
EXPELLED AND PERIPHERAL: THE RESISTANCE OF THE BLACK MARGINALISED MAJORITY AND THE CALL FOR A NEW LIBERATION IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

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Abstract

One of the fundamental quests of Black Liberation Theology was integrated citizenship. It is for this reason that its resistance to apartheid theology and hegemony was a call for liberation of the marginalised majority. Through its theological reflections it challenged the dominant ideology of the time. In post-Apartheid South Africa there is still a need for Black Liberation Theology to engage and challenge those who continue to be economically privileged. In doing so, Black Liberation Theology resists the continual exploitation, marginalisation of the poor, and proclaims liberty to the oppressed through radical voices and praxis. In this article I will focus on the confrontations and contributions of Black Liberation Theology in a country that is characterised by corruption, maladministration, self-enrichment, protests and unemployment. I will also discuss the role of Black Liberation Theology as an active participant in public discourse. This includes the realisation of socio-economic and integrated citizenship

Key Words: Corruption; Maladministration; Protests; Unemployment and Public Discourse; Incarnation; Black Liberation Theology; African epistemology; Black Consciousness and Citizenship

Introduction

In the 1960s Black Theology of Liberation in South Africa was an integral part of the public discourse. It was a vehicle of Black Consciousness and liberation theology in South Africa. Through its critical engagement with the apartheid system it enabled Blacks to recognise their fundamental value, as a result to question the injustices of Apartheid. It is the role of Black Liberation Theology post 1994 to continue challenging the injustices of the past and present. The involvement of Black Liberation Theology in the public discourse could be summarised in Steve Biko's words as follows:

To anyone living in the Black world, the hidden anger and turmoil could always be seen shining through the faces and actions of those voiceless masses but it was never verbalised. Even the active phase, thuggery and vandalism was directed to one's kind – a clear manifestation of frustration (cf. Stubbs 1978:34).

This view is also maintained by Myers regarding countries such as the United States of America and Great Britain, who “both historically took fateful turns toward empire, relentlessly exploiting people and nature in order to amass great wealth and power” (2012:52). In his article of 2010 Ramose explores the notion of the death of democracy and the resurrection of timocracy. He argues that:

While some espouse 'good governance' as a condition of aid, good governance does not necessarily strengthen democracy, nor does it eliminate corruption. Rather, money is the means of corruption and corruption sub-serves the purpose of accumulating more money. It is the ability to undermine democracy and make it stand only as an empty shell (2010:296).

It is within this context that I follow Tshaka's definition of Black Liberation Theology:

First and foremost, it must continue to assert its guerrilla nature. This is to say it must never lose sight of structural racism which in essence justified its existence as a means towards understanding why God created differences. Secondly, a Black Liberation Theology that is not inward looking is one that is able to make the needed assessments in present day South Africa (2012:883).

The above definition points to the strengths of Black Liberation Theology which is its guerrilla nature. Precisely because the notion of guerrilla suggests that the enemy is known, and those who are in the guerrilla 'camp' have the same interests. Moreover, it suggests that Black Liberation Theology does not belong to a particular structure such as the church or the state. Rather it belongs to the masses, the marginalised. It is for this reason that Chinweizu in his article (2007:162) refers to the enemy as the inherited structure from the Apartheid system. Furthermore, it is what Ramose calls timocracy which seems to have penetrated the country, and has led the Black majority to be outcasts in their God-given land. Thus it neither belongs to the church nor the state. Its theological enterprise is to be prophetic and not to be co-opted. The weakness of such a project as pointed out in the definition is its lack of self-assessment. This could also include co-option, which in many instances leads to intellectual cowardness. This cowardness defeats guerrilla nature of its theological project and is also unable to make needed assessments in present day South Africa. It is within this context that I maintain that the resistance of the Black marginalised majority is a call for a new liberation and inclusive citizenship in Post-Apartheid South Africa. Based on the above definition of Black Liberation Theology, the notion of Incarnation as well as Tswana idioms seek to concretise the resistance as being in the margin of society and voices the urgent need for a new type of Black Liberation Theology that finds its purpose in the cited definition. Gaybba looks at the notion of the Incarnation in two dimensions, namely:

Firstly, the role of the incarnation is that it perfects and seals God's unity with humanity.

Secondly, since the incarnation expresses God's radical unity with humanity, it also expresses God's forgiveness of it (2004:182).

It is within such a framework that I use both descriptions of Gaybba (2004) and Nicolson (1997) on the notion of Incarnation. In this article I discuss the notion of citizenship within the framework of Black Liberation Theology and Incarnation in terms of the definitions I have cited above. The service delivery protests as well as the self-interests of those in the leadership (traditional and civil) provide the context in which I locate citizenship as an important aspect of these protests, and the disregard of citizens by government leadership

Expelled and Peripheral

In an article I published (2011), I argued that the ANC led government in "trying to reverse the 350 years of exploitation and economic marginalisation, introduced a programme referred to as affirmative action, and as a result constructed a new empire of Black elites while the majority of Black population continues to live in poverty" (Mothoagae 2011:128). This attempt by the ruling party has not reversed the inequalities of the previous

regime and over 300 years of economic exploitation of the masses. However, it is important to note that I am not against Affirmative Action, Black Economic Empowerment as well as Employment Equity. Yet, at the same time these endeavours have made some improvements in the lives of those who were previously disadvantaged. It is for this reason that Motlhabi makes the following observation:

South Africa's resources, the bulk of which was previously designated to white privilege and opulence under apartheid rule, now have to be spread more evenly and thinly for everybody (2008:13).

It is imperative to understand the history and the cause as this will provide the basis for a deeper understanding of why Black South Africans are still on the fringe. Yet, one needs to also take into account the resistance of the poor against being on the verge of socio-economic structures of the country. Those who are politically connected have managed to access the privileges and wealth that the majority are still lacking. As a result, this has facilitated further expulsion and marginalisation of the poor. This is expressed in phrases such as "levelling the playing fields", "a better life for all". Such rhetoric is purely delusional. It does very little to ease the existing lacuna between those who are destitute on the one hand and those who have experienced economic privilege throughout their lives on the other hand, and those in the centre, who are beginning to experience these opportunities for one reason or the other.

Firstly, the recent service delivery protests are a sign of a continual expulsion and marginalisation of the impoverished Black majority. These protests point to one fundamental issue, that is, the violation of the Bill of Rights enshrined in our constitution. They manifest the betrayal of the liberation ideologies. This denotes a 'paradigm lost', yet at the same time these new problems that are emerging do not mean that the old ones have been entirely solved, argues Motlhabi (2008:13). The marginalisation of the poor is not something completely new, particularly the issue of poverty. The Black bourgeoisie, instead of addressing the unfair history and exclusion from active participation in the country's economy, has left a lot of Black people outside the economic space of the country. In other words, the matter of service delivery also anchors on an open participation. Such an involvement acknowledges the citizenship of the marginalised. It addresses the problem of class, race and gender which continue to manifest and undergo a metamorphosis in various ways 19 years into democracy.

Secondly, the alienation of the poor indicates the problem surrounding leadership in the country. Manala (2010:520) points out that the elected leadership is appointed to render a service to the electorate. Their principal role is that of service and selflessness. Such a function concretises the notion of Incarnation which leads to an assurance of their dignity and value as well as the hope of liberation from their socio-economic conditions, argues Nicolson (1990:210). Lack of acting and facilitating such a task, has led those in leadership to expect to be served rather than to serve. The result of such an attitude has obstructed and delayed service delivery in the country. This is not in accordance with the African proverb of *botho*¹ as well as the Christian model of leadership found in Mark 10:45 and Matthew 20:28.

Thirdly, the expulsion and marginalisation of the poor could also be attributed to the problem of the quality of RDP² houses. The awarding of tenders and the corruption thereof

¹ African way of life that characterizes the being of a person, who is kind to others and always ready to give or offer service without expecting any favour in return.

² Reconstruction and Development Project.

has led to poor construction of RDP houses – all in the name of self-enrichment. This is due to the tenderpreneurship which as a consequence has further put the majority of Black people into the margins. Moreover, tenderpreneurship as one could argue that it has concretised nepotism and the culture of entitlement. Johnson makes the following observation in this regard:

ANC municipal office-holders, who needed encouragement to treat their towns as merely part of a spoils system to be ransacked, happily took lessons and would get rid of trained planners, accountants, engineers and their ilk in order to be able to hand jobs to unqualified cronies or relatives (2009:430).

Perhaps it is such acts that have aggravated the service delivery protests. This view is also maintained by Alexander (2010:37), in saying that poor service delivery can be attributed to a lack of responsibility, accountability, dissatisfaction, grievances and the dispossession of basic human rights. Manala also takes the argument of Alexander further by observing the following regarding the denial of human rights by municipal officials:

One of the most painful stories is the one of the residents of Paterson in the Eastern Cape whose photos were shown on the first page of Daily Sun on Wednesday 20 January 2010 sharing water with a pig. Reports show that the residential area last had fresh tap water in September 2008. This is so, not because there is no money, but because of greed, corruption and mismanagement. Their story reveals that in 2009 their town received R18 million from the government allocated specifically for water (2010:523).

Firstly, the image of what is portrayed in the above-mentioned citation of humans and animals sharing water points in violation of their human rights. In other words the people of Paterson in the Eastern Cape have been stripped of their human dignity, which is a direct disregard of the highest law in the land namely the Constitution. Undoubtedly such an attitude from government officials points to the value of the citizenship of the people of Paterson in the Eastern Cape. Secondly, it further indicates lack of moral discernment and conscience formation. This is because had there been moral discernment and conscience formation; the R18 million provided by the national government would have been used for the common good rather than self-enrichment.

Thirdly, there are two possibilities to this: either those in leadership do not know their primary role. Had that been the case, they would have translated it into a leadership of service and selflessness; or they knew what their responsibilities were and consciously chose not to render these services to the people because they probably saw no need to do so. This in itself points to the perception that because citizens do not complain they are content with the situation they find themselves in. It is in this context that making real the concept of Incarnation and leading the people to an assurance of their dignity and value as well as the hope of liberation that Black Liberation Theology could penetrate the public discourse.

On the contrary lack of responsibility and accountability make the role of conscience even more serious, because such acts have grave moral implications. Slogans such as, “A better life for all”, “levelling the playing fields”, “Together we can do more” and “Economic Freedom in our life time” are rhetoric and do not address the matter at hand – in fact, they are rather deceptive.³ Lack of responsibility indicates that South Africa as a country faces a serious cancer of unethical leadership which is at the centre of the alienation

³ One can compare such rhetoric to a patient with cancer who is taking morphine to ease the pain. While that does not take the cancer away it only eases the pain for a while.

of the majority of poor Black people and not an integral part of the above-mentioned slogans. It is the role of Black Theology of Liberation to challenge such ideologies, to make sense of the Incarnation, African idioms and the ideologies of Black Consciousness and the image of the cross. Moreover, it must also reflect upon what it means to be Black, even more so than what it means to be marginalised. In this way it will be able to uncover the structures and context that forms the Black experience. Its theological interpretation of the socio-economic situation of the marginalised majority will emerge out of the thought forms of the Black experience (Vellem 2010:540).

The Voiceless Voice of the Poor: *Batho Pele*

The slogan “Working together we can do more,” needs to be unpacked in terms of the Black experience since 1994. Firstly, ‘Together’ denotes oneness, participation, a collective mutuality. This is delusional; otherwise the report by Karamoko would have drawn a different picture. Furthermore, the country would have been informed about where its resources are going. This includes proper consultation regarding the re-demarcation of municipalities. On the contrary it has been the opposite. Karamoko in his report points out the following regarding service delivery protests in the country:

Protesters often cite the lack of accountability of government officials, along with the absence of public participation as factors that further aggravate their service delivery complaints (2011:2).

It follows then: How can one speak of ‘Together’ while it is evident that there is no such a thing as ‘Together’? Secondly, “We can do more” is also problematic. “We can do more” denotes a collaboration, consultation and ownership. The figures indicate the opposite according to Karamoko:

During 2007, approximately 41.66% of protests were violent, including a high of 48% in the 3rd quarter and a low of 23.08% in the 4th quarter. In 2008, approximately 38.13% of protests were violent, with a high of 45.45% in the 2nd quarter and a low of 34.28% in the 4th quarter. During the 2009, approximately 44.16% of protests were violent, with a high of 52.38% in the 4th quarter and a low of 21.95% in the 1st quarter. In 2010, approximately 55.64% of protests were violent, containing a high of 73.33% in the 3rd quarter, and a low of 35.29% in the 2nd quarter. Thus far in 2011, 59.09% of protests have been violent, with a high of 61.54% in the 1st quarter and 55.56% in the 2nd quarter (2011 12).

The above analysis puts into doubt the very slogan of the ruling party, “Together we can do more”. It also situates the issue of citizenship at the heart of all these protests, and forms an integral part of the voice of the penurious people of South Africa. Their embarking on countless protests indicates their voiceless voice as indicated in the above-mentioned citation. It is for this reason that Vellem (2010:556) argues that, in competing for a space in public life, it is ideological and Black Theology of Liberation has to deal with the hegemonomies that perpetuate the impoverishment of the needy and the degradation of all creation today.

Thirdly, one could ask the following question: What causes the citizens of the country to be voiceless? I would argue that there is a clear indication that those who raise these issues on whatever platform have not been afforded the space to voice their dissatisfaction. Yet at the same time, the issue of patriotism is not at the centre of these protests but how the dissatisfaction expressed through protests, is interpreted by the government. These protests have been about service delivery, yet, at the same time, underneath it all lies the

question of citizenship. This includes active participation. It is a call for their voices to be heard, a realisation that they too have an active role to play regarding demarcation of municipalities, health systems, infrastructure, education and the use of public funds. Lack of communication, transparency and pretentious character of the leaders thereof have caused the voice of the majority to be voiceless.

Fourthly, another contributing factor is corruption and maladministration. This has exacerbated the problem and further made it evident that the voice and integrity of the majority is of no consequence. The report of the auditor-general in 2012 painted a disturbing picture regarding the use of state resources for service delivery. Recently, the government used billions for consultation agents. Yet there are communities that continue to use bucket toilet systems, uncovered toilets and some pupils still attended their schooling under trees and walk many kilometres to school. Russell makes the following observation in this regard:

One state employee who would not give her name gave the local government 'three marks out of ten'. There was only one clinic for five thousand people. It was always full. They still use the bucket toilet system at home rather than a flush lavatory. 'The community has been observing in silence, but no longer' (2009:97).

The above citation does not reflect a good picture in the twenty-first century, where things are accessible, including sanitation. Education forms part of service delivery. It is the responsibility of the government to educate its people. In 2012 one of the most unjust acts against the marginalised by the provincial governments was the misuse of funds in Limpopo and Eastern Cape provinces when they failed to provide textbooks to the pupils. The Department of Basic Education subjected both provinces to national administration and was unsuccessful in providing textbooks to the affected learners in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo. This detrimentally affected the education of thousands of learners. Further it did not end the shortage of textbooks in the classrooms and provided access to a much wider range of sources and knowledge than only relying on one text. It deprived them of an equal education. This somehow suggests that they are of lower class while at the same time their contemporaries in the rest of the country were receiving education. An action like this devalues the right and dignity of these learners to have an equal education. Thus the vicious circle of poverty and dependency remains. Chisholm makes the following observation regarding the text book saga:

Between June and July, there were a number of revelations linking what became known as the text book debacle with corruption. Into the open were brought reports by a dismissed administrator with full details about fraud, corruption, mismanagement and maladministration in the province; an early whistle-blower left in the doldrums; and a shadowy textbook distributor with close links to the ruling party was fighting the cancellation of a contract through the courts (2012:1).

This further raises the question: Can a nation afford to neglect education of its own citizens, at the expense of those in power empowering themselves with the resources of a country, rather than investing in its own citizens? It is important that such issues are reflected upon, based on what Chisholm points out regarding the eradication of inequality and poverty in the society. This, according to him, will reduce corruption and enable the people and the country to develop. Such actions stand in contrast with one of the Tswana idioms that says *ngwana sejo wa tlhakanelwa*.⁴

⁴ *Ngwana sejo wa tlhakanelwa* literally means "a child belongs to the whole community."

This stands against the notion of Incarnation as inserting divinity into humanity. Luke 4:18-19 becomes a theological framework in employing the image of Jesus as the liberator of the poor – this contextualisation of Luke 4:18-19 was applied by Black Liberation Theology during apartheid. Today this text is as important as it was during the struggle. It portrays Jesus as still relevant, more so in post 1994 democratic South Africa. Another important element is the emphasis on Black Consciousness ideologies. Here lies the real crux of the matter regarding liberation, particularly the notion of new liberation post 1994. The image of Jesus as a liberator living amongst those who continue to be marginalised and Black Consciousness as a change of mindset are interconnected. This view is summed up by Nicolson as follows:

It seems to me that it is in seeing Jesus as human, yet as one who knew God loved him and had a profound destiny for him, that the needs for Black consciousness are more powerfully met. This Jesus provides hope and evidence that Black people can be victors, not victims (1990:212).

I would like to think that the poor through protests are saying: “We are not going to be victims anymore”. Protests are expressive of the call for the eradication of corruption, maladministration and self-enrichment of government officials. Their voiceless voice echoes the following: we have also contributed to the liberation of the country. The words of Jesus in Luke 4:18-19 “proclaim a year of favour from the Lord”, were also proclaimed to them also. This year of favour as well as the Akan⁵ idiom that says: “Borrowed water quenches no thirst” challenge the notion that we have fought for the country, we deserve the best, we know what is best for you.

Social Justice: Speaking Truth to Power

It is undeniable that inequality has been a constant feature in human history. There are ideologies that seem to suggest that it is part of the divine plan. In other words, on the one hand, there are those predestined to be poor and serve the rich. On the other hand there are those who have been destined to be superior and to be served. This view is also observed by Webber in the publication edited by Ware:

Slaves were taught that it was God’s design, as decreed by the Holy Scriptures, that they, as the sons and daughters of Ham, be servants of whites into eternity. The life of hewer of wood and carrier of water was not to be thought of as a curse, however. Rather it was to be recognised as a blessing in disguise; God’s means of providing a road to salvation for the pagan African (2002:9).

One of the radical Christian writers, Pelagius as cited in Bradstock, makes the following assertion:

We possess equally with others all the things which are not under our control but which we receive by God’s dispensation, and on unjust and unequal terms only the things which are entrusted and subjected to our own rule (2012:230).

This statement by Pelagius points also to the sharing of possessions for mutual benefit. Moreover, the parable of the Vineyard emphasises also the need to prioritize satisfaction of the basic human needs, over the individual covetousness (Bradstock 2012:229). It is unquestionable that in South Africa there is a huge gap between the haves and the have nots. The public outcry through protests is a sign of this reality.

⁵ The Akan is one of the many ethnic tribes in Ghana.

When one deliberates on the unwarranted amount of time and energy the church has devoted to what Chris Marshall calls “Pelvic issues, sexuality, reproduction, and abortion – which receive nothing like the same degree of attention in scripture” (2012:230). While it is important for the church to seriously participate in issues of social justice, it is primarily the task of Black Liberation Theology to contribute to contemporary discourse in weaving together the experience of the first century Christians expressed in the New Testament and that of the marginalised poor. The idea of theology is to provide debates giving insights into the faith, but at the same time it is to raise complex issues such as the exploitation and marginalisation of the poor and when it suites them they are valuable electorate. This includes challenging the misrepresentation of the ancestors and Christian hymns by the ruling party, with phrases such as: “We believers know that Jesus will come back, we say the ANC will rule until he comes back” (Willcock 20 April 2011); “ANC membership card is your ticket to heaven”; “The ancestors will turn their backs against you and you’ll have bad luck forever;” “If you vote for the ANC you are choosing to go to heaven;” “When you don’t vote for the ANC, you should know that you are choosing that man who carries a fork, who cooks people.” Nelson Mandela once said: “When I get to heaven, the first thing I am going to do is look for the ANC branch” (Sampson, Mail & Guardian July 18-24, 2003). A further example is the following statement by the incumbent president of Zimbabwe that:

The MDC will never be allowed to rule this country – never ever. Only God, who appointed me, will remove me – not the MDC, not the British. Only God will remove me! (2008:1).

Quite recently the incumbent President of South Africa stated that “Businesses which support the ANC will prosper” (*City Press*, 11 December 2012). This is an indication that there is a lack of moral consciousness. It is imperative for Black Liberation Theology to bring to the public deliberation and moral gravity that cannot be generated simply by negotiation of balanced self-interests. In other words just as the prophets spoke the truth so Black Liberation Theology has to speak the truth to those in power, because by its very nature Black Liberation Theology is action.

Nineteen years into democracy the question of social justice is still as rife as in the time of apartheid. The building of the president’s private house using tax payers’ money has intensified this issue. While the president, on the one hand, has insisted he was not aware of the extensions made at his private house, as well as the amount spent, the whole matter still raises serious moral questions. On the other hand one thing is clear and that is that R248 million has been used to upgrade his compound. Furthermore, *City Press* newspaper announced the following findings in its issue dated 11 December 2012:

There is no bond registered against Zuma family’s property. Public works has used the National Key Points Act of 1980 to justify refusing to release information on what exactly R248 million was spent on to upgrade Zuma’s compound. The land on which Zuma’s home stands is owned by the Ingonyama Trust, headed by King Goodwill Zwelithini, which manages about 32% of all in KwaZulu-Natal on behalf of the state for the benefit of its occupants.

One the other hand South African traditional kings cost the country millions a year. *News24* reported as follows on the use of taxpayers’ money:

KwaZulu-Natal last year paid R59m for Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini and his royal household, which included 27 children (*News24* January 28, 2013).

It is therefore the task of Black Liberation Theology to engage with such issues, as much as it engaged the apartheid government regarding its violation of human rights. This further shows that there is a clear denial of conscience. Perhaps conscience as the voice and law of God does not make an impact in the lives of those who see the state as a fountain of self-enrichment. This also stands against our African epistemologies and the moral foundation of teachings such as *kgosi ke kgosi ka morafe*.⁶ The request of the Zulu king for an “additional R18m to build a palace for the youngest of his six wives” clearly indicates that as a nation we have a misconception of what leadership is all about (*News24* January 28, 2013). Another example was “the Eastern Cape’s four kings each received a brand new Mercedes Benz ML320CDI of approximately R703 000 each in the past year” (*News24* January 28, 2013).

If my supposition is correct African knowledge systems and its moral formation found in the idioms is not reflected currently by the leadership. Though they use slogans such as *Batho pele*,⁷ yet the self-enrichment of government officials and the continual accumulation of wealth by our traditional kings reflects the exact opposite of what is meant by *batho pele*. This includes lack of consultation on matters of the running and administration of municipalities. The Zamdela Township illustrates this in the following manner:

On 23 January 2013 the residents of Zamdela Township in the Free State Province entered into a violent strike against their incorporation into the municipality of Parys. Their main objection was that they were not consulted properly. The Minister of Co-operative Governance, Richard Baloyi ultimately had to call a halt to the municipal re-demarcation (Hosken, Nair & Child, *The Times* 23 January 2013).

On the same issue of *batho pele*, one sees the contradiction in the exposure of ministers of Justice and Constitutional Development, of Police, as well as the Minister of Public Works when they had a press conference on 27 January 2013 regarding the Nkandla saga. The minister of Public Works admitted to irregularities relating to the incumbent president of South Africa’s private residence yet at the same time refused to say what these irregularities were. Furthermore, he refused to be specific about the construction and upgrading of the home. He also refused to apologise to the public when asked if “he would apologise to the public for the morally wrong spending.” In his reply the minister said “the government would not” (Williams & Chauke, *The Times* 28 January 2013). Such examples reflect badly on the government officials and the country’s democracy. Without doubt they point to Ramose’s assertion that timocracy has replaced democracy as I have argued previously. Yet the government is supposed to be of the people for the people. Black Liberation Theology has to theologise about Black people and reflect on their experience of rejection, discrimination, oppression and marginalisation.

I would like to argue that since Incarnation means identifying with humanity, it also expresses relating to humanity’s weakness, suffering and pain. In a nutshell it is empathizing with the struggles of the people. Luke 4:18-19 is one of the examples of Incarnation identifying with humanity:

Unrolling the scroll he found the place where it is written: The spirit of the Lord is on me, for he has anointed me to proclaim the good news to the afflicted. He has sent me to

⁶ Tswana proverb which literally means a King is a King through his people.

⁷ It literally means the people first.

proclaim liberty to captives, sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free, to proclaim a year of favour from the Lord (*The New Jerusalem Bible*, 1985).

It raises issues of social justice, speaks truth to power and affirms those who are destitute and powerless. This text, according to Nicolson, puts salvation into a social and practical context as the Old Testament does. In terms of the South African issue the social and practical context is the huge gap between the poor and the rich. Moreover, it underlines the use of R248 million for one person's needs while there are people who are imprisoned by poverty and unemployment. A sense of entitlement by traditional kings for more subsidies, while their people are suffering and have no place to stay or basic sanitation further contextualises Luke 4:18-19 and the need for extensive public discourse. This includes those pupils of Limpopo and the Eastern Cape who spent half of the year without textbooks. While the constitution proclaims liberty, their story says the opposite. In their commentary (2007), Pao and Schnabel write a commentary on Luke and make the following observation:

The poor, then, symbolize not only Israel in suffering, but also those who are without means and the outcasts in general (2007:289).

From this citation the poor in this regard are the Black majority, who have to use the buckets, utilise uncovered toilets and wait for the crumbs that fall from the tables of the rich. According to Pao and Schnabel the year of favour citation in Luke may not necessarily refer to the Jubilee year. Yet at the same time one can concede that the Jubilee connection does highlight the social, economic and political impact of the arrival of the eschatological era. One can draw the following conclusion regarding the year of favour as found in Luke 4:18-19. It is a call for boundaries to be established on the accumulation of personal wealth, so as to enhance the welfare of the wider community. The service delivery protests point to this lack of addressing excessive accumulation of wealth at the expense of the common good. It is the task of Black Liberation Theology to challenge excessive exploitation of state funds for personal gain. From the citation of Luke 4:18-19 it can be said that social justice is more necessary now than ever before. It is imperative according to Biko that:

Black Consciousness is an attitude and a way of life. Its essence is the realisation by the Black man needs to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression – the Blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It is based on a self-examination which ultimately led them to believe that by seeking to run away from themselves and emulate the white man, they are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them Black (cf. Stubbs 1978:91-2).

Looking Ahead: *Kgosi ke Kgosi ka Morafi*

Justice finds a way of prevailing over injustice. This can be summed up by Biko (cf. Stubbs 1978:30) in the following manner: "Ground for a revolution is always fertile in the presence of absolute destitution". The leaders of the country are focusing on themselves rather than those they are supposed to serve. The above discussion shows that the leaders have moved from the model of leadership that is service to a self-enriching leadership. Furthermore, the lack of accountability and remorse for misusing the public funds indicates this move from service to self. Interestingly enough, the leaders have found reasons to justify their overspending. Yet at the same time there are twelve million people going to bed hungry in South Africa each night. Keri Uys, spokesperson of Food Bank South Africa, is quoted as follows regarding the issue of food:

South Africa is in dire straights. The entire country is affected. It is not just rural areas. Every day millions of people go to bed hungry. There are children whose daily food is half a white-bread sandwich. How can you bring up a nation on this? The implication is death sentence (Hosken, *The Times*, 30 January 2013).

The events in the country may suggest that the future looks blurred. However, the question is: does it? I'm of the opinion that that is not at all the case. There is light at the end of the tunnel. For us to reach it there are serious reflections that we, the people of South Africa, ought to have – Luke 4:18-19, as I have outlined previously, the notion of the Incarnation, as well as the ideologies of Black Consciousness point to these elements of self-introspection. Moreover, the wisdom of our African idioms remind us what we are about and who we are, both of which the RDP⁸ finds as its basis for its policy framework.

There is a Tswana idiom that says *Kgosi ke Kgosi ka morafi* – those in leadership be reminded that one is a leader because of the people. Another one is *Batho pele*; it emphasises the importance of putting people first instead of self-interests and self-enrichment. *Ngwana sejo wa tlhakanelwa* – it draws the communal aspect of the community. This is one thing that seems to be neglected by the leaders, as well as the rest of the country. All of these idioms remind us of the importance of other people as well as leadership and servant leadership. This includes patriotism which is something that we seem to have forgotten.

Former president Nelson Mandela makes the following remarks regarding the socio-economic situation of the country in the Reconstruction and Development Programme document:

Democracy will be little content, and indeed, will be short lived if we cannot address our socio-economic problems with an expanding and growing economy. The ANC is committed to carrying out these programmes with the support of its alliance and our people. From 26-28 April (1994) each of us has a right to exercise a choice – without doubt one of the most important choices any of us will ever make. That choice will determine our socio-economic future and that of our children. Join us in the patriotic endeavour to ensure that all our people share in that future (1994:3).

This statement by Mandela also finds its basis from some of the idioms I have highlighted above. This includes the notion of the Incarnation, the proclamation of Jesus in Luke 4:18-19 and Black Consciousness ideologies. It is from all of these that the future looks promising. It is through the use of these frameworks that the message of the gospel becomes a true Incarnation of God. Furthermore, social justice should not be understood as a pie in the sky.

Conclusion

The injustices that the Black majority are experiencing have become the context of their theology. This article has attempted to discuss the expulsion and marginalisation from participating actively as citizens of a country. The lack of accountability and transparency from our leaders has cemented their voicelessness. One has also dealt with the notions of Incarnation, Black consciousness, and liberation as an integral part of the fight against this marginalisation. Luke 4:16-19 could be used as one of texts in conscientizing the people, reminding the leaders that: *kgosi ke kgosi ka morafe, batho pele and botho* is hurting with those who are hurting, rejoicing with those who rejoice. It further points to those who are

⁸ Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework.

expelled and are on the periphery. This is an important aspect of Incarnation, consciousness and freedom. This is self-giving and compassion rather than exhibiting dictatorial leadership or lack of compassion, that compels the resistance of the marginalised majority to see the need for a new liberation in post-apartheid South Africa. This becomes a matter of social justice that is based on reciprocity and justice speaking the truth to power.

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