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ETHICS AND SOCIO-POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION: Towards a model for partnerships in the public arena

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Abstract

South African Scholars have engaged theological questions regarding the role of the churches and Christianity in South Africa after the advent of democracy in 1994. However, religious communities, en specifically the churches continue to struggle to orientate themselves with regard to the new social order. The government has been inviting religious communities to form partnerships with government in addressing the moral foundation of society. Problems continue to prevail in establishing a common rationale and structures for such a partnership. This paper investigates a model for multi-sectoral, institutional ethics that could provide a framework for such a partnership.

1. Introduction

The social and political transformation of South Africa brought serious challenges for discourses in ethics[1]. The political challenge was epitomised in President Nelson R Mandela's last opening speech of the Parliament on 5 February 1999. He said: 'Our nation needs, as a matter of urgency... an RDP of the Soul.' This means ...discipline the balance between freedom and responsibility: Quite clearly, there is something wrong with a society where freedom is interpreted to mean that teachers or students get to school drunk; warders chase away management and appoint their own friends to lead institutions; striking workers resort to violence and destruction of property; business-people lavish money in court cases simply to delay implementation of legislation they do not like; and tax evasion turns individuals into heroes of dinner-table talk. Something drastic needs to be done about this. South African society – its schools and universities, in the work-place, in sports, in professional work and all are as of social interactions – needs to infuse itself with a measure of discipline, a work ethic and responsibility for the action we undertake.

Politicians have subsequently argued that the establishment of the social foundation of society, however, requires partnerships among the different structures of society. Government and church leaders met to discuss issues of an ethical nature in the context of transformation. Business leaders and government discussed the issues of a work-ethics and of job creation. The ministry of police and local communities form community-policing forums to deal with crime and violence in society.

Forming sustainable partnerships requires more than political will, personal morality and professional codes of ethics and pressing social crises. It requires clarity about the relationship between different sectors of society and their structures[2]. In brings us in the

1. A number of articles and books were published. Among them are Dirkie Smit's two articles 'Oor die Kerk as 'n Unieke Samelewingsverband', in *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*, 1996, No 36/2, 119-29, and 'Oor die Unieke Rol van die Kerk' in *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*, 1996, No. 36/3, 190-204; John W De Gruchy's, 1995 *Christianity and Democracy*. Cape Town: Philip; D Ettienne De Villiers 'Challenges to Christian Ethics in the Present South African Society', in 1999 *Scriptura*, 1999/1, No. 69; and James R Cochrane's 'Public challenges to Christianity in Africa', in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, No 99, November 1997.
2. Mokgethi Motlhabi ('Teaching Social Ethics in the South African Context' in *Scriptura*, 1999/1, No 69, 93-

ambit of the ethics of multi-sectoral social institution. How should we conceive of the relationship between the state, religious communities, the private sector and labour, and other institutions of society? Understanding the nature of these relationships are crucial to the partnerships required to address the ethical concerns of a social order in transformation. How should these institutions of society relate to each other without causing hegemony? How do institutions relate and still guard their identities, perform their public responsibilities and act with institutional integrity?

This paper addresses this fundamental issue: the nature of multi-sectoral, inter-institutional relationships that should inform the various calls for partnerships in the building of the social foundation of the South African society.

2. Reading the signs of the times for the church

Wollfgang Huber, the German ethicist and Bishop of the German Lutheran Church, visited South Africa in August 1990 and delivered lectures at the University of Windhoek (Namibia), the University of South Africa (Pretoria), the University of Stellenbosch and the University of the Western Cape. He summarised the content of his lectures in an article for the *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*[3]. His article focuses on the international relevance of the debate about the role of the church in situations of transformation.

He distinguished between three characteristic settings where the public and political responsibility of the church are at stake. He called them the *situation of the status confessionist, the situation of transition, and the situation of critical loyalty.*

Huber then typified South Africa, after February 1990, as a situation of transition. He found that in the situation of transition *abolition* of injustices and the *formation* of a liberative social order, merged. He called the latter 'a political order in accordance with elementary human rights.'[4] *A situation of transition, Huber found, provides also the opportunity to redefine the task of the church in the next phase where it will be called to critical loyalty*[5] *with the organs of state.*

However, South African churches failed to grasp the opportunity to redefine its role for the situation of critical solidarity. Consequently, the church is overwhelmed by the calls for partnerships between the religious sector and the state. On the one hand, the religious sector understands the urgency for such partnership especially in addressing crime, welfare and development as society transforms itself. On the other hand, the religious sector is unsure about the ways in which they should behave in such a partnership in view of its own integrity and identity.

Charles Villa-Vicencio was the first to call for a new theological plunge into the depths of social transformation in 1992. Villa-Vicencio, ethicist at the University of Cape Town[6]

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102) argued that ethics in the South African context must reflect on the relationship between different social structures. Social ethics can not be studied in a vacuum. The study of social ethics should take the student beyond a study of the country's social history to focus also on contemporary social issues. Social problems are addressed through social structures and programmes. Context related study include the ethics of social structures.

3. Huber W, 1991, 'The Role of the Church in situations of Transition', 14-20, in *Journal of Theology in Southern Africa*, June, 1991,
4. Huber, 1991, 15.
5. Huber, 1991, 15: '...the churches in South Africa...are now confronted with the situation of transition in which they should provide the space for the free and committed search for new forms of a just, peaceful and sustainable society in South Africa. And they have to prepare for a coming situation under a democratically elected government towards which they have to exert a new kind of critical loyalty'.
6. Harvey Cox, when reflecting on the conditions of transformation in Africa during the sixties, argued in favour of a 'theology of social change' in his very controversial book 'The Secular City' (1978 'The Secular City:

and chief researcher of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, founded his contribution to South African post-apartheid theology in the Frank Chikane question[7] about the youth and the future[8] of the rule of law. He proposed a 'theology of reconstruction'. Contextually, *A Theology of Reconstruction* came into being through Frank Chikane's question: 'how is the burden of oppression and the rejection of laws by in the time of struggle to be replaced by the affirmation of renewal and good order, on which the nation-building task feeds as it engages the future?'[9]

Villa-Vicencio identified three ways in which theology responds to historical realities. Theology, he said, has (i) often legitimated the status quo in different parts of the world. At other times it has (ii) fuelled resistance and revolution. Rarely has it taken the third option (iii) which is to contribute seriously to the difficult programme of nation-building and political reconstruction. He supported the latter viewpoint. He then asked whether the church is theologically capable of contributing to the establishment of good government (in the interest of 'the common good'), or whether this responsibility is better left to secular forces[10]. 'As the struggle for democracy in some parts of the world begins to manifest itself,' he said, 'the prophetic task of the church must include a thoughtful and creative 'yes' to options for political and social renewal'[11]. He then took this general argument and applied to the ethical discourse, in particular on human rights and law-making.

2. Ethics and social history

After Villa-Vicencio's book and a decade of transformation South Africa is still in the throws of the quest for partnerships and specifically of defining the new roles and the institutional relationships. I propose that we return to Dietrich Bonhoeffer's 'ethics of

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Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective.' Revised ed. New York: Macmillan). His main proposal to Africans focused on the formulation of a relevant theology of the church that can speak meaningfully into a world of growing secularisation and urbanisation. Against this background Cox proposed a theology of social change. Cox's theology of social change referred much more to its orientation than to its structure and format. Appealing to the insights of Wolfhart Pannenberg (Revelation as History) and others he grounded his proposal in their idea of a *theology of history*. History is not something past but something happening here and now. A theology of social change is therefore a theology that exhibits this divine present-historical orientation. A church with such a theology will be shaped by what God is doing *now*. 'It must allow itself,' he concludes, 'to be broken and reshaped continuously by God's continuous action; hence the need for a theology of social change' (Cox, 1978, 91). Villa-Vicencio's 'A Theology of Reconstruction' can be regarded as an acceptance of the challenge presented by Cox and demanded by the South African context after 1994.

7. Villa-Vicencio's 'A Theology of Reconstruction' is dedicated to Frank Chikane, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches and President of the united Apostolic Faith Mission Church of South Africa. Villa-Vicencio defines the influence of Chikane on church and society as 'formative' (Villa-Vicencio C, 1992 'Towards a Theology of Reconstruction: Nation building and Human Rights'. Cape Town: Philip.)
8. The Frank Chikane question points to a situation prevailing in present South Africa which reflects on the praxis and attitudes of youth during the transition. Harvey Cox tells the story of the Christian Youth Conference which was held in the early sixties under the auspices of the World Council of Churches. The main underlying fear at the conference was that despite the fact that the youth turned up in large numbers, the majority of African youth would severe their ties with the church within the subsequent decade. The reason cited was that the Christian ethics of the time could not touch base with the issues faced by the African young people. These youths were then caught up in the excitement of nation-building, the struggle against new and old colonialism, the problems of economic planning, the organisation of political institutions, and the fashioning of a real African culture. The individualistic ethics and middle-class morality of the church became entirely useless to them. What they needed, to Cox's understanding, was a theology that could enable them to come to terms with a wholly new world and life.
9. Villa-Vicencio C, 1992 'Towards a Theology of Reconstruction: Nation building and Human Rights'. Cape Town: Philip, 49-51.
10. Villa-Vicencio, 1992, 23.
11. Villa-Vicencio, 1992, 1.

formation' to come to an understanding of the ethics of inter-institutional relationships within a democracy.

In the dark hour of Hitler's ascendance to political power Bonhoeffer discovered the link between ethics and transformation[12]. He saw that his society suffered from a lack of ethical commitment. The villain and the saint lived without ethics unashamedly in the public eye.

The most recent edition of Bonhoeffer's Ethics[13] appeared as a reconstruction of the manuscripts in terms of their dates of origin. According to this edition Bonhoeffer started his discourse with ethics through a reflection on the theme: *Christ, Reality and Virtue.* At this stage a new theological notion, namely the idea of the divine mandate, was formalised in his ethics. References to the 'doctrine of divine mandates' appear in the essay 'State and Church' written in 1941, and in a manuscript entitled 'Christ Reality and the Good' also in 1941 and in 1942 he explicated it more extensively in 'The Concrete Commandment and the Divine Mandates'. Whilst in prison he revisits the doctrine in a letter to Eberhard Bethge dated 23 January 1944. An analysis of these texts show a development and deepening of Bonhoeffer's thoughts on the ethics of institutions in a democracy. He strongly rejects the approaches to this question that are determined by a 'Volks-defined' world view or a strict Lutheran division of the spheres that undercuts the creative possibilities of institutional partnerships. He therefore, rejected a universalizing mono-structural approach of the 'volks'-idea as well as a strict separation of the Lutheran 'two kingdoms'-model [14]. There is one political community and one social reality, and within this single social reality a diversity of social institutions, religious and secular, find their legitimate place[15]. Bonhoeffer's doctrine of divine mandates describes the ethics operative in the partnerships among these mandates.

The term 'mandate' refers to a concrete divine commission founded upon the revelation in Jesus Christ as witnessed to by the Holy Scriptures. It gives a demarcated warrant or mandate from God to act in the place of Christ in a specific social designation or commission. This does not imply that any existing commission in any form carries divine sanction. The 'mandate' not only serves to award specific authority but also confers legitimacy (E:254). The mandates are divine and serve, therefore, not the will of people but the will of God. As such it should be understood as *living* in commission *as deputies* or representatives of God (E:255). He categorised the following four spheres of sociality: *Church, Marriage and family, Culture or Labour* (E:295)[16] and *Government* (E:252). These spheres of sociality are collectively known as society and they exist within diverse institutional settings. The human responsibility in these areas are not merely social or natural impositions. They are in fact divine tasks. Divine mandates regulate their

12. 'Formation' was at that time a programmatic term used to describe the education and spiritual guidance to lead people into a life modelled on Christ and has been broadened by Bonhoeffer to an extension into ethics (Lovin RW,1984 'Christian Faith and Public Choices: The Social Ethics of Barth, Brunner and Bonhoeffer.' Philadelphia: Fortress, 156);
13. References marked [E:] in this paper refer to Bonhoeffer, D 1963 *Ethics.* London: SCM (sixth edition).
14. An analysis appears in an article ''With each other, for each other, against each other: Bonhoeffer's Theory of Mandates as a Theological Contribution to Socio-Ethical Pluralism' written by Frits de Lange (unpublished).
15. I have argued this point earlier in an article entitled 'Towards a World-Formative Christianity in South Africa', published in: Guma, M and Milton L (eds)1997 'An African Challenge to the Church in the 21st Century'. Cape Town: Salty
16. Bonhoeffer was at this stage not clear about the relationship between culture and labour as divine mandates. From a letter dated 23 January 1944 it appears that he had then clarity about the fact that culture should not be made subordinate to labour. Culture has to do less with obedience, but more with the free expense of liberty. As such culture encompasses the three divine mandates (E:253).

relationships, both internally and externally. Responsible life has a normative origin, namely the divine mandate. However, responsible living also requires structures for social responsibility.

Ethics has to be understood as 'formation'. This does not refer to any meaning of the word 'formation' known to us (E:60). Although Bonhoeffer deliberately played here with the older notion of 'Christian formation' his proposal turned out to be much more radical. It carried a meaning which was revealed to us. '*Formation*' (Gestaltung) can only come from the form of Christ (*Gestalt Christi*). It is not achieved simply by efforts to become like Christ. It comes about only by being drawn into the form of Christ. Christ is the giver of social forms (E:61). Christ, not Christians transforms the world by shaping humanity in conformity with himself. It is the Gestalt Christi which takes form in humanity. This can only happen because of the Incarnation[17]. Human beings become human because God took on human form in the Incarnation. The praxis-logic of transformation is christological and its christology is anthropological. The anthropology becomes (trans)formative by virtue of the fact that God took on our human form. The shaping of humanity in accordance with the realization of Christ is a single and indivisible social responsibility involving all the mandates in society. However, the institutions do not loose their diversity by virtue of the indivisibility of the reality.

3. Inter-institutional relationships

Instead, Dietrich Bonhoeffer argues that the four divine mandates stand in an ethical relation to one another. Their diversity is an ethical plurality of structures embedded in mutual relationships. They interrelate in dissimilar ways; at times they work with each other, at other times for each other and sometimes even against each other.

Bonhoeffer further argues that the different spheres receive their mandate from the same source. It is therefore quite conceivable that one divine mandate will work *with* the other. It is quite admissible that government work *with* the church and other religious communities by promoting their right to religious freedom. It is also quite possible that the church may work with government or labour or culture in the promotion of justice, peace and human dignity.

There are voices in South Africa who mistakenly calls for the churches' withdrawal from political matters. They do so because they have had bitter experiences of the ways in which politicians can use other institutions of society merely to legitimize their causes and even their criminality as in the time of apartheid. A contextual reading of the signs of the times should have told them by now that the our current politicians are adamant in their use of secular rather than theological justification for political policy. They further misunderstood the foundation whereby the divine mandates work with each other. They work with each other in the interest of the poor and the oppressed, in the interest of justice, the affirmation of disadvantaged people and the human dignity of all. The divine mandates are called to work *in partnership with* each other. The indivisibility of civil society requires this. Defining the relationship in the first place as a working 'with' other institutions of society, religious communities can reposition themselves with integrity as a legitimate sector of society.

The second way in which these mandated institutions of society should inter-relate is for

17. It is perhaps wise to be reminded that Bonhoeffer maintained that his references to the incarnation, cross or resurrection of Jesus, where they appeared separately, did not break the unity of the three. 'It is quite wrong to establish a separate theology of the incarnation, a theology of the cross, or a theology of the resurrection, each in opposition to the others...it is equally wrong to apply the same procedure to a consideration of the Christian life' (E:108).

each other. The divine mandates are called to work *in solidarity for* each other. The indivisibility of the divine authority requires that.

There is also a third way, says Bonhoeffer, in which the divine mandates relate to each other. They are also meant to work *against each other*. It may just happen that the same government may be called to resist injustice even when enacted by the church. The church may also be called to resist unjust government or policies. We have experienced such a situation when apartheid was declared a sin and its theological justification a heresy. The divine mandates are, therefore, also called to work *critically against* each other. The indivisibility of justice requires that. This multiplicity of their interrelatedness protects the mandates internally from sectarianism, sectionalism, tyranny and other forms of injustice. It protects the mandates from situations where people may decide that, since it appears too difficult to do things politically, it may be easier to focus only on one's own institution, e.g. the sphere of the church. An inwardness in the churches' ministry could result from this.

Bonhoeffer placed the church, which is now understood as a mandated system of civil society, in a two-fold relationship to the secular:

> The Christian congregation stands at the point at which the whole world ought to be standing; to this extent it serves as deputy for the world and exists for the sake of the world. On the other hand, the world achieves its own fulfilment at the point at which the congregation stands. The earth is the 'new creation', the 'new creature', the goal of the ways of God on earth (E:266).

The relationship between Christ, reality and virtue hinges on, what Bonhoeffer calls, 'worldly responsibility' (E:283). Transformation happens today in the first place as Jesus is taking form in the church, i.e. the community of disciples. (E:63). However, this has implications for the whole of humanity because the church is nothing but a section of humanity in which Christ has taken form. The point of departure is the body of Christ, the form of Christ is the form of the Church. It has significance for all humanity if the institutional discipleship is exercised in the church in accordance with the pro-nobis concept, i.e. when the church is there for the others.[18] The ethics of the pro-nobis concept does not want to do more than 'help people learn to share life' (E:265). Institutional partnerships are therefore driven by solidarity. In 'the abundant fullness of the concrete tasks and processes of life with all their infinite multiplicity of different motives' (E:265).

Another important question that comes to mind at this juncture is how Dietrich Bonhoeffer protected his praxis-logic theologically from 'the salvation by works' contamination. He responded by saying that the actions of institutional discipleship cannot and should not be set side by side with the actions of God - not even as a thank-offering or sacrifice! The Bible, he said, puts human beings entirely within the action of God (E:27-8). These actions are thus only true when it is fully subordinate to God's action. There is then no strict division possible between the works of God and the actions of institutional disciple. Institutional discipleship is a following not a personal and separate initiative. It is never self-justification or self-glorification. It is nothing less than the doing of God's will! Anyhow, justification stands qualitatively (E:100) in relation to the *Last Word*, i.e. the ultimate. The institutional life of discipleship, in the meantime, before the last Word, Bonhoeffer calls 'life in the penultimate which awaits the ultimate' (E:118). It is the penultimate that materialises as the concrete and social life-setting of discipleship (E:98-

18. Müller GL (1980 'Für Andere Da - Christus, Kirche, Gott in Bonhoeffer Sich der Mündig gewordene Welt.' Pderborn: Bonifacius, 175-89) views this theological concept as Bonhoeffer's central ecclesiological understanding. This is a very important notion which Bonhoeffer sharpened in later years. It is this understanding that led to his participation in the *Resistance*.

119). Penultimate living is transformative life amid the changes of time and the realities of a secular and plural society.

It is precisely with regard to the issue of ultimate and penultimate[19] living that Bonhoeffer defines the penultimate life as a 'preparing of the way' for the just future (Luk 3:4ff; E:110-118). This includes the preaching of the ultimate Word of God, the proclamation of the justification of the sinner by grace only. However, 'the preparing of the way' is also to be understood as 'a formative activity on the very greatest visible scale' (E:112). In the penultimate concern of the mandates is for the dispossessed, the humiliated and the exploited. Therefore, they will jointly secure that the hungry do not go without bread, the homeless without a roof, the dispossessed without justice, the lonely without fellowship, the undisciplined without ordering and the slave without freedom (E:114). This is the 'visible activity' of socio-political and socio-economical magnitude that is formative or, in my own language, transformative. Institutional life in the penultimate is transformative because 'the penultimate does bear a relation to the ultimate '(E:114). It is the 'ethics of formation' that brings about or 'prepares the way' of the trans-form, the coming future, which is already present in Jesus Christ[20].

4. Institutional ethics and the Africa Renaissance

I have attempted to show how Bonhoeffer's idea of a diversity of mandates, rooted in one divine source and seeking an indivisible realization of humanity is instructive to the current South African quest to form partnerships of social structures. His idea avoids a political totalitarianism, a hierarchical social system, a religious dualism, a religio-political fundamentalism as well as a simplistic understanding of relationships in the political community. It also helps the faith communities to position themselves *with, for* and *against* government, the private sector, labour, culture and other social institutions without losing its institutional integrity or religious identity. As such, an ethic of institutional diversity is at the heart of social transformation and the remaking of public life in South Africa.[21]

South Africa has embarked with all of the continent on the journey of the great social awakening, the road towards the African Renaissance. The question arose, whether the issue of an ethic of social institutions is at all relevant to African philosophy and world view. The answer is a resounding: 'Yes'.

Every country in Africa, every town and very tribe has a creation story that depicts a supreme deity as 'creator of the community and all its social structure'.[22] An ethics of social structures has a legitimate place in the African experience. There is a myth that assumes that the African world view does not allow for *critical*-loyalty regarding the institutional relationship, especially not towards rulers and the institution of the state. However, it has been shown, by Basil Davidson and others, that African ethical assumption

19. Schlingensiepen F (1985 'Im Augenblick de Wahrheit - Glaube und Tat im Leben Dietrich Bonhoffers'. München: Kaiser, 27) aptly summarised the position in the following terms: 'Das 'Letzte' ist offensichtlich schwer zu definieren. In frühen Texten ist es der Tod; später ist es die Rechtfertigung des Sünders durch Gott, also die zentrale Aussage des Neuen Testamentes und der Reformation. Das Letzte umfasst Anfang und Ende, es begrenzt alles Vorletzte und setzt es zugleich in Kraft. Das Vorletzte, das Leben des Menschen in dieser Welt mit ihren Ordnungen oder auch ihrem Chaos, darf weder 'als ewige Rechtfertigung für alles Bestehende' missbrauch noch darf es geleugnet werden.'
20. The coming form or trans-form of the world is still the returning Christ (E:324).
21. James R Cochrane ('The Making and Unmaking of Public Life' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, No 100, March 1999:86103) reflects on social ethics in a democratic South Africa with narratives of agents of social responsibility from different social settings and also diverse social institutions.
22. Peter J Paris 1995. 'The Spirituality of African peoples: The search for a common moral discourse'. Minneapolis: Fortress, 58.

has also driven the relationship between the community and the institution of its kingship. Therefore, says Basil Davidson[23]:

> Ideally, the king should be strong and comely, generous of mind, bold in warfare, cunning in council and devout in every day life. He should epitomize a people at one with its moral order, at peace with itself, at every point in harmony with the ancestors 'who brought us into our land and gave us life'. From this it followed that he should never go on reigning when his powers had failed, or when...he 'became tyrannical and departed from the rules of justice'... Then he had to go, no matter how prestigious he might be.

There never existed a naivety in Africa on the need to relate critically to the institution of the state and the power of royalty. At the centre of the interaction between social institutions Africa had always placed ethical dictates. A democracy bring with it new institutions, especially of state, which essentially differ from that of the royalty in Africa. The South Africa government has decided to acknowledge the institution of royalty framed by a particular relationship with government. This implies a more complex structure than in other democracies.

With regard to the multi-sectoral nation of social institutions, Mbiti has indicated how, for instance, family is a central institution of great social ethical importance to the community:

> Kinship is reckoned through blood and betrothal (engagement and marriage). It is kinship which control social relationship, between people in a given community: It governs marital customs and regulations, it determines the behaviour of one individual towards another. Indeed, this sense of kinship binds together the entire life of the 'tribe', and is even extended to cover animals, plants, and non-living objects through the 'totemic' system. Almost all the concepts connected with human relationship can be understood and interpreted through the kinship system. This it is which largely governs the behaviour, thinking and whole life of the individual on the society of which he is a member.[24]

Acknowledging these ethical roots in the African mind, does not imply that an ethic of institutions should uncritically assimilate traditional African forms and institutions. These reference merely attempts to argue that the issue of the ethics of institutions are legitimate African concerns with a long history.

Such an ethic constitutes the legitimacy of institutional partnerships in a democracy without disregarding the reality of a diversity of values and norms, the existing fractures of sectional viewpoints or the validity of conflict among partners.

For South Africans to appropriate Bonhoeffer's ideas we will, therefore, have to revisit his ideas to develop our own understanding of the relationship between citizenship and institutional discipleship. We may even find different or additional mandated spheres in our context.[25] We may also be guided to develop fresh theological views that feed on African resources and provide for a global and multi-religious context. A 'theology of shared-life' is an appropriate backdrop of public discourse. The making and remaking of the ethics of public institutions beckons us to further depths.

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23. Basil Davidson 1969. 'The African Genius: An introduction to African social AND Cultural History'. Boston: Little, brown & Co., 193.
24. John S Mbiti 1970. 'African Religious Philosophy'. New York: Doubleday, 135.
25. Frits de Lange's develops proposals for his own context in his article 'With each other, for each other, against each other: Bonhoeffer's Theory of Mandates as a Theological Contribution to Socio-Ethical Pluralism' written by Frits de Lange, pages 17-18, (unpublished).