most of us, just how injustice and oppression can dehumanise and make us all, Black and White, victim and perpetrator alike, less than what God intended us to be. Now it has always sounded like sloganeering when people have said 'Oppression dehumanises the oppressed as well as the oppressor'. But have we not had an unbelievably shocking example of this, if he had been quoted correctly, in

⁴⁶ Extract of Tutu's correspondence to Prime Minister BJ Vorster on May 6, 1976.

Mr Kruger's heartless remarks that Steve's death 'leaves him cold'? Of all human beings, he is the most to be pitied. What has happened to him as human being when the death of a fellow human being can leave him cold? And so I bid you pray for him that he may recover his lost humanity ... let us dedicate ourselves anew to the struggle for the liberation of our beloved land, South Africa. Let us Black and White together, not be filled with despondency and despair. Let us Blacks not be filled with hatred and bitterness. For all of us, Blacks and Whites together, shall overcome, indeed have already overcome⁴⁷ (Tutu 1983:7-11).

The phrases "let us" and "together" in this address are noteworthy. For Tutu, nothing is impossible to reach or achieve if people are together. Any challenge can be overcome if people are united. Apartheid could be overcome if and only if Blacks and Whites come together. Dialogue, therefore, is what brings people together. Tutu articulated an appropriate leadership ethos in the way he promoted dialogue and advocated for reconciliation for the sake of overcoming apartheid. In terms of leadership, these efforts can be associated with the fourth value embedded in the notion of leadership with reference to Rost (see chapter 2). Tutu is trying to mobilise his countrymen and women, all – Blacks and Whites – to come together and participate in the process to bring the intended change. It is only through dialogue that this can happen.

Dialogue is a conversation or discussion between two or more people.⁴⁸ By conversing, people are to express their thoughts and feelings without physically harming one another. Dialogue helps to ease tensions; it helps people to agree to disagree while understanding and respecting one another's views, opinions and rights. Dialogue helps to promote lateral thinking and seeing through different perspectives. Dialogue promotes a sense of human dignity. Dialogue can help accomplish much bigger things. Tutu understood the essence of dialogue and made use of it in order to address the challenges that he faced as a leader.

Reconciliation derives from the verb to reconcile, which means to restore to friendship after an estrangement, to make content, acquiescent or submissive to, to harmonise, to make consistent or compatible with, to adjust, to settle differences.⁴⁹ In the African worldview, reconciliation implies restoring the wholeness of life. This presupposes interpersonal

⁴⁷ Extract of the sermon delivered at St George's Anglican Cathedral in October 1977, Cape Town at the Biko memorial service.

⁴⁸ See *Cassell Compact Dictionary* New Edition (1998).

⁴⁹ See *Cassell Compact Dictionary* New Edition (1998).

relationship as expressed in the motto *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* (“a person is a person through other persons”). It is Tutu’s belief that reconciliation was of paramount importance in order to promote unity and togetherness amongst Blacks and Whites.

5.3.2 The first value associated with the notion of leadership: Influential relationship and mutuality in the relationship

It is through dialogue and reconciliation that the humanity of people – both Blacks and Whites -- will be restored and lived in fullness. Again, the ability to identify these two factors – dialogue and reconciliation as means to achieve the objective highlights the assumption that his personal traits (associated with theories of leadership excellence) might have been influential. With these, Tutu carried on his quest to bring about change in the society. In his article, when writing in the context of dialogue and reconciliation, Tutu says the following:

We want to avert that awful alternative. We in the SACC are committed to work for justice and peace! We are committed to reconciliation. We believe that the Churches can demonstrate the kind of society we are working for – a caring and compassionate society, where you count because you are a human being, and not because of your colour or your race. Some of this is already happening in a few of our churches. In St Mary’s Cathedral in Johannesburg, black and white worship together under the leadership of a black Dean. In the SACC we have a staff of all races, black, white and brown, and all work harmoniously together. It can happen in the whole of South Africa.... We are still crying out that we are committed to justice, reconciliation and peace. We are still holding out our hands of fellowship, and saying to our white compatriots: grasp them, let us talk while there is still time. If we can solve our crisis then we have as South Africans, black and white together, a tremendous contribution to make to Africa and the rest of the world (Tutu 1982:15-16).⁵⁰

In this statement, Tutu tries to demonstrate what reconciliation can accomplish, namely unity. Tutu invites his fellow citizens, black and white, to join him in promoting unity through reconciliation. This is the best way to overcome apartheid. By using the term “we”, Tutu tries to identify himself with his followers – following his utterances in the text above. He tries to identify with his followers for the sake of achieving the objective, namely to bring about change. By doing so, he also establishes and promotes a mutual and influential relationship between himself and his followers. It is apparent that unless such a relationship is established,

⁵⁰ From an article entitled “South Africa in crisis and our response as the children of God”

leadership cannot be exercised in its fullness. Tutu's efforts in establishing such a relationship are identified with the first value embedded in the notion of leadership as discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis.

As in the cathedral, while serving as the Dean of Johannesburg, Tutu reports that people could live and work with one another "harmoniously", regardless of race or colour. "Harmoniously" is an adverb derived from the noun "harmony", which means the adaptation of parts to each other, so as to form a complete, symmetrical or pleasing whole.⁵¹ This implies that there cannot be peace unless people learn to live in harmony, learn to adapt to one another, and learn how to live together. Dialogue can make this possible; as Tutu says, "Let us talk". This might imply that there is no other way to solve differences or problems than to talk. Dialogue provides a platform for the exchange of ideas. By exchanging ideas, people learn from one another, which provides openings for reconciliation. In this respect, Tutu's leadership in the cathedral testifies to his efforts in establishing a mutual and influential relationship between himself and his followers.

On several occasions, Tutu appeared to be promoting this value of mutual relationship embedded in the notion of leadership. In the context of apartheid, the mutuality in such a relationship must be viewed within a broader context. This means that those who claimed to exercise leadership were called to apply a similar approach. That is the essence of leadership. For instance, when addressing the issue of forced removals, Tutu, in a statement, said the following:

The solutions are both long-term and short-term. The short-term strategy is to oppose all removals. We suggest that representations are made to the authorities to persuade them to desist forthwith. If we know of any removals likely to happen then let us do all we can to oppose them ... In the long-term, the solution should be political. There are no two ways about it... Population removals must stop immediately if we are to be able to work for a new kind of South Africa and the Church should be in the forefront to prepare us for this new South Africa... There is still a chance, but if we let it slip then it will be gone forever (Tutu 1983:55).

In addition to suggesting solutions to the current problem, Tutu continues to plea for dialogue as a means of promoting mutuality in a relationship established between himself and his

⁵¹ See *Cassell Compact Dictionary* New Edition (1998).

followers. The same mutuality he wants to extend to other leaders responsible for apartheid, as he engages in the process of establishing a relationship with them through dialogue. The statement that “we suggest that representations are made to the authorities to persuade them to desist forthwith” is an indication of the efforts that he was making to establish a mutual relationship with the authorities. Unless such a relationship is established, it will be difficult to achieve the objective.

5.3.3 The second value associated with the notion of leadership: The acknowledgment of certain inequalities in the relationship

Dialogue enables people to demonstrate their humanness. It is for such a reason that Tutu considers it as the first step towards reconciliation. Through dialogue, Tutu made use of all the channels of communication available to him to ensure that everybody shared the same objective with him. In his message, when addressing an audience of students at Witwatersrand University, Tutu said the following:

Is this present South Africa what you want for your children, a divided segregated South Africa where there is freedom for no one really? You suffer also because of discrimination; you are diminished because you can't have as a neighbour anyone you want.... You are brainwashed by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) which constantly misleads you, as it does its propaganda work for the National Party. And you just sit around and do nothing about it.... We are committed to black liberation, because thereby we are committed to white liberation. You will never be free until we blacks are free. So join the liberation struggle. Throw off your lethargy, and the apathy of affluence. Work for a better South Africa for ourselves, and for our children. Uproot all evil and oppression and injustice of which blacks are victims and you whites are beneficiaries, so that you won't reap the whirlwind. Join the winning side. Oppression, injustice, exploitation – all these have lost, for God is on our side, on the side of justice, of peace, of reconciliation, of laughter and joy, of sharing and compassion and goodness and righteousness (Tutu 1982:18-19).⁵²

In this address, Tutu made it clear that the fight for freedom was not only for one race group, namely blacks. His commitment to freedom was for all races, including black and white. So he pleaded with the students to join him in this fight for freedom for all. His plea to white

⁵² Extract of the address delivered to an audience of white students at Witwatersrand University on March 18, 1980 at a meeting of the Student Representative Council's Academic Freedom Committee.

students is a gesture that demonstrates how he was trying to reach out to his “enemies” for dialogue and reconciliation for a better South Africa. In this address, Tutu’s concern was also the SABC. For him, being a national broadcasting corporation, the SABC was not supposed to be used as a channel to corrupt the citizens’ minds and mislead them, but rather to help them to construct meaningful and useful ideas to help solve the country’s crisis. Tutu’s efforts in the text above demonstrate how effective he wants to be while exercising leadership. Such effectiveness comes when all share the same objective. Tutu in this respect tries to bring everyone on board. In this particular case white students were his target audience. It is apparent that an effective leadership takes place when all are after the same objective and share the same vision.

With the same intention, Tutu’s audience in the text below is different. He addressed white South Africans and the media reads as follows:

To the white community in general I say – express your commitment to change, by agreeing to accept a redistribution of wealth, and a more equitable sharing of the resources of our land. Be willing to accept voluntarily a declension in your very high standard of living. Isn’t it better to lose something voluntarily, and to assist in bringing about change – political power sharing – in an orderly fashion, rather than seeing this come about through bloodshed and chaos, when you will stand to lose everything? Change your attitudes. Realise that blacks are human beings, and all we want is to be treated as such. Everything you want for yourselves is exactly what we want for ourselves and for our children – a stable family life where husband lives with wife and children, adequate housing, and proper free and compulsory education for our children.... All the current black political leaders, who are acknowledged as such by the black community, are ready to talk (Tutu 1982:20).⁵³

In this particular address, Tutu engaged in a dialogue with white South Africans. He stressed the wish of black communities. Tutu expressed his people’s thoughts and feelings. He challenged whites to change their attitude. By doing so, Tutu demonstrated how effective leadership can be if all – leaders and followers – pursue the same objective and share the same vision. These efforts can be identified with the second value embedded in the notion of leadership that Rost identified, namely the consent implied in the notion of “followers”, while

⁵³ Extract of the address entitled “Change or Illusion”, delivered at a Black Sash Conference on March 10, 1980.

recognizing a certain inequality in the relationship (see chapter 2). His personal traits – especially visionary purpose, might have played a significant role in helping him shape his leadership approach and the ability to identify factors such as dialogue and reconciliation as means to achieve the intended objective.

With regard to dialogue, this can be meaningful if only there is a response. Tutu, in a press statement, following an incident of urban unrest, placed emphasis on the need for a response while urging for dialogue. His press statement reads the following:

We deplore all the violence that erupted over the weekend and we regret especially the death of one policeman.... I want to warn the authorities that their efforts at maintaining law and order will succeed only in producing a sullen and bitter lull. The situation in our country is highly volatile, and only meaningful discussions between the Prime Minister and at least Church leaders, with the intention of bringing about real change in South Africa, can deal with a rapidly deteriorating situation. We appeal with all our eloquence at our command for such a meeting. The black community can be dealt with effectively only through its own recognised leaders. Anything else the Government attempts will be like fiddling while the fires of revolution burn in our country. We place ourselves unreservedly at the disposal of the authorities to work with them for justice, peace, law and order and reconciliation. Please will somebody hear us, please hear us before it is too late (Tutu 1982:46).⁵⁴

Two things can be observed in Tutu's press statement above: his concerns over the South African crisis that was worsening, and his appeal for a dialogue between the authorities, church leaders and black leaders representing the black communities in order to bring about real change. Tutu's plea to authorities to listen to black leaders demonstrates that the authorities were not listening to their call for dialogue, therefore, not helping in solving the crisis. Real change can only come when a meaningful dialogue takes place between all the actors, when people listen to one another and allow one another to express their thoughts. There was no shortcut to solving the crisis, other than to talk. This was Tutu's message, which was not being heard by the authorities. Tutu, however, was not discouraged nor had he given up.

⁵⁴ Press statement released on June 17, 1980 following the urban unrest.

5.3.4 The third value associated with the notion of leadership: The emphasis on effectiveness

Following his belief in dialogue as the means to settle differences and solve problems, Tutu called on the international community to persuade the South African authorities to open up for a meaningful dialogue. In his article for African-American Institutes, Tutu said the following:

There will be more and more police harassment, bannings and detentions, but these will not deter those who are determined to become free. The international community must make up its mind whether it wants to see a peaceful resolution of the South African crisis or not. If it does, then why, let it apply pressure (diplomatic, political but above all economic) on the South African Government to persuade them to go to the negotiation table with the authentic leaders of all sections of the South African population before it is too late. Maybe it is too late judging from the conduct of the Reagan administration – then what Mr Vorster called the alternative too ghastly to contemplate is upon us. But hope springs eternal in the human breast⁵⁵ (Tutu 1983:79-82).

Taking such an initiative to invite and get another role player, namely the international community, involved in the process of bringing about change is significant to substantiate his belief in dialogue as the means to solve differences. In this particular instance, Tutu's personal traits – high energy, trustworthiness, charisma, visionary purpose – appear to have made a difference in the relationship of influence that he established. Such personal traits determine certain inequalities that are between himself and his followers. It can presumably be conceded that it is through and because of his personal traits that Tutu was able to engage with all organisations, institutions, and commissions, both national and international, in order to persuade authorities to open up for a meaningful dialogue. His address to the Eloff Commission of Enquiry is among texts which testify to this leadership theory as it reads the following:

My Lord and members of the Eloff Commission, I want to start by expressing the appreciation of the South African Council of Churches to the Commission and its officers in their dealings with the Council.... We are concerned to work for a new kind of South Africa, a non-racial, truly democratic and more just society by reasonably

⁵⁵ From an article written specially for the African-American Institute. July, 1981

peaceful means. We as a Council deplore all forms of violence. We have said so times without number, the structural and legalised violence to maintain an unjust socio-political dispensation and the violence of those who would overthrow the State. But we have consistently warned too that oppressed people will become desperate and desperate people will use desperate methods.... We believe in negotiation, discussion and dialogue. That is why in 1980 we had discussions with the Government to try to arrange for the Government to meet with the authentic leaders of all sections of South African society (for blacks it would include political prisoners and those in exile) and that is why we call still for a national convention. I myself believe in dialogue and meeting.... Many in the Black community ask why I still waste my time talking to Whites and I tell them that our mandate is biblical⁵⁶ (Tutu 1983:124-49).

The Eloff Commission was a Government-sponsored body tasked to investigate the work of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) with regard to their involvement in political activities following the socio-political crisis in which South Africa was plunged. As much as they tried to discredit the SACC, their efforts were not successful. For according to the text above, Tutu made a stirring defence of the Council. Such an ability to make a difference within a relationship must be acknowledged because it determines certain inequalities in such a relationship. It is for such a reason that the second value embedded in the notion of leadership, the consent implied in the notion of “followers”, while recognizing a certain inequality in the relationship may be ascribed to him.

Tutu’s statements, in the presentation above, describe clearly the mind and spirit of an individual who is devoted to dialogue and reconciliation – peaceful means to bring peaceful social change in South Africa. Although challenged by the Commission and many other bodies and institutions, including his fellow blacks, Tutu remained adamant and firm in defending his belief in dialogue and practised it as the means to facilitate reconciliation and bring about meaningful change in South Africa.

His approach appeared eventually to have succeeded. However, it was not until Mandela was released from prison, through negotiations (discussion and dialogue), that change could be seen as a light at the end of the tunnel. This change was more apparent in the aftermath of the first democratic elections in South Africa, when Mandela was elected president of the

⁵⁶ Presentation entitled “The Divine Intention” made to the Eloff Commission of Enquiry on September 1, 1982.

republic. Today change is in progress and all races, particularly blacks and whites, can be seen together although, in some part of South Africa, a lot of work still needs to be done to complete this change.

5.4 Conclusion

As I draw my conclusion, I would like to recall that the aim of this chapter was to identify Tutu's understanding of an appropriate leadership ethos and to describe how he articulated such an ethos. The task was to provide a close reading and analysis of selected texts or extracts of texts.

The above reading and analysis have demonstrated that for Tutu an appropriate leadership ethos is the ability to promote the humanity of people. In the African worldview, the humanity of people is understood under the principle of *Ubuntu* – a person is a person through other persons (Battle 1996:93-105).

It is for this reason that he identified dialogue and reconciliation as the appropriate means to achieve the intended objective. Such an approach could be identified with the four values embedded in the notion of leadership. For Tutu, dialogue – discussion and negotiation – is the only means to help solve problems and settle differences. It is through dialogue that people demonstrate their humanity, and dialogue provides the platform or opportunity for reconciliation. Tutu appealed to various audiences amongst his countrymen and women, through sermons, speeches and statements to make use of dialogue and reconcile for a better South Africa.

CHAPTER SIX

Allan Aubrey Boesak

6.1 Introduction

Allan Boesak is a South African cleric and political activist. He emerged on the political scene in the mid 1970s when reflecting on issues of black theology and black power with regard to the apartheid regime. In this respect, he contributed in the fight against apartheid through activism and literature.

Boesak's writings in his early time of activism include *Farewell to Innocence*, *Black Theology Black Power*, *Black and Reformed*. In these books his public addresses, sermons, speeches and correspondence with various actors in the fight against apartheid, while addressing both local and international audiences, are recorded. Like in the previous two chapters, I will in this chapter investigate the understanding of leadership that is expressed in his works. In this respect, I will offer an analysis of the ways in which the four values embedded in the notion of leadership – drawing on the discussion with Burns and Rost (refer to chapter 2) are portrayed in Boesak's approach to leadership.

The same method, used in the previous two chapters, for selecting texts is applicable here for the same reasons and purposes. And as in the previous two chapters, I will start by offering a biographical survey on Boesak. This will be followed by a close reading and analysis of selected extracts (from the literary works), followed by a conclusion.

6.2 Allan Boesak: A brief biographical survey

Allan Aubrey Boesak was born on February 23, 1945 in Kakamas, Northern Province, South Africa. He is a South African Dutch Reformed Church cleric. Boesak became famous as an anti-apartheid activist. In 1967, after graduating from the Bellville Theological Seminary – now the University of the Western Cape, Boesak was ordained at an early age – 23 years old. Two years later, in 1969, he married Dorothy Rose Martin, with whom he had four children. The marriage lasted 20 years but ended in divorce, after which he married Elna Botha in 1991.

In 1970, Boesak left South Africa to study at the Kampen Theological Institute in Holland for six years, until 1976, and completed his doctorate in the discipline of ethics. He then returned to South Africa in 1976, shortly after the Soweto uprising. The situation in South Africa had

not changed, so he felt compelled to join in the fight against apartheid. He increased his political activism through the church. In 1981, he was elected chairman of the Alliance of Black Reformed Christians in Southern Africa (ABRECSA) – founded by various black Reformed churches. The Alliance conducted its activities in a way that opposed the positions of the white Dutch Reformed Church (DRC). As opposed to the DRC, the alliance rejected the practice of religion as a means to promote cultural or racist ideology. Furthermore, for the alliance, the fight against apartheid represented a fight for Christian integrity.

In 1982 Boesak was propelled into the international sphere. In August of that year, Boesak was unanimously elected president of the alliance, following his introduction of a motion during the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) meeting in Canada requesting that the WARC should declare apartheid a heresy contrary to both “church gospel” and the Reformed tradition. The motion was passed, and this led to the suspension of the white DRC from the WARC. He held the position of president of the WARC until 1989. In January 1983 Boesak suggested that all organisations opposing the Nationalist Party government’s new constitution should unite. For him, the new constitution was immoral because it excluded the majority of South Africans, entrenched apartheid and white domination, and promoted ethnicity as a criterion for politics in South Africa.

The United Democratic Front (UDF) emerged in this context – as a result of his initiatives. It was launched in August 1983, and Boesak was elected president. It was during this time that Boesak intensified his criticism of and fight against the apartheid regime. He appeared at the forefront of the opposition, with the UDF, at the time when the African National Congress (ANC) was banned.

After the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994, Boesak became the president of the Association of Christian Students in South Africa (ACSSA) and the founder of the Foundation for Peace and Justice (FPJ) in Bellville. Boesak also served as the head of economic affairs of the ANC-Western Cape.

He was sentenced to three years in prison for theft and fraud in 1999. He received a presidential pardon, from former president Thabo Mbeki, after serving part of his sentence. In 2004 he was reinstated as a cleric, and in 2008 he was involved again in politics as the Congress of the People (Cope)’s⁵⁷ candidate to the Premier’s office in the Western Cape.

⁵⁷ The Congress of the People is a South African political party founded by ANC dissidents in 2008

However, after the “disappointing” 2009 general elections for Cope, Boesak resigned from both his position and from the party.⁵⁸

6.3 A close reading and analysis of Boesak’s writings

After completing his doctoral degree in ethics, Boesak’s involvement in political activism as a cleric was imminent. As soon as he returned from Holland (1976), Boesak started to reflect on the South African crisis under the apartheid regime, within the context of black theology and black consciousness. This led him to discuss the notion of “power” with regard to “wholeness” in his early publications *Farewell to Innocence* (1976a) and *Black Theology Black Power* (1976b). Boesak believes that when people share power, it does not only enable them to create new structures but also allows them to share control over structures and eventually promote the fulfilment of wholeness. He stated that “The power to be, the courage to affirm one’s human dignity must inevitably lead to the transformation of structures to meet its search for completion and wholeness” (Boesak 1976a:43). In the context of South Africa, whites needed to shed their attitude of “innocence – pseudo innocence” on apartheid as they worked towards a genuine reconciliation with blacks in order to complete and promote wholeness. In this respect, the question for Boesak (1976a/b:11-12/5) was no longer whether whites were willing to do something for blacks, but whether whites were willing to identify with what the oppressed were doing to secure their liberation and what they were doing about it in their own community. In accordance with the theories of leadership excellence, Boesak through the above utterances appears to have demonstrated certain personal traits – obsession with goals, which might have influence his approach to leadership. It remains to be seen how such an approach is integrated within the four values embedded in the notion of leadership.

6.3.1 The Fourth value associated with the notion of leadership: The participatory process

It is within the context of fulfilling the wholeness of all that Boesak was determined to contribute to the fight against apartheid. In 1979 at the National Conference of the South African Council of Churches, Boesak was invited to intervene. In his address, he said the following:

We must not be afraid to say that in the South African situation Christian love

⁵⁸ For a biography on Allan Boesak see Hopkins (1989), Boesak. (1984) and Boesak (2009). See also <http://www.answers.com/topic/allan-boesak> retrieved on July 23, 2010.

between white and black must be translated into terms of political, social and economic justice if it is to be love.... The church must initiate and support programmes of civil disobedience on a massive scale, and challenge especially white Christians on this issue. It no longer suffices to make statements condemning unjust laws and tomorrow to obey those same laws as if nothing has happened (Boesak 1979:101-04).⁵⁹

With reference to the theories of leadership excellence (see chapter 2), a close reading of the above address indicates that the notion of leadership is the same regardless of the field in which one is exercising leadership. Thus, one of the aims of leadership is to cultivate and promote justice. Failure to do so implies that the humanity and the wholeness of people are under threat. It is for this reason that Boesak called for civil disobedience as an appropriate behaviour in response to this specific situation of apartheid. In South Africa, the apartheid regime subscribed to a notion of leadership that could be regarded as “immoral” for not cultivating and promoting justice in addition to oppressing blacks. Furthermore, the regime would not consider any proposal for change, especially if it came from the oppressed.

Although a call to civil disobedience does not sound ethical as far as leadership is concerned, Boesak believed that such a call would be appropriate to invite and perhaps force the authorities to open up to negotiation in order to bring about change. As he stated in his above mentioned address, “It no longer suffices to make statements condemning unjust laws.” For Boesak, statements alone are not enough to make things happen. They should be accompanied by actions. Such efforts are identified with the fourth value embedded in the notion of leadership with reference to Rost – the participatory process required to identify common purposes. Boesak invites people to participate in the action of civil disobedience as they work towards common purposes.

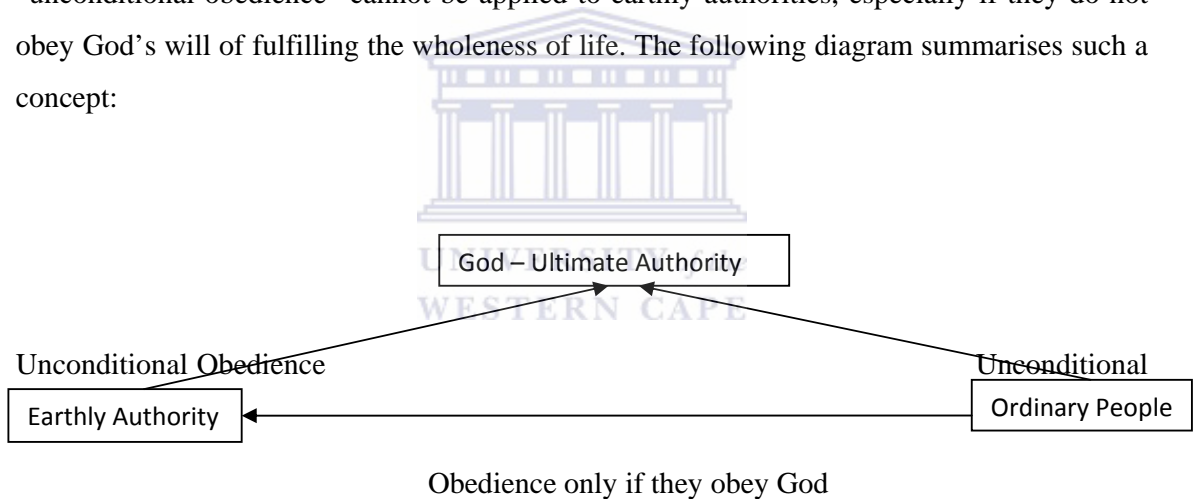
Boesak’s strategy appeared to have succeeded. The authorities reacted to his address through the minister of justice, who criticised Boesak after he had made a call for civil disobedience. In response, Boesak wrote an open letter to the minister, in which he said the following:

Dear Sir, a short while ago you thought it your duty to address the South African Council of Churches, as well as the church leaders, very sharply and seriously over radio and television and in the press in connection with the SACC resolution on civil

⁵⁹ Extract of the address delivered at the National Conference of the South African Council of Churches on July 27, 1979.

disobedience.... Surely it is the message of the salvation of God that has come to all peoples in Jesus Christ. It is the proclamation of the kingdom of God and the lordship of Jesus Christ. But this salvation is the liberation, the making whole of the whole person ... It is my conviction that, for a Christian, obedience to the state or any earthly authority is always linked to our obedience to God. That is to say, obedience to human institutions (and to human beings) is always relative ... Christians cannot even think of giving unconditional obedience to a government (Boesak 1984:36-45).⁶⁰

The notion of obedience appears to be at stake here. Boesak’s argument suggests that only the ultimate authority – God -- deserves what he calls “unconditional obedience” from all (earthly authority and ordinary people). God institutes earthly authorities in order to fulfil and promote the wholeness of life for all. Any authority that does not fulfil and promote the wholeness of life is not worthy to receive any sort of obedience, which implies that “unconditional obedience” cannot be applied to earthly authorities, especially if they do not obey God’s will of fulfilling the wholeness of life. The following diagram summarises such a concept:



It has emerged from the above that an appropriate leadership ethos, for Boesak, enables the fulfilment of the wholeness of life for every human being – the essence of obeying God. *Wholeness* implies being complete, entire, perfect, healthy or well.⁶¹ Boesak (1984:47), however, describes wholeness as the fulfilment and recognition of our human-beingness. Obedience is a virtue that must be acknowledged in a relationship. In leadership terms, such obedience between leaders and followers is conditional. It is only when leaders show respect and consideration that they will earn obedience from their followers. This is at the essence of

⁶⁰ Extract of the open letter addressed to the minister of justice on August 24, 1979

⁶¹ See *The Cassell Compact Dictionary* and *The Student Bible Dictionary*.

a mutual relationship – the first value embedded in the notion of leadership. By putting emphasis on civil disobedience, Boesak does not only subscribe to the value of mutuality implied in the notion of leadership but tries to promote such a value as well in a relationship that is established between himself and his followers. Therefore, any government or leadership that does not work towards the well-being of its followers implies that it does not promote the wholeness of life of its people. Such leadership is “evil”, and an “evil system cannot be modified – it has to be eradicated” (Boesak 1979:103). In this case of the apartheid regime, Boesak tried to mobilise his fellow citizens by calling on them not to obey the government in order to eradicate it as an evil system as it failed to promote the wholeness of all the citizens. By mobilizing his fellow citizens to civil disobedience, these are efforts supporting the argument claiming that they identify with the fourth value embedded in the notion of leadership while promoting mutuality in the relationship that he is establishing with his followers.

6.3.2 The first value associated with the notion of leadership: Influential relationship and mutuality in the relationship

Boesak articulated an appropriate leadership ethos by advocating for the fulfilment and recognition of human-beingness to all in South Africa. He made use of various channels of communication to reach out to all possible audiences, including the South African authorities, his fellow citizens, as well as international audiences who had interest in South Africa. In his address at Calvin College, Michigan, USA, Boesak said the following:

That all may be whole – These are very beautiful words, not only because they echo so much of what the gospel of Jesus Christ is all about, but also because they echo so much of the African understanding of life We still have inequality before the law and inequality in both labour and education In South Africa Black humanity still does not count. In fact, the humanity of a Black person is not even seen as true humanity ... we still have an economic system that not only exploits Blacks, but requires the destruction of Black family life. At this point, I must voice a profound concern about the Reagan administration in the United States of America, which has made it abundantly clear that human rights is not one of its major concerns ... when will people in the United States, where so many Christians read and try to understand the gospel, learn that there is no such thing as safety and security and peace where there is not wholeness of life? And when will they learn that if human life is broken in

South Africa or Indonesia or El Salvador, there is no way that life can be whole in the United States?... We are talking about wholeness of life... I have seen people shred newspaper to cook along with other pieces of food to make a meal, to live, and die of it. Yet, South Africa wants to be known as a Christian country.... Our struggle in South Africa is a struggle for wholeness through liberation.... Conscious disobedience for the church in South Africa is a reality we can no longer avoid. We know that the church must offer a prophetic witness to the state.... There is a proverb that you will find in all African languages. I quote it in seSotho: *Motho ke motho ka batho ba bang* – I am human only because you are human, my humanity affirms your humanity. Your humanity affirms my humanity. Without that there is no wholeness⁶² (Boesak 1984:46-56).

In the address above, three observations are made and are expressed in the following ways:

(1) Boesak concedes that the concept of wholeness of life is not only a Christian but also an African understanding of life. In the African understanding, the wholeness of life is perceived within relationships (Kurewa 2000:23-24). This means the way individuals relate to one another and to the community as a whole. This relationship enables people to connect and create a community where every individual is accepted and recognised as a valuable member. It helps create a community that places communal interests over individuals. This is the meaning of humanity – being humans. Unfortunately, this was not happening in South Africa following the unjust laws of the apartheid regime.

(2) For Boesak, there is a connection between the wholeness of life and human rights. This means human rights are part of the wholeness of life. Denying the wholeness of life is not only violating people's human rights but it means capturing people in what can be regarded as slavery. This is contrary to the gospel's message – to set people free and give wholeness of life. It is in this respect that Boesak called on the Reagan administration and the people of the United States of America to redefine their major priorities, taking into consideration the fight for human rights in order to promote the wholeness of life not only in South Africa but across the globe, including in their own country. Boesak's call for respect of human rights in order to promote the wholeness of life must be echoed everywhere across the world for the sake of safety and security for all.

⁶² Extract of the address delivered at Calvin College on November 17, 1980

(3) Boesak believes that civil disobedience to authorities would help in the fight for human rights and, therefore, would restore the wholeness of life for all in South Africa. As a non-violent strategy, civil disobedience appears to be appropriate as an approach to leadership in the environment created by the apartheid regime in South Africa. In such a way, the authorities would be compelled to redefine their understanding and develop a new approach to leadership in order to promote the wholeness for all in South Africa. This is the essence of civil disobedience.

The above observations, as far as leadership is concerned, underpin the concept of a mutual and influential relationship embedded in the notion of leadership while promoting values associated with such a concept. It is apparent that these values are not clearly defined, unless his call for civil disobedience is unpacked (see 6.3.1). It is then, and only then that the values could be understood as expressed in terms of reciprocal respect and consideration between both leaders and followers. This implies that leadership is exercised within an established relationship in which respect and consideration play a significant role.

Boesak did not only demonstrate an understanding of the concept of relationship but worked towards establishing such a relationship, not only between himself and his followers but extend such a relationship to other leaders as well by seeking to promote collaboration. In his address to the delegates of All Africa Conference of Churches' General Assembly in 1981, Boesak (1984:76-85) stated the following:

Colonialism has been exchanged for newer, subtler forms of economic exploitation in which underdevelopment and dependency are both real and inescapable. Famine, hunger, and starvation still claim their victims by millions, and the truth is that these very often are not economic problems; they are political problems. Africa is torn by conflict and war. This is so partly because the continent has become the testing ground for the ideologues of the super powers, the battlefield for their mad desire to rule the world. But it is also true that Africa knows too many iron-fisted rulers who have no respect for human rights. The colonial governor's mansion is now occupied by the representatives of new power elites that have as little concern for the people as did the colonialists. All too often independence has not meant a new, meaningful life for the people, or a return to the values of African life that would have revitalised society. Values such as the wholeness of life, the meaning of human-beingness, and the relationship between human beings and nature have not been resuscitated in

African life, because these values tend to subvert the economic interests of the new elites and their neo-colonialists masters.⁶³

It is clear, from the above address, that Boesak's understanding of an appropriate leadership ethos – the fulfilment of the wholeness of life – compelled him to seek collaboration and support from his colleagues and fellow leaders. He had to share his vision (restoration of values of African life) with other leaders and, in return, received their support. This means that leadership is not exercised in isolation. Leaders, in order to achieve the purpose of leadership, must collaborate and support one another in fulfilling the wholeness of life for all. Boesak's personal traits namely goal oriented and visionary purpose, as elaborated by the theories of leadership excellence (see chapter 2), might have been influential in this regard. His efforts in this respect are identified with the first value embedded in the notion of leadership – mutuality in the notion of relationship. As such, this notion supports the concept of human interrelatedness.

This concept suggests that human beings are interrelated in various ways. As a result of this, what one does to oneself affects the other directly or indirectly and what one does to others affects oneself directly or indirectly. The same rules apply in political, economic and social scales. For instance, within the context of apartheid, whites were privileged by laws which favoured them while discriminated against blacks. However, as much as blacks suffered, whites also suffered due to a lack of peace, security and freedom. So, nobody could enjoy life because leaders, during apartheid, exercised leadership in isolation instead of seeking to collaborate with their followers. The circle may be broadened depending on the number of people that are being affected. It is for such a reason that Boesak's concern is not only South African but African as a whole; as he says, "Africa is torn by conflict and war". Collaboration enables people to share views, collaboration allows them to shape visions, collaboration helps them to understand one another, and collaboration facilitates a meaningful partnership. This is how leadership must be exercised in order to complete the wholeness of life for all.

6.3.3 The second value associated with the notion of leadership: The acknowledgment of certain inequalities in the relationship

Boesak, in his address at the inaugural conference of the UDF in Cape Town, 1983, said the following:

⁶³ Extract of the address delivered at the All Africa Conference of Churches' General Assembly held in Nairobi, Kenya on August 2-12, 1981.

I am particularly happy to note that this meeting is not merely a gathering of isolated individuals. No, we represent organizations deeply rooted in the struggle for justice, deeply rooted in the heart of our people. We are here to say that what we are working for one, undivided South Africa that shall belong to all its people, a society in which the human dignity of all shall be respected. We are here to say that the rights are God-given. And we are not here to beg for those rights; we are here to claim them. On the other hand we must remember that apartheid does not have support of all whites. There are some who died in the struggle with us, who have gone to jail, who have been tortured and banned. There have been whites who died in the struggle for justice. We, therefore, must not allow our anger over apartheid to become the basis for blind hatred of all whites. Let us not build our struggle upon hatred; let us not hope for revenge. Let us, even now seek to lay the foundations for reconciliation between whites and Blacks in this country by working together, praying together, struggling together for justice (1984:168-76).⁶⁴

In the quest for restoring the wholeness of life for all, it is apparent that Boesak in the address above makes use of the mutual and influential relationship that he established between himself and his followers to mobilise them for a common purpose. He reaffirmed the notion that leadership should not be exercised in isolation. In other words, he called for collaboration and co-operation amongst followers and himself. In this way, they would be able to attain their objective – justice and human dignity for all.

Boesak concedes that leaders do not operate in a vacuum. In this respect, phrases such as “we represent”, “we are here”, “we are working”, “let us” in this address suggest that leadership is exercised within an established relationship. While reaffirming this value embedded in the notion of leadership, Boesak’s personal traits appear to have made a difference in this mutual relationship. As a result, he influenced the vision to be pursued and common purposes to be attained. The above mentioned phrases support this argument. This ability emerging from personal traits in such a relationship must be acknowledged as it indicates a certain inequality in such a relationship. Boesak’s efforts, in this respect, are identified with the second value embedded in the notion of leadership – the consent implied in the notion of “followers”, while recognizing a certain inequality in the relationship.

⁶⁴ Extract of the address delivered at the inaugural conference of the United Democratic Front, Cape Town, August 20, 1983.

So, it has emerged here that leadership is exercised neither in isolation nor in a vacuum. Because of that, leaders must always consider and weigh the consequences of their actions. It is for this reason that collaboration and co-operation is of paramount importance in leadership.

Mobilisation of followers is as important as other factors in leadership. It is through mobilisation that collaboration and co-operation take place. The address above testifies to the fact that Boesak mobilised his followers and tried to create an environment of collaboration and co-operation by urging them not to allow their emotions to take over their ability to think. It is through thinking that one is able to distinguish facts from illusions, especially in the case of whites and the apartheid system. He said, “We, therefore, must not allow our anger over apartheid to become the basis for blind hatred of all Whites”. This is because not all whites supported the apartheid regime. Some, in fact, lost their lives in the same struggle for justice and human dignity. So, it is not fair to say that all whites are racists. This is the message in the address above.

Such an environment of collaboration and co-operation enables communication to flow between leaders and followers. As a result, the vision and the common purpose in leadership will be pursued. This is how an appropriate leadership ethos is articulated here.

6.4 Conclusion

It would be appropriate to recall the aim of this chapter, namely to provide a close reading and analysis of selected texts from Boesak’s speeches in order to demonstrate the way in which he understood and articulated an appropriate leadership ethos.

It has emerged, from the reading and analysis of Boesak’s selected texts that an appropriate leadership is the ability to fulfil the wholeness of life for all. Wholeness implies the fulfilment and recognition of human-beingness. Boesak’s approach to leadership could be identified with three values embedded in the notion of leadership, values which he displayed in the following ways: (1) By mobilising his followers by urging them to engage in civil disobedience, (2) by creating an environment of co-operation and collaboration with his followers and other leaders as leadership is not exercised in isolation and in a vacuum, (3) by urging his followers to be self-critical in thinking and not to allow emotions to take over their ability to think.

Boesak appealed to various audiences including his countrymen and women, through

sermons, speeches and statements, while challenging the authorities to obey God and exercise leadership with the view of fulfilling and promoting the wholeness of life for all in South Africa.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Leadership Analysis and Concluding Remarks

7.1 Introduction

This chapter endeavours to compare and contrast various understandings of an appropriate leadership ethos, as provided in the writings of the three selected exponents of black theology discussed in the previous chapters. In this respect, these will be analysed against the four values embedded in the notion of leadership⁶⁵ in a conspectus way. A general conclusion and recommendation will then follow.

It has become apparent from the previous chapters that personal traits – high energy, trustworthiness, charisma, visionary purpose and goal oriented, following the theories of leadership excellence (see chapter 2), played a significant role in influencing and shaping an understanding of leadership of the three selected black theologians. Subsequently, each one of them developed a particular approach to leadership putting emphasis on particular values.

In the following sections, I will analyse the influence of personal traits – based on what has been disclosed in the previous three chapters, in order to demonstrate the ways in which they understood and articulated the notion of leadership according to the four values identified by Rost.

7.2 The four values of leadership

7.2.1 The first value associated with the notion of leadership

The first value embedded in the notion of leadership has to do with relationships and the mutuality implied in this notion of relationships. In this respect, King's personal traits (high energy in particular) enabled him to adhere to this value. His first speech made as the elected president of the MIA testifies to his efforts to establishing such a relationship between himself and his followers (see chapter 4.3.2). By identifying himself with his followers, King

⁶⁵ See chapter 2

established a relationship with them. Unless one identifies with the other there can not be a relationship. By being truthful with them, King was promoting mutuality in such a relationship. Thus, his personal traits have been highly influential in this respect.

Tutu's personal traits (high energy and trustworthiness), just like King's, have been influential in helping him develop an approach to leadership and to adhere to this particular value embedded in the notion of leadership. His statements – when addressing forced removals and the one recorded in an article entitled “South Africa in crisis and our response as the children of God” (see chapter 5.3.2) demonstrate how he adhered to this value. Inviting people to express themselves through dialogue while availing to listen to them, indicates a willingness to establish and promote mutuality in such a relationship.

Boesak's approach to leadership adhered to this particular value as well. Both his call and practice of reciprocal respect and consideration of one another establish and promote such a relationship and the mutuality associated to it. His addresses delivered at Calvin College and the one at the All Africa Conference of Churches' General Assembly (see chapter 6.3.2) testify to that. His personal traits (high energy particularly) might have been critical in this respect.

As observed, all three adhered to this particular value embedded in the notion of leadership. They, however, expressed that in different ways putting emphasis on different things. While King identified himself with his followers, Tutu invited people to express themselves while availing to give himself to them, and Boesak called and practised reciprocal respect and consideration. Their personal traits made a difference in helping them develop such approaches to leadership. This particular way of showing how leadership is embedded and exercised is what I refer to as an appropriate leadership ethos.

7.2.2 The second value associated with the notion of leadership

The second value embedded in the notion of leadership has to do with the consent implied in the notion of “followers”, while recognizing a certain inequality in the relationship. King, in this respect, adhered to this value. In addition to identifying himself with his followers, King's ability to give instructions and the constant appeal to followers to have a positive attitude and portray good behaviour demonstrates certain inequalities that prevailed in this influential relationship. The speech delivered in Detroit (see chapter 4.3.3) is among many efforts that testify to this effect. To this end, his personal traits (charisma in particular) might

have played a significant role.

Tutu's approach to leadership also adhered to this value. The way he managed such a relationship demonstrated certain inequalities that prevailed in the relationship. In addition to making himself available and inviting people to express themselves, Tutu's ability to initiate ideas and the persistence to convince, as shown in his addresses at Witwatersrand University, the Black Sash Conference as well as the press conference release among many others (see chapter 5.3.3), testify to these efforts. His personal traits – charisma, in addition to high energy and trustworthiness, were significant in this influential relationship. These created the inequality, between him and his fellow in the mutual relationship he established, as a way to determine who the leader was.

Boesak also adhered to this particular value embedded in the notion of leadership. The call he made for collaboration and cooperation while mobilising people (see chapter 6.3.3) is a way that shows how he adhered to such a leadership value. His ability to mobilise people might have been influenced by his personal traits – high energy, which ultimately made the difference and created the inequalities in the influential relationship.

It is apparent from the above observations that all three adhered to this particular value. They, however, used different ways to demonstrate how they adhered to the value. King adhered to the value through his ability to give instructions and through his constant appeals. For Tutu, the ability to initiate ideas and the persistence to convince made the difference in structuring the relationship, while Boesak's ability to mobilise people created such inequalities in the influential relationship. Such an approach to leadership constitutes what is regarded here as an appropriate leadership ethos.

7.2.3 The third value associated with the notion of leadership

The third value embedded in the notion of leadership has to do with the emphasis on effectiveness in reaching the intended aims. King, in this respect, showed how he adhered to this value by constantly insisting on the way in which they – himself and his followers, should proceed while pursuing the intended objectives. The effectiveness of their method – non-violent direct action, depended on the way in which it was implemented. Here, his address to the crowd after the bombing of his house, his sermon delivered at the Dexter Avenue Baptist church, the statement made in the meeting with the mayor of Montgomery, his address delivered at the prayer pilgrimage for freedom in Washington and the subsequent

speech after the US Supreme Court ruling of bus integration (see chapter 4.3.4), are among his efforts which showed how the method was implemented. His personal traits – obsession with goals, (in addition to high energy, charisma, and trustworthiness) might have played a crucial role here.

Tutu also, through his work and activities, showed how he adhered to this particular value. His belief in dialogue and his continuous efforts to make it happen, as demonstrated in his article written for the African-American Institutes and his addresses to the Eloff Commission of Enquiry (see chapter 5.3.4), constitute an approach to leadership which show his adherence to this value. Just like King, his personal traits – obsession with goals (in addition to high energy, charisma, and trustworthiness) might have played a crucial role as well.

Boesak, however, did not explicitly show an adherence to this particular value. Nevertheless, by subscribing to non-violent direct action as a method of leadership, this approach as in King's case underpins such a value depending on the way in which it was implemented. Personal traits – obsession with goals in particular appear to be the force behind this value.

It has become apparent that King and Tutu clearly adhered to this particular value too, while Boesak's adherence was not emphasised (in the texts selected). However, his leadership method and approach indicated that such a value could have been present. King's adherence to the value is shown through constant insistence on a particular way in which people should behave and the way his leadership method was implemented, while Tutu's emphasis was on dialogue and his efforts to make it happen at all costs. Their personal traits – obsession with goals, (in addition to high energy, charisma, and trustworthiness) was influential here also. Such an approach to leadership is regarded as an appropriate leadership ethos.

7.2.4 The fourth value associated with the notion of leadership

The fourth value embedded in the notion of leadership has to do with the participatory process required to identify common purposes. King's approach to leadership indicates that he adhered completely to this value. His efforts to address people's attitudes and behaviour testify to this leadership approach. According to him, unless these issues are addressed, people can not come together, let alone participate in the process required to identify common purposes. To address these issues, King identified education and legislation as he developed a particular approach to leadership. He made use of these means, while promoting participation in such an influential relationship between himself and his followers (see

chapter 4.3.1). To this end, his personal traits – visionary purpose, in addition to the others previously mentioned, may have been influential in this regard.

Tutu's approach to leadership, in this respect, showed how he adhered to this particular value too. In fact, this value is central to his leadership. By advocating for dialogue, Tutu was actually promoting participation in the process required to identify common purposes. Furthermore, he did not only advocate dialogue but made use of dialogue to promote such participation. His sermon preached at Biko's memorial service (see chapter 5.3.1) is among his efforts to advocate and practice dialogue. He strived in his mission to mobilise his countrymen and women, all – Blacks and Whites to come together and participate in the process to bring about the intended change. It is only through dialogue that this can happen. Just like King, his personal traits – visionary purpose, in addition to the others previously mentioned, were influential here.

Boesak's understanding of leadership puts emphasis on this particular value. His approach to leadership promotes this value. It is in such a context that his call for civil disobedience must be understood. Through this call, Boesak engaged in the process of mobilising people to participate in the process required to identify common purposes. His address delivered at the National Conference of the South African Council of Churches and his letter to the minister of justice (see chapter 6.3.1) are among his efforts demonstrating how he adhered to this particular value. Just like King and Tutu, his personal traits – visionary purpose, in addition to the others previously mentioned, is believed to have been influential.

The above observations suggest that all three adhered to these values. As such, the values seem to be at the heart of their understanding of leadership – especially for Tutu and Boesak. On the one hand, Tutu and Boesak engaged in the process of mobilising people: While the former promoted dialogue, the latter advocated for civil disobedience. On the other hand, King's emphasis was on addressing people's attitude and behaviour which would result in their participation in the process required to identify common purposes. It has to be noted here that their personal traits – visionary purpose, in addition to the ones previously mentioned played a significant role in shaping their approach to leadership. This is what is regarded as an appropriate leadership ethos.

7.3 A Comparison of the understanding of an appropriate leadership ethos

7.3.1 King and Tutu

It has become apparent that King, on the one hand, understood an appropriate leadership ethos mainly as an ability within any human being that strives for justice and respect for human dignity. He articulated this leadership ethos in the way he defined his objectives, selected a method and identified tools to help him reach the objectives. King's writings and speeches have demonstrated how he applied his tools, in a non-violent way, as an approach to the type of leadership he subscribed to. These can be regarded as fundamental factors in his understanding of an appropriate leadership ethos.

Tutu, on the other hand, understood an appropriate leadership ethos as the ability to see and promote the humanity of people. In the African worldview, the humanity of people is understood under the principle of *Ubuntu* – a person is a person through other persons (Battle 1996:93-105). He exercised such a leadership ethos in the way he committed himself to change, while advocating for a meaningful dialogue and reconciliation in order to bring about this change. For Tutu, dialogue – discussion and negotiation -- is the only means to help solve problems and settle differences. It is through dialogue that people demonstrate their humanity, for dialogue sets the platform or opportunity for reconciliation. Tutu appealed to various audiences amongst his countrymen and women, through sermons, speeches and statements to encourage people to make use of dialogue and reconcile for a better South Africa.

A comparison of their understanding of an appropriate leadership ethos suggests that King's emphasis is on justice and respect for human dignity while Tutu's emphasis is on promoting the humanity of people. It appears that their understanding of an appropriate leadership ethos is partly influenced by the circumstances in which they were called to exercise leadership – segregation and apartheid respectively. In their understanding of an appropriate leadership ethos, there is no significant difference because justice and respect for human dignity are what make humanity – the quality or condition of being human.

They differ, however, in the way they have articulated such an appropriate leadership ethos. While King's method was a non-violent direct action, Tutu's approach was a consistent call for dialogue. Nevertheless, both ways were aimed at bringing about real change. Thus, both leaders demonstrated moral judgement concerning the characteristic way in which leadership

is embodied and exercised within particular influential relationships.

7.3.2 King and Boesak

For Boesak, an appropriate leadership ethos strives towards fulfilling the wholeness of life for all. Wholeness implies the fulfilment and recognition of human-beingness. He articulated such leadership ethos in the way he urged his audiences amongst his countrymen and women, through sermons, speeches and statements calling for civil disobedience while challenging the authorities to obey God and exercise leadership with a view to fulfilling and promoting the wholeness of life for all in South Africa.

A comparison of their understanding of an appropriate leadership ethos suggests that while King advocated for justice and respect for human dignity, Boesak was concerned with the wholeness of life for all. It appears that both advocated for the same thing using different discourses. The 'wholeness of life' suggests the fulfilment and recognition of human-beingness – implying justice and respect for human dignity amongst other factors. In the same line of thought, there appears to be no difference in the ways in which they demonstrated the application of such an appropriate leadership ethos.

King's approach was influenced by his belief in a method of non-violent direct action, and Boesak's call for civil disobedience towards authorities suggests the same approach, as civil disobedience is, by definition, non-violent. Calls for non-violent direct actions emerge as a way in which both King and Boesak articulated an appropriate leadership ethos. In addition, mobilisation of the followers in order to create an environment of collaboration and co-operation between leaders and their followers can be perceived to be another common feature found in King and Boesak.

7.3.3 Tutu and Boesak

Tutu's understanding of an appropriate leadership ethos is no different to Boesak's. According to Tutu, the humanity of people is what must make the essence of leadership. This view is shared with Boesak, who interprets it as fulfilling the wholeness of life. It appears that such an understanding of an appropriate leadership ethos promotes the notion of what has come to be known as *Ubuntu*, especially within the African worldview, where both Tutu and Boesak exercised leadership.

However, they contrast sharply in the ways in which they articulated such an appropriate

leadership ethos. While Tutu advocated for meaningful dialogues, Boesak, in addition to mobilising his followers for collaboration and co-operation, called for non-violent direct actions (civil disobedience). For Boesak, the time had come to go from making statements condemning apartheid to action. Tutu, in turn, maintained that it is through dialogue that people demonstrate their humanity. Nevertheless, they both aimed at bringing about real change and reconciliation among South African citizens. In these ways they demonstrated moral judgement concerning the characteristic way in which leadership is embodied and exercised within particular influential relationships.

7.4 Conclusion

In order to conclude, it would be appropriate to recall the purpose of this work, namely the identification and classification of the ways in which an appropriate leadership ethos is portrayed in the writings of the selected scholars in the black theology movement.

In this respect, the notion of leadership was investigated with specific reference to the contributions by Burns and Rost – two of the leading figures in the study of leadership. Additional empirical works on leadership and leadership ethos were conducted in which the Ethical Leadership Project (ELP) was critically analysed. Although the positions of Burns, Rost and participants in the Ethical Leadership Project could not be considered as normative, their contributions, however, in this particular field were significant in this thesis in a way that they were used as analytical tools in the search for an appropriate leadership ethos. As a result, a definition of an appropriate leadership ethos emerging from such literature would suggest that such a leadership promotes moral judgements concerning the characteristic way in which leadership is embodied and exercised within particular “influence relationships” (see chapter 2).

This survey helped situate the contributions emerging from within the black theology movement in a wider context in which their distinctive emphases could be recognised. In this regard, black theology, as a movement in both USA and South Africa, was commended despite its weaknesses for providing a solid platform for theological, political and socio-economic reflections and exchanges in a period of rapid social change (see chapter 3).

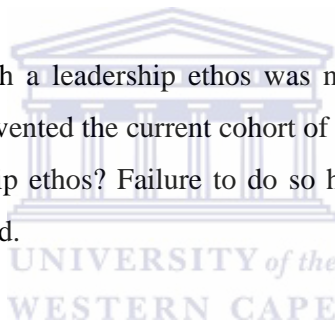
Upon selection of the three exponents in the movement, namely King, Tutu and Boesak, the analysis of their works shows clearly that all three leaders expressed their understanding of an appropriate leadership ethos differently and implemented such an ethos differently.

Regardless of the differences in the ways in which they articulated such an appropriate leadership ethos, the study of their writings suggests that they demonstrated moral judgement concerning the characteristic way in which leadership is embodied and exercised within particular influential relationships (see chapters 4-7).

In this respect, issues related to democratic decision making, institutional transparency and service delivery – at the heart of which is corruption in contemporary societies with a focus on Sub-Saharan Africa, would have been easily addressed if an appropriate leadership ethos, as shown in this work, was adhered to. Unfortunately the same issues have become a major concern for leadership in all spheres including the government, the judiciary, civil society and the church.

This study has demonstrated that an appropriate leadership ethos was indeed available by the time most leaders if not all, among the contemporary cohort of African leadership, were in their formative years.

The question remains, why such a leadership ethos was not adopted in the early stage of African leadership? Or what prevented the current cohort of African leadership from adhering to such an appropriate leadership ethos? Failure to do so has led to their leadership ability being questioned and undermined.



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