

# The Government as a moral agent in the process of moral renewal in South Africa: a Christian ethical perspective

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## **ABSTRACT**

**Title: The government as moral agent in the process of moral renewal in South Africa: A Christian ethical perspective**

**Keywords: Moral decay, Moral renewal, moral regeneration, public morality, core moral issues, moral agent, role of the government, Christian ethical perspective, Constitutional perspective**

South African society relapsed into widespread moral decay. This process started with the inception of apartheid society and is still progressing. The moral decay of the South African society manifest in many destructive patterns of living, namely; sexual immorality, reversed racism, unemployment, poverty, food insecurity, xenophobia, strikes, gambling, debts, drug/ substance abuse, human trafficking and corruption. Argued within the Reformed paradigm drawn from John Calvin, Abraham Kuyper, Karl Barth, B.J Van Der Walt and South Africa Constitution the government can be regarded as a moral agent and has a responsibility to inspire and direct moral renewal in South Africa within the framework of its role in governing the South Africa society.

These pointers should be noted drawn from these prominent Reformed theologians:

- South African leaders should be reminded that civil servant should not be in the office to serve themselves, but to serve the people who elected them and ultimately God who place them in the office. Merit should be considered when placing civil servant in the office.
- Freedom of religion should mean freedom of religion whereby religious bodies should participate and have more influence in issues that affect our country morally.
- South Africa promotes reconciliation but is not yet fully reconciled. We should promote integration of society and stop division on basis of race and class.
- Public justice must be strengthened. No one should be the above the law. Politicians are behaving as if they are above the law. There should be good

cooperation between law enforcement agencies and the justice system. Good legislation must be put in place.

- The South Africa government lacks consultation and monitoring. Basic service delivery is in demand and the government is failing on reaching those demand. For the government to reach those demand, the public service needs to be guided by certain principles including accountability, honesty, impartiality, service quality, professionalism and motivation.

Government institutions and churches must stand up to fight moral decay. We were supposed to look on politicians for moral regeneration but most politicians are morally degenerate. South Africa need strong uncorrupted leaders who have vision, merit and administrative skills so he/she can start to lead South Africa towards peace and prosperity. There should be a set of moral standard that need to be put in place to rescue South Africa from moral decay and lawlessness. A democratic state based on the rule of law could not exist or function if the government ignored its constitutional obligations and failed to abide by court orders. As ordinary citizens, we are concerned with the integrity of the rule of law and the administration of justice. The undermining of the rule of law by government is often done gradually and surreptitiously. The courts must fearlessly address this through its judgments and not hesitate to keep the executive within the law. Corruption is likely to spread or exist if government officials, law enforcement agency, justice system, managers and citizenry observe unethical behaviour but ignore it.

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## **CHAPTER ONE:**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 MORAL DECAY IN THE PRE-1994 SOCIETY AND THE POST-1994 SOCIETY**

The recent history of South Africa indicates that this society relapsed into widespread moral decay. This process started with the inception of Apartheid and the birth of that society and is still continuing. The great moral evils of the past were racism, inequality, segregation, discrimination, capital punishment and oppression. Louw (2004:75) also emphasizes that Apartheid produced a number of negative outcomes.

Under influence of Apartheid, indigenous inhabitants became second-class citizens without the civil rights of their White rulers (Walshe, 1983:2). A Black man was not allowed to own anything of value. They were not good enough to study at any university of their choice, to own farms, to stay in towns, and to marry whoever they want. There were places that were meant for Whites only. Black South Africans grew up with an inferiority complex. This led to the development of an attitude of “us against them” (cf. Meiring, 1975:64; Louw, 2004:61). Even now most Blacks still feel that the medicine for a Black man is the White man, meaning that a Black man cannot achieve anything without the help of White man. This is caused by the fact that Blacks are still economically disadvantaged. Economy rested with the White minority; Blacks are still struggling to achieve both economic and mental freedom (Ramusi, 1975:119,122). There are still economic imbalances as a result of the previous system (Vorster, 2004:147). The Apartheid ideology had a negative influence on morality and damaged the economy and unity of South Africans. Poverty amongst Black South Africans is one of the legacies of Apartheid.

However, the biggest moral demon of Apartheid was the Apartheid ideology itself. The Afrikaner leaders were convinced that the growth of a stable Black working class would threaten White economic and socio-political survival, and they therefore introduced a wide range of repressive and discriminatory measures designed not only to stem the tide of African urbanization and break working-class resistance, but also to protect the position of the White workers and their petty-bourgeois supporters

(Ngcokovane, 1989:35). Segregation, racism, inequality and the misuse of power by state leaders were the means through which Apartheid was enforced. Proponents of Apartheid argued that Apartheid is a realistic alternative to what they call a 'dangerous' option of integrating the "swart gevaar" ["Black danger"] (Ngcokovane, 1989:82; cf. Vorster, 2004:144).

The present democratic government has been in power for more than twenty years now. The struggle against Apartheid and segregation is now arguably over, but racism has taken a new form and is continuing. The system of Apartheid has been abolished. Much was expected from the new Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Nevertheless, a tragic facet of the new South Africa is that the moral decay has not decreased or stopped. On the contrary, to a certain extent it has increased dramatically. Coetzee (2004:338) attests that "various aspects of the ANC government's policy are experienced by many people and minority groups as new forms of structural violence that have replaced the structural violence of Apartheid".

The following examples can be used to clarify the concern with moral decay in South Africa. During the 9<sup>th</sup> International Anti-Corruption Conference (IACC) held in Durban from 9 to 15 October 1999, Minnaar delivered a paper claiming that:

"Prior to the first-ever democratic elections in South Africa held in 1994 the authorities had never taken the issue of corruption and moral decay seriously or faced it in a systematic and coherent manner. In the post-1994 period with democratic changes that occurred, the media tended to report to a greater extent than previously the incidence of corruption, especially within higher echelons of the new government. This, in my opinion, erroneously created the impression that the new government had ushered in a period of unprecedented growth in corruption, bribery, malfeasance, graft, nepotism and patronage within its ranks and within the public service." (Minnaar, 1999).

A second example is the high level of crime. According to Steinberg (2001:2)

"Crime, and fear of crime, is as old as South Africa itself. Fear in this country is saturated with politics; it is the product of generations of estrangement between races, classes and individuals. We are preoccupied with revenge; we worry that it will burst its walls."

Several reasons are given for the current high crime rate. According to Shaw (2002:1)

“The Apartheid order generated crime rather than controlling it. Social dislocation as a result of Apartheid policies gave rise to conditions conducive to criminality and moral decay. The police were agents of a state which created crimes in its concern to erect moral, economic and political boundaries between the statutory defined races. Little attempt was made by the police to reduce crime in Black areas, the majority of police resources being concentrated in White towns and suburbs. Black people were policed for control and not crime prevention”.

As a result the crime rate surged. Poor South Africans suffer the most (Lamprecht, 2015). Steinberg (2001:1) claims that “If the South African economy offered everyone the chance to prosper, few would steal a gun to earn a living”. In support of Steinberg, Burger (2007:47) says “street crime, for example, is rooted in poverty, but not all poor people are criminals”. Burger further says that other causes of the rise in crime are “racism and class struggle, economic conditions, social conditions, cultural conditions, demographics, history, biological and/or psychiatric factors”. The argument by senior police officers that crime is “spiralling out of control” was opposed by Mbeki, who argued that such statements drove away investors and ruined the image of the country abroad. Concerning the high rate of crime, the government argued consistently (and in most cases correctly) that crime was stable when many citizens thought that it was increasing dramatically (Shaw, 2002:83-84).

The latest statistics revealed to Parliament indicate that violent crime remains a significant concern. The number of crimes reported during the period April 2008 to March 2009 increased by less than 2%, with more than 11 600 reported reductions in overall contact and contact-related crimes year-on-year, which includes murder, attempted murder and assault (Pasco, 2009:1). In 2015, the number of murders registered in South Africa during the 2014/2015 policing financial year increased by 4.6% from the previous year, with 17 805 people being killed in the 12 months between April 2014 and March 2015 (Anon., 2015a). Shankman (2008:1) quoted Safety and Security minister Charles Nqakula, saying “The government is still concerned that, while crime rate is going down, the levels of crime continue to be

unacceptably high. The Police said crime statistics from April 2007 to March 2008 show the number of murders dropped by 4.7% to 18 487, compared with the previous year” (cf. Van der Walt, 2011:12).

The moral decay of the South African society manifested in many other destructive patterns of living. These are amongst others:

- Sexual immorality
- Reversed racism
- Unemployment, poverty and food insecurity
- Xenophobia
- Strikes
- Gambling and debts
- Drug/substance abuse and human trafficking
- Corruption

Can the moral decay facing South African society be related to both the governments of the past and the present? If so, what should the government do to rectify the situation? At the foundation of the questions lies the question: Can a government be regarded as a moral agent? This investigation considers this question in view of the recent South African socio-political history. It also addresses the role a government should play in a situation of moral decay with specific reference to the future of South Africa.

## **1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT**

The South African society needs moral regeneration. This investigation considers the role that the government of the day can and should play in such a moral renewal. In view of South Africa in a democratic era, “Corruption has enormous negative consequences for the development of an orderly and peaceful society. While South Africa is in the process of nation-building, the culture of corruption endangers the social fibre of society and inhibits moral renewal” (Vorster, 2012:134). The problem can therefore be formulated as follows: How can the government as a moral agent in the moral regeneration of South Africa fulfil their calling in the contemporary South

African moral crisis? This question probes us to deal with the following related questions:

- What is the role of a government in public morality?
- Is the South African government playing the role of being a moral agent?
- What are the core moral issues facing the South African government?
- What are the proposed guidelines or method to be used by government in the process of moral regeneration?

### **1.3 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

#### **1.3.1 Aim**

The main aim of the study is to investigate the moral role of the government concerning moral issues affecting South Africa. This study is done from the perspective of the Reformed paradigm. Furthermore, the investigation proposes guidelines or a method to be used by the South African government to play its role in moral renewal.

#### **1.3.2 Objectives**

The objectives of this study are following:

- to establish the role and the principles of government from a Christian perspective and Reformed paradigm;
- to ascertain whether the government is a moral agent in the development of public morality and to evaluate the role of the present government;
- to identify the core moral issues at stake; and
- to provide a Christian ethical perspective and proposed guidelines to be used by the state in the process of moral regeneration.

#### **1.3.3 Division of Chapters**

- Chapter 1: Research proposal
- Chapter 2: The role of a government in public morality

- Chapter 3: Ascertaining the role of the government as moral agent
- Chapter 4: Core moral issues facing the South African government and society
- Chapter 5: Guidelines to be used by the government in the process of moral renewal
- Chapter 6: Recapitulatory comments

#### **1.4 CENTRAL THEORETICAL ARGUMENT**

Seen from the perspective of the Reformed paradigm, the government can be regarded as a moral agent and has a responsibility to inspire and direct moral renewal in South Africa within the framework of its role of governing the South African society.

#### **1.5 RESEARCH METHOD**

This ethical study of the role of the government in the process of the moral renewal of South Africa is founded in the Reformed paradigm, which acknowledges the authority of Scripture over life in its entirety. Since we are living in a pluralistic secular state, Christian apologetics need to be revived. If we want to experience moral renewal, we cannot depend on secularism for answers but from the Word of God. In 1Peter 3:15-16, Philippians 1:7 and 2 Corinthians 5:11 we learn that Christians should be ready to offer answers, defend, confirm and use persuasion of the Gospel to contribute positively to the community (cf. Rabali, 2002:435). 2 Timothy 3:16-17 also elaborates on the usefulness of the Word of God with regard to teaching, rebuking, correcting and training in righteousness. The study will be done by way of a comparative literary study.

## 1.6 SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION

PROBLEM STATEMENT	AIM AND OBJECTIVES	CHAPTER DIVISION
How can the government as a moral agent in moral regeneration fulfil its calling in the contemporary South African moral crisis?	To present a central theoretical argument for this study: Seen from the perspective of the Reformed paradigm, the government can be regarded as a moral agent and has a responsibility to inspire and direct moral renewal in South Africa within the framework of its role of governing the South African society.	Chapter One: Introduction
What is the role of government in public morality?	To establish the role and the principles of the government from a Christian perspective and within a Reformed paradigm.	Chapter Two: The role of a government in public morality
Is the South African government playing the role of being a moral agent?	To ascertain whether the government is a moral agent in the development of public morality and to evaluate the role of the present government to determine whether they are successful or not in applying moral principles.	Chapter Three: Ascertaining the role of the government as moral agent
What are the core moral issues at stake?	To identify the core moral issues at stake.	Chapter Four: Core moral issues facing the South African government and

		society
What guidelines or methods can be used by the government in the process of moral regeneration?	To provide a Christian ethical perspective and proposed guideline or method to be used by government in the process of moral renewal.	Chapter Five: Guideline to be used by the government in the process of moral regeneration.
Highlighting of important findings and the contribution of this study.	To provide a flow of argument and summary of Chapter One to Chapter Five.	Chapter Five: Recapitulatory comments

## **CHAPTER TWO:**

### **THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN PUBLIC MORALITY**

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

The aim and objective of this chapter is to establish the role of the government from a Christian perspective and a constitutional perspective respectively, but all guided by a Reformed paradigm. The Reformed paradigm forms the central perspective of this study. The researcher believes that Reformed theology has a role to play in issues that affect morality.

There is no country that can be governed successfully without a good government in place or good leadership in power. Pippert (1991:119) says “All of us, the meek and the mighty, have power. But those who are in positions of leadership and authority possess a disproportionate amount of power. Persons in leadership and authority wield their power in ways that have vast implications for all of us”. South Africa is governed by a multi-party government. Since the dawn of democracy in South Africa the government has been led by the African National Congress. Within the new democratic dispensation South African citizens started to enjoy human rights, which are protected by the Constitution in the Bill of Rights. As citizens within a democratic system, South Africans generally now have the freedom and human rights they longed to have in the past, yet there are minorities who hold different views. Van der Walt (1996:6) confirms this by saying:

“As South African citizens we have succeeded in achieving a radical political transformation in a peaceful way. We have a new democratic constitution etc. Some are quite happy with the new political dispensation. Others lament the fact that we are now living in a secular state. Others are obsessed by the threat of all kinds of moral decline in the country”.

The concerns of the minority will not be disregarded in this study.

The Reformed paradigm confesses and believes in the authority of Scripture. The principles that are used to evaluate the role of the government in public morality are

derived from the views of four prominent Reformed theologians namely John Calvin, Abraham Kuyper, Karl Barth and South African Reformed Christian philosopher B.J. van der Walt. In addition, this chapter also aims to establish the role of the government in public morality based on the liberal constitutional perspective. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa is used as a primary source in this regard. The discussion clearly points out the principles that will be used to ascertain whether the government is playing the role of being an agent in public morality or not.

## **2.2 CHRISTIAN ETHICAL PERSPECTIVE**

### **2.2.1 The perspectives of prominent Reformed theologians**

This section first considers the backgrounds of each of the mentioned Reformed theologians to justify why they are considered prominent theologians and philosophers, specifically with regard to the relationship between the church and the state.

John Calvin is considered one of the most prominent Reformed theologians of the 16th century. His theological viewpoints earned him high regard among Reformers, even to the point where they started calling themselves Calvinist and their theology Calvinism. He is considered the successor of Martin Luther, who first broke away from the Roman Catholic Church due to their belief in the absolute authority of the Pope. John Calvin is most well-known for his Institutes, with which he made an impact on the fundamental doctrines of Protestantism. In Book IV Part XXV of Calvin's Institutes, he deals clearly with his theological perspective of the church and the state. Schulze (1984:226) considers John Calvin relevant to our times even if things have changed drastically because Calvin understood that the Bible is not time-bound, but time-addressing. The Bible is relevant in all times. Calvin clearly distinguishes between the doctrine of faith and a life of faith, religion and morality, dogmatics and ethics, church and the state, but all these aspects are so integrally interwoven that they can never be isolated from each other. All ethics is rooted in dogma, and it grows on it (Van Wyk, 1984:23). Calvin's perspective unlock for us the principles that clear shows the role of the government in public morality. His views are clearly outlined in 2.2.1.1 of this study.

Abraham Kuyper is considered a highly influential religious and political leader of Dutch Calvinism in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. A convinced Calvinist and a distinctly modern public figure, Kuyper held a wide variety of roles over the course of his life - minister, newspaper editor, educational innovator, politician, religious reformer and a prime minister of the Netherlands from 1901 to 1905 (cf. Bratt, 1998:1). Kuyper's life demonstrates how devotees of any faith can carry on a responsible public life in contention - and concert - with people of other convictions. Mouw (2011:4) witnesses that, "Kuyper placed a strong emphasis on the supreme Lordship of Jesus Christ over all spheres of social, political, and economical life." Kuyper had this deeper conviction of the supremacy of Christ that won the heart of many theologians who consider him a prominent theologian of the 20th century when he proclaims that, "There is not a square inch in the whole domain of our human existence over which Christ, who is Sovereign over all, does not cry: 'Mine!'" (Bratt, 1998:461; Mouw, 2011:4). Kuyper does not see government as the by-product of human perversity, but a natural provision for regulating – "ordering" - the complexity of created cultural life. Kuyper (1931:92) contends that political authority in an un-fallen world would not have taken the form of coercive nation-states; rather there would have emerged "one organic world empire, with God as it's King; exactly what is prophesied for the future which awaits us, when all sin shall disappear."

Karl Barth, in turn, was a Swiss theologian considered by Reformed theologians as one of the prominent theologians of the 20th century. Books LCC (2010:567) contends that critics regard Karl Barth, "...to be among the most important thinkers of the 20th century; Pope Pius XII describe him as the most important theologian since Thomas Aquinas." Karl Barth's views of the relationship between the state and the church, ethics and dogmatics and personal experience makes him stand out for consideration as part of this study. Barth witnessed both World War I and World War II. What makes him more influential is the shock he experienced in the time of World War I when his teachers signed their allegiance to the war plans of the German government. Michaud (1994) says, "Barth thought that their openness to culture, philosophy, history and the sciences had made them turn their backs on the Gospel. Liberal theology also failed to stand up against culture" (cf. Books LCC, 2010:568). This prompted Barth's vision of the relevance of the Scriptures in the state. Karl Barth did not compromise like most of the church leaders in the Apartheid era who

supported Apartheid using Scriptures. Similarly, some are doing this now to support the current government, even when what the government is proclaiming is unscriptural. Michaud (1994) says “When Adolf Hitler came to power in 1933; Barth became a staunch opponent of the Nazis' plans to use the German church to legitimate their racist and idolatrous agenda.” Barth lived to witness the rise and the fall of the dictator of all times, Adolf Hitler. Barth and Niemöller produced the Barmen Declaration, which was a statement of theology applied to the political and social situation of their time. Livingston *et al.* (2000:100) say “the declaration affirms the sovereignty of the Word of God in Jesus Christ over against all idolatrous political ideologies” (cf. Nyirongo, 1994:1-6). Furthermore, it condemned the racist policies of the government and calls for the independence of the church. Livingston *et al.* (2000:101) notes that “the Barmen Declaration demonstrates Barth's commitment to an ethics wholly subservient to the Word.” Ethics is not for Barth the reduction of particular to general principles or laws. Rather, one must discern God’s will in the concrete situation one finds oneself in. This theme recurs throughout Barth’s career (Barth, 1993:11; Lovin, 1984:32-42). Barth’s work becomes relevant to this study due to his views on ethics (cf. Vorster, 2004:77).

B.J. van der Walt was awarded the Stals Prize for Philosophy in 2010. He is a theologian philosopher who has international exposure with regard to the issues concerning public morality and different government systems employed around the world. He was the director of the Institute for Reformation Studies at the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, which is now known as North-West University. The personal interview that B.J. van der Walt held with Steve Bishop in Van der Walt (2011:10-38) is used to indicate why he is considered in this study. B.J van der Walt experienced pre-Apartheid, Apartheid and post-Apartheid in his lifetime. He contends that he became fully aware that something is terribly wrong with the Apartheid system during his studies in the Netherlands (1968-1970) and during his work at the University of Fort Hare (1970-1974). He further says as Director of the Institute for Reformational studies (1974-1999) that South Africa became skunk of the international world. But many White people were still blinded by this ideology and he had the difficult task to convince many of his fellow brothers and sisters in the Lord that they had no biblical grounds for their political viewpoint. Here is B.J. van der Walt clear view on public morality:

After the demise of Apartheid in 1994 the situation again changed drastically. We realized that the consequences of Apartheid could not be eradicated immediately, but would accompany us for many years. But most of us - both Black and White - hoped for a better future. South Africa's present deterioration is perhaps not so much noticed outside the country, because the country is acknowledged internationally and the upper class of both Blacks and Whites still enjoying economic prosperity. As you may perhaps already know from media reports, the following factors today concern every South Africa citizen: (1) Rampant lawlessness, like rape, robbery, murder, and other forms of brutal violence... (2) Wide-spread corruption, especially among politicians and state officials on national, provincial, and local level... (3) A weak state, unable to see to it that standards are maintained and to deliver the necessary public services. (4) The HIV/AIDS pandemic has infected a large part of the population - with detrimental implications. (5) A Scarcity of jobs, while millions of "refugees" from countries are entering the country, leading to xenophobia among the South Africans who are losing their own jobs. (6) Reversed discrimination through inter alia one-sided affirmative action against Whites and increasing racism from the side of both Black and White. (7) An unacceptable and dangerous gap between the very wealthy and the masses of extremely poor people. (8) A huge brain drain of the highest qualified to countries like Great. Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. (9) Many people, who cannot or do not want to emigrate, start emigrating inside their own individual concerns, thus withdrawing from the problems of the wider society. (10) An unwillingness to accept personal responsibility, blaming, for instance, the past Apartheid or the present racial tensions for own incapability, laziness, and corruption.

Much can be said on why B.J. van der Walt is included in this study, but the above-mentioned is enough. Some factors or elements of concern mentioned by B.J. van der Walt are considered and dealt with in Chapter 4 of this study.

### **2.2.1.1 *John Calvin's perspective***

Calvin's perspective with regard to civil authority is driven by the doctrine of sin and divine providence and the doctrine of the church and government. Let's first look at the doctrine of sin and divine providence. The institution of the state was established

based on sin and grace. God is not the author of sin, but men's disobedience to God brought humankind to a fall. The consequences of sin are anarchy and chaos, therefore without government the world will become ungovernable and social unrest will be the order of the day. The ways and nature of human beings have become wayward after their fall; there is a need for civil authority to stop humans from hurting themselves, nature and others (Calvin, 2002:900). Macwilliam (1940:28) points out that "...indeed without sin there would have been neither magistrate nor state order; but political life in its entirety would have evolved itself after patriarchal fashion, from the life of the family. Neither bar of justice, nor police, nor army, nor navy is conceivable in a world without sin". You cannot fix something that is not broken. God created order from the disorder caused by the disobedience of men, which resulted in sin, anarchy and chaos. Fuchs (2009:146) elaborates by saying: "Providence is the foundation of ethics, because it guarantees that there is a promise attached to human existence; ethics are therefore understood as man's response, whether conscious or unconscious, to this promise". Providence gives birth to justice because when we speak of God's providence, we are asserting that God is fully in control, therefore his justice will be fully experienced by human beings (Calvin, 2002:900). We must bear in mind what the Apostle Paul says in Romans 8:28, namely that "All things work together for good for those who love God".

Furthermore, Calvin (1849:477) says, "There are indeed always some tumultuous spirits who believe that the Kingdom of Christ cannot be sufficiently elevated, unless all earthly powers be abolished, and that they cannot enjoy the liberty given by him, except they shake off every yoke of human subjection" (cf. McNeill, 1950:43). Claiming that all human power must be abolished is wrong, because the power that man has comes from God. God in his creation plan had in mind that He will give men authority to rule. God put men in the position of authority to serve fellow men, and ultimately God Himself too. It is God's will and plan from the beginning to allow and give men authority to rule. The Bible clearly depicts God as the King of kings, the King of the universe (cf. Psalm 82; Psalm 103:19; Proverbs 8:14-15; Isaiah 37:16; 1 Timothy 6:15; Revelations 17:14). Out of God's own free will, he gave leaders the authority to govern the earth. In Daniel 2:21 the Bible teaches us that "...God sets up kings and deposes them..." God has all wisdom and all power, but he shares this with heaven and earth. God is all-knowing, and he manifests his power through men in

positions of authority such as princes, kings and magistrates (Calvin, 2002:901). God rises up those rulers who are obedient, and those who are disobedient he deposes. The above Scripture and explanation is consistent with what we learn from the Bible in Romans 13:1-7: "Let every soul be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God, and authorities that exist are appointed by God. Therefore whoever resists the authority resists the ordinance of God, and those who resist will bring judgement on themselves..." (NKJV).

The following emphasis is worth noting: (1) There is no authority except from God; (2) God appoints authorities; (3) authorities are God's ordinance. Since God himself appoints leaders, the Bible in Titus 3:1 teaches the following: "Remind the people to be subject to rulers and authorities, to be obedient, to be ready to do whatever is good". From the above view of the Bible, the ruling government is appointed by God himself through electorates that vote for leaders. The result is that the government has a crucial role to play. The one who appoints has supreme authority and must be heard. However, Van der Walt (2011:357) does not fully agree with this popular traditional Christian viewpoint. He argues that, "God does not delegate His authority to government because then government authority could be regarded as divine and above criticism by the citizens." Van der Walt concedes that we should acknowledge that God has ordained the state as an institution that should be reprimanded or even resisted. Government must also view itself as a servant of God and its citizens. He furthermore says that government must accept the fact that it is accountable to its citizens, but ultimately to God, the absolute authority. This does not mean that the state must prescribe how the Christian religion should operate, as the Apartheid state did. It means that religion must be independent from the state as the state is independent from religion, but interdependent when dealing with moral issues. The state must allow religion to contribute to the resolution of moral issues. The situation in South Africa is that the constitution reigns supreme in a secular state. By so doing the government does not really acknowledge the supremacy of God. The danger that comes with the supremacy of the constitutional court under secularism is 'constitutional dictatorship'. We need to understand that the people who serve in a constitutional court are not neutral; they are driven by the notion that we are a secular state, which develops the notion of secularism in the public sphere. Secularism is a doctrine that rejects religion and religious consideration. O'Reilly

(2006:27) defines secularism as, “A philosophy that argues there is no room for spirituality in the public arena.” Secularism itself is a world view (faith) that is trying to root out other religions. It does not acknowledge the supremacy of God, which is why in South Africa the emphasis is on the supremacy of the constitution. Malherbe as quoted by Venter (2001:90) warns, “The full implications of constitutional supremacy are not yet known, but it will undoubtedly have a fundamental influence on our whole legal system.” The supremacy of the constitution is also driven by secular humanism that emphasizes people’s capacity for self-realization through reason. People’s reason can be scary without a foundation in morality. Christian faith shapes and serves as the foundation of good morals. O’Reilly (2006:29) proclaims

“that makes perfect sense, because a society that has no fear of God relies solely on civil authority for guidance. But that guidance can and has broken down. All great philosophers, even atheists, realized that one of the essential attributes of a civilized people is a belief that good will be rewarded and evil will be punished.”

Calvin holds that the responsibility of governing the country towards prosperity and upholding the moral ground is not only the responsibility of the government, but of all citizens. Calvinist piety embraces all the day-by-day concerns in life within the family and the community, education and culture, business and politics. These are for Calvin realms of duty in which men ought to act in a manner that honours God and benefits their fellow humans. Calvin’s awe-stricken consciousness of God carries with it no indifference to mundane matters. Rather it demands the most intense participation in the common affairs of men (McNeill, 1950:vii). Calvin points out that we must be aware that we have liberty of choice with regard to adiaphorous matters, in other words things morally indifferent. Calvin’s rule is that we should assert or restrict our liberty in accordance with charity and due regard for the welfare of our neighbour. We are free, yet bridled in Christ (cf. Calvin, 2002:899). Self-service or self-empowerment by those in power is a big *no* in Calvin’s mind. He believes that those in power are meant to serve. Based on the above argument, we can attest that true leadership is not only based on authority and status, but on being a servant of the people. The above view of servanthood is biblically endorsed in three of the Gospels, namely Mathew 20:25-28, Mark 10:35-44 and Luke 22:24-30. We must put this servanthood in context. The expectation that leaders should lead and servants

should serve is not cancelled by these Gospels, it is emphasized. Christ here seeks to explain the attitude, character and motivation of a true leader: he must lead as a servant of God and his neighbour. Servanthood is one of the most dominant metaphors with which Christ describes leadership (Van der Walt, 2006:130). In order to be a good leader, the first criterion or test a person must pass is that of being a servant. Leadership starts by being a follower (disciple), then a leader. Van der Walt (2006:135) rightly says: "Leadership is a serious matter. The leader should be a responsible person, he has to answer to God under whom he exercises his authority, but he also has to answer to the people over whom he is appointed, he also has to give account of the means put at his disposal." In a position of leadership, there is a need for absolute transparency, openness, honesty and integrity.

According to Calvin, God created the world for his glory, and this end it must and shall serve. The prince and the peasant, the pauper and the Plutocrat, the master and the slave exist only to serve Him. Calvin holds that governing authorities have a mandate from God, having been invested with divine authority, and are wholly God's representatives, acting as what might be called his vice-regents (cf. Calvin, 2002:901). God is the Almighty King above all kingdoms, and then out of his own free will God deployed princes, kings and magistrates to govern. They have to act as God's ambassadors. Calvin (2002:904) contends that "the duty of the ruler is to cherish and support the public worship of God in the church, and to ensure that blasphemy, heresy and superstition do not win a place in the public life of the people. He is given authority by God and it is to be used to the glory and for the protection of His church" (Macwilliam, 1940:30; McNeill, 1950:12). Calvin takes this further by calling for general freedom, not just for Protestants, but for all peaceable believers, including Catholics, Jews, and Muslims.

Van der Walt (2002:280) calls the above view confessional pluralism. He denounces the forced baptism, inquisitions, crusades, and other forms of religious persecution practiced by the medieval church and state. Similarly, Calvin cherishes freedom when he says "There is nothing more desirable than liberty" (Witte, 2010:137). Calvin emphasizes the importance of political suffrage and the franchise in the political community. Concerning the right to vote, he once said: "It is the best way to preserve

liberty.” Calvin therefore contends that, “Let those whom God has given liberty and franchise use it” (Witte, 2010:137).

Calvin (2002:917) believes that the state laws, edicts and judicial system must not contradict the laws given by God in His word. Calvin (2002:917) says,

"If they command anything against Him (God) let us not pay the least regard to it, nor be moved by all dignity which they possess as magistrate .... On this ground Daniel denies that he had sinned in any respect against the king when he refused to obey his impious decree (Daniel 6:22), because the king had exceeded his limits."

The state cannot turn away from morality, from the law of God, for when doing so it in effect commits suicide. The citizens have the responsibility of obedience towards the governing authority because it is established by God. To rebel is to raise a hand against “the Lord’s Anointed”. Calvin, with regard to men’s responsibility to uphold ethics, urges people to behave with full responsibility as if everything depends on them, while knowing that ultimately everything depends on God and his providence. He holds that ethics exist because divine providence exists. Left to itself, that is to say, merely with natural reasoning, morality goes nowhere (Fuchs, 2009:147). Calvin calls for full obedience and submission to the civil authorities. Even though the government can call itself a secular state, to Calvin this does not imply that government is established by men. It is God-given for man’s good, and because of that men should give God thanks by being obedient towards leaders. The function of law makers, according to Calvin, is a “sacred ministry,” and to regard it as incompatible with religion is an insult to God (McNeill, 1950:xiii).

Calvin held the office of law makers (magistrates) and civil leaders in high regard. Calvin (2002:900) contends that Scripture “called them gods to whom the Word of God came”, referring to John 10:35, and therefore we ought to honour them. In this passage Jesus refers to Psalm 82:6, where the Israelite rulers and judges are called “gods” (cf. also Exodus 4:16; 7:1). God called the Israelite leaders gods because they were agents of God’s revelation and will (NIV, 1991:1899). This consideration ought to continually occupy the governing authorities themselves, since it can greatly spur them on to exercise their office and mitigate the difficulties of their tasks, which are

indeed many and burdensome (Potter & Greengrass, 1983:60). When those in power rule with the knowledge and acknowledgement that their authority is from God and that they bring judgement of evil doers and bring justice to God's citizens on behalf of God, it will bring a great deal of uprightness, prudence, gentleness, self-control and innocence (Calvin, 2002:901). Potter and Greengrass (1983:61) summarize this as follows: "If the governing authorities remember that they are vicars of God, they should watch with great care, earnestness and diligence, to present to men through themselves some image of divine providence, protection, goodness, benevolence and justice" (also cf. Calvin, 1536:2). In McNeill's (1950:xiii) words "Calvin admonishes them as vicegerents of God to avoid bribery, to defend good men from injury, to aid the oppressed, vindicate the innocent, and justly to mete out punishment and reward. They are obligated where necessary to suppress violence by force." Calvin calls for law enforcement and intolerance of crime and corruption. He holds that leniency towards violent men may prove cruel to the many who become their victims.

Calvin furthermore believes that it is the responsibility of the state to see to it that the welfare of the people is properly maintained. Calvin (2002:899) holds government responsible for fundamental basic services. He contends that "the function of civil government among men is no less than bread, water, sun, and air; indeed its place of honour is far more excellent" (Kerr, 1989:170). He also believes that it is not only the calling of the church to deal with idolatry, but it is also the duty of the government. This may sound like a worrisome theological view, but it brings peace and stability in the nation. A country becomes idolatrous when it starts to emphasize the will of men rather than the will of God. When the civil government prevents idolatry, sacrilege against God's name, blasphemies against his truth, and other public offences against religion from arising and spreading among the people, it prevents the public peace from being disturbed; it provides that each man may keep his property safe and sound; that men may carry on blameless interaction among themselves; that honesty and modesty may be preserved among men (Kerr, 1989:171). In the South African context, we can deduce from Calvin's point of view about the office of magistrate that he would not have had a problem with the concept of a constitutional court, but that he would have challenged all the portions of the constitution that contradicts the word of God. Calvin (2002:900) emphasizes the calling of the magistrate by saying, "no

one ought to doubt that civil authority is a calling, not only holy and lawful before God, but also the most sacred and by far the most honourable of all callings in the whole life of mortal men."

According to Calvin's view, if the civil authority can acknowledge that they are appointed by God, who called them to an office that is holy and lawful to bring divine justice, the civil authorities won't pronounce unjust sentence or sign wicked laws in the name of human rights. Acknowledging the office as divine calling brings a heart of intolerance towards crime, corruption, fraud or anything that hinders the welfare of the nation (Calvin 2002:901). In Calvin's mind, democracy and aristocracy surpass all other forms of government systems based on the fact that even though the civil authorities have power, they are also guided by the law. Kerr (1989:172), commenting on aristocratic systems of government says

"It is very rare for kings so to control themselves that they will never disagree with what is just and right, or for them to have been endowed with such great keenness and prudence that each knows how much is enough ... I freely admit that no kind of government is more happy than one where freedom is regulated...".

In van der Walt's (2011:357) words, "The only proper control of state power is to recognize the limits God Himself placed on the exercise of that power – the authority of government is in principle limited." The South African government embraces a democracy that has a trace of an aristocratic government system. It acknowledges the kingdoms found in rural areas, and these have been allowed to continue. There are also key areas in the government where people with the right qualifications and credibility are in charge, even though the majority of government officials are in office due to political affiliation.

Calvin (2002:902) thought it safer for the government to be in the hands of many than in the hands of one, maintaining that monarchies are generally unable or unwilling to regulate themselves. Calvin (2002:903) boldly puts it this way, "Monarchy is prone to tyranny whereas aristocracy has tendencies to sedition." He vehemently opposed the theory that the pope, or the king, should be able to claim absolute power. Democracy is a system of government that fits well with Calvin's thinking in some regards, but the fit is not perfect. The form of government apparently preferred by Calvin was

aristocracy, or a blend of aristocracy and democracy. In its true form, Calvin claims that aristocracy is a form of government that advances “rule by the best” (*Aristos* is the Greek word that means ‘best’). Calvin endorsed the concept of an aristocracy, believing that it was sanctioned by Scripture: “This has ... already been confirmed also by the Lord himself when he established an aristocracy ... among the Israelites....” (Cole, 2009:5; Witte, 2010:140). Calvin was acutely aware of man’s fallen condition, and knew that a democracy could put government into the hands of the worst as easily as in the hands of the best. This understanding, combined with his opposition to totalitarianism and absolutism, became components of the ideology that served as a precursor to the development of constitutional government where the people collectively decide who the ‘best’ are that will govern them (Cole, 2009:5; Witte, 2010:140).

The responsibility of civil authorities according to Calvin is the following: they must make laws in the interest of public welfare, not to satisfy men, but to honour God. Making laws that contradict the divine will is a grave mistake. The civil authorities have the responsibility to be just and righteous, to deliver those who are oppressed from the hands of the oppressor, not to grieve or wrong the alien, the widow, and the fatherless or shed innocent blood (cf. Jeremiah 22:3). Civil authorities are ordained protectors and vindicators of public innocence, modesty, decency, and tranquillity, and their sole endeavour should be to provide for the common safety and peace for all (Calvin, 2002:899). Justice, indeed, is to receive into safe keeping, to embrace, to protect, vindicate, and free the innocent. Judgement is to withstand the boldness of the impious, to repress their violence, to punish their misdeeds (Kerr, 1989:174). The Reformed paradigm prescribes that the different spheres of authority have no impact on the fact that governments remain accountable to God. Any kind of government system in the universe is answerable before God and fellow human beings.

Reality provided the foundation for John Calvin’s conviction that the civil government and the church must be separate in some regards, but in other ways allied (Calvin, 2002:899). Calvin acknowledged the need for separation of the church and state, but never considered the separation of state and God (Cole, 2009:1; Witte, 2010:138). Calvin strongly maintains that God is sovereign over both the spiritual and the political government. People are under twofold government, namely spiritual and

civil. Calvin maintains that the church has no authority to punish crime, to remedy civil wrongs, to collect taxes, to make war, or to meddle in the internal affairs of the state. The state, in turn, has no authority to preach the Word, to administer the sacraments, to enforce spiritual discipline, to collect tithes, to interfere with church property, to appoint or remove clergy, to obstruct bans and excommunications, or to meddle in the internal affairs of a congregation. Calvin holds that to permit any such interference or immunity between church and state would unwisely mingle these two institutions that have completely different natures (Calvin, 2002:899; Witte, 2010:139).

When Calvin was confronted with the question of what to do when the civil authority becomes tyrannical or totally disobedient to the Word of God concerning public morality, he gave the following advice: (1) We must trust God that he will send liberation through a deliverer. God did this throughout the history of Israel by sending prophets and men he called to deliver Israel from the hands of oppressors. He delivered South Africa by using political activists, prisoners and sanctions to overthrow the Apartheid government. (2) Passive or active resistance can be offered after looking at the provisions of the constitution and the divine principles regarding what to do when the government is not governing according to the constitution and divine principles. (3) People are allowed rebellion against immoral governing authorities that promote moral decay, but this must be a last resort (cf. Macwilliam, 1940:37). Calvin believes that

"...tyrannies sometimes are God's test of our faith or punishment for our sin, and we insult God further by resisting his instruments. Individuals must thus obey and endure patiently and prayerfully, and leave vengeance and retribution to God. But to honour earthly authorities cannot be to dishonour God, Calvin continued" (Witte, 2010:142; Calvin, 2002:913-915).

With regard to the economy of the country, Calvin realizes that governments need revenues through taxation. These funds do not become the ruler's private wealth, but belongs to the people. They are in fact the very blood of the people and should be used on their behalf as a sacred trust, and should not be collected with rapacity or wasted in luxury (McNeill, 1950:xiv).

### **2.2.1.2 Summary of John Calvin's perspective and its implications for the role of the government in public morality**

Calvin's perspective can be condensed into the following points:

- The governing authority is God's ambassadors as deployed by Him, they are mandated to do God's will.
- The governing authority is responsible for protecting the sacred ministry.
- The governing authorities are responsible for upholding and maintaining social justice.
- The governing authority has a responsibility towards law enforcement and should be intolerant towards crime and corruption.
- The governing authority must act in accordance with the constitution. No one is above the law.
- The governing authority is responsible for social welfare, i.e. service delivery.
- The governing authority must have integrity.
- The people's responsibility toward government is to show obedience and submission.
- The governing authority must be aware that aristocracy is the best form of government that advances "rule by the best characters".
- The governing authority has the responsibility to use state finances and resources responsibly for the benefit of community.

### **2.2.1.3 Abraham Kuyper's perspective and its implications for the role of governing authorities in public morality**

In order to gain some idea of Kuyper's perspective on the role of the state in public morality we will look at the third lecture of his Six Stone Lectures, entitled Calvinism and Politics. Abraham Kuyper's perspective with regard to civil authority seems to duplicate what Calvin stood for, but in reality Kuyper builds on Calvin's ideas. Kuyper holds that politics are either influenced by specific religious or anti-religious conceptions (Kuyper, 1898:78). This view is also clear in the South African context. The government clearly proclaims itself as neutral, which means that the state does

not align itself with any form of religious practice, but in essence promotes secularization, which may give birth to secularism. The issue of being religious or non-religious, which Kuyper addresses, plays an important part in the way the civil authority operates with regard to moral issues. Religion essentially shapes the way we think. The religious state is influenced by the religion she upholds, whereas the secular state is influenced by ideologies, worldviews or philosophies based on individual or historical backgrounds or culture. The secular state has the duty to guard itself from secularization, which gives birth to secularism.

Kuyper believes that the fanatic Calvinist is per definition a fanatic for liberty, for in the moral warfare for freedom, his creed was a part of his army and his most faithful ally in battle (Kuyper 1898:78). Your creed shapes your worldview. Kuyper moves away from the notion of being a Christian on Sunday towards being a Christian living in everyday life. He further contends that in Calvinism lies the origin and guarantee of our constitutional liberties (Kuyper 1898:99). Kuyper knows Calvin's assertion that every individual has a seed of religion in them; they either worship God or God's substitute. A government is made up of people from communities who are religious and that are influenced by certain ideologies or philosophies due to their historical background. Government is therefore not free from religious influence, ideology or certain worldviews. Calvin knew the truth that God's kingdom is above all other kingdoms. In Kuyper's (1898:99) words "This dominating principle was not, soteriologically, justification by faith, but, in the widest sense cosmologically, the Sovereignty of the Triune God over the whole Cosmos, in all its sphere and kingdoms, visible and invisible." Kuyper knew that God's authority is not only limited to the church, but that it applies to the whole universe.

Kuyper (1898:79) mentions that "Man is created (born) from man, and by virtue of his birth he is organically united with the whole race. ... All human races are from one blood". With this kind of thinking it is not possible for discrimination and racism take hold among us. Discrimination, racism and moral decay are all the by-products of sin. Because of sin, we put more emphasis on race and tribes, therefore discrimination gains fertile ground. Kuyper contends that sin broke the organic unity of our race (Kuyper, 1898:79-80). Due to this people have been labouring to build one world

empire. They are trying to realize unity, notwithstanding that the force of sin that had dissolved our unity. Just like what Calvin professes, Kuyper (1898:80) says,

“For indeed without sin there would have been neither magistrate nor state-order; but political life; in its entirety would have evolved itself, after patriarchal fashion, from the life of the family. Neither bar of justice, nor police nor army, nor navy is conceivable in a world without sin; and thus every rule and ordinance and law would drop away.”

Kuyper asks as Calvin did: who binds up where nothing is broken? Who uses crutches where the limbs are sound?

Kuyper (1931:80) further mentions that the state will always experience a certain tension between authority and the desire for liberty. In the South African context we see the effect and impact of freedom on the population. People know their rights, while government must make clear the limitations to their rights. This battle never ends, for there is no absolute right. Kuyper holds that God instituted the office of magistrate because of sin (Kuyper, 1931:81). In Kuyper's (1898:102) words, “For a sinful humanity, without division in states, without law and government, and without ruling authority, would be a veritable hell on earth; or at least a repetition of that which existed on earth, when God drowned the first degenerate race, in the deluge.” This claim clearly shows that we as citizens have to receive the state and magistrate as God-ordained and realize the danger of our personal liberty if we embrace freedom without responsibility and limitations. The danger also lies with the officials that are corrupt and who take for granted the responsibility that they have towards God who ordained them and the people who voted them to power. Kuyper does not waver on the point that all officials in the government and every individual are answerable before God. He says that God created the nations. They exist for Him (Kuyper, 1931:81). They are His own. Therefore all the nations, and in them all humanity, must exist for His glory and consequently after his ordinances.

Kuyper believes that without legal authority, liberty can easily be converted into chaos, therefore liberty must be bridled. He further contends that no man has the right to rule over another man, only God has that right. A man cannot be compelled to obey a fellow-man (Kuyper, 1931:82). Authority over men cannot arise from men,

as little as it can arise from a majority over a minority, for history shows, almost on every page, that very often the minority was right. This causes Kuyper to conclude that all authority of governments on earth originates from the Sovereignty of God alone (Kuyper, 1931:82). Therefore, when God says “obey” we must humbly bow down our heads without compromise. God is the absolute authority, whereas a magistrate is an instrument of “common grace” in the hands of God, to thwart all license and outrage and to shield good from evil (Kuyper, 1898:82).

Kuyper further contends that the magistrate is instituted by God as his servant to preserve the glorious work of God in the creation of humanity from total destruction. Justice therefore bears a holy character. It therefore must be obeyed, not only due to the dread of punishment, but for the sake of conscience. When Calvinism promotes civil obedience, the emphasis falls on the fact that we don’t obey based on how a government is instituted and in what form it reveals itself. This does not imply that when government makes laws that promote moral decay and bring instability they need to be fully obeyed. They can be resisted, that is why we call it obedience based on conscience. Calvinism considers the cooperation of many persons under mutual control (Kuyper, 1898:105). Kuyper considers a monarchy and an aristocracy, as well as a democracy, all possible and practical forms of government as long as they maintain that no one on earth can claim authority over his fellow citizens unless it is laid upon him “by the grace of God”. Therefore, the ultimate duty of obedience is imposed upon us not by man, but by God himself. Kuyper contends that when God gives us the right to vote we must use that right wisely (Kuyper, 1898:84). Kuyper’s (1898:106) says “... To whom God gave the liberty to choose your magistrate, see to it that ye do not forfeit this favour by electing to the positions of highest honour, rascals and enemies of God”. Kuyper warns about irresponsible voting, citing the fact that we may vote for people who oppose God. We may vote for leaders who will dethrone God and place man in the vacant seat. These are people who believe that it is the will of man that determines all things and that all power, all authority, proceeds from man. Furthermore, we must guard against the sovereignty of man, as we indicated above, moreover even the sovereignty of government. When we talk about the sovereignty of government we imply that the law is right, not because its contents are in harmony with the eternal principle of justice, but simply because it is law. This is the belief that whatever exists is good because it exists. What matters is no longer

the will of God, of Him Who created us and knows us, but it becomes the ever-changing will of the state, which, having no-one above itself, actually becomes God, and has to decide how our life and our existence shall be. As Calvinists we maintain the sovereignty of God as the source of all authority among men (Kuyper, 1898:115).

Kuyper holds that amongst the many responsibilities of the government, the most important role is always to preserve justice. This justice starts at home and proceeds to the whole society. In all this we have to take note that all powers have limitations. There is always an ongoing struggle between government authority and human freedom. Government wants to enforce authority, whereas men are always tempted to undermine the very same authority. In order to regulate the limitation of authority and freedom, a constitution is put in place to firmly regulate the mutual relation between men and governing authority. Kuyper doesn't shy away from claiming that Calvinism may be said to have generated constitutional public law from its own fundamental ideas (Kuyper, 1898:121). The government must guard against becoming an octopus that stifles the whole of life. It must occupy its own place among all the other trees of the forest, and therefore it has to honour and maintain every form of life that grows independently in its own sacred autonomy. This does not mean that the government doesn't have the right to interfere. Wherever the harmony and the mutual relationship is disturbed, the law has to indicate the rights of each. The rights of the citizens over their own purses must remain the invincible bulwark against the abuse of power on the part of the government. Here exactly lies the starting-point for that cooperation between the sovereignty of the government with the sovereignty in the social sphere, which finds its regulation in the constitution. Parliament is needed to maintain the constitution. Governing sovereignty and social sovereignty are both no longer invested with ruling power, their place has been taken by parliament. It remains the duty of parliament to maintain the rights and liberties of all and in the name of all, with, and if need be, against the government. Calvinism protests against government omnipotence, against the horrible conception that no right exists above and beyond existing laws, and against the pride of absolutism, which recognizes no constitutional rights, except as the result of princely favour. This stand of Kuyper's clearly indicates that no-one is above the constitution, including government officials. Kuyper believes that there are social spheres that must be given autonomy without government interference. In Kuyper's (1898:123) words,

“In many different directions we see therefore that sovereignty in one’s own sphere asserts itself: 1. In the social sphere, by personal superiority. 2. In the corporative spheres of universities, guilds, associations, etc. 3. In the domestic sphere of the family and of married life, and 4. In communal autonomy.”

Kuyper concludes that in all these four spheres the state cannot impose its laws, but must revere the innate law of life.

When Kuyper addresses the relationship between church and state, he refers us back to his motto “A free church in a free state”. Calvinistic confession of faith entrusts the government with the task of defending against and extirpating every form of idolatry and false religion and to protect the sacred service of the church (Kuyper, 1898:99). The difficulty lies in the unanimous and uniform advice of Calvin and Epigones, who demanded intervention of the government in the matter of religion. Kuyper holds that we have to look at this confession within its true context. He contends that this notion did not originate with Calvin. He claims that it dates back to the time of Constantine the Great, and was a reaction against the severe persecutions that his pagan predecessors on the imperial throne had inflicted upon the sect of the Nazarene. Since that day this article was defended by various theologians (Kuyper, 1898:100). In view of the South African context in which the constitution promotes freedom of religion, Kuyper does not argue that the state must look only after the interests of the Christian religion, but that the state must leave the church to practice her faith and regulate herself without government interference. Kuyper (1898:103) argues that “The magistrate or government officials are first and foremost God’s servants. They have to recognize God as Supreme Ruler from whom they derive their power. They have to serve God by ruling the people according to His ordinances”. He further claims that God’s supremacy should be recognized by confessing His name in the constitution as the source of all political power, by maintaining the Sabbath, by proclaiming days of prayer and thanksgiving, and by invoking His divine blessing. Contrary to Kuyper’s view, the Constitution of South Africa acknowledges the existence of God, but not the Sovereignty of God over South Africa. In the Preamble of the Constitution the Name of God is used twice saying, “May God protect our people and God bless South Africa”.

Kuyper is against the idea of a state church. He believes that the government has to suspend its own judgement and should consider the multiform complexity of all these denominations as the totality of the manifestation of the church of Christ on earth. The magistrate has to respect the liberty and the sovereignty of the church of Christ in the individual sphere of these churches. The sovereignty of the state and the sovereignty of the church exist side by side, and they mutually limit each other (Kuyper, 1898:106).

Kuyper also argues for human rights. He says that in some respect every man is a sovereign, for everybody must have and has a sphere of life of his own in which he has no-one above him but God alone. A man has to be given freedom of conscience. Kuyper suggests that this freedom of conscience must be given to the church to monitor with the limitation that if the conscience of an individual says that he or she does not want to be part of a particular church, the person must be freely given that right. This gives individuals liberty of speech and liberty of worship, which in turn gives man the right to serve God according to his own conviction and dictates of his own heart (Kuyper, 1898:107).

#### ***2.2.1.4. Summary of Abraham Kuyper's perspective on the role of the governing authorities in public morality***

Abraham Kuyper's views can be summarized by the following points:

- The governing authorities are God's servants.
- The governing authority is responsible for protecting sacred ministry.
- The role of the governing authority is to fight against discrimination and racism.
- The governing authority has the unchanging, primary role of administering justice.
- The governing authority is responsible for putting good legislature in place through parliament.
- The governing authority has the duty to maintain the constitution. |It doesn't have absolute power, since no man is above other men, consequently no dictatorship is allowed.

- The governing authority must give people the right to vote for leaders of their choice.
- The governing authority must acknowledge the independence of other social institutions within its ranks.
- The governing authority has the role to give people freedom and basic human rights, which go with responsibility and limitations.
- The governing authority has to protect the rights of minorities.

### **2.2.1.5 Karl Barth's perspective and its implications for the role of government authority in public morality**

Karl Barth's perspective with regard to civil authority is driven by his tremendous emphasis on the majesty and the Sovereignty of God. His view on the role of the state in public morality is also based on God's providence. In his theology Barth did not have room for natural theology. His basic argument is the following:

“The central error of natural theology is that it places humanity at the centre of the universe, and claims to know God, apart from God's own self-revelation. To argue that God speaks in history, nature, culture, or society apart from what God has spoken in Jesus Christ is to deny the true revelation of the Word of God”  
(Barth, 1960:27).

Barth considers any moral law or political ethics that is not based on the Word of God as a mere humanistic philosophy or ideology. Based on the above argument, Barth contends that natural theology has the ability to corrupt theology, ethics and political thought. We cannot completely dismiss Barth's claim in view of Apartheid and democracy in South Africa. Both government systems are founded in ideologies, not in the Word of God. In the Apartheid era the Word of God was used by some theologians to justify Apartheid and in the new democracy the Word of God is not playing a central role since the state claims to be neutral.

It is necessary to explain the time and the context in which Barth applied his theological thought to really understand his views. Barth became a theologian in a difficult time, the time of World War I and World War II, the time of German dictator Adolf Hitler. Considering this, we may understand why Barth's theological thought

seems to be inconsistent. A similar case is that of theologians during the Apartheid and democratic era respectively. Some theologians clearly denounced Apartheid as evil, while also denouncing the present democratic government as bad, claiming that moral decay is rising. From the perspective of the liberation struggle, these theologians may be deemed inconsistent while they in fact are consistent; they are just not shying away from telling the truth, no matter what the situation or circumstance are.

In any case, there is some misrepresentation of Barth's view with regard to the role of the state in public morality. Haddorff (1960:1) contends that theology, like politics, leads to both theological and political misinterpretation. In actual fact, Barth addresses political issues on the basis of his theological assumptions, which may be referred to as theological politics instead of political theology. Barth speaks about politics within a theological framework and its relationship to the church (politics interpreted theologically). Barth's views on theology confuse many because he fluctuates between absolutely positive and absolutely negative views of the state. Generally speaking, Barth supports a liberal constitutional democracy, but evaluates it critically based on the Word of God. Barth presumes that the state should be the guardian of the common good, which means using force to protect the state. The state is also called to a higher purpose of peace and justice, namely to be a witness to the kingdom of God.

Barth (1960:29) believes that "Most basically, Christian ethics begins with God's covenantal action and not in human autonomous decision-making". He holds that the sole duty of the church is to preach and act out the Gospel, and that it must not give its support to any political party. He further says that the state should not be regarded as good, for it is evil as are all the other works of men and ordinances of this world. Yet Barth goes on to declare that, no matter how evil and tyrannical a state may be, rebellion against it is unacceptable. He contends that in rebelling, all that man can do is to set up another order of society, which no less than the first will be a human institution and as such equally under God's judgement. According to Barth, when men rebel they sin, for they take upon themselves the right of judging. They usurp the power that belongs only to God. One who rebels or strikes imagines that he can actually know what is 'right' and therefore commits a greater sin than the individual

who just suffers at the hands of the tyrannical state. Barth consequently holds that all political decisions are meaningless (Macwilliam, 1940:51). However, he contends that if the state is corrupt to the core, revolt against such a state must be approved, supported and if necessary even suggested by the Christian community, but this must only be a last resort. If there is still a proper means of dealing with a corrupt state, no revolts or strikes should be allowed. The church must not get caught up in politics to the extent that she forgets her duty of reconciliation and reminding the state of her task towards reconciliation (cf. Barth, 1960:4).

Barth believes that there is nothing good in man. He says that the phrase 'good work' cannot be given any moral or ethical meaning. It does not refer to man's actions as a citizen or as a member of society. It refers solely to the 'good work' of God in man's salvation; therefore naturally the rulers have no power over this 'good work'. There is an absolute gulf between the things of this World and the things of God, between the state and the church and its community. He emphasizes that the church has nothing to do with political events or agitations. The role of the church is to be visible to the world, the state and society.

Barth's theology with regard to the role of government in public morality has interesting outcomes. He contends that even the most evil government cannot escape God's will, even when it intends to destroy the moral law it is supposed to protect. Barth elaborates on this view by showing how civil authority was used by God to do his will in the case of Pilate's judgement concerning Jesus. He contends that we see divine intervention in Pilate's judgement so that God's salvation plan can be realized. God uses even the evil rulers for his own glory. When Pilate admitted that Jesus was guiltless, he showed what the "true face" of the state should be, and if he had been true to his office he would have set Jesus free. By turning Jesus over to be crucified, he was false to his calling as a judge (Macwilliam, 1940:64). Barth seems to suggest that the magistrate, as ordained by a state, can be unjust. He reckons that the political order must provide and preserve the freedom of the church. In South Africa this is provided for by the Constitution in the Bill of Rights, which promotes freedom of religion. The church requires nothing more and declines anything further.

Barth (1954:16) holds that in order for civilians to live in harmony, three essential requirements are necessary:“(a) legislation, which has to settle the legal system which is to be binding on all; (b) the government and administration which has to apply the legislation; (c) the administration of justice which has to deal with cases of doubtful or conflicting law and decide on its applicability.” The responsibility of the civil government is to embrace everyone living within its area. Barth contends that civil authority is spiritually blind and ignorant. It has neither faith, nor love, nor hope. It has no creed and no gospel, but he argues that the state can serve the church by giving it the freedom to witness in the public sphere without any hindrance. Prayers are not part of its life, and its members are not brothers and sisters. To maintain harmony in the world of faith, “tolerance” is its ultimate wisdom and option.

Barth believes that legislation, execution and administration of the law are the responsibilities of the state. He contends that the church does not embrace all men, but only those who profess themselves as Christians. The state embraces all men, but for state to operate it needs the light that Christians have. A Christian has the responsibility to pray for the state that embraces all men, more especially for the leaders so that they can make good laws that will leave all of us living in peace and harmony (cf. 1Timothy 2:1-7). In this sense Barth says that the existence of the Christian is political. The Christian community is particularly conscious of the need for the existence of a civil community. It knows that “all men (non-Christians as well as Christians) need to have ‘kings’, that is, need to be subject to an external, relative and provisional order of law, defended by superior authority and force” (Barth, 1954:19). Barth is saying here that without civil authority, men will live in chaos and anarchy and will destroy themselves. Without civil authority, social conflict is likely to arise. Due to the fact that Christians know how sinful men are, they know the importance of civil authority. Through God’s providence civil authority is instituted by God to take care of the people’s welfare because the Bible clearly indicates that no authority comes by mere wish of men, but all authority is ordained by God, whether good or evil (cf. Romans 13:1-7; 1 Peter 2:13-17). We must acknowledge that without political order there would be no meaningful social existence. This also applies to the Christian community, because civil authority is there to protect the inner circles, and Christian communities and individuals form part of those protected inner circles.

In the South African context this implies that even though we may dislike the present political system or political organization that is in power, we need its protection as a Christian community and as individuals. We need good governance and laws to be put in place and that can only be done by civil authority. As individuals we need a good constitution and laws that are meant to protect us, and the state needs our support through prayer and by raising our voice whenever necessary through any means that the government gives us; e.g. voting and public hearings. We need the state's protection through a good justice system.

Barth (1954:21) contends that

“God’s providence and salvation plan provides that the state should establish human laws, freedom, peace and humanity. He further says that state existence is not separate from the Kingdom of Jesus Christ; its foundation and its influence are not autonomous. The state is outside the dominion of the church, but not outside the range of Christ’s dominion - it is an exponent of His Kingdom.”

Even though Barth starts with the church’s responsibility towards the lower and lowest levels of human society, referring to the poor, Barth (1954:36) says,

“The poor, the socially and economically weak and threatened, will always insist on the state’s special responsibility for these weaker members of society. That it will bestow its love on them – within the framework of its own task; i.e. part of its service delivery but must not neglect other services.”

Barth insists that the church must stand for social justice in the political sphere. By this he means that the church must echo her voice until the state realizes its error when she sees any social injustice that leads to moral decay and immoral behaviour. In the South African context Barth would say that the church should speak out about any provision in the Bill of Rights that promotes immorality. The foundation of Christian voice is based solely on the Word of God. When God says ‘No’, through the Bible then it is ‘No’ and when God says ‘Yes’ then it is ‘Yes’; no compromise in this regard. The church supports the state through prayers, paying tax and witnessing. Barth does not believe in the watch-and-wait approach, politicians as well as church communities have to take responsibility for what they stand for, no neutrality (cf. Barth, 1960:12). Barth contends that a change of thought does not mean

contradiction. It means putting to end to idealizing one view point. Barth (1960:13) adds that “Christians may speak very conservatively today and very progressively or even revolutionary tomorrow – or vice versa.” He further contends that Christians’ views are bound to seem strange, incalculable and surprising in the eyes of the world due to the fact that they don’t conform to the standard of this world – otherwise they would not be Christian.

Barth further argues that the state has the responsibility to guarantee citizens the freedom to carry out their decisions in the politically lawful sphere, according to their own insight and choice, independently, and the freedom to live in certain spheres (the family, education, art, science, religion, culture), safeguarded but not regulated by the law (Barth 1954:37). Barth supports freedom and is totally against any form of dictatorship and a totalitarian state. This explains why Barth was banned from Germany during the rule of the dictator Adolf Hitler. Although Barth embraces political freedom and human rights, he holds that the church has to resist both when they want to have the last word. With reference to the South African situation, the above means that democracy must be monitored by theocracy. God has the final authority.

Barth insists that where freedom and responsibility in the service of the state are one, whatever is said and done before the ears and eyes of all and the legislator, the ruler and the judge can and must be ready to answer openly for all their actions – without thereby being necessarily dependent on the public or allowing themselves to be flurried. Barth contends that the state must be transparent. In Barth (1954:39) words, “The church is the sworn enemy of all secret policies and secret diplomacy.” Barth believes that a good state does not necessarily rule over people, but rather serve. He further states that all ruling that is not primarily a form of service, is a disease and never a normal condition. Political leaders are there not to serve themselves, but the people they lead. In democracy this will be the voting populace.

Barth (1960:116-117) mentions two kinds of powers:

“The power of the good state differs from that of the bad state as *potestas* differs from *potentia*. *Potestas* is the power that follows and serves the law whereas *potentia* is the power that precedes the law, that masters and bends and breaks the law – it is naked power which is directly evil. Looking at the decision taken by

Pontius Pilate against Jesus we can learn that the state and justice system can be easily become *potentia*.”

Pontius Pilate broke the law intentionally. He declared Jesus innocent, but still he did not set him free. He elicited opinions and approval while he had the law to guide him. In democracy we can also easily fall into this trap, even though we have a good constitution in place. If not well applied it serves nothing but corruption. A good state is one in which the leaders serve justly and no-one is above the law (Barth, 1954:40). Haddorff (1960:15), in support of Barth says, “A proper state will be the one in which the concepts of order, freedom, community, power and responsibility are in equal proportions, where none of these elements is made an absolute domination of all the others.” Haddorff further says that Barth’s concern, above all, was with human freedom and responsibility before God. To Barth freedom comes with responsibility, for freedom means responsibility. Being truly liberal (free) means thinking and speaking in responsibility and openness on all sides, backwards and forwards - towards both the past and in the future, what Barth calls total personal modesty. To be modest is to acknowledge and see that what one thinks and says also has limits (Haddorff, 1960:16).

#### **2.2.1.6 Summary of Karl Barth’s perspective on the role of the governing authorities in public morality**

Karl Barth’s perspectives can be summarized by the following statements:

- The governing authority are servants of God.
- The governing authority is responsible for protecting the sacred ministry.
- The governing authority must promote reconciliation.
- The governing authority must defend and administer social justice and be the guardian of the common good, while maintaining peace and stability.
- The governing authority has the responsibility to put good legislature in place.
- The governing authority must reject dictatorship and totalitarianism.
- The governing authority is responsible for basic service delivery.

- The governing authority has to be transparent.
- The governing authority must pre-empt rebellions and strikes by means of constructive action.
- The governing authority must demonstrate that freedom goes with responsibility.
- The governing authority must promote people freedom and basic human rights.

## **2.2.2 Reformed philosophy with regard to the role of the government in public morality: B.J. van der Walt's perspective**

### **2.2.2.1 *Secular state and secularism***

South Africa is a secular state and a secular state can easily give birth to secularization, which can ultimately end with secularism. A state is called secular when the government is considered a purely human institution that receives its legitimacy only from the people it governs. Democracy as an example is undergirded with the notion of rule by the people and power to the people. Furthermore, the state claims to be “neutral”, meaning that it may not give preferential treatment to any religion. In a secular state like South Africa, religion is completely privatized, limited to the faith of the individual, in married life, family and church (Van der Walt, 2007:225). In public schools, even though the majority may be Christians, teachers are not allowed to profess and teach their religion without mentioning the other religions. Basic Biblical Studies are relegated to subjects such as Life Orientation, which treats different religions equally. Secularism brings the error of confusing freedom of religion with equality of religion. Promoting or allowing all religions to be practiced privately does not make them equal. Van der Walt (2002:280) suggests “structural and confessional pluralism as an alternative.”

By structural pluralism Van der Walt denotes that in society we have different structures with specific tasks. Each structure has its own sphere of authority. He contends that each sphere is equal in value to the other. Each has its own, inalienable, non-transferable or exchangeable rights and duties. No societal structure may dominate another, and/or use its authority or power to the detriment of another.

The university and its academics must, for instance, run the university, not the politicians. The politicians must deal with political matters in parliament and leave family matters to the head of the family, namely men. With regard to confessional pluralism, Van der Walt denotes that “the right that we would like to grant to Christianity should also be given to other faiths. Pluralism is more broad-minded than both individualism and collectivism, because it acknowledges both structural diversity and heterogeneity in society.” He further contends that it is better to acknowledge this pluralism openly. This view will correct the approach of the state that gives individuals freedom concerning their religion, but that is not comfortable with religious activities or practice in public sectors. Pluralism will suggest that Christians can practice their Christian faith in the public sphere as much as other religions can. This will take the pulpit away from secularism and give it back to people who are not afraid to confess their faith publicly.

It has to be added that the secular state is not as bad as it sounds. During the Apartheid era the government claimed to be a Christian state while it was in actual fact hostile to fundamental characteristics of the Christian faith, namely love. In 1 John 4:20 we learn this: “If anyone says, ‘I love God,’ yet hates his brother, he is a liar. For anyone who does not love his brother, whom he has seen, cannot love God, whom he has not seen.” The danger of the secular state and secularization is when it becomes secularism. Secularism is a worldview that has its own convictions (faith). It removes Christianity or any other religion from the public domain and relegates it to the private sphere. It brings its own moral standards based on how humans feel. It shifts away from the sacred to the mere natural. Secularism as a faith in South Africa is silencing the Christian faith by making it a private or individual conviction, whereas secularism is given the stage to preach in the public domain. Some Christians also consider their faith as private. The daily challenge Christians face is not even addressed in the church, making the Christian faith even more irrelevant to the community. The gospel preached from the pulpit these days in different churches is a “so-what-gospel”; many preachers don’t make any effort to preach the gospel in a more practical and applicable way. The gospel is something spiritual that seems inapplicable in our daily life. Faith should be practised and exercised in the church so that it is expressed in broader society. The church is merely the “kitchen” for the “restaurant” of the world (Van der Walt, 2007:232). Practical gospel is very urgent

now in our community. The voice of the church must be loud and clear for it to be heard by the state without fear. The actions of the church must compliment her voice.

Since all are born with the seed of religion or have the capacity of religious experience, secularism brings forth the primeval sin of Adam and Eve (Genesis 3:5), namely the desire to be like God, to be a god themselves, deciding for themselves what is good for them (autonomy). Secularism elevates man and other non-human entities to a divine status. Technology, science and economic factors are often absolutized or idolized. Secularism rejects the divine ordinances of life and substitutes God with man. That makes man a lawgiver. Reformed philosophy calls this “subjectivism”, meaning that the person or thing that should be a subject (subordinate) of the law is itself elevated to be a law (Van der Walt, 2007:248). Our deepest religious convictions are reflected in what our culture and society look like. We must not underestimate the danger of secularism, since it brings forth specific ways of life. Religion determines the conditions or character of the culture in which we live daily. Van der Walt (2007:250-256) illustrates the dangers of secularism as follows: (1) the faith aspect; secularism demands faith to be private, except for its own. It claims to eliminate conflict and to promote tolerance. However, it does not protect religious variety, but rather destroys it. It generates new conflict between itself and other belief systems. Under the cloak of tolerance it can be very intolerant. (2) The ethical aspects: almost anything becomes permissible – and even justified. Ethical degeneration and even bankruptcy are looming before mankind. (3) The juridical-political aspect: since Christianity is taken out of the picture, the secular state and its judicial system is guided by a liberal, humanistic constitution. The courts interpret and propagate this secular system. What they have legalized must be accepted as moral even though it may be decisions on for instance pornography, abortion, homosexual “marriages”, prostitution, easy divorce, etc. which conflict directly with the Christian faith and many other religions. Human rights, though positive, can also be negative when founded human dignity instead of a deeper transcendent justice. It is like building on sand instead of rock. The country can find itself in the grips of constitutional and juridical dictatorship. What the constitution or jurisdiction says goes, even if it is immoral. (4) The aesthetic aspect: the message proclaimed by modern art in general is not elevating and inspiring, but for the greater part superficial, often vulgar, empty, senseless and nihilistic. (5) The economic

aspect: the richness of life is reduced to a money value. You hear people time and again say “you have to sell yourself”, meaning you have to advertise or promote yourself. Because of that, it is now all about “me”. Economy has become one of the great powers. Globalization has come to dominate national political power. It is a competing, aggressive, imperialistic economy that rules the media, technology, academy and science – in short, the whole of life. The concept of “you have to sell (market/ advertise) yourself”, becomes dominant. (6) The social aspect: individualism is one of the traits of modern day secularism which has catastrophic results for the community. Social relationships, even marriage, are regarded as nothing more than a contract between individuals that lasts only as long as it goes well with the marriage. Philosophers lament the loss of community spirit that can bind people together and in this way ensure a healthy society. (7) The language aspect: religious language in the public domain has been replaced with the language of motor cars, sport, entertainment, wealth, etc.

### **2.2.2.2 Governance and the state**

The government of South Africa has the responsibility to promote public justice. In order to promote public justice the government must not allow itself to be usurped by the people under the guise of democracy. If the citizens are given more power to determine what must happen in the government, then the government will be powerless and anarchy will prevail because men’s will sometimes is absurd and even dangerous to himself. However, the government also must not have absolute power because it can easily turn to dictatorship. Van der Walt (2011:357) correctly concludes by saying that “politics must acknowledge that God has ordained the state as an institution and that government is not *de facto* bad, which should be reprimanded or even resisted. Government must see itself as a servant of God and its citizens; therefore it is accountable to its citizens, but ultimately to God, the absolute sovereign” (cf. Wolterstorff, 2012:72). In order for the state to function, the state and the government representatives must be given power, because without power the state and government representatives are unable to meet their obligations. Van der Walt (2011:357) contends that the state must not only receive power, but that it should also be limited with specific powers to prevent the state from becoming authoritarian. Specific limited power means that a leader or the state has power to a certain extent according to his position and that power applies only to that specific

position. One can take the family as an example. A woman may be a head of a department in her work place, but that does not translate to her being the head of the family. She has power in her work place, and specific power as is mandated by her employers. The same applies to the president. He has power, but not absolute power (specific power). He must understand his mandate and responsibility. For democracy to flourish, the absolute power of the majority should be rejected. If a large number of people condone something, that does not necessarily make the phenomenon good, and the unjust laws will never be applied justly. Only God has absolute power. Therefore, to ascribe absolute power to government is idolatry. Van der Walt contends that it is wrong to ask “How much power?” He says the state must have limited, qualified authority and power. The state must remember that it has a God-given, qualified mandate to serve in a specific area of life. It should serve the common good as far as it is directed to the end of public justice.

In order to achieve the above claims, there must be a change in the mind-set of government leaders. They must understand their mandate as leaders. People in government positions must have a correct mind-set in view of their position. That alone will play a vital role in building and providing a clear perspective on how leaders must conduct themselves in the position of leadership (Van der Walt, 2010:178-479; Van der Walt, 2002:284-290). Firstly, people in leadership must understand that their position of leadership is an office. The word *office* suggests that they are in a position of service. An office is there to be of service, to serve the community. Each and every one of us serves as office-bearers in our community. The office of the man in his house is to take care of his family and to lead them towards good moral values. An office-bearer must have insight so that they can be responsible in using the authority of their office and know the limitation of the power they have. Secondly, those in office need authority. Authority is needed so that the office-bearers are able to fulfil their task and calling without hindrance. This authority should also guard against totalitarianism. The authority is specific, not general, it has limitations. For example, the state cannot just change the rules without proper consultation. The town mayor has authority over his local municipality, but not over families or schools, unless there is abuse in families and discrimination at the school that is against human rights. Thirdly, those in office need power to enable them to carry out their mandate. For example, without power the office of the commander in

the army will be fruitless. To use power responsibly we must first acknowledge that man is no real holder of power, except through the grace of God. Man in office is no substitute for God, but only a servant of God and his fellow men. His is no master, but only a steward of God over His creation. This kind of power is a power that allows the office bearer to use their authority to serve the community and ultimately God, who put them in the office. This power, just like authority, must be specific and limited. Without authority and power the judicial system of the country cannot operate. As part of its specific power it has to administer justice when the court finds a person guilty of a crime. When the court punishes, the person is left with no option but to comply, whether he/she likes it or not. This specific limited power based on just laws serve the community, but without juridical power and authority, corruption can grow. Fourthly, in order for a government official to serve his/her office with specific limited authority and power, the person must be responsible. Office-bearers are responsible to the people they lead, but ultimately to God. Officials who are responsible become visible due to the life they lead and due to their insight and knowledge of their task and calling. Many civil wars are started by irresponsible political leaders who use their office without specific limited authority and with the power to achieve their selfish ambitions. Many lives are lost and many families go hungry, but the leader who is irresponsible will continue to hold onto their office of power and authority without looking at the consequences of their behaviour. Responsibility goes with norms and principles.

### **2.2.2.3 Summary of Van der Walt's Reformed philosophy on the role of the governing authorities in public morality**

Van der Walt's view can be summarized by the following statements:

- The government office-bearers are servants. They are in the office to serve people who elected them, but the ultimately have to serve God.
- The government must promote structural and confessional pluralism.
- The government has the responsibility to promote public justice.
- The government must formulate effective and just legislature.
- The government must guard against constitutional, juridical dictatorship and totalitarianism by allowing itself specific limited power and authority.

- Office bearers in the government must be responsible people, morally and ethically.
- The government must acknowledge that it can be reprimanded or even resisted.
- The government must guard the state against secularism.

### **2.3 THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT IN PUBLIC MORALITY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA FOCUSING MAINLY ON THE PREAMBLE**

The preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa will serve well as the starting point for an evaluation of the role of government in public morality. Whenever necessary, the Bill of Rights will also be considered. The preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of South African is formulated as follows:

“We, the people of South Africa, Recognise the injustices of our past; Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land; Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity. We therefore, through our freely elected representative, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic so as to – Heal the division of the past and establish a society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law; Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations. May God protect our people” (Act 108 of 1996. Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.)

The main deductions that arise from the preamble to the Constitution of South Africa are pointed out and discussed below.

## **2.3.1 Healing the divisions of the past: Building a united democratic South Africa**

### **2.3.1.1 *Reconciliation and healing***

According to the constitution the government has the responsibility to see to it that the divisions of the past are healed. To heal the divisions of the past with the goal of building a united democratic South Africa, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (from here onwards TRC) was established. The post-amble of South Africa's 1993 Interim Constitution promoted reconciliation by stating that "the pursuit of national unity, the well-being of all South African citizens and peace require reconciliation between the people of South Africa and the reconstruction of society. There is a need for understanding, but not vengeance, a need for reparation, but not for retaliation, a need for ubuntu, but not victimization" (Act No. 200 of 1993). The TRC acknowledged that to heal the wounds of the past, the South African history must be revisited, not to harm or shame the perpetrators, but to reconcile perpetrators with their victims. In Selvanayagam's (2008:36) words; "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission set the scene for a new life for both the victims and the victimisers. Amnesty was granted for truth-telling by the victimisers and adequate reparations and rehabilitation were offered to the victims. There were sober moments of confession and declarations of forgiveness. The whole experience was healing too in a remarkable way" (cf. Chapman & Spong, 2003:216).

When confronted with the question of whether the TRC achieved its goal of reconciling the nation, we cannot give a clear answer of yes or no. Chapman's (2003:13) list of requirements for reconciliation can guide us in evaluating whether the TRC achieved its goals. Chapman listed the following requirements: (1) discernment of the truth about the extent, causes, and perpetrators of the violence and abuses in the past. (2) Open and shared knowledge or moral responsibility by those who inflicted harm and others who were complicit by their silence and failure to oppose the wrongdoing. (3) Willingness to let go of the past and not seek vengeance. (4) Achieving justice, specifically a measure of appropriate redress. (5) Commitment on the part of all parties to repair and re-establish their relationships. (6) Creating and sustaining a network of understanding and relationships necessary to shape and support a new and common future.

In view of these requirements we cannot say that the TRC achieved its goal altogether, because reconciliation and healing is a process. The requirements have been met for certain individuals and groups, while some groups and individuals have not yet been satisfied. For example, limited land redistribution shows that point number four has not been met in full. What the TRC truly achieved is to promote reconciliation, not to achieve it. According to the Preamble and the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, 1995, the mandate of TRC was “to promote national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding which transcends the conflict and divisions of the past.” To promote reconciliation the TRC gave perpetrators and victims the opportunity to exchange information, express emotions, admit guilt, apologize, grant forgiveness, reconcile, restore and heal in some cases (Barry, 2008:63). In this sense the TRC did indeed promote reconciliation.

Visiting the past helps the victims in the process of healing. Moreover, it helps those in power and the individuals involved not to repeat the mistakes of the past. In order to have a better future we must know where we come from, where we are and where we are going. Van der Walt (1996:1) puts it this way: “On such occasions we usually direct our sight in three directions: back into the past, at the present situation and also to the future. We will therefore let the voices of history and today resound briefly.” The past can in this manner help us shape our united democratic South Africa.

The concept of healing and unity is also a central theme in the Bible (cf. Selvanayagam, 2008:35). In 2 Corinthians 5:11-21 we learn that God entrusted the ministry of reconciliation to Christians. Christians are called to serve in different vocations, including politics. Based on this, wherever Christians find themselves they must know that they are commissioned with the ministry of reconciliation by God the Father through Jesus Christ. According to verse 20, Christians are Christ’s ambassadors. An ambassador is an official representative on behalf of one country to another. As Christians, we are Christ’s ambassadors, sent with his message of reconciliation to the world. This is the responsibility of each Christian and it must be taken seriously. Christians played their roles in the process of reconciliation in South Africa. In Chapman’s (2003:3) words: “In contrast with other truth commissions, the TRC was led by clerics rather than lawyers and judges. And the TRC’s approach to

reconciliation was shaped by and imbued with religious content.” The above statement suggests that Christians have a role to play.

The Constitution emphasizes that it is the responsibility of the government to see to it that we strive to build a united democratic South Africa that is not based on unfair discrimination solely on the grounds of race, colour, ethnic group or social origin, gender, religion or language (Act 108 of 1996:21). Since South Africa is a secular state, she cannot give Christians more of a right to handle the issue of truth and reconciliation, but the Bible expects Christians to be actively involved in such a process as the ambassadors of reconciliation.

The Preamble of the Constitution puts emphasis on healing the divisions of the past and building a new united South Africa. When we talk of the wounds of the past that need to be healed, we speak about the negative effects of colonialism and Apartheid. The ideology of Apartheid built a wall between South African based on race. Barry (2008:42) points out that

“International experience has shown that addressing past human rights violations is a necessary step in the process of reconciliation and nation building. The purpose of such action, often at the moment of political change, is to demonstrate a break with the past, promote national reconciliation, and to obtain or sustain political legitimacy”.

In response to the responsibility of the government with regard to the call for reconciliation, the government on 27 May 1994 established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa under the Minister of Justice, the late Dullah Omar. Barry (2008:43) quoted Hay saying:

“To bring about unity and reconciliation by providing for the investigation and full disclosure of gross violation of human rights committed in the past. It is based on the principle that reconciliation depends on forgiveness and that forgiveness can only take place if gross violation of human rights are fully disclosed” (cf. Chapman, 2003:2).

The government played an active role to establish this commission with regard to support, funding and monitoring. According to van der Merwe (2003:273):

“The TRC was not very effective as a mechanism to establish historical truth. Its use of public hearings to promote healing and build public empathy undermined or side-lined its ability to gather information and analyse the dynamics of human rights abuses. Its focus on personal experiences and morality diverted attention away from process of social reconstruction such as conflict resolution and community development.”

“Building toward social reconciliation is a long and complex process, requiring attention to many different aspects and issues” (Schreiter, 2008:7, 8; Van der Merwe, 2003:274). One of the most important issues is establishing a shared identity between the two aggrieved or separated parties. The second issue has to do with. The passage of time adds an additional burden to the process of reconciliation, because more than twenty years had passed since the end of Apartheid (Schreiter, 2008:7-8). South Africa is still involved in this process and it is apparent that transformation can be a long and sometimes painful process. True reconciliation goes with transformation. Vorster (2004:279) puts it clearly when he asserts that,

“Reconciliation in a socio-political context must coincide with the transformation of society. Restoration, redress of old imbalances and integration are inevitable consequences of true and effective reconciliation. Reconciliation must include the transformation and deracialization of the South Africa economy. For it is in the ownership, operation and management of the productive resources of our land that Black people will begin to contribute to the generation of the country’s wealth – no longer as landless, property-less, unskilled and semi-skilled workers or as street hawkers and marginal retailers in the informal settlement. This process of transformation has to cut deeply into the foundations of the society as it developed over centuries of social stratification; it implies a change of longstanding social institutions, economic practices and labour relations.”

Transformation is needed because during the Apartheid regime there was unequal access to education, health, and economic opportunities, etc. (Chapman 2003:4). These trends are still visible today. Children in rural areas, particularly on farms, don’t have access to ordinary public schools. If there is a school, there are not enough teachers and resources. The gap between the rich and the poor is big (cf. Broembsen & Davis, 2008:2). The rich visit private hospitals and private doctors for

their health, whereas the poor visit the ill-equipped public hospitals for the same purpose. A country can claim either that reconciliation has been achieved or not in view of the transformation that has taken place in social institutions, the economic freedom of the formerly oppressed and labour relations. In support of Vorster, reconciliation without transformation is not complete. That would mean that reconciliation took place, but healing is left behind. True reconciliation is not a matter of forgiveness while the effects of the crimes still linger. It includes addressing the effects of the transgressions. If that is done, then healing can take place (cf. Tutu, 2011:8).

The challenge presented to the leaders who have facilitate reconciliation and healing is great, because if it is not well managed, it can bring the country back to the same vicious circle we are trying to correct. This beckons the debate whether the end in the process of reconciliation and transformation justifies the means. It matters how the country applies the written code. It matters how the issue of redress is handled. The constitution and the by-laws must be applied properly. How laws and principles are applied is crucial for our democracy. The following example illustrates how to apply laws and principles: The Minister of Human Settlements, Tokyo Sexwale, while responding to ANC youth President Julius Malema over his repeated calls for land redistribution at Vision 2030 youth in Durban said: “When we build a house we bring along bulk infrastructure as well and give people plots because when you own a house, you own a plot and that is land redistribution”. Sexwale further contends that “Distribution did not mean a scenario in which a man would stand tall and point to vacant land and say this is my land from here to there. It makes sense for Malema to say we need to distribute land, but I hope ... he is not talking about a situation where land is lying unused and someone is just happy to boast about it” (Mdletshe, 2011).

People in authority have the responsibility to take informed and responsible decisions. How laws and principles are applied plays a crucial role. Vorster (2004:110) quoted Mahatma Gandhi and Anan, saying: “Means are after all means. I would say means are after all everything. As the means so the end, there is no wall of separation between means and end. Indeed the Creator has given us control (and that too very limited) over means, none over the end. Realization of the goal is in exact proportion to that of the means. This is a proposition that admits no exception.”

According to Anan, “The end does not justify the means. Instead, the means tarnish and may pervert the end.” As the process of reconciliation and healing continues, it must be well facilitated to avoid mistakes of the past.

### **2.3.1.2 Unity in diversity**

Even today, the attitude of “them” against “us” still prevails. This is a direct effect of Apartheid, which was fundamentally based on claims of White superiority and Black inferiority. This alone left a legacy of deep social division, psychological scars and distrust between groups (Chapman, 2003:5; Vorster, 2004:145). If people do not meet one another as equal human beings in all areas of life, they do not know or understand one another. The present government must be aware of the strategy to divide and rule used by the Apartheid regime, since the new mandate of democratic government is to build a united South Africa. In order to strive to build a united democratic South Africa, the gap between “us” and “them” must be closed by embracing the equality of all people. We are united in our diversity. Van der Walt (2006:9) says, “In spite of the fact that each culture is dignified in its own way, no culture is so good that it can be accepted as norm to measure other cultures because of the fact that no culture is a fully obedient response to God’s norms.” In order to achieve unity, the government must guard against racial, cultural, ethnic, and language superiority because once the issue of superiority or inferiority comes in, the unity in our democracy is compromised. Vorster (2004:35) contends that “All people are equal before God in the sense that they are totally depraved. But they are also equal on account of God’s common grace. Therefore no man can worship another human being.”

Until we see each other as equal human beings who all deserve to be protected by civil law and who are all given a fair chance of developing ourselves regardless of our race, gender, religion, language etc., the unity we long to achieve will remain a dream. As much as true reconciliation goes hand-in-hand with transformation, the challenge remains when affirmative action and Black economic empowerment will end because the constant unequal treatment of Whites in the name of reversing the injustice of the past will lead us again to social stratification. This does not only raise moral questions, it also jeopardizes the ultimate goal of the whole exercise of

reaching the stage of a reconciled and non-racial South African community with equal rights and opportunity for all as stated in the Constitution (Vorster, 2004:279).

The government must guard that we don't find ourselves in a situation of reversed racism. Racism brings separation. Racism is caused by ideology, greed and fear. The ideology takes the form of feeling superior to another inferior group. Greed in the form of using power to gain material wealth at the expense of those who are not in power can serve as a good example. During Apartheid for instance, Whites had many more opportunities than Blacks. If greed is not monitored, the present government can fall into the very same trap than the Apartheid regime. Fear caused by the uncertainties of ethnic groups or races can lead to great division. Division is caused either by ideology, greed or fear. Once the division is visible, it spells the failure of government to build a united democratic South Africa. Once division is visible, moral decay increases based on the fact that hurting someone who does not belong to one's group is justifiable and so social justice is compromised. Nepotism and corruption in labour will be easily justified. Crime will be justified. This creates another situation where particular races feel the sting of violent crime only when one of their group members is attacked. When this happens, it is a clear indication that we are not united.

Developing ultimate unity does not mean that South Africans have to have the same culture, but rather that the different cultures must be seen positively as a God-given opportunity for mutual enrichment and empowerment. Van der Walt (2006:15) clearly says that we must shift from the negative (misunderstanding, stereotyping, etc.) to the positive (comprehension, enrichment, etc.). He furthermore says:

“When one is willing to listen and observe carefully God’s threefold revelation (in creation, in the Scripture and in Christ) it will be possible to determine which aspects of African and Western culture can and which cannot contribute towards our own enrichment and well-being as well as the development of God's whole creation towards its final goal....obeying God’s will liberates, enriches and empowers every culture.”

Once the above is achieved, South Africans will enjoy their unity in diversity. Misunderstanding, stereotyping, perception and so forth, if not handled well, will

separate us further. An example of perceptions and stereotyping is for instance that when a White man disagrees with a Black man it is because the White man is racist, and when the Black man has more wealth it is because of corruption and Black Economic Empowerment and therefore he must be investigated.

We must strive for unity in diversity. With a married couple who are united as a husband and wife, a man remains a man and a woman remains a woman, but we all have a role to play to build the family. In South Africa we have different cultures and backgrounds, we don't need to have the same culture or background, and in our diversity we can build a united democracy. Youths who are good with technology need elders who are good with moral issues. We cannot live in separation. Unity is stronger when it is built with diverse people, then that unity is dynamic. We are diverse, but one.

### **2.3.2 Establishing a society based on democratic values based on the will of people**

The government committed itself to establishing a society founded on democratic values based on the will of men. Can men's will be fully obeyed? Marshall (1996:15) clearly answers this question by asserting that,

“If by democracy we only mean that the people are sovereign, that the government should do the will of the people, or that it should obey the majority of the people, then all sorts of hideous things could follow. Governments can do evil without the support of the people or with it. Therefore, as Christians, we cannot simply believe that popular support alone legitimizes government actions.”

Human rights go with responsibility. The will of the people does not make something that is wrong, right, or an immoral issue, moral. Can we really depend on the will of the people to establish democratic values? Vorster (2004:31) guards against irresponsibility by saying:

“The government is exhorted in this age to foster and maintain the external worship of God, to defend sound doctrine and the condition of the church, to adapt our conduct to human society, to form our manners to civil justice, to conciliate us to each other, to cherish common peace and tranquillity.”

In support of Marshal and Vorster, Morecraft (1995:Back cover page) says: “All forms of human governments draw their authority, power and jurisdiction from God, not from the will of the people nor the consent of the governed, because governments do not originate with the people, but with God.” Since we are living in a pluralistic society that embraces freedom and equality of religion, it is difficult to set norms that can be regarded as a standard of living without facing challenges. We can deduce here that the will of men is not enough, and that there is a need for something from which we can draw our norms and values. The government needs people in the community that have a good reputation for promoting public morality, like ministers of the Word. They are people who stand for public morality not based on the common view or feelings, but based on the morality set by God the Creator. The beauty of such morality is that it is not based on men’s will as democracy suggests, but on God’s will. God’s will is always the best will for the people. Jeremiah 29:11 can attest to that.

### **2.3.3 Social justice: Improving the quality of life of all citizens**

According to Chapter 2 of the Constitution 9(1) that deals with the Bill of Rights: “Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit from the law.” No citizen of South Africa is above the law. No South African citizen is more privileged than the other. The era of Apartheid was based on the fact that the White minority was more privileged than the Black majority in all spheres of life. Brunson (1980:248, 249) correctly points out that,

“Love is the end term of any system of morals. Love is the moral requirement according to which all schemes of justice are fulfilled and negated. They are fulfilled because the obligation of life is more fully met in love than is possible in any scheme of equality and justice. They are negated because love makes an end of the nicely calculated less and more of structures of justice. It does not carefully arbitrate between the needs of the self and of the other, since it meets the needs of the other without concern for the self.”

When we speak of social justice we mean giving all men what is due to them, for example human rights, freedom, etcetera. By practicing what is written in the

Constitution, we are preserving social justice and by so doing we will improve the lives of all South African citizens.

Improvement in the lives of citizens also means that their socio-economic rights are met. Socio-economic rights are not valued as commodities, but because of what they enable human beings to do and to be. If basic subsistence needs are not met, humans face severe threats to life and health. But, in addition, such deprivation impedes the development of a whole range of human capabilities, including the ability to fulfil life plans and participate effectively in political, economic and social life (Lienenberg, 2005:141). Poverty has many effects that affect humans negatively. It brings the thought and the reality of being alienated from the community, food insecurity, overcrowded living conditions, which are in turn associated with a loss of privacy, increased exposure to violence, emotional stress and anxiety, the impact of a lack of access to basic services and productive resources, etcetera. We can invest more money in justice and security in our country, but without addressing the issue of socio-economic justice, the investment will be just a waste of money and resources. We need to ask ourselves why the crime rate is increasing in South Africa. We need to ask ourselves why we are building maximum prisons rather than schools, hospitals, libraries and laboratories. You cannot stop the hungry man from stealing when he sees his children suffering. More jobs are lost than created. Many graduates are still hoping to find employment one day. Until these points are properly addressed and attended to, the freedom we want to enjoy will be short-lived.

Furthermore, for morality to prevail, the integrity of the justice system must never be compromised. According to Romans 13:1–7, the function of government is to protect law-abiding citizens by punishing evildoers and maintaining law and order. The Bible in Romans 13:3-4 reveals that “For rulers hold no terror for those who do right, but for those who do wrong. Do you want to be free from fear of the one in authority? Then do what is right and he will commend you. For he is God’s servant to do you good. But if you do wrong; be afraid for he does not bear the sword for nothing. He is God’s servant, an agent of wrath to bring punishment on the wrongdoer.” The biblical function of the state, then, is to terrorize evildoers and to punish all those who hinder law-abiding citizens from living peaceful, quiet, godly, undisturbed, and dignified lives in service of God. Romans 13:1 says, “Everyone must submit to the governing

authority.” Romans 13:3 says, “For rulers hold no terror for those who do right, but for those who do wrong.” The governing authority here is the “rulers”, in other words the ones who God has placed in office and given authority to govern. Governing authority should be a ‘terror’ to those who do wrong. If a state does not terrorize evildoers by law enforcement, the state and society will be terrorized by them, as we have today. Zero tolerance to crime is endorsed in this verse. In Romans 13:4 governing authorities are referred to as servants of God who have to act as God’s avenger to bring God’s wrath upon evildoers (Morecraft, 1995:34). For the above Biblical principle of Romans 13 to be realized, we must look at Bible teaching as a whole. In James 1 we learn about providing for the brother in need. The author of the epistle says it is not good enough to say to a hungry brother to go and eat without giving him food. As much as the government has a sword to punish evildoers, it is also the responsibility of the state to be proactive to prevent possible crime by addressing the root cause of problems such as poverty and unemployment.

In view of social justice, early in its democracy, South Africa successfully rose to the challenge of insuring political justice. Much attention, debate and litigation has taken place around civil, socio-economic and political rights, and these have been further interpreted and secured. However, the expectation of many of the country’s poor and marginalized related to a better life has been largely unmet, and the constitution protection in this regard is largely unrealized. While much has been achieved in terms of the provision of housing, electricity and clean water, many South Africans continue to face increasing social inequality and worsening conditions. Amongst poor communities, there is growing disillusionment and frustration at being treated unjustly: Crime and lack of service delivery in critical areas such as education, housing and health provision (Von Broembsen, *et al.*, 2008:1, 2). Since the dawn of democracy in 1994, the new challenge has been the achievement of social justice as set out in the constitution, how we as a nation can close the gap between the promise of social justice in our constitution and its delivery in lived reality for all citizens. That question needs an answer not only from the government, but also from civil society. According to Von Broembsen *et al.* (2008:3) “Many developing countries have laws benefiting the poor on paper, but not in practice. The transition from paper to reality can only take place if the poor or their allies advocate for the enforcement of legislation.”

### 2.3.4 Fundamental human rights

“The United Nations describes human rights as those rights which are inherent in our nature and without which we cannot live as human beings. In a general sense, human rights are understood as rights which belong to an individual as a consequence of being a human being and for no other reason. Clearly then, human rights are those rights one possesses by virtue of being human. One need not possess any other qualification to enjoy human rights other than the fact that he or she is a human being” (Mubangizi, 2004:3).

Democracy without human rights is not complete, especially because most democratic states survived oppressive regimes that undermined basic human rights. Democracy and human rights go hand-in-hand, yet are distinct phenomena. Democracy focuses on the organization of government and human rights look at the question of individual rights. Mutua (2002:45) speaks of close relationship between liberalism, democracy and human rights when he says,

“Liberalism is distinguished from other traditions by its commitment to formal autonomy and abstract equality. It is a tradition that in its contemporary expression requires a constitutional state with limited powers, a state that is moreover accountable to the broad public. These aspirations are the basis for the development and elaboration of liberal democracy and the construction and universalisation of the jurisprudence of human rights. Liberalism gave birth to democracy and now seeks to present itself internationally as the ideology of human rights.”

Democracy is characterized by the norm of non-discrimination, whereas liberalism guarantees citizens their formal autonomy and political and legal equality. Human rights are founded on liberalism and democracy. In South Africa civil society is protected by Chapter Two of the Constitution and covered by the Bill of Rights.

The Constitution of South Africa emphasizes the concept of human rights. The human rights corpus is not a creed or a set of normative principles suspended in outer space, the matters that it affects are earthly and concern immediate routine politics (Mutua, 2002:39). The birth of human rights gave birth to freedom and freedom gave birth to equality. In democracy, equality has been given equal footing

alongside freedom. Equality gives birth to the concept of 50/50, equality of religions, gender equality. Chapter 3 of this study investigates this concept of equality in public morality. Equality is also treated as one of the fundamental concepts in achieving human rights. With freedom you are free to do or practice any human right as stated in the constitution, whereas equality holds that no one or nothing is more privileged than the other. Fundamental human rights are considered in Chapter 3 of this study.

### **2.3.5 Constitutional perspective on the role of the governing authorities in public morality**

The constitutional perspective can be summarized as follows:

- The role of the governing authority is to establish a society founded in democratic values based on the will of men.
- The role of the governing authority is to embrace, promote and defend the equality of all people.
- The role of the governing authority is to promote unity in diversity and reconciliation that brings transformation.
- The role of the governing authority is to preserve social justice and to improve the lives of all South African citizens, making sure that discrimination and racism does not repeat itself.
- The governing authority has the responsibility to put good legislature and law enforcement in place.
- The role of the governing authority is to promote human rights as stipulated by Chapter 2 of the Constitution, which deals with Bill of Rights.
- The role of the governing authority is to address socio-economic rights of all South African citizens.
- The role the governing authority is to place people with good reputations in positions of power.
- Every worker has the right to strike.
- The role of the governing authority is to build a united democratic South Africa.

- The rights in the Bill of Rights may be limited in terms of the law of general application to the extent that the limitation is reasonable and justifiable.
- All citizens are equally entitled to the rights, privileges and benefits of citizenship.

**2.4 BASIC SYNOPSIS OF THE MAIN PRINCIPLES DEDUCED FROM PROMINENT REFORMED THEOLOGIANS, PHILOSOPHERS AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTION**

JOHN CALVIN	KARL BARTH	ABRAHAM KUYPER	B.J. VAN DER WALT	THE CONSTITUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA
<p>The governing authority is God’s ambassadors, deployed by God. They are mandated to do God’s will. The governing authority must be aware that aristocracy is the best form of government that advances “rule by the best characters”.</p>	<p>The governing authorities is a servant of God.</p>	<p>The governing authority is God’s servant. It must acknowledge the independence of other social spheres within its ranks.</p>	<p>The governmental office-bearers are servants; they are in office to serve those who elected them, but ultimately God. The government must guard the state against secularism.</p>	<p>The role of the governing authority is to establish a society founded on democratic values based on the will of men. The role of the governing authority is to build a united democratic South Africa.</p>
<p>The governing authority is responsible for protecting the sacred ministry.</p>	<p>The governing authority is responsible for protecting the sacred ministry.</p>	<p>The governing authority is responsible for protecting the sacred ministry.</p>	<p>The government must promote structural and confessional pluralism.</p>	<p>The role of the governing authority is to embrace, to promote the equality of all people and to promote religious freedom.</p>

JOHN CALVIN	KARL BARTH	ABRAHAM KUYPER	B.J. VAN DER WALT	THE CONSTITUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA
<p>The governing authority has the responsibility of maintaining the peace and stability of the country.</p>	<p>The governing authority has to play a role in promoting reconciliation.</p>	<p>The role of the governing authority should fight against discrimination and racism.</p>	<p>The governing authority has to promote unity in diversity.</p>	<p>The role of the governing authority is to promote unity in diversity and reconciliation that brings transformation.</p>
<p>The governing authority is responsible for upholding and maintaining a good social justice system. The governing authority is responsible for social welfare, i.e. service delivery.</p>	<p>The governing authority must defend and administer social justice, be guardian of the common good, maintain peace and stability. The governing authority is responsible for basic service delivery.</p>	<p>The governing authority has an unchangeable role of administering justice.</p>	<p>The governing authority has the responsibility to promote public justice.</p>	<p>The role of the governing authority is to improve the lives of all South African citizens and to address the socio-economic rights of all South African citizens.</p>

JOHN CALVIN	KARL BARTH	ABRAHAM KUYPER	B.J. VAN DER WALT	THE CONSTITUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA
The governing authority has a responsibility with regard to law enforcement and intolerance towards crime and corruption.	The governing authority has the responsibility to put good legislature in place.	The governing authority has the responsibility to put good legislature in place through parliament.	The governing authority must have good legislature because unjust laws will never be applied justly.	The governing authority has the responsibility to put good legislature and law enforcement in place.
The governing authority must be constitutional; no one is above the law.	The government has a role to stand up against any form of dictatorship and the totalitarian state.	The governing authority has the duty to uphold the constitution. They don't have absolute power since no man is above other men, consequently no dictatorship.	The government must guard against constitutional dictatorship, juridical dictatorship and the totalitarian state by giving government specific-limited power and authority.	The role of the governing authority is to promote human rights as stipulated by Chapter 2 of the Constitution, which deals with the Bill of Rights.
The governing authority has the responsibility to use state finances and resources responsibly for the benefit of the community.	The governing authority must teach the community that freedom goes with responsibility.	The governing authority has the role of giving people freedom and basic human rights, which goes with responsibility	The government must only have limited-specific power.	The rights in the Bill of Rights may be limited in terms of general application to the extent that the limitation is reasonable and

JOHN CALVIN	KARL BARTH	ABRAHAM KUYPER	B.J. VAN DER WALT	THE CONSTITUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA
		and limitations.		justifiable.

## 2.5 CONCLUSION

Chapter 2 provided a general overview of the perspective of three prominent Reformed theologians, the South African Reformed philosopher and theologian B.J. van der Walt and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa on the principles related to the role of the government in public morality. The discussion first presented those principles in point form and later in summary in table form. One can clearly see more similarities than differences between the different theologians and the Constitution with regard to the role of the government in public morality. In general terms, the principles we found from theologians and the Constitution are more or less the same. This finding justifies why the South Africa Constitution is regarded as one of the best constitutions in the world. Does the best constitution guarantee citizens a good moral life? What looks good on paper does not necessarily look good in practice.

The government has a role to play as moral agent in the process of moral renewal in South Africa. Furthermore, a Reformed Christian ethical perspective can give a clear guideline on how the government can play its role. To be fair to the government of the day, the Constitution that guides the government everyday was also used to draw up those principles. Based on those principles, the Chapter 3 examines whether the government is playing its role as moral agent in public morality. An interpretation of those principles show as that the theologians differ in their application of the principles, even though the principles seem to be the same.

The researcher provides input with regard to the understanding and application of those principles. Chapter 3 evaluates whether their concerns are justified or not after laying down some principles based on a Reformed Christian ethical perspective and a liberal constitutional perspective on the role of the government in public morality. The chapter evaluates the present government based on the principles drawn from a Reformed Christian perspective and the liberal constitutional perspective.

**CHAPTER THREE:**  
**ESTABLISHING THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT AS A**  
**MORAL AGENT**

**3.1 INTRODUCTION**

The purpose of this chapter is to establish what the role of the government in public morality should be. The investigation is guided by principles drawn from prominent Reformed theologians as compared to the Constitution of Republic of South Africa. These principles are used to determine if the present government is on the right track when it comes to fighting moral decay in the country when viewed from the perspective of a Reformed model for morality. Before venturing an evaluation, it is helpful to look at the basic tendency of the government under the different presidential leaderships. This reveals the attitude of each leader towards moral issues.

The year 1994 marked the start of a new era of democracy in South Africa. This venture, dubbed the New South Africa or the rainbow nation, stirred hope and promised a better future. The adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa also promised stability as it allayed the fears of many Whites and raised the hopes of Black South Africans. The Bill of Human Rights in the constitution settled many of the uncertainties (Act 108 of 1996, Chapter 1 & 2). The concept of reconciliation surfaced and was preached fervently by government officials. Due to that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was based on the Promotion of National Unity Act, No 34 of 1995. Considered from this powerful starting point, there are general trends that can be observed from 1994 onwards with regard to how government under the African National Congress progressed.

The first five years post-1994 marked the years of reconciliation. Some critics contend that during this process of reconciliation former president Mandela heard the fears of the Whites instead of listening to the cries of the Black. Mangcu (2008:33)

says: “I was one of those Black radicals who felt Nelson Mandela was doing too much to assure White people.” Mangcu (2008:34) says,

“In his first month as president, Mandela enjoyed a brilliant honeymoon, particularly with White South Africans, to whom this tolerant old man came as a wondrous relief. At the end of the first hundred days in office the Financial Times could find no Whites who had a bad word to say about him. It was normality which carried its own dangers as Black militants saw the revolution betrayed, and young ANC leaders, including Thabo Mbeki, knew they must make reforms which would offend the Whites.”

Generally speaking, the first five years under President Nelson Mandela was marked with reconciliation and a peaceful transition from an Apartheid government to a democratic South Africa (Kaufman, 2012:1). In Kaufman’s (2012:1) words, “Mandela’s role in calming White fears of Black rule was important, both before and after 1994, but his commitment to peace was equivocal at best.” Kaufman believes that credit for peaceful transition should be given to F.W. de Klerk not Mandela as such. Certainly F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela needed each other on this. Mandela had influence on Blacks, whereas de Klerk had influence on Whites.

The period under the leadership of the second president, Thabo Mbeki, moved away from reconciliation to economic empowerment and affirmative action. President Thabo Mbeki achieved more with regard to economic empowerment. During his presidency Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and Affirmative Action was implemented and gender equality was promoted. This brought stability to the economy. The aim of these empowerment actions was to redress the injustice of the past. The government was successful in some areas, yet failed in others. Thabo Mbeki’s words while addressing the National Summit of Unity and Reconciliation, Kigali, Rwanda in 18 October 2000 were:

“It was quite clear that we could not achieve reconciliation without transformation. That transformation has to deal with, among other things:

The continuing racial divisions of our country, which we are now addressing.

- The question of poverty and the racial disparities in the distribution of wealth and income.
- Deep-seated gender discrimination which disadvantaged Black women severely.
- Ensuring that languages and cultures enjoy an equal status, where none is seen as superior over others.

In short, that continuing struggle for unity and reconciliation has also had to be a struggle for the transformation of our society. To address all of these matters so that we could give birth to a South Africa of equal citizens sharing a common patriotism.” (Mbeki, 2000).

Chikane (2012:220) says, “Mbeki was uncompromising on matters of racism and those affecting the rights of Africans, including their human dignity after many years of slavery and colonial oppression and exploitation.” The above view clearly shows that Mbeki had a vision for how would he take the country forward and we can use what he mentions as a measure of the role of the government in public morality. The points mentioned above are dealt with in Chapter 4.

The gravest error that President Thabo Mbeki made while in power was his public denial of existence of HIV/AIDS (Furman, 2011:1). This affected public morality negatively. Mangcu (2008:50) rightly points out that,

“The earliest indication of the threat of HIV/AIDS came in 1980s. The Apartheid government dismissed it as a disease affecting homosexuals. By the time Mandela handed over to Mbeki in 1995 about 7 percent of the population was HIV positive. Undoubtedly then, Mbeki inherited an increasingly serious situation. It is the manner of his response that shocked the world. Instead of confronting the challenge head on, Mbeki did everything to obfuscate the problem, and ultimately denied its existence.”

Chikane (2012:221) believes that Mbeki meant well when addressing the issue of HIV/AIDS. All he wanted was that the drugs for HIV/AIDS used in USA and Europe must be of same quality as that used in Africa. The issue of HIV/AIDS was used

intensively to label and campaign against Mbeki. He was portrayed as a cold and uncaring leader. Many make this issue a human rights issue against him, while for Mbeki it was not about violating human rights, but rather about equality.

President Jacob Zuma took over from Thabo Mbeki after a series of political squabbles within the ANC that saw the now expelled president of African National Congress Youth League, Julius Malema, gain fame by supporting Zuma while despising Mbeki. President Jacob Zuma started on a high note. He is the first president without any tertiary qualifications and people believed that he will be able to reach the lower classes. However, leading up to President Zuma's presidency there were many allegations against him that directly affected public morality. He was accused of corruption, raping a woman who is HIV positive, of having extra marital affairs and of being involved in the arms deal (Chikane, 2012:6; Alfreds, 2015). His polygamous marriage and extra-marital affairs also made a negative impact on public morality. Some critics feel that President Jacob Zuma introduced a time of moral decay and economic decline and the rise of unemployment (Mangcu, 2008:89; 95). President Jacob Zuma is considered by Sebola (2014:16) as man of many promises that he didn't keep. His era of political leadership in South Africa will be remembered as an era of mild political brutality, maladministration and contradictions. President Zuma's first term passed without much notice of his failures, since the former African National Congress Youth League president, Julius Malema, became the focal point due to his speeches and radical political views. Malema was closely involved in the downfall of Thabo Mbeki and he initially supported the reign of Zuma, but he later started to despise Zuma and referred to Thabo Mbeki as the best president the ANC has ever had (CityPress, 2013; Sebola, 2014:216). During President Jacob Zuma's presidency there has been a visible decline in morality that had the president call for moral regeneration.

### **3.2 PRINCIPLES FROM REFORMED THEOLOGY AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTION THAT REVEAL THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AS MORAL AGENT**

Chapter 2 examined the views and principles of prominent Reformed theologians namely; John Calvin, Karl Barth, Abraham Kuyper, Reformed philosopher B.J. Van der Walt and the Preamble of the Constitution of South Africa in relation to the role of

the government in public morality. Based on the result of the investigation, this chapter uses the following derived views and principles to evaluate or establish what the role of government in public morality should be.

- The governing authority is a servant of God and of people.
- The governing authority is responsible for protecting the sacred ministry.
- The governing authority has a role to promote reconciliation and to build a united South Africa.
- The governing authority has a responsibility to promote public justice.
- The governing authority has a responsibility to put good legislature and law enforcement in place.
- The governing authority is responsible for social welfare and basic service delivery.

### **3.2.1 The governing authority is a servants of God and of people**

This principle, drawn from a Reformed theological perspective and the Constitution of South Africa, will be the starting point on investigating the role of the government in public morality. The Reformed theological perspective emphasizes the fact that civil servants are God's ambassadors. The noun 'ambassador' means someone's representative. According to the Reformed theology, civil servants are there to represent the will of God on earth. Due to sin and a lack of loyalty, most ambassadors fail in this royal duty. The above-mentioned Reformed theologians agree that government office bearers are not only there to serve the people who elected them, but ultimately to serve God, whereas the constitution holds that civil servants are there to establish a society based on democratic values founded on the will of men. The constitution expects of bureaucracy to be transparent, fair and efficient (Pottinger, 2009:103). The emphasis of the constitution is on democratic values, human rights and the will of men. Is government wrong by promoting democracy? In South Africa, the government's appeal to democracy is acceptable because it pronounces itself as a neutral state that does not ascribe to a certain religious conviction. A religious state does not guarantee that the state will be just, since men can use religion as a blanket to cover up any form of injustice. When a

person is called to a position of leadership, such a person is called to be the servant of the people who put him or her into power. Van der Walt (2011:354) correctly argues that “A Christian state is impossible, because of our multi-religious society. The state cannot be Christian, but we can have a Christian view of the state”. Biblically speaking, men are called first and foremost to serve God and their fellow human beings. We have to love God with all our hearts, soul and strength, but we cannot say we love God while we hate our fellow humans (cf. 1 John 4:19-21). Being an ambassador of God means to be a servant of God who serves people on behalf of God (Meiring, 2010:317).

The challenge that government officials face is to determine where their loyalty lies. Does their loyalty lie with God or the people who elected them to power? Since God requires that we serve both Him and the people, an official who serves people justly is doing God’s will, whether consciously or unconsciously. In Vorster (2004:32) words, “the civil authority should be first of all be obedient to God because they represent God’s tribunal on earth, and accountable to the people in their exercise of power.” The present government aims to serve people through service delivery. In many instances the government has done well with service delivery as compared to Apartheid government that served only the minority. The basic service delivery systems are in place, but these systems are strewn with corrupt and unqualified officials who misuse government resources. Corruption, unqualified officials and maladministration have introduced another form of moral decay into South Africa (Jackson, *et al.*, 2009:21-14). (The issue of corruption is covered in Chapter 4 of this study.) Calvin (2002:903), as reflected in Chapter 2 of this study contends that democracy must be blended with aristocracy and monitored by theocracy. As much as Calvin embraced aristocracy, he has his reservations about it. In Calvin (2002:903) words “Monarchy is prone to tyranny whereas aristocracy has tendency of sedition.” I contend that aristocracy must be replaced by meritocracy. Aristocracy promotes rule by the most powerful people of the society or a privileged class holding hereditary titles. The problem with the powerful is the fact that one can be politically or financially powerful without the necessary skills to lead the government. The danger of a hereditary title is that the country can easily fall into the hands of weak and illiterate leaders. Aristocracy further undermines democracy and empowers certain families and a privileged minority. Aristocracy and the monarchy dine at the

same table, therefore is not totally relevant in democratic South Africa (cf. Jackson, 2009:42). A monarchy can be given custodianship of cultural values, but has to be closely monitored by the constitution because a monarchy can be oppressive in nature (cf. Swaziland, s.a.). The best example is the Swati, Zulu and Venda cultures that promote polygamy without necessarily considering the views of the wife and the full rights of women in the family. Most monarchies are inherently oppressive towards women. Jackson (2012:42) says,

“Despite their not articulating the gap between the situation of women in urban areas and that of women in rural areas in terms of rights, vis-a-vis property or other social entitlements, the overriding implicit argument is that women in rural areas under traditional leadership (presumably all poor and decile) are abused in terms of their constitutional rights being constrained.”

A democracy led by people who don't have the necessary skills or qualifications to do certain jobs to serve people is doomed to fail. Democracy blended with meritocracy is the way to go. Meritocracy is the belief that rulers should be chosen for their superior abilities and not because of the wealth or birth. Khanyane (2010:78) aptly says: “As things currently stand, by contrast, the framework of public administration is for the most part highly politically motivated and skewed; as a result, the future of the experts in the public service lies in the hands of the political powers that be. This is highly problematic.” In our context, we have a democracy that is lacking meritocracy in certain crucial government departments. Democracy promotes rule by the people and meritocracy promotes rule by the best based on merit, whereas theocracy is rule by God through people, his servants. Theocracy brings the sense of responsibility and accountability. It awakens the conscience of leaders so that they know that even if they hold highest position of power, there is someone above them who they must account to. This causes the government to consider religion when dealing with issues that affect morality. Human beings are God's creations that have to be protected by those in power through social justice and service delivery. The Bible in Acts 2:45; James 1:27; Isaiah 1:17; Zechariah 7:9-10; Jeremiah 22:3; Proverbs 31:8-9 and Amos 5:11-15 promotes social justice and service delivery by putting more emphases on seeking justice for the poor, oppressed, orphans and the widows. Government officials are challenged to be concerned about social injustice and the

lack of service delivery to the poor, oppressed, orphans and widows. Theocracy is the system of government that allows divine guidance in its rule. It may be direct or indirect rule. Reformed theology teaches about Divine Providence that holds that after God created everything, He never left his creation but continues to rule over his creation in such a way that nothing in the universe happens without the will of God (cf. Matthew 10:29-31). He cares and protects his creation. Divine Providence teaches that office bearers are ordained by God to serve people. Therefore, theocracy brings the sense of servanthood to leaders and takes away the spirit of power. The Chief Justice of the Republic of South Africa, Mogoeng (2014:4-5), in support of theocracy says,

“The levels of maladministration, crime and corruption, the extremely low levels to which morality has degenerated, the lackadaisical attitude of many government functionaries in the execution of their duties, the dishonesty as well as injustices that have permeated all facets of society, price-fixing and fronting included, would in my view be effectively turned-around significantly, if religion were to be factored into the law-making process. More importantly, there is a strong correlation already, between law and religion.”

Mogoeng sees it fit to consider divine or religious views in government issues.

It is time that the African National Congress moves away from placing people in top positions based on the fact that they were once political prisoners or are political allies. There must be a clear distinction between a political comrade and government administrators (Sebola, 2014:209). Being a political comrade does not automatically qualify a person as a government administrator. Merit must be considered when appointing government officials. Some government officials are failing government because of pure greed, but some are failing because they have little knowledge or expertise related to their jobs.

Examples abound, for instance the Commissioner of the South African Police Service, Jackie Selebi, was removed from his position due to corruption driven by his personal greed (Basson, 2010:3-6). After him Bheki Cele was appointed to the position, but in no time he was removed as a result of the maladministration of money when he rented a building at a rental fee that is not nearly representative of

the value of the building. Bheki Cele may be a good policeman, but he does not have the necessary skills to administer finances. As a consequence he was caught in an unnecessary scandal that caused him to lose his position as head of the police (cf. Public Protector South Africa, 2011:89-107). Ballin contends that the quality of policemen matters and policemen must be well educated. This also goes for the judiciary, including prosecutors and judges (Ballin, 1997:24). Basson (2010:17) says, “Almost 35 000 of the country’s 110 000 police officers had only a Grade 10 qualification or lower. The low educational levels of many police officers make it difficult, and even impossible, for them to take down complaints, fill out dockets, give articulate testimony in court, or fulfil any but the most policing duties.” In addition, many municipal managers have been caught in the scandal of maladministration or corruption because they are unskilled (De Visser *et al.*, 2014:22-23)

The failure of government is reflected by the number of corrupt officials who are there to serve themselves, not God or the people who elected them to power. These officials are not accountable in terms of their constitutional mandate of doing the will of men, which is basic service delivery, or serving God by practicing servanthood as a leader (cf. Obiyo, 2013:99). In an attempt to strengthen the calling of government officials to serve people, the government introduced the Batho Pele principles, which means ‘People First’. This had to serve to remind the office bearers that they are there to serve people. Sangweni (2007:8) says,

“A transformed South Africa Public Service will be judged by one criterion above all: its effectiveness in delivering services which meet the basic needs of all South African citizens. Improving service delivery is therefore the ultimate goal of the Public Service transforming programme”

In order to achieve that, it is imperative that government officials should love their jobs and the people they serve. This can only be achieved if they see their profession as a calling from God. Rae (2000:30) points out that,

“Jesus and the apostles take the central command of the Law, ‘Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your strength’ (Deuteronomy 6:5) and develop an ethics of love for God and one’s neighbour. The parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25-37) defines one’s neighbour as anyone who has a need

that you can meet, and applies the principle to those outside the church as well as fellow believers.”

Another good example of servanthood is in Mark 2:1-12 where we learn of four men who carried a paralyzed man to Jesus. The four men saw the need of the paralyzed man and they responded to the need. They could not help him by healing him, but they carried him to a place of healing. Furthermore, government officials can learn how to lead from Nehemiah. There are six things we can learn from Nehemiah’s leadership style.

- Nehemiah does not lead sitting in the office. He identifies himself with the suffering of the people (Nehemiah 1:1-11) and is personally involved. He believed in theocracy, yet respected the government of the time. He prays first, then confronts the King with what is bothering him. Note, he does not strike, but asks a favour from the King.
- Nehemiah is a rational leader. He thinks before he acts. He does not make promises before he has resources. He has a vision, and therefore he can answer for what he does. He asks permission from the King to use the available resources and permission is granted (Nehemiah 2:1-10). Leaders are called to think before they act or promise. They are called to look at the available resources and make promises based on what they have.
- Nehemiah is visionary. He works out his vision properly. Before he shares his vision he inspects, researches, evaluates and examines the extent of the damage (Nehemiah 2:11-18), so he can know what should be done.
- Nehemiah is a motivated leader. Nehemiah doesn’t dwell much on the past, but the future progress of Jerusalem encourages him. There will always be opposition (Nehemiah 2:19; 4:1-3). A motivated leader doesn’t focus on enemy or retaliation, but on building.
- Nehemiah is an encouraging leader. Discouragement makes people only see negative things around them. It robs people of their strength and vision. It damages their confidence and their sense of security (Nehemiah 4:10-20).
- Nehemiah is a servant leader. He is a faithful servant to his earthly master, God and people he serves. Nehemiah doesn’t consider the office as a

building with good furniture where one earns a good salary, but as a place of service (Nehemiah 4:22-23).

- Nehemiah is a leader interested in social welfare and the transformation of the people he is leading. He deals with officials propagating slavery and shares food with the poor (Nehemiah 5:1-17).
- Nehemiah is a leader who acknowledges the role of religion in moral issues. He allows Ezra as a priest to do his work of reviving people at a public gathering (Nehemiah 8:1-12).

If the South African government had followed the same procedure with the Nkandla scandal and e-toll, the tax payer's money would have been used more responsibly.

Other good example of servanthood is when Jesus Christ in John 13:1-17 washes the feet of his followers. The implication of what Jesus does is as follows;

- A servant leader does their work voluntary, not based on what they will gain thereafter.
- A servant leader uses the power vested in them to serve others.
- A servant leader acts upon the words they say. No empty promises.

Servant leaders are committed to serving the needs of others before their own. They are courageous to lead with power and love as an expression of servitude. They consistently develop others into servant leaders and continually invites feedback from those that they want to serve. They don't want to assume what people need, but consult before they engage (Grahn, 2011:1).

Service delivery cannot only be limited to government officials or the building of houses and water supply, but also has to mean giving people information and skills to help themselves. Being a public servant means to think more of others and less of yourself, knowing that you are responsible before men and ultimately before God. The question whether government is really there to serve God and people can be answered as follows: To a certain extent the government officials do fulfil their calling faithfully, but when it comes to the calling of serving God, they are partially fulfilling it. The difference is, no religion is exalted above the others. Tayob and Weisse

(1999:100) suggests that religious education should be introduced in a way that suits a particular school community. Another challenge facing Christianity is the attack based on its exclusivity in nature. It is viewed as a religion that is linked with moral issues, and in this way it eliminates other belief and value systems (Tayob & Weisse, 1999:101). Many government officials cannot clearly distinguish between their role as government official and their role as a member of a political organization. The result is that officials are faithful to their political mandate instead of serving all people of South Africa irrespective of political affiliation. They prefer to serve their fellow comrades first. In the words of De Visser *et al.* (2014:53),

“Appointments on grounds of political considerations, and not the skills and experience of the person, undermine the two fundamental objectives of a good administration. If incompetent persons are appointed, the effectiveness of the municipality will be compromised. Moreover, a political appointee is likely to be accountable to his or her political masters rather than the council as a whole, which may compromise the impartial delivery services.”

Van der Walt (2010:480) further says, “A political office today to many people does not mean selfless service to others, but more often the self-service and self-enrichment of the elite.”

This reveals that rule by the people (democracy) is dynamic when partnered with meritocracy and theocracy and should not be altered. Moreover, the spirit of servanthood must prevail. The danger of meritocracy without theocracy is that human beings can easily exalt themselves and start to think that they are the Alfa and Omega. They start to look down on others. Take the examples of Adolf Hitler in Germany and Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe. They both started off well, but they finished as dictators. Democracy reminds a leader that he or she is there to serve people, whereas theocracy reminds a leader that he or she is also responsible to someone above all things, namely God. Here we are calling for a democratic state to consider a Christian view when dealing with moral issues. We are not calling for state to be religious like in Arab countries and South Africa during the Apartheid era. A religious state would mean that the church would have the power to govern the country’s affairs. By so doing the church will lose its identity and get caught up in corruption. Instances of Muslim rule can serve as an example to show that a religious

state can also become a law in itself and can kill many people in the name of religion (cf. Greenfield, 2012). This compromises freedom of religion, something that is stipulated by the Bill of Rights in our constitution. The South African government is trying its best to serve those who elected them, but is not considering a Christian view of the moral issues facing South Africa. The laws that the government has passed that are totally contrary to the word of God, serves as proof. The supremacy of the constitution, if not monitored, will eventually take the place of God in South Africa. The current laws on issues such as abortion, homosexuality and pornography runs against Christian morals. It should be noted that there are exceptions with regard to abortion and corporal punishment. The ideal kind of corporal punishment occurs in a loving a caring manner, not as form of abuse or assault. In some instances such as ectopic pregnancy, rape or in a situation where a mother will lose her life, abortion can be granted. When it comes to equality, equality should not imply 50/50 in the household because it runs against the Biblical principle of men as the head of the family. Both men and women have the responsibility to love and respect one another while maintaining their family hierarchy (Ephesians 5:22-33; 1 Peter 3:1-7). The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) clearly depicts the Constitution as the supreme law of the land. Venter (2010:33) further points out that in a constitutional state all public power is derived from the constitution. The idea of 'all power' vested in the constitution is a threat to the supremacy of God. This statement made by the Former Constitutional Court justice Zak Yacoob (2014) can serve as an eye-opener on the flaws of justice, "I would have found President Jacob Zuma guilty in 2006 of raping a family friend (Khwezi). Trials and judges do not decide the truth ... judges never know the truth. Sometimes truth and justice were not on the same side." The same can be said with regard to the constitution.

Abraham Kuyper's idea of different spheres in society as discussed in Chapter 2 is excellent because it gives every institution a positive role to play rather than leaving the country in the hands of only the judiciary, namely the constitutional court. We don't have to place God on the periphery on issues concerning morals. It is said that it is a person's constitutional right to have an abortion and to practice homosexuality. South Africa is being reshaped into something that stands on purely humanistic values. The influence of church opinion on government policy cannot be readily perceived (Fergusson, 2004:95). Meiring (2010:3180) correctly says, "The Christian

message is not only, or primarily about the salvation of mankind, it is primarily about the authority of God in all spheres of life.” When God and religion are removed from government, law, education and workplace, the vacuum left is filled by secular values that cheapen human life (abortion) and promote immorality (prostitution). Secular values can make abortion and prostitution legal, but they cannot make it morally right. It is the responsibility of the government or politicians to closely guard the Constitution, but they should also give the sphere of religion enough space to contribute to moral regeneration. Christian or religious views must be considered to avoid what Hitler did in Germany by systematically removing Christianity from the public domain (Lutzer, 2010:25). The government does serve people to a certain extent, but absolutely does not serve God as Sovereign and Supreme God. In South Africa God has been replaced by a liberal constitution and secularism (Van der Walt, 2007:223). The Constitution and the will of man is exalted above the Word of God. Van der Walt (2010:484) concludes, “God - not human being - sets the norm for the state. It is subject to trans-subjective guidelines. Therefore the human being may not act - even in the sphere of politics - the way he/she thinks best. All human activities are subject to divine norms and have to be measured by them.”

### **3.2.2 The governing authority is responsible for protecting the sacred ministry**

The South African government calls itself secular (neutral); therefore it cannot give a certain religion a certain status over and above other religions. Being a secular state does not suggest that the state is hostile to religious convictions and religious activities. Reformed theologians such as John Calvin, Karl Barth and Abraham Kuyper contend that the state must protect the sacred ministry, meaning Christianity, whereas B.J. van der Walt contends that the government must promote structural and confessional pluralism. The Constitution of South Africa promotes freedom and equality of religion. Generally, the state protects the sacred ministry in the Bill of Rights, which speaks of freedom of religion. Calling for the protection of the sacred ministry, implying Christianity only, is an impossible task in a democratic state. Doing so is like making a state a Christian state. The Apartheid government embraced the Christian faith, but failed to embrace Christian teachings. As a result the democratic government has chosen not to favour one religion above others. The task of the government is not to promote or favour one religion, but to respect, protect and

promote all religions (Act 108 of 1996:6). In other words, our government rejects a religious state. The implication is that the government should show impartiality to all religions. Freedom of religion should mean that the government does not control the church and that the church does not control the government. In their independence they should also be interdependent when they deal with moral issue and the welfare of people of South Africa. As much as the government rejects a Christian state, Christians should never wholeheartedly embrace or reject government activities, but should distinguish what they reject or embrace. They should categorically reject some elements such as abortion, pornography, homosexuality, tyranny, human trafficking, and accept others within limits such as commerce, transportation, taxes, and provide a new foundation for things like family life, education, peace-making. Christians should use some aspects of culture such as music, art, language, albeit in their own way, and wholeheartedly promote certain activities such as hospices, care for orphans, homeless shelters, soup kitchens (Yancey, 2014:10).

The God-given task of the government is to promote public justice. Van der Walt (2011:352) contends that “the term secular state is unacceptable if it implies that religion has no role to play in the affairs of the state (the so-called public sphere). In other words total separation”. Freedom of religion gives religion a role to play in the public sphere. The Chief Justice of the Republic of South Africa, Mogoeng Mogoeng (2014:4) rightly says “I believe that we can only become a better people if religion could be allowed to influence the laws that govern our daily lives starting with the Constitution of any county.” Mogoeng use the word influence, not rule or control of the government. Influence involves that religious views are considered when dealing with moral and welfare issues. Nelson Mandela points out that

“Our constitution ensures the separation of religion and state within a secular state. Religions must not control the government, and the government not runs the religions. But this does not imply antagonism between religion and state. It does not separate political integrity from spiritual integrity. Morals and truth are indivisible” (Mayson, 1997:13).

Fields (2006:10) argues that “the doctrine of separation of church and state has never meant separation of a candidate from his religion, or a society from spiritual roots. It was meant to be freedom for religion.” A spirit of religion and the spirit of

freedom successfully combined allows for vital life support to public cooperation. Freedom of religion becomes a threat when it gives birth to equality of religions, more especially because Christianity is in its core an exclusive religion. Instead of equality of religions, Van der Walt (2010:480) suggests structural and confessional pluralism. Van der Walt explains that structural pluralism holds that “different societal structures exist independently side by side and confessional pluralism holds that every societal relationship should have the right - in the so called public sphere.” This suggestion may seem worrisome, but it is a good solution because it compliments freedom of religion perfectly. Structural and confessional pluralism prevents both totalitarianism and religious anarchy.

Structural and confessional pluralism means that an individual can practice his or her religion anywhere, including in public sphere, without any hindrance. It acknowledges that there are many religious belief systems in our country that are autonomous. Within a democracy these structures and confessions are independent and are not there to hinder democracy, but to promote it. Structural and confessional pluralism can be a great solution to avoid the danger we see in Arab countries where government is blended with the Muslim religion (Greenfield, 2012). Much war and death occur in such a situation, since anyone who disagrees with the exalted Muslim religion is considered an enemy of the state. When religion is used to justify violence and deception, abuse and exploitation, ‘faith’ becomes a weapon of mass destruction (Fields, 2006:10). We hear of more and more suicide bombings in the name of religion. Some Muslim theocracies support legislation that makes criticism of the state illegal. Europe has already lost its freedom to criticize Islam (Lutzer, 2010:28). Structural pluralism gives every religious structure in the country its own autonomy. Democracy is only there to see that all is done according to law and order. Structural pluralism gives families the power to rule over themselves, schools to take its independent decisions, churches to worship God freely without hindrance. This also gives people true freedom of religion as proclaimed by the constitution. Government cannot interfere in families, churches, schools etc. Politicians are there to guard democracy according to the framework provided by the constitution, not to rule over structures and religions. As much as these structures are independent, they are also interdependent

The independence of universities for example will give the academics the critical voice and guidance we so desire for the benefit of the country. Academics are speaking, but their voices are not loud enough. One of the problems in South Africa is the political interference in institutions that don't need political influence in administration. This kind of interference silences the critical voice of the academics because of fear of being scrutinized and ill-treated by politicians. Academics are individuals who are supposed to speak objectively without fear or favour. Where are political science students in our politics? Furthermore, the African National Congress' attacks on the Public Protector, Thuli Madonsela, with the regard to her findings on the supposed security upgrades at Nkandla where she points out improper conduct, maladministration and violation of relevant prescripts, can serve as example of government interference in structures (Madonsela, 2014b:427-441). Lewis (2014) correctly points out that, "President Zuma's failure to fully co-operate with the office of Public Protector as an attack on the body constitutionally mandated to investigate improper conduct in state affairs, report on such conduct, and take remedial action." He further indicates that the above behaviour opens the door for illegitimate attacks and intimidation. This act threatens to undermine the structural independence of a key corruption-fighting institution tasked with upholding transparency and accountability in government.

With the notion of a neutral state that embraces secular values comes the looming danger of secularization, which leads to secularism. Basically this is what the present government is heading for if religions continue to privatize their religious convictions and confessions. The government is giving the pulpit to all religions. When Christians opt for pietism, secularism gains fertile ground. Pietism is a belief that emphasises individualism, rationalism, subjectivism, quietism, moralism, separatism to a point where pietists create their own world where they cannot be polluted by the external world (Brown, 1978:10). Negative pietists do not support Christian participation in political and government structures solely because these institutions are not fundamentally biblical. Secularism bases its conviction on human philosophy and the model of the ruling political party. If the ruling party subscribes to socialism or communism, the government will give more pulpit time to socialist and communist ideology. The danger of depending on human philosophy is that whatever the majority says goes, irrespective of the consequences. This alone can give rise to

moral decay. Peetoom (1997:15) warns: “By a majority of votes, decisions can be made that are perfectly legitimate, but utterly unjust.” For example, Adolf Hitler proclaimed the following to the clergy in the personal conference he called on 25 January, 1934: “You confine yourself to the church. I will take care of the German people”. Niemöller responded to Hitler “But we too as Christians and churchmen have a responsibility towards German people. That responsibility was entrusted to us by God, and neither you nor anyone in this world has the power to take it from us” (Lutzer, 2010:20). Christians may not settle on pietism.

For example, to avoid moral decay, Christians must have functional families. Functional families raise good religious people and morally right learners in schools, and that gives birth to good politicians and government administrators. Good politicians and government administrators make laws that allow the family to be functional and deals severely with everyone that endangers the moral standard of the country. Ballin (1997:23) emphasizes that: “In many cases a problematic home and family situation will lead to criminal behaviour of children.” Seth Mazibuko, the leader of Moral Regeneration Movement, a programme that forms part of Sunday Live on the television station SABC 1, addresses the issue of co-habitation as moral decay. Good morals start at home (families), then it goes to society, community, and then the whole country. He emphasizes that if families fail when addressing moral issues then society, community and the entire country also fails. The families and religions must provide a platform to recommend what is morally right, since families and religions are the experts on moral issues. The state has one overriding concern, that of controlling bad behaviour: how to keep citizens from killing each other, breaking into homes, cheating customers at the supermarket, and yielding to a sexual license that would undermine families. The modern world faces a dilemma. On important issues, society badly needs moral guidance. Religion seems an obvious resource, yet one rejected by much of secular society. Already the media treats opinion polls as the primary arbiter of such matters as sexual behaviour, abortion, the death penalty, and assisted suicide. In nations with a religious consensus, church and state can work hand-in-hand to encourage the moral values they both agree on.

Government has to face this unavoidable fact that every human being is a religious being who can either worship God or a God substitute. Due to that, the government

has the responsibility to learn about religions and to condone all religions that bring stability and proclaim peace, love and basic human rights and deal with religions that promote wrongful acts and desires. Religions such as Satanism must be exposed, since in Satanism humans are sacrificed and animals are slaughtered in a very cruel way. Immoral sex and drug abuse play a very important part in Satanism. De Bruyn (1998:37) says “sex and drugs is used as bait to attract especially schoolboys and young men, and to get them in the grip of Satanism. Nearly everything that is done during their meetings has to end in unrestrained sexual orgies.” Sexual perversion plays an important role in Satanism. The role of the government is unchanging, also in confessional pluralism, namely to monitor the violation of human rights in the name of religion. Religions that use human beings as sacrifice, that mutilates and kills animals in a violent way should be denounced and banished by the government. The report by Anon. (2014c) can serve as a good example of a case where a pastor made congregants eat grass, flowers and drink petrol. The Department of Health can interfere and query such practices because it is inhuman and improper.

The government is not an institution that can expose spiritual warfare, but it can support and protect the church when it deals with this fundamental issue that gives birth to moral decay in our country. Mayson (1997:14) contends that the transformation of our country requires the greatest possible cooperation between religions and political parties, critically and wisely serving our people together. Neither political nor religious objectives can be achieved in isolation. We are partners in building our society. Leaders who join the occult must be rebuked or taken out of office because occult organizations are associated with unjust and immoral behaviour with the promise of evil supernatural powers. The government passed a law that allows homosexual marriages because it allowed the constitution to dictate instead of consulting the institutions that stand for morality, such as church.

In South Africa the voice of the Christian faith is considered as just another voice among many different voices. God is dethroned, but not silenced. The constitution and human ideologies are exalted. In order to avoid the above error of exalting the constitution and human ideologies, Van der Walt (2011:353) draws a clear distinction between religion and politics without identifying or separating the two:

- Religions should not adapt (actively or passively) to the political status quo. Christians must be involved critically and constructively in politically issues.
- Christians should not distance themselves from politics, but engage as individual Christians, churches, Christian political organization/parties.

The end result of this is that God will become visible in South African politics and ultimately in the public sphere. When there is freedom of religion, the pulpit is given to anyone without hindrance. Christians have to grab this opportunity and use it to the glory of God. Christians must not make the error of locking themselves behind doors by considering religion a private issue that is practiced only by individuals in homes or churches. The pulpit is out there, Christians have to seize that opportunity. The Bible speaks of Christians as the light and the salt of the world (Matthew 5:13-16). In verse 16 Jesus instructs the disciples and the crowd listening to him: “In the same way, let your light shine before men, that they may see your good deeds and praise your Father in heaven”. The commentary included in the NIV 1991:1652 points out the following truth:

- “We hide our light by being quiet when we should speak,
- By going along with the crowd,
- By denying the light (truth),
- By letting sin dim our light (by not living by example)
- By not explaining our light (truth) to others,
- By ignoring the needs of others.

Be a beacon of truth – don’t shut your light off from the rest of the world.” The South African constitution protects freedom of religion. Christianity is safe as long as it uses this opportunity effectively. It is the task of the government to provide the space for the church to be church and it is the task of the church to promote Christian morality in the society at large.

### **3.2.3 The governing authority has the role of promoting reconciliation and building a united South Africa**

The concept of reconciliation and a rainbow nation made South Africa one of the most famous states around the world. The move by the first Black president, Nelson Mandela, to opt for a peaceful transition from Apartheid to democracy amazed the world as it avoided a possible genocide or serious civil war and massacres (cf. Lyman, 2014:21). Nelson Mandela's famous line in pursuing reconciliation is: "Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another." The constitution of South Africa emphasizes that South Africa is for all South Africans, irrespective of race or creed. Is this notion a dream or a reality? Generally, one can say that reconciliation has been partially achieved in South Africa, but the notion of unity is far-fetched. The attitude of "us" versus "them" is still very visible. The politicians' cries that reconciliation and democracy cannot be achieved until the majority of Blacks have economic freedom still echo. This is consistent with Thabo Mbeki's view that true reconciliation will be experienced when true transformation has taken place (cf. 3.1). The ruling party, the African National Congress, contends that to achieve democracy they compromised the socio-economic freedom of many Blacks, since the economy is still in the hands of minority, referring to Whites. Today, economic inequality is the dividing force within South Africa. Due to the economical dividing line, the foundation of building a free, fair and multi-racial democracy by African National Congress is under threat (Emkes, 2012:200). Schutten (2012:73) elaborates by saying "In reality, the quality of the education a student can access has become a question of the socio-economic background of his or her family." The above factors compromise the unity and true reconciliation in South Africa.

Dixon and Ginsburg (2013:11-14) says "The property clause adopted in section 28 of the 1993 Constitution was also ultimately a true compromise between the divergent positions of the government and ANC (and its allies) on these issues". The Economic Freedom Fighters speak of economic revolution by nationalization and by taking farms to become state property without compensation (<http://effighters.org.za/policy/on-land>). The ANC reportedly (Etv Prime Time News, 2014/07/23) is considering the view of EFF with regard to land reform. They both believe that the land must benefit more Blacks. The issue of reconciliation in South

Africa is more of a political issue than civil issue. The views of politicians about reconciliation and unity have a great influence on the future of South Africa.

The Economic Freedom Fighters subscribe to a view of socialism, communism and nationalism. Possible political instability and the threat of a new revolution in the name of economic freedom makes ordinary South Africans feel threatened in view of what happened in Zimbabwe with land reform. Land redistribution changed the face of Zimbabwe from that of the bread basket of Africa to that of a beggar before neighbouring countries like South Africa. The danger with nationalism is that nationalist leaders lash out at anyone who might even remotely remind them of previously held stereotypes. As the group's gatekeepers, nationalist leaders manipulate the fears of their followers by keeping all these fears alive. Followers are made to blame a certain group for their own failure. Mugabe used this argument to great and tragic effect in Zimbabwe – he kept telling his followers that Britain seeks to re-colonize his country (Mangcu, 2008:38). Mangcu further says “I saw this politics of racial Blackmail slowly unfolding at the beginning of 2000, barely six month after Mbeki's inauguration as Mandela's successor.” Currently Julius Malema is using this racial blackmail to gain support during national elections. It is clear that if the Economic Freedom Fighters take over, the issue of reconciliation and unity will remain a dream. There are some similarities between Mbeki and Malema. What Karima Brown says about Mbeki can be said about Malema (Mangcu, 2008:38):

“A dangerous era, which ushered in the cult of personality around Mbeki [and Malema - PTM], around Mbeki [or Malema – PTM], to whom we were told we needed to look to provide all the answers. To criticize government was not only described as unpatriotic, but was portrayed as an act of collusion with the enemies of the revolution.”

The youth of South Africa sees Malema as an answer, but he will soon become god unto himself, accountable to nobody but himself (cf. Vecchiatto, 2014:1). Even as a democracy, South Africa is still prone to polarization (Schutten, 2012:74). Polarization is a threat to reconciliation and unity because the individual opinion of the leaders rule supreme above the majority.

The unity in South Africa is superficial and the government is not doing enough since it is frustrated by this notion of socio-economic freedom. Blacks are crying and Whites feel threatened. Tribalism is also sticking out its ugly head just as it did during the Apartheid era. Tribalism is a very negative influence because it gives birth to division and the notion of divide and rule becomes eminent. Lutzer (2010:23) warns that "Hitler always said that the best way to conquer your enemies is to divide them." Now more than ever politics is becoming a dirty game. Whoever a party dislikes, it isolates and punishes in public to demonstrate that it will not tolerate dissent. Any state that publically blacklists its citizens is only a step away from assassinating them. The face of South African politics has changed. More focus is placed on the economy. Political change is an empty phrase if it is not accompanied by changes in the socio-economic sphere, leading to meaningful changes in the quality of life of the ordinary citizens. Based on the socio-economic problems, political intolerance is visible in South Africa (Ojiambo, 2014:4; Maphunye & Ledwaba, 2014:1). The perfect example is when politicians hurl insults back and forth to each other in the parliament based on race or difference in political views. Members of the parliament forgot that their role there is to factually debate issues that affect ordinary civilians. Members of the parliament and community at large have to learn to fight the issues affecting communities and to stop fighting and killing each other because of politics. Political knowledge is fundamental because real politics do not necessarily have to be the blame game it is now. The blame game brings divisions and unwarranted hatred. Politics, more especially in Parliament, is also not all about defending my fellow comrade, but it is about building a prosperous South Africa founded upon the Constitution. This can be achieved if members of parliament are ready to support accountability, transparency and to deal with corruption and maladministration harshly.

The positive role of the politics should be the following: The aim of politics is to bring people together with the best different philosophies and ideologies to lead the country in peace. It is the duty of the politician to resort to the solution that will bring peace and stability in the country. Van der Walt (2007:478-479) comments on political perspective by saying that politicians are officials who have authority, power and responsibility. Office does not primarily mean a position of authority, but in the first place of service. Van der Walt defines authority as a person in office making

service available. In order to serve, a person needs power, but power is not a norm and it should therefore be exploited for a specific kind of caring service in a specific societal relationship. Van der Walt warns that having power can entail huge temptations of gradually increasing power and making this power permanent. Van der Walt (2007:479) concludes by saying, "Office, authority and power imply, as suggested above, responsibility towards those who put the person in the office, but in the last instance also towards God who ordained different offices."

In many civil wars, instances of genocide and war recorded in the history, politicians played a very important role to instigate that war. Politicians must act responsibly to promote reconciliation. Wherever there is fear, disunity appears because fear unites and people come together to stand against the opposition. Snyman (1991:22) rightly argues that the unity we seek to achieve comes under threat because the government does not serve all people, but rather monopolizes political power. This causes people to fight for political power so that they can have influence socially and economically and can serve their specific group. Real democracy means that everything the government does must be in the best interest of the citizens, who are rulers. Remember what the government stands for: "people shall govern". However, as we evaluate South Africa now, it seems the voice of the president is more powerful than that of the majority of the people. Consider the e-toll issue in Gauteng and the 246 million rand used just for the house of President Jacob Zuma in Kwazulu-Natal. The government does its best to promote reconciliation, but the lack of a clear separation between politics and government threatens that reconciliation (Van der Walt, 2011:354). In 2 Corinthians 5:18-21 we hear a message of reconciliation that is bestowed upon us as Christians. This message is a message of reconciliation between us and God. When you love God, you ought to love your neighbour as well (1 John 4:19-21). The implication of us being reconciled with God through Christ while we are still sinners is that we also have a greater calling of reconciling with each other irrespective of race, creed, tribe and gender. Any statement of violence must be condemned, more especially when it is spoken by leaders, because such statements tamper with unity and reconciliation.

Is South African reconciled and united? We can safely say for the past fifteen years there has been more promise with regard to reconciliation and unity. However, as we

enter the second decade of our democracy, more cracks are becoming visible that threaten the reconciliation and the rainbow nation we once celebrated. The reason for this is mostly economical differences. Lutzer (2010:35) rightly says: “When a nation forgets God, it is always the economy.” When the economy is central, the divide between the poor and the rich becomes bigger; the attitude that distinguishes between us and them grows. Blacks blame Apartheid for poverty; Whites blame corruption and maladministration for poverty. In all this politicians gain fertile ground to plant their political propaganda. Politicians cleverly exploit the economic crisis to their advantage. In South Africa one good example is the Economic Freedom Fighters that have gained support from youths who are financially frustrated. Lutzer points out that when people are angry and hungry; few hear when the president speaks. Those who do hear him do not believe what he says. And why should they believe his words? The promise has become a lie (Lutzer, 2010:35). Usually dictators see this opportunity and grab it by discrediting the present government and promising citizens greener pastures if they join or vote for their party. People trade their freedom for one gift: the gift of survival. South Africans are led to believe that the nationalization of mines and land redistribution without compensation is the solution to the economic problems they are facing. Lutzer (2010:39) further contends that “An economic crisis is always a gift to a leader who wants to capture a nation. Revolution thrives when unemployment is high, inflation is rampant, and anger and mistrust has spread throughout...” We must be very careful because what may begin as economic freedom may end up as a moral and political nightmare. Reversed racism, discrimination, tribalism, genocide, civil war may show its ugly face in no time. True reconciliation and unity in South Africa still has to be achieved. At present these things are still far off, but promising, because the constitution is still valid and the country can still decide to go back to God and the constitution for guidance. Considering these words by the late Nelson Mandela will give direction to politicians who are obliged to keep peace, unity and to promote prosperity of all South Africa: “I detest racialism, because I regard it as barbaric thing, whether it comes from a Black man or a White man” (cf. Nelson Mandela Foundation).

### **3.2.4 The government has the responsibility to promote public justice**

John Calvin (1536:2) believed that it is the calling of the government to uphold and maintain a good social justice system. Karl Barth (1954:16-19), Abraham Kuyper

(1898:102-105) and Van der Walt (2011:357) agree with Calvin by saying that government must defend and administer social justice by being the guardian of the common good and by maintaining peace and stability. Kuyper says that this role of government is unchangeable. Van der Walt says that the government has to promote it. The above view is in line with what the Constitution of South Africa stands for.

Citizens can deduce the following from the constitution: the role of the government is to preserve social justice and improve the lives of all South African citizens, making sure that discrimination and racism does not repeat itself. It is not surprising that the constitution picked up on a few of the social ills of the past, namely racism and discrimination, because the Apartheid experience taught us that these two social ills can bring more social ills and division. In racism and discrimination, tribalism sees an opportunity and seizes it and starts to grow. South Africa is for all South Africans regardless of race, creed, tribe and gender. Has the government managed to deal with these social ills successfully? Lafollette (2007:71) says that

“Racism, discrimination and tribalism may not be seen practiced openly in some areas, but it is there in another form in that the shape of economy, politics and social institutions benefits or disadvantages a certain group of people. Racism where Blacks are called ‘kaffir’ is old fashioned, but it is still there.”

Racism and discrimination continues both from the side of the Whites and in the reversed form from the side of Blacks in South Africa. As much as we claim that South Africa is for all who live in it, people are still disadvantaged simply because of their racial heritage or tribe. In some companies people of certain races or tribes hold senior positions not on merit, but because of racial heritage. We also experience racism when a certain ethnic group is targeted and harmed without mercy. For example, farm attacks and incidents of xenophobia (cf. Hornschuh, 2007:14; Solidarity Research Institute 2012:9). The violent crime aimed our immigrant African neighbours because of the economy is a disgrace to social justice. The racial attitude is still there. Stereotypical views such as White people are racists, live on farms, Blacks steal, rapists and Coloureds are in gangs, and Indians are fraudsters and swindlers, reveal negative attitudes towards each other (cf. National Stereotype, 2013).

Individual discrimination will always be there, but it is disconcerting when discrimination becomes systematic and is supported by political organizations. It is abominable when a town changes the prices of housing or university entrance drastically just to keep a certain race away. It is horrible when those who are rich and have political power become untouchable so that they can do anything to the poor without facing any consequences. In South Africa there is a large socio-economic gap between the rich and the poor. The rich are becoming richer, whereas the poor are becoming poorer (Van der Walt, 2006:54). Buncombe (2013:1) says “the gap between the rich and the poor has not changed”, whereas Mngxitama and Elevate from Social Watch Poverty Eradication and Gender Justice claims that “Stats SA reports that the unemployment rate has soared from 16% in 1995 to 30% today.” However, other estimates using different definitions of “economically active” population puts the unemployment between 40% and 43%. Pityana (2013:v) supports Buncombe by saying “...poverty, inequality and unemployment are rampant and the gap between the rich and the poor has widened, it is clear that the Constitution’s vision of an equitable society, characterized by human dignity, fairness and justice, has not been realized”.

There is a vast difference between the care patients receive in public hospitals and what they receive in private hospitals. There are huge discrepancies between the school infrastructure and the quality of education learners from rural areas receive compared to urban schools. Basic service delivery in rural area is in shambles (Lafollette 2007:72). We must beware of who we are and what we are becoming as a nation. Lafollette (2007:72) further contends that,

“Acts of discrimination occurring over a short time are not as detrimental as patterns of discrimination over a long time. Sustained patterns of discrimination are not only especially harmful; they also create self-perpetuating social, cultural, and political institutions. These prolong the effects of discrimination long after overt discrimination has ceased.”

No social justice is served if children on farms are without schools or quality education. Negative comments and harmful actions towards someone who is Black/White/Coloured/Indian because he/she is Black/White/Coloured/Indian constitute an attack on all people.

In order to deal with the socio-economic injustice of the past, the government introduced policies such as Affirmative Action, Black Economic Empowerment, Woman Empowerment, and Land Redistribution, to mention the few. Most of the political parties who participated in the 2014 elections put the issue of socio-economic injustice at the centre of their manifestoes to attract more voters. Due to that South Africa is facing more danger now of reversed racism, discrimination and tribalism than ever. Some politicians are teaching people not to trust certain political parties based on the race and tribe of the leader. Some political parties target a certain tribe of voters. That clearly reveals that those parties, in case they win the election, will prefer certain tribe above others (cf. Modisane, 2014).

President Jacob Zuma is accused of corruption, patronage and nepotism. In the Special National Congress of NUMSA held on 16-20 December 2013, the following resolution was reached concerning President Zuma, "This Special National Congress calls on President Jacob Zuma to resign with immediate effect because of his administration pursuit of neo-liberal policies ..., and the track record of his administration which steeped in corruption, patronage and nepotism." The accusation laid against the leadership challenges public justice. Most political leaders face corruption charges or civil pursuit in one way or another. Van Onselen (2012:1) believes that social justice will remain a dream if African National Congress tendencies under president Zuma continues. He points out that African National Congress under Jacob Zuma rewards political loyalty over excellence and graft over goodwill. Routinely the government and some political parties rewarded the crooked and corrupt with positions and privilege (cf. Maimane, 2015).

Political parties are also looking at land reform issue as part of social justice. The ongoing debate about land redistribution without compensation poses a danger to our democracy. The ideology around land redistribution is that Whites took the land from Blacks by force and now is time for the Blacks to take the very same land by force. This ideology will continue a vicious cycle. During Apartheid when Blacks were oppressed by the Apartheid government they came together with the common goal of fighting for the justice of the Black majority against the evil laws of Apartheid. The military group named Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed to resist the White minority (Ngcunu, 2014:240). This is mentioned to alert the Black majority that if the White

minority is threatened by the radical statements of political organizations like the Economic Freedom Fighters and ongoing Affirmative Action and Black Economic Empowerment, this can give birth to reversed racism and discrimination. The White minority can also form their militant structures to oppose the government and bring it down to its knees. Umkhonto we Sizwe did this with limited resources and therefore Whites can do it easily too. Do Blacks have to do as Whites did in Apartheid government? Lafollette (2007:87) says it fittingly: "It was wrong to deprive people jobs, housing, health, public benefits, and legal and civil rights merely because of their race. Affirmative action is wrong for the same reason." Against this background land reform and Affirmative Action cannot be considered as racism and discrimination in South Africa, considering relevant and moral facts. It should be considered an attempt to redress the injustices of the past, but it must have its limit and end so that all South African children are given an equal opportunity regardless of race, gender and creed. Nelson Mandela proclaimed this, "I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunity." The challenge of when land reform and affirmative action will end to give all South Africans an equal opportunity is based on the extent and the depth of the scar from the past. White children who were born in 1994 and who are called 'born free' argue that they cannot suffer the injustice of affirmative action because of the mistakes of their forefathers. In response to that, affirmative action does not punish sons for the sins of their fathers. Rather it holds that the children and the grandchildren of those who wronged Blacks should not continue to benefit from those ancient wrongs and that the progeny of wronged Blacks should not continue to suffer the effects of those wrongs. That is why many supporters of affirmative action think that contemporary Whites should compensate Blacks, even though the central perpetrators and victims are dead (Lafollette, 2007:89). Socio-economic status and educational background will decide our future, but the issue of redress cannot continue for eternity, because that will bring social stratification that will divide us further. Instead of just taking land back from the White farmers in the name of redressing the social injustices of the past, let every man prove his/her potential before he is given land to prove that he will make that land fruitful. The above debates clearly reveal that the issue of social justice in South Africa is still in its baby shoes. Strikes attest to that. Paragraph 3.2.9 addresses this issue.

As hard as it is to put affirmative action into practice, it is a Biblically sound principle to restore social justice. Exodus 22:1-15 explicitly addresses this issue clearly. Verse 9 says:

“In all cases of illegal possession of an ox, a donkey, a sheep, a garment, or any other lost property about which somebody says, ‘This is mine,’ both parties are to bring their cases before the judges. The one whom the judges declare guilty must pay back double to his neighbour.”

The NIV 1991:141 points out that

“Throughout Chapter 22 we find examples of the principles of restitution – making wrongs right. If you have done someone wrong, perhaps you should go beyond what is expected to make things right. This will help to ease any pain caused, help other person to be more forgiving and made you more likely to think before you do it again”.

The question that should be asked in South Africa is that, after two decades of democracy, has public justice been achieved in South Africa? The liberation of Israelites from Egypt clearly shows that God cares about social justice. He liberated them so that they could enjoy their freedom free from slavery, but they had a calling to understand the meaning of their freedom and the responsibility that goes with it. In South Africa we speak of liberation and freedom, but does this guarantee social justice? Freedom without responsibility from the government and people brings more damage than freedom. The Israelites gained freedom from Egypt, but the freedom was too much for them and they wandered the desert for more than forty years. Why so? They turned their back on the God who liberated them from slavery and the great injustices they suffered in Egypt. If we want to judge whether we have achieved social justice, we must look at the status of the poor in South Africa. In the second decade of freedom, there are still children who are exposed to child labour due to poverty. There are still children without adequate schooling infrastructure in South Africa. The organization called Section 27 (2013:8) contends that,

“The findings of the Census at school 2009 indicate that only 60% of the 2500 schools which took part in the Census had electricity and running water. Fewer

than 25% of these schools had a library. While 53% had at least one computer, only 15% had access to e-mail and internet.”

There are still communities that lack simple basic services such as water and sanitation. Section 27 (2013:7) reports that “Approximately 80% of the public schools in Limpopo make use of basic pit toilets. The pits at many of these schools are full and toilets cannot be used. They are unsafe, unhygienic and unclean.” Furthermore, Mellisa-Shube (2013:1) argues that “the legacy of Apartheid is still palpable in South Africa’s education system, where many rural and township schools lack basic infrastructure to provide students with safe environment conducive to learning.”

Vorster J.M. (2007:24) proposes that “Social justice is justice towards all, especially the poor, weak and the aliens. Jurisprudence had to maintain human dignity by protecting the rights of the vulnerable and maintain justice in jurisprudence, economy, taxes and in general government.” The challenge that South Africa has to maintain justice is based only on the constitution. The problem with that is that the constitution can approve an act that is socially unjust in name of a constitutional right. The most beautiful sections of our constitution remains beautiful only on paper. “Consequently, the majority see the liberating promise of the Constitution as betrayed; they feel despondent and alienated” (Pityana, 2013:vii). Factors that make people feel despondent and alienated are discussed in Chapter 4.

### **3.2.5 The governing authority has the responsibility to offer good legislature and to put law enforcement in place**

Rosenthal (1999:48), in description of good legislature says: “Good legislature must perform the functions that are expected of them in a representative democracy. These functions range from balancing power, representing constituents and creating new laws.” To have a good legislature we are challenged by the following three issues, namely the need for good legislators, the source of good legislature and the good justice system to enforce the law. Corrupt legislators who are emotionally and morally drained by their political views and social standings will make bad legislation. In South Africa every law is measured by whether is constitutional or not. Using the constitution to measure whether the law is right does not sound bad, but if it is only the constitution that is used to measure a law we must be worried as a nation

because our country will go to ruins in the name of constitutional rights. It is constitutional to have and practice freedom of association, but morally wrong if freedom of association means discrimination against some. We reckon that good legislation can be formulated if other social spheres and religions, beliefs and representatives of the South Africans public at large are consulted. This should not be a mere formality, but legislators should take note of such input so that some laws that are constitutionally right can be overruled by morality. Mashau (2008:66) elaborated on this by saying

“The sad thing about the whole process of parliament’s passing of the Civil Union Act is that parliament did so even though the majority of traditional leaders and religious people were against it. In the process of consultation, it became clear that the majority of South Africans pleaded with the government not to legalize same-sex marriages, it hurts to see that our government upholds what they call ‘the rule of the people by the people’. In this instance, the voice of the masses was disregarded whilst that of the minority was respected and accommodated.”

Pityana (2013:ix) correctly points out that, “the people are the ultimate custodians of the Constitution. The custodianship needs to be relocated from institutions to the people”. Young (2006:11) and Reichley (2006:17) warn that “In order to be fair to this non-religious minority and to secular candidates, religion should play a lesser role in politics and should be wary of becoming too involved in politics.” Young further says that a democratic polity should welcome moral insights brought by religious bodies over issues that raise important ethical questions. The words ‘too much involved in politics’ must not threaten and limit Christian involvement in politics. Christians have to be involved in politics and governance to assist the process of making good legislation. We must bear in mind that a person’s faith will always influence his or her decisions and can provide helpful guidance in solving problems. A person’s faith or lack of it is inevitably a factor in making important decisions, personal and political (Fields 2006:8).

Good legislature or law becomes functional when it is elaborated by a good juridical system and law enforcement. Criminals can be arrested by the police, but if the rate of conviction is low, law enforcement by the police is compromised. For example, the law and the Constitution guarantees every citizen’s right to life, which is good, but

when a perpetrator of rape moves around freely while the victim of the rape has to deal with the pain just because the National Prosecuting Authority does not have a strong case against the perpetrator, this alone, if not corrected, can give birth to mob justice. Mob justice is becoming more prevalent in South Africa because many criminals are walking free. Bruce (2010:1), the senior research specialist with the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, believes that “mob justice was a result of citizens’ desperation and lack of confidence in the country’s justice system”. We must take note that if a person is a victim of rape or any form of crime and knows the perpetrator, even though the justice system cannot prove that person guilty, the victim knows that that person is guilty and it brings more anger to the community. Sometimes the justice system leaves victims feeling as if the system is on the side of the perpetrator. Underhill (2012:1), in support of Bruce contends that “Mob justice is only done when people do not trust the police. People believe that if the case makes it into the court room, it can drag on for years or be thrown due to bungled investigations or corruption. This situation frustrated residents, who took law into their hands.” Drug mules and drug users are arrested time and again, but it does not come to a point where the drug dealers in the big suburbs are arrested too.

Good legislature balances power. The notion that no one is above the law has to become visible. In case of South Africa, many cases were swept under the carpet in view of those in power. Some good examples are the cases of Police Commissioner Mr Jackie Selebi and Mr Schabir Shaik, President Jacob Zuma’s advisor who is out of jail on medical parole after having been found guilty of corruption charges. (Issues affecting Jackie Selebi and Schabir Shaik are further discussed under 4.8 of this study that deals with corruption). When people develop mistrust in the judicial system, police corruption grows and more police are murdered because victims blame the police when the perpetrators walk free. There must be a close working relationship between the police and juridical system to maintain law and order in the country. In South Africa rights are preached as protected by the law, but the responsibility that those rights bring are overlooked, so that corruption sets in, and that alone corrupts both the justice system and the legislature. A huge scandal would become defined by cover-ups, political protection and ultimately reward for those found guilty and still ostensibly serving the public interest (cf. van Onselen, 2012:1; Maimane, 2015). The scandal that surrounded Jacob Zuma before 2014 can serve

as a good example. Corrupt legislators cannot make good laws. In South Africa we lack leaders who can practice what they preach. In Patel's (2013:1) words; "Corruption in all its guises - private, public, arms deals and pension stipends - has been backbone of political controversy in South Africa since 1994."

### **3.2.6 The governing authority is responsible for social welfare and basic service delivery**

South Africa, in comparison with other African countries, is doing its best to try to alleviate poverty through social grants. Vorster, J.M. (2007:74) says,

"It can be argued that the state is already doing much for the poor through, for instance, Black empowerment and grants. In the other hand one can argue that Black empowerment did indeed establish a Black middle class, but that it did not bring about alleviation of poverty amongst unschooled workers to any great degree."

There are still Black South Africans who don't have identity documents. In Rysmierbult, which resorts under the Ventersdorp municipality in North West Province, the farms situated near a fast growing town, Potchefstroom, with a big university and great infrastructure, still does not have a secondary school. People are still living in extreme poverty (cf. Ruch, 2014:2; Phoyane & Makande, 2012:73). The majority of the community only relies on farm jobs and social grants for survival. There are no matriculants, the rate of teenage pregnancy is growing by the day and that also increases the rate of people infected and affected by HIV/AIDS. This is the reality that many South Africans are facing in many rural areas and it is a worrying factor. What is necessary is that the state should act as a primary job creator for the unschooled in all levels of government. Vorster, J.M. (2007:75) contends that "Apart from emphasis on the role that churches should play in caring for the poor, large corporations and non-governmental organizations should also be lead wisely to alleviate poverty." Civil society must be reconsidered. The National Development Agency (2008:5) defines civil society as, "Organizations that exist for the benefit of people in our society." We cannot limit civil society to only mean non-government organizations (NGOs) or community-based organizations (CBOs). It must include informal gatherings and associations that take place at a 'grass-roots' level where

community members come together to meet needs that arise within community and which never become formalized. Civil society can assist greatly in the process of assisting government in issues of social welfare and service delivery because civil societies know exactly the challenges that the community faces in a daily basis. For example, 95% of residents in Rysmierbult are staying in the informal settlement, but the government spent tax payers' money building pit toilets instead of rectifying the issues of settlement (cf. Xingwana, 2006). Civil society is relevant with regard to shedding light on what government should prioritize with regard to social welfare and service delivery. The government should not assume or bypass the will of the community because that will render government efforts null and void. For example, building community halls where the community is in need of a clinic or school is an irrelevant act.

Instead of poverty alleviation, most South Africans are losing jobs and most graduates are searching for jobs without any sign of hope. That shatters the dreams and hopes of young South Africans who have to rely on social welfare for survival after graduating. Goko (2013) says "South Africa is already the largest welfare state in the developing world. Consider that there are more people in South Africa on welfare than people who work. The alternative to welfare is job creation. Former President de Klerk says "A new South Africa is possible only if it is bolstered by a sound and growing economy, with particular emphasis on creation of jobs." He further attests that a changed dispensation implies more than political and constitutional issues. It cannot be pursued successfully in isolation from problems in other spheres of life, which demand practical solutions. Poverty, unemployment, house shortages, inadequate education and training, illiteracy, health needs and numerous other problems still stand in the way of progress and prosperity and improved quality of life. When the government creates jobs it pays graduates a stipend that seems like a joke in a country where everything is expensive, starting from food, accommodation and transport. When considering social welfare, South Africa is in crisis because the number of beneficiaries are growing (Hweshe, 2011:1). The government introduced social grants for children, which came as a relief to many, but it also brings new social problems. Some critics feel that these social grants encourage unschooled youths to have many babies for the sake of the money the children bring in (cf. Kubheka 2013:19-23). This causes a vicious circle of

extreme poverty, since the grants provided for the children is far too small to take care of them.

The issue of basic service delivery is of great concern in South Africa. Citizens are frustrated. In many areas in South Africa basic service delivery like access to clean water, sanitation, electricity, education, roads and health care is still below standard. I grew up in Mashamba Village in the Makhado municipality while Venda was still independent. When I grew up there was access to clean water day and night. Now there is only water some days in a week. Many middle class residents have sunk their own boreholes in their yards, which in itself poses more of a threat of poor service delivery because no one is ready to speak on behalf of poor. The above example is an alternative used by those who have money to address the issue of poor basic service delivery. Those who cannot afford those basic services privately resort to strikes and protests.

There is always some strike in South Africa for basic service delivery. Khanyane (2010:77) correctly points out that “the protests, strikes and riots [that are still going on – PTM] showcased the impatience of the citizenry and this impatience, in turn, continues to frustrate the efforts of the government to act responsibly.” The frustrating thing about South African protests, strikes and riots is that they do much damage to existing infrastructure, which is important for basic service delivery. We find citizenry striking for water, but they destroy schools, library, clinics, community hall, cars and traffic lights. South Africans must be taught to love their country and they must learn to protect the little they have instead of destroying all they have in the name of protest. If you don’t approve of a political leader, why burn his house? Why not use your democratic right to vote him/her out?

The government is also misguided when it comes to the issue of service delivery. It focuses on infrastructure, but not on the services rendered when the infrastructure is there. Khanyane (2010:79) points out that “the focus of service delivery once more is erroneously on quantity of Schools or Clinics built, while overlooking the intangible public service such as the quality of education and health provision, which is what makes public service both effective and humanising.” Good buildings are needed, but quality service in the building is needed even more. To have a well-built hospital that lacks medication and health personnel is frustrating. Service delivery failures arise

from a fundamental problem of avoiding tough decisions and can come down to a simple chain of accountability. Politicians are interested in cutting the ribbon of a new school or health building, but not in the quality of education or whether there is medication in clinics. After all, why should they bother, their children are in private schools and they have medical aid that allows them access to best medical care in private hospitals. Service delivery is about quality of service rendered, not only quantity. Quantity without quality will only serve as immediate answer, but in a long run the strikes will start again, demanding quality.

As much as the government seeks to overcome the issue of service delivery, the issue of the political terms of politicians in government sphere threatens the progress of our country. Most politicians give their fellow cadre tenders so that when their term ends in office at least they would have something for themselves. Most politicians think in terms of five years. That causes government to lose billions due to incompetent tender entrepreneurs. Like any African government after independence, South Africa has not been immune to corruption. Instead of the government focusing on delivering quality services to people on the ground, the government has had to spend time combating corruption. Khanyane (2010:77) correctly points out that “Since 1994, while there has been transformation, this has also created opportunities for corruption and other social ills, which deprive the South African people of their rightful basic public service and benefit.”

We cannot as a citizenry blindly celebrate the provision of social grants and the building of good infrastructure like soccer stadiums for the 2010 soccer world cup without questioning the outcome of all this. Are the grants really the solution to our poverty? Does good infrastructure guarantee good service? South Africans are lamenting the poor level of education. Infrastructure is needed, but more than that quality services should be rendered. Social grants are needed and helpful, but employment is more needed. Employment gives one dignity. Khanyane (2010:77) rightfully asks this rhetoric question: “Will levels of service delivery – for example, housing, social grants and health – improve the lives of the people, contributing to building dignity and mutual respect, or will service delivery continue to effectively undermine human dignity to live decent live?” All citizens need is employment so that they can build their own house instead of a government house of low quality. They

need good health care instead of queuing the whole day for medical attention or waiting for three months for special operations to be done. Julius Malema in 17 June 2014 in the Times called the houses built by the government for the poor, 'glorified sharks' ([www.timeslive.co.za](http://www.timeslive.co.za))

### **3.3 CONCLUSION**

This chapter indicated that civil servants should not be in office to serve themselves, but to serve the people who elected them and ultimately God who place them in office. Corruption and nepotism is ruining this image in South Africa. Democracy with its emphasis on rule by the people should be reinforced by meritocracy that emphasizes rule by the best in terms of merit. This should be monitored by a theocracy that emphasizes rule by God, meaning that the input of Christian religion should be considered when addressing issues of office. Christian religion teaches that the office of leadership is that of servanthood, not of self-service. A biblical example of servanthood can assist government officials to understanding servanthood in the office. The South African government has good resources, but we lack good administrators just because most government employees are not employed based on merit, but on political loyalty. Political appointment causes corrupt officials to continue to serve in Public office (Patel, 2013:1). The end result is service to themselves, not the community at large.

A secular state does not prefer any specific religion above another. Structural and confessional pluralism can be the solution, but religion must guard against secularism that seems prominent now in South Africa. It is easier to speak about sex and money in South Africa in public, than religion. This must be reversed; religion has to participate fully in serious ethical issues that affect our country. Freedom of religion must be promoted without limitation. This freedom of religion must also be practiced in the public sphere. A religious state is impossible. South Africa must guard against secularism and political monopolization. With political monopolization, all power of every structure and confession belongs or is decided by the political parties. The charges against president Zuma of corruption, nepotism and maladministration can serve as example of danger of political monopolization (cf. Sebola, 2014:216). Every structure and confession should enjoy their independence, but they should be interdependent when need arises. A university should be a

university, led by scholars who can air their views without political interference or threat. Religions structures must be protected so they can witness to the government and the community without fear of marginalization.

If South Africans are not aware of politicians' tactics and strategies, the reconciliation and unity we seek to achieve will remain a dream. All that the politicians are emphasizing is economy. Lutzer is correct when he says that when a nation forgets God, it is all about the economy. Moral issues are disregarded and unity is compromised. Blacks are indoctrinated to see any economic crises as the direct result of Whites, which makes the attitude of "us" versus "them" grow further. Tribalism and xenophobia are also adding salt to the wounds. South Africa is not yet reconciled. How can South Africa reconcile while there is still marginalization of one group by others based on political affiliation, race and class. There is still visible social marginalization, political exclusion and economic exploitation. Simpson (2005:25) sums it up this way,

“Whether these experiences of marginalization are based upon the enduring politics of race, class or patriarchy; or the experiences of uneven regional development and the limitations of state service delivery; or whether they are shaped by patterns of cultural, linguistic, ethnic, or religious exclusion - these identity-based perception map another range of fault-lines for future conflict that may threaten sustainable peace in South Africa in the decade or more that lies ahead.”

Public Justice is what is desired in South Africa. Tax payers' money must be used responsibly. The more than R246 million that has been used for President Zuma's private Nkandla village is hugely irresponsible. Public justice has to fight against social ills without taking any favour. Moreover, there must be good cooperation between law enforcement agencies and the justice system. Police can arrest the criminals, but they cannot convict them. All South African citizens have to be protected by law and no one must be seen or treated as if he/she is above the law. The medical paroles that were granted by correctional services to Jackie Selebi and Schabir Shaik respectively somehow portray the idea that some individuals who have strong political connections are above the law.

To have good legislature we cannot only rely on the constitution and majority decision because issues may be constitutionally right and endorsed by the majority, yet they remain morally wrong. Religions and culture has a role to play when dealing with issues that affect the moral fibre of our society. Legislature must not be influenced by global fashion, but must be guided by truth and integrity. We must bear in mind that faith or not having faith plays an important role in the issue of morality. Good legislation can only be formulated by people with integrity, transparency and good moral standing in public.

For the sake of achieving and sustaining a high standard of public service delivery, public officials are required to display honesty, transparency and both internal accountability (i.e. within their respective institution and external accountability) and external accountability (i.e. with regard to the general public). It is apparent then that governance in South Africa is the primary issue in public administration and that levels of governance leaves much to be desired (Khanyane, 2010:81). Social grants are there, but no employment. Good infrastructure is available, but no good service. In most government structures, queues are the order of the day. The South African government lacks monitoring. In rural areas basic service delivery are desperately needed. Khanyane (2010:81) says “The public service needs to be guided by certain principles and values, including accountability, honesty, impartiality, service quality, professionalism and motivation.”

**CHAPTER FOUR:**  
**CORE MORAL ISSUES FACING THE SOUTH AFRICAN**  
**GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY**

**4.1 INTRODUCTION**

South Africa is on the verge of moral decay. Freedom gave people the right to live freely, but this freedom does not imply irresponsible life. Rights go with responsibilities. Rights also have limitations, but if my right is limited to the extent that it is destroyed to its core, the limitation is invalid (Wessels, 2007:51). This chapter seeks to identify and discuss core moral issues that are affecting South Africa. The moral decay in the country manifests as follows:

- Sexual immorality
- Reversed racism
- Unemployment, poverty and food insecurity
- Xenophobia
- Strikes
- Gambling and debt
- Drug/substance abuse and human trafficking
- Corruption

**4.2 SEXUAL IMMORALITY**

Sex is part of humanity, and it has its own specific morals. If those morals are not upheld, the good thing that God created is distorted to become ugly. Sexuality should be checked to see if it is practiced correctly or not. The Bible teaches sex as something to be practiced within the bond of marriage by two heterosexual partners who are physically and mentally mature. The traditional view of sex puts emphasis on procreation and marriage. The romantic view of sex puts emphasis on the erotic side, but endorses a set of sexual prescriptions and proscriptions to have control over sex. The Marxist-feminist view emphasizes that humans are sexual beings, but that sex

must not be practiced for ulterior motives whatsoever. Both partners have to negotiate its conditions (Primoratz, 2013:4863). All the above views subscribe to the view that there must be moral values governing sex. It cannot be left untamed. The extreme view that is accepted by many youths and which promotes moral decay is called the liberal view. This view contends that there is no special moral significance to sex. What matters in this view is consent: a sex act to which participants have consented is *prima facie* morally legitimate. The danger of the liberal view is that it does not embrace laying down any moral norms for sexual behaviour to determine what is right and wrong (Primoratz, 2013:4864).

This study only looks at the last view, namely the liberal view, because it is consistent with the liberal democracy where everyone has freedom and rights. The liberal view also constitutes a threat to morality. The idea of consent as the only basis of morality can serve as fertile soil for moral decay. This view holds that if two adults consent to commit adultery it is fine. If two young people consent to fornicate, it is fine. If people prostitute themselves willingly, it is fine. If blood relatives agree on incest, it is fine. If people agree on orgies and promiscuity, it is fine. The liberal view puts emphasis on consent and individual rights. This view gives birth to sexual immorality. Sexual immorality promotes the spread of sexually transmitted infections (STI) such as HIV/AIDS, and unplanned pregnancies. Unplanned pregnancies lead to abortions and poverty. A Christian perspective on sex can be of great help to address issues of sexual immorality and its consequences, such as sexually transmitted infections, unplanned pregnancies, abortion and poverty. A Christian perspective on sex teaches that sex should occur within the bond of marriage between heterosexual adults. Sexual rights are reserved for two partners in marriage, with no extra-marital affairs. This principle would be the beginning of the end of STIs, unplanned pregnancies, abortion and poverty. It implies that partners who are not infected will remain uninfected; those who are infected cannot spread infection. We should note that as much as the liberal view preaches consent and individual rights as its foundation, the consequences of the act affects the families and the community at large. The rise in HIV/AIDS infection, teenage pregnancy and abortion serve as a good example.

According to Ndlovu *et al.* (2013:1), “South Africa has the largest number of people living with HIV, estimated at 5.4 million, requiring various interventions to curb the spread of HIV and to mitigate the impact of the virus among the already infected.” Billions of public money is invested in health medications, more especially ARV’s. The National Treasury’s budget highlights for 2014 reveal that money allocated to health amounts to 145.7 billion, of which 15.3 billion goes to HIV/AIDS and TB. The reflected growth relative to 2013/14 was estimated to be 16.3%. According to Ndlovu *et al.* (2013:13), 65% of the funds of the Health Department is spent on Anti-Retroviral Treatment (ART). Good moral standards can save the government a large amount of money and lead our country to prosperity. The billions of Rands that are used now could be spent on creating jobs and building schools. HIV/AIDS has a direct impact on the rise of orphans and child-headed households in South Africa. Roets (2008:47) says,

“Despite the provision of antiretroviral therapy (ART) at public clinics and hospitals, increasing numbers of people are dying from AIDS and the toll continues to rise, with devastating social and economic consequences. Of prime concern are children who are orphaned by this epidemic, some of whom are left HIV positive themselves.”

Furthermore, these children usually take care of the terminally ill parents long before the parents die. When these children lose their parents through HIV/AIDS they face trauma, distress and economic challenges. Often they resort to destructive and cruel behaviour to themselves and others, such as taking drugs and alcohol, lacking morality and being ill-disciplined. The end result of all this is more poverty and relying on extended family members, caregivers in society and the Departments of Health and Social Development. Due to the poor discipline of the orphans, most community members treat them as hooligans, and this deprives them of the help they really need. HIV/AIDS affects the most vulnerable sectors of society most - globally and locally. In order to help orphans and child-headed households, there should be a change in the attitude of community members. This can be achieved if structures like churches, civil society and local government can address the causes of orphanage and child-headed households, which is HIV/AIDS and other factors. This can change the behaviour pattern of community members (Ratele, 2006:173). The church should

be the frontrunner in view of what James 1:27 says, namely that the “Religion that God our Father accepts as pure and faultless is this: to look after orphans and widows in their distress and to keep from being polluted by the world.” Sexual immorality does not only have negative consequences in view of HIV/AIDS. It also brings unwanted or unplanned pregnancies that result in abortion. What we don’t want, we eliminate. Let us look at abortion, since it is also on the rise.

Is abortion morally acceptable? We should note that it may be legal to do something, or it may be seen as normal. But is it right? This question is raised because abortion is legally acceptable in South Africa. Psalm 139:13-16 teaches that

“For you created my inmost being; you knit me together in my mother’s womb.... My frame was not hidden from you when I was made in the secret place. When I was woven together in the depths of the earth, your eyes saw my unformed body. All the days ordained for me were written in your book before one of them came to be.”

The above verses reveal that life starts at conception, and therefore abortion is inhumane because it is murder (cf. Rainey & Magill, 1996:3). Abortion makes our nation legal murderers. Ankerberg and Weldon (1989:31) put it this way, “Abortion is always an intentional act ... a premeditated act.” Ankerberg and Weldon conclude that abortion is by definition an intentional, premeditated taking of human life. They don’t consider abortion as the termination of a pregnancy, but a deliberate killing of a human being. Abortion is a violation of Exodus 20:13, which says; “You shall not murder.” The day the government legalized abortion she took upon herself a sin of the individual and institutionalized it by making it the responsibility of the health department. In South Africa, murder is acceptable as long as the child is still in the developing stage in his/her mother’s womb. The human being should be respected and treated as a person from the moment of conception, and therefore from that same moment his/her rights as a person must be recognized as enshrined in the Bill of Rights. The foetus too has a right to life. Calvin (1981:42) says;

“The unborn child...though enclosed in the womb of its mother, is already a human being...and should not be robbed of the life which it has not yet begun to enjoy. If it seems more horrible to kill a man in his own house than in a field,

because a man's house is his place of most secure refuge, it ought surely to be deemed more atrocious to destroy an unborn child in the womb before it has come to light.”

The prophetic words of Jeremiah 1:5 could shed light on the seriousness of abortion; “Before I formed you in the womb I knew you, before you were born I set you apart; I appointed you as a prophet to the nations.” What should be done in this case where abortion is legal? The law can be kept, but it has to be amended. It is not enough to accept abortion based on time, like allowing it for the first 12 weeks of pregnancy. Let the amendments look mostly at the cause of pregnancy (e.g. rape, or molestation, incest) and the status of the mother (e.g. an ectopic pregnancy). Victims of rape or molestation are advised to see medical practitioners within 72 hours of rape/molestation so that the victim could be assisted so that she would not fall pregnant or be infected with sexually transmitted infections such as HIV/AIDS. Even in the case of rape, the victim should go through serious counselling before opting for abortion. Does a woman who is a victim of rape have a right to victimize an innocent child? Not really, because the woman in question will have double trauma, namely the trauma of rape and the trauma of killing her unborn child (Ankerberg & Weldon, 1989:119). Abortion should be considered a last resort only if it is perceived that it will save the life of the mother, or in the case of an ectopic pregnancy, rape, molestation and incest. Abnormalities and deformities in the unborn baby should not be considered a reason for abortion unless there is serious deformity of the baby, because a person's worth and value to a community are not dependent on their physical or mental “normality”. Having mentioned hard cases of abortion, I conclude like Cain (1995:13) saying, “Abortions performed for the hard cases account for only 1 to 3 percent of all abortions committed. The other 97-99 percent of abortions is committed for convenience.” Let the abortion law be amended to serve only 1-3 percent of the hard cases, but hard cases should not dictate the general law. The hard cases must not be used to justify the legalization of abortion on demand (cf. Ankerberg & Weldon, 1989:115). We cannot choose death over life as a nation. In Deuteronomy 30:19 God advises us to choose life over death; “This day I call heaven and earth as witness against you that I have set before you life and death, blessings and curses. Now choose life, so that you and your children may live.” People who are pro-abortion argue that it is personal choice. In a country like South Africa where

different contraceptives are readily available, even to teenagers, and the ABC method (ABC means A=Abstain from sexual activities, B=Be Faithful to your partner and C=Condomize, always use a condom to prevent Sexually Transmitted Infections and unwanted pregnancy) is preached everywhere, abortion cannot be justified. Kippax (2006:233) further says,

“The ABC of prevention is being turned into ABCDE of prevention in recognition and acknowledgement of the link between the moral agendas of ABC and recent moves to push testing onto those who, because of the stigma and shame associated with HIV, are fearful to test. The A and B aspects of ABC have been joined by D (delay sex) and E (early testing).”

Cain (1995:16) is correct when she says; “You have personal choice before conception. Once fertilization has occurred, you no longer have a choice - you have a child. After a child is born a mother once more has a choice to keep the child or give the child to adoption.” The fact that abortion is internationally accepted does not make it right. Before democracy, South Africa fought against discrimination based on race. Is it acceptable to discriminate against people based on age? Unborn children should also be protected from the hands of abortionists.

In the case of illegal abortion a case of first degree murder should be considered against the mother and abortionist. Illegal abortion puts the life of ‘mothers-to-be’ in grave danger. Joy magazine (2008:20) reported that,

“Illegal abortionists have mushroomed in cities all over South Africa. For as little as R200, illegal abortionists are touting their services quite openly. It is a shocking that these abortionists claim that they can offer ‘safe abortions and pain free’ for pregnancies up to seven months. Even in the case of legal abortions, no woman who is over 12 weeks pregnant can demand to have an abortion.”

Cain (1995:6) is of the opinion that while we are concerned about the deaths of mothers who have illegal abortions, we must not legalize abortion to kill innocents just to make the killing process less dangerous. Legal abortion reduces the risk of death for women during the abortion process, but it increases the number of women who opt for abortion. The end result is that more innocent children are killed.

Sexual immorality is continuing to manifest in South Africa in form of homosexuality, prostitution, pornography, adultery, fornication, orgies that lead to unplanned pregnancies, abortion, sexual violence, rape, divorce, cohabitation and human trafficking. Sexual immorality degrades human beings to mere sex objects. What came as a blow in South Africa is when the Constitutional Court instructed parliament to promulgate a new marriage law where marriage is defined in such a way that it can include a homosexual marriage. Homosexual behaviour is increasingly regarded as normal, in the legal world as well as in the human sciences (Vorster, J.M., 2007:227). Instruction from the Constitution Court led government to recognize homosexuality as legal as from 14 November 2006 (Masase, 2009:10). As much as the Constitutional Court is proclaimed as the supreme power, we must guard against constitutional dictatorship. In the beginning homosexuals claimed that they are born that way, but it has turned out that it is a matter of preference to some (Masase, 2009:4). We also have to take note that some life issues are natural and cannot be altered. For instance, even though homosexual marriages and homosexual relationships are recognized in South Africa, the homosexual relationship is biblically and traditional unacceptable. Nkosi (2014:3) contends that, "Homosexuality was rated as unacceptable by respondents despite gay marriage being legal in South Africa." It goes against the will of God and it threatens the future of humanity. However, reacting to homosexuality with homophobic attacks would not provide any solutions. As much as homosexuality is strongly condemned by the Bible and African culture, all that we can do now is to witness to homosexuals about the truth of the Bible and the threat they pose to the community with such behaviour. The argument that they are born with a homosexual preference does not give them right to practice the lifestyle. Being born with a strong sex drive that your partner can not satisfy does not give a person the right to have extra-marital affairs. One of the fruits of the Holy Spirit in Galatians 5:23 is self-control. Scriptures such as Genesis 2:18-24; 19:4-13; Leviticus 18:22; 20:13; Romans 1:18-31; 1 Corinthians 6:9-11; Jude 7; Ephesians 5:31-33 all clearly reveal God's ethical perspective with regard to homosexuality by prohibiting it and by showing negative consequences to those who pursue it. Other Scriptures show the ideal marriage that God approves. Scriptures like 1 Corinthians 6:9-11 speaks of some who repented their homosexual sin, showing that there is nothing impossible with God, as we read in Luke 1:37. A musician, Mshoza, and the

TV Presenter Dr Love are living examples of changing from being homosexual to being heterosexual (cf. Masase, 2009:4).

We can learn from the above that every untamed sexual impulse is a breeding ground of much social illness. Once government, churches and civilians invest more time in dealing with all the issues that serve as a breeding ground of social illness, the country will be able to deal with these social illnesses successfully. Having dealt with homosexuality, another trend that is growing is that of adultery and prostitution. One cannot emphasize enough that adultery is the main cause of divorce and sexually transmitted infections. Sexual immorality is destructive in nature, hence Paul warns against it in 1 Corinthians 6:18-20 by saying,

“Flee from sexual immorality. All other sins a man commits are outside his body, but he who sins sexually sins against his own body. Do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit, who is in you, whom you have received from God? You are not your own; you were bought at a price. Therefore honour God with your body” (NIV).

Prostitution is also manifesting very strongly in South Africa. Many people who were locked in the former homelands by the apartheid regime moved from rural areas seeking greener pastures in urban areas since urban areas have many benefits such as; employment opportunities, efficiency, convenience, concentration of resources, concentration of educational facilities, better social integration, new markets and economic improvement. The challenge is faced by those whom these benefits does not work for them especially the most vulnerable of the society without educational background or orientated to urban life style (cf. Harber, 2011:191). In recent South African history, urbanization and immigration has resulted in a high rate of unemployment, land insecurity, poor living conditions and crime (Dewar and Todeschini, 1999:5). We cannot blame people for the movement from rural to urban areas since in rural areas the unemployment rate is high and most rural areas are disconnected from global community. Some of those who do not find jobs turn to prostitution as a means of survival (cf. Warah, 2006:115). In Warah (2006:118) words,

“Because of widespread prostitution in urban poor communities, many young girls living in these communities consider prostitution a viable livelihood regardless of its risks. Poverty and lack of parental resources are cited as primary reasons for young women to trade sex for goods or favours or to engage in relationships that involve financial support.”

Prostitution is so prevalent that in 2010, while South Africa was about to host the soccer world cup, prostitution activists were keen to see government legalising prostitution as another form of creating employment to male and female prostitutes alike. Prostitution is damaging our youth. It also promotes human trafficking and slavery. The victims are usually young girls and women. Prostitution offers promises of quick money, but it doesn't tell of the dangers that go with it. It brings extreme damage to the body. It is the easy method of spreading Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) like HIV/AIDS (Saayman & Smalberger, 1996:56). We must take note of this, even if prostitutes can take ARVs, they are of no use, because they are continuously re-infected. Most prostitutes charge more money to clients who want sexual relations without using condoms. Prostitution is an attempt to solve long-term problem of unemployment with the short-term pleasure that brings more shame and disaster in the near future. Prostitution behaviour strips men and women of their human dignity as they become mere sex objects. The wise king Solomon in Proverbs (6:26) puts it this way; “For the prostitutes reduces you to a loaf of bread, and the adulteress preys upon your very life.” Apostle Paul gave a remedy to the church in Corinth, as we read in 1 Corinthians 7:1-11. Paul says in verse 2-3 and 9; “But since there is so much immorality, each man should have his own wife and each woman her own husband. The husband should fulfil his marital duty to his wife, and likewise the wife to her husband. But if they cannot control themselves, they should marry, for it is better to marry than to burn with passion.” The danger of the prostitution according to the Word of God is the fact that such a person disregards his or her body as the temple of the Holy Spirit, and that in itself carries great punishment (1 Corinthians 6:16-20). The apostle Paul strongly condemns sexual immorality in Corinth by showing how dangerous it can be to us and our families. White (1977:21) sums it up by saying, “The body is not designed to benefit us from sexual relations outside commitment. Such relationships enslave and destroy.”

Marino (2013:4176) defines prostitution as follows: "Prostitution is the practice of engaging in sexual activities in exchange for money or other goods. A prostitute is thus a kind of sex worker." When prostitution is not tamed, it gives birth to pornography. Watson (2013:3956) says; "In ancient Greek, the term 'pornography' means 'writes about prostitutes,' emphasizing the link between pornography and prostitution." Many debate that acting in pornography is bad, but contend that watching pornography is not really bad if watched by married couples. People are not worried about learning about sex from prostitutes. Pornography is not made by married couples; it is made by people who are intending to make money out of sex. These acts relegate men and women to mere sex objects. These men and women make money out of sexual relations without the bond of either love or marriage. Now pornographic movies are available everywhere on street corners. The internet offers pornography in a doorstep to everyone (cf. Minnery, 1987:106). Child pornography is also creeping in; smart phones are making it even easier. Pornography is taking our country by storm. The notion that sex sells is also taking over the business world. It is all about sex. Fields (2006:8) clearly points out that "It's lot easier to talk about sex and money at dinner party than about religion and spiritual matters." The danger of pornography is that it corrupts the mind and pollutes thought to such an extent that we start to develop strange sexual fantasies that are dangerous to ourselves and our marriages. Pornography plays a very important role in teaching people sexual perversions such as homosexuality and masturbation. Watson (2013:3962) assesses the harms of pornography and lists five of them: (1) Moral depravity and sex addiction; (2) Production harm: harms inflicted upon participants in making pornography ranging from coercion, force in pornography to the physical harms of contracting STIs or ripping and tearing of genitals; (3) Consumption harms: these include sexual violence and rape; (4) Diffuse harms of creating a culture in which women are degraded, devalued, and objectified; (5) Sex-based harms of inequality.

Once prostitution and pornography become prevalent, adultery, fornication and drug abuse becomes order of the day. The Biblical term 'adultery' that carried a death sentence in the Old Testament is used alternately by the world as 'extra-marital sex'. Brake (2013:75) defines adultery as consensual sex by a married person with someone other than his or her spouse. Adultery may include oral sex, or sexual touching or even cyber-sex. What makes adultery wrong or immoral is the fact that it

is unfair to the marriage. It brings forth divorce, unwanted pregnancy and illegitimate children, and it puts the other partner at risk of STIs. Adultery violates marital commitment to exclusive romantic love and people who are adulterous are only interested in erotic love outside marriage. The act of adultery takes for granted the importance of the institution of marriage. Adultery also violates moral principles such as promise-keeping, honesty, not cheating and avoiding unnecessary harm, and without presupposing any particular account of marriage, love or sex. In many indigenous cultures in South Africa adultery is promoted and practiced. In most instances it is only accepted when perpetrated by men and vehemently renounced if done by women. For example, in the Tshivenda culture there is a saying that promotes adulterous relationship that goes 'Munna ndi ndou ha li muri munwe fhedzi'. It literally means 'a man is an elephant he doesn't eat only one tree.' Now the feminists in response to this are saying, 'we are trees, therefore we cannot wait for one elephant.'

Our government is doing little to deal with sexual immorality. People in leadership also influence the view of proper marriage negatively. A good example is the President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, a self-proclaimed polygamist who had known extra-marital affairs with an HIV-positive lady and Irvin Khoza's daughter (De Vos, 2010; Batty, 2010). The vocal secretary of COSATU, Zwelizima Vavi, had an extra-marital affair with his junior in the work place (Letsoalo, 2013; Anon., 2014b). All their actions were overlooked by the government and the worker unions respectively. When such a thing is left unattended, it becomes a norm for the young generation and it has dangerous consequences. Vorster, N. (2007:74) states that, "It is important to note that the male/female hierarchy in the Genesis narrative is related to the fall. The male's dominion over the female is presented as a curse and direct consequences of sin. A curse describes the inevitable consequences of an act; a norm prescribes the correct form of behaviour." Consequently, Vorster says that the distorted nature of sex since the fall had a profound influence on the Hebraic society of the Old Testament. The patriarchal supremacy of man in Hebrew society became evident in three ways: 1) men had the freedom to have more than one wife; 2) men could dismiss their wives, while the wives did not have the same right; 3) women were seen as the property of men. The monogamous ideal of creation was violated by the tolerance of polygamy and the allowance of divorce. Vorster, N. (2007:74)

concludes, “Though the Bible describes these practices, it does not prescribe such behaviour.”

The consequences of sexual immorality that goes with cheating are the following, (1) It is heart-breaking, and the shock can cause people to develop heart problems and extreme hatred; (2) It brings shame and guilt and low self-esteem, especially when the cheater is caught; (3) It gives rise to mistrust, distrust and unreasonable suspicions between partners; (4) It brings a roller coaster of emotions or emotional confusion; (5) The partners lose their connection or the sexual bond and a lack of intimacy arises; (6) It gives rise to a sense of instability; (7) It causes a ripple effect of sudden major changes in a relationship; (8) It usually ends up in divorce, family disintegration, with a major negative effect on children, who sometimes blame themselves for the divorce; (9) It brings along financial strain. For instance, marital partners help each other to pay expenses, but in such a case it becomes the responsibility of one partner; (10) It goes along with a high risk of health problems such as Sexually Transmitted Infections like HIV/AIDS; (11) Behavioural problems such as violence and substance abuse may start to develop; (12) Lastly, suicidal thoughts may occur. These are the few direct negative consequences of sexual immorality that can be avoided (cf. Boehi, 2015; Hickson, 2013). Nkosi (2014:3) concludes, “While the data shows overwhelming disapproval for infidelity across the globe, it also shows that we can out- think monogamy; that rational thinking about human need for diverse sexual experienced will grow as religious influence wanes.” Sacred ministries are called to raise their voice to win the fight against sexual immorality. The time is over for the church to speak like Israelites in Babylonian captivity in Psalm 137:4 saying, “How can we sing the songs of the Lord while in a foreign land?” It may not be a joyous song, but the church ought to sing. We cannot afford to settle for pietism.

With the fall of Adam and Eve, something went wrong in humanity. In Genesis 6:5-7 we read the following; “Then the Lord saw the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every intent of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. And the Lord was sorry that He had made man on the earth, and he was grieved in his heart.” The thought that man had become so corrupt grieved God, because man was no longer behaving as the image bearer of God. Men distorted what God created as

good. Sexual immorality manifests in different forms in our country. The main problem that is facing humanity is sin. Men are living rebellious lives in the name of 'freedom', yet are not ready to carry the consequences. The answer to this problem is not mass murder in the form of abortion for the sake of convenience. The answer is salvation through, and obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ. Legalising sin never solves anything; sin must be openly confronted, repented and restrained.

### **4.3 REVERSED RACISM**

Racism is still a reality in South Africa, regardless of the good constitution. It is racism in another form and shape. A good constitution does not guarantee good implementation, but gives hope for correction and implementation. The danger of racism is that it divides and is a master in blame shifting. Few are ready to take responsibility for past and present racism. Taking responsibility is one step in the right direction. The statement by Kofi Annan, the General Secretary of the United Nations, expressed the ideal, "You can love who and what you are, without hating who and what you are not" (Wessels, 2007:139). Churches, universities, different structures and individuals who propagate racism are not helping to correct racist ideology. The powerful tool that was used by the Apartheid government to propagate racism includes practices such as considering Afrikaans and English as the only official languages, and dividing South Africans based on ethnicity. Democratic South Africa corrected that by recognising 11 languages as official, including nine African languages. African languages are recognized, but they are not used to their full potential in the economic world and in other institutions as they should be. English and Afrikaans are still languages that hold their ground. The vicious circle of racism is continuing. Some schools, universities and churches are comfortable to keep their institutions Afrikaans and will use the constitution to protect themselves (Jansen, 2009:35). Maintaining Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in schools, universities and churches is a simple way to propagate racism and manipulate Blacks into staying away from White dominated institutions. All is done in the name of the constitution. The constitution is right to promote all languages, but it is unpractical in some ways. Stevens *et al.* (2006:34) believe that using English as an alternative language is not a solution either. He suggests that geographical setting should be used as a determining factor when applying a language policy. For example, the North-West University's Potchefstroom Campus should use English, Afrikaans and

Setswana, because the geographical setting favours those cultures. Stevens's suggestion of using language based on geographical setting is not practical to the Black majority. The majority of the Black South Africans use English as a language of instruction, and they therefore allow English to be language of instruction in all tertiary institutions. Afrikaans-speaking learners are benefiting in this regard from the legacy of Apartheid. One may suggest that vernaculars should be used as a language of instruction in schools. If name changes in towns and streets are deemed very expensive, could one consider changing books and lectures to vernaculars as practical? Of course not. In South Africa racism is structural or institutional. To overcome racism, there should one official language in South African institutions that is representative of all South Africans. Just imagine how many Black learners from nearby township will flock into former Afrikaans universities if Setswana can be considered the official university language. However, how practical would this be if lecturers could not even greet in Setswana? Moreover, most literature is written in either English or Afrikaans. Institutional or structural racism should be dealt with very seriously. We see public or private agencies in different institution presiding over long-established racial inequalities to make sure that racism is preserved (Braham *et al.*, 1992:111).

Racism goes with discrimination and nepotism. It is mostly experienced in the work place and various institutions. Jansen (2009:3) reports that the

“University of Pretoria was the place where the loyal civil servants of the White state were steadfastly churned out year after year. It was the site for the production of Apartheid *dominees* (ministers of religion), trained to find theological justification for White rule... It was a place where political scientists justified Apartheid rule premised on racial hierarchies of human existence....”

What is happening to universities that were formerly known as Afrikaans Universities? Aren't they promoting racism at their campuses? According to Jansen (2009:4), he was nominated to be the Dean at the University of Pretoria based on the fact that he can speak 'Afrikaans'. Isn't the same principle used to hire Black personnel at other universities? Are these universities truly transformed? De Vos (2014) who teaches Constitutional Law at the University of Cape Town reportedly said in the Daily Maverick that “The task team also found that on the some former

Afrikaans universities a tacit quota system applies to University residences to limit number of Black students allowed in residences.” De Vos calls this being enthusiastic about affirmative action - in favour of the White student. South Africa has a crisis of racism to this day. Race is still a determining issue with regard to employment. The government has power only in some public sectors, but fails to have an impact in the private sector. I support structural and confessional pluralism, but the pattern of Apartheid must be changed so that South Africans, regardless of race, can enjoy fruits of democracy where none is dominant above the other.

Boxill (2013:4306) says that “Racism exists when one ethnic group or historical collectivity dominates, excludes, or seeks to eliminate another on the basis of differences that it believes are hereditary and unalterable.” Racism promotes the notion of superiority and inferiority and the notion of privileged and underprivileged. The government structures are designed to give certain racial groups privileges that are not based on merit, but on race. It also promotes hate speech towards certain races who does not belong to the ‘in’-group. Moreover, the spirit of ‘us’ and ‘them’ prevails (cf. De Vos, 2010:14). The common pattern of racism in the Apartheid era was Whites oppressing Blacks and Whites being given preference with job opportunities to such an extent that the majority of Whites, even those who were poor, could afford to live in towns or own farms. The policies of the Apartheid government put Blacks on the periphery. In an attempt to eradicate the negative consequences of Apartheid the post-1994 government introduced Affirmative Action, Black Economic Empowerment and Women Empowerment. With these initiatives the government is trying to redress the damage to the majority who had no economic advantage compares to their White counterparts. Affirmative Action succeeded in some institutions where there used to be no Blacks in managerial positions. The challenge that faces Affirmative Action is ‘meritocracy’, the consideration of merit when placing people in different positions. Affirmative action in South Africa in most cases neglects this principle. This is evident in many municipalities where there are financial irregularities and a lack of basic service delivery. The government, influenced by the ruling political party, placed political activists in positions of influence in the government sphere without looking at their skills. Skilled labour is scarce, not because there is a paucity of qualified people, but because we drive skilled people out for stupid reasons (Kadalie, 2009:37). Moreover, some government

institutions are going to ruin without renovations even if the money was allocated for that purpose just because of merit. If that is how affirmative action works, it is not helping us because it is side-lining its very own black graduates with merit in favour of political activists. Affirmative action policy in its original form seeks to give proper training and development before it employs. Tladi (1998:2001:13) says,

“Affirmative action ought to be a strategy to redress injustices through the elimination of unfair discrimination created in the past and through the development of victims of discrimination for the promotion of equal employment opportunity.” Based on legislation in section 15, of the Employment Equity Act, Zopedol (2014) says “Affirmative action makes sure that qualified designated groups (black people, women and people with disabilities) have equal opportunities to get a job. They must also be equally represented in all job categories and levels of the workplace.” Zopedol rightly used the word ‘qualified’ suggesting that merit is considered.

We have experienced the positive outcome of affirmative action such as increasing diversity, increasing greater opportunity to the previously discriminated people and protection from outright hatred. Affirmative action will gain more respect if it deals harshly with those who bring fake qualifications and maintain a high standard of accountability to those employed. There is no need to lower the standard of education or competency for the sake of a candidate but rather equip the candidate for a higher standard. Affirmative action cannot be employed as quick fix but should be understood that it is a process. Sterba (2009:32) defines Affirmative Action that considers merit as follows,

“... a policy of favouring qualified women or economically disadvantaged candidates (like majority of Blacks in South Africa) over qualified men of economically advantaged candidates respectively with the immediate goals of outreach, remedying discrimination, or achieving diversity, and the ultimate goals of attaining a colour-blind, a gender free, and equal opportunity society.”

Real affirmative action will result in racial justice, gender justice and economic justice. Due to the fact that South Africa suffered from racial, gender and economic injustice for many years, it is acceptable to make a transition to a more just kind of

society. Race, gender and economic disadvantage must be considered to redress past injustices.

Affirmative Action, Women Empowerment and Black Economic Empowerment are used by the South African government to give women and the Black majority an opportunity to be in positions of influence or to expose them to economic breakthroughs. In summary, Affirmative Action, Women and Black Economic Empowerment redress the economic imbalances of the past by giving Blacks and women equal opportunities within the economy so that women and the Black majority can establish companies that will empower Blacks economically. The idea is great, but the government neglects the monitoring and inspection function after, for instance, investing much money in tenders. In the end Affirmative Action favours a minority of Blacks most who are politically connected or have political influence. By doing that, Affirmative Action is failing to practice meritocracy and giving other black South Africans equal opportunity.

The pitfalls of Affirmative Action, Black Economic Empowerment and Women Empowerment are now becoming more visible than when the policies were established. The main pitfall of these three empowerment policies is the fact that some people gained managerial positions not on merit, but just because there must be Black people or women in that position. Some Blacks are also used by Whites who are in power as a front to win tenders. Fronting is when a black person's name is added to a company as if they are managers or chief executive officers in order to be BEE compliant to win tenders. In reality the control still remains with the Whites (cf. De Vos, 2010:5; Anon 2005:2). With Black Economic Empowerment, prosperous Blacks arose overnight. That gave birth to corruption by government officials who befriended and used these young entrepreneurs and gave them expensive tenders in view of their personal gain. More government officials are implicated in corruption charges because they awarded tenders to incompetent 'entrepreneurs' in view of making quick money. The issue of reversed racism is raised by young Whites who call themselves born free who seek equal opportunities to their Black counterparts. Padayachee (2003:76-77) believes that true Affirmative Action will consider fair competition, open equally to talent and ambition, will go for universalism over particularism, and achievement over ascription. In Tladi (2001:18) words,

“Affirmative action is a temporary intervention to facilitate change from an unfair situation to a situation where inequalities are redressed so that all people can compete on an equal footing for available opportunity. Affirmative action is temporary because if it becomes a permanent policy of preferring the previously disadvantaged groups, it will be seen as reversed discrimination.”

Affirmative Action also brings its issues such as ‘class difference’. Those who are empowered become an elite class that most despise their humble beginning. Poor Blacks still suffer the same humiliation they experienced at the hands of minority White. The issue of economy plays a very important role in the issue of racism. Economy determines where we live, what we eat and the service delivery we receive from the government. It also gives birth to discrimination. People discriminate because of class, where we talk of low class, middle class and high class. Often individuals from the higher class proverbially spit in the face of the poor by spending millions of Rands on luxuries while there are charity organizations that are closing down due to a lack of funds (cf. Maimane, 2015).

The impact of reversed racism is low, but the impact of racism from the Apartheid regime is still holding power. This is evident in the labour market. Most Black labourers are still treated as slaves in their own country. The labourers are not properly remunerated. Black Economic Empowerment benefited few Blacks and couldn’t manage to redress the injustices of the past. When will the rainbow nation become a rainbow nation? We will only have a rainbow nation when South Africans start to call themselves South Africans without being loyal to their race first. With the issue of economic freedom still pressing and the imbalances in the work place with regard to wages and salary still over our heads, the issue of combating racism will remain a dream. The division of class is also making it more difficult, for there is big gap between the rich and the poor. In order to address racism fruitfully, the government must address the issue of economic freedom wisely. Racial and class superiority and inferiority is now built upon economic freedom. Affirmative action should address the issues of qualification and ability when putting a previously disadvantaged person in the position of influence. Failing to do that will leave many qualified South Africans without a job, creating a problem of over-qualified persons in lower level jobs. The issue of employment must be addressed by the government

and private entities. The best candidate should be appointed based on merit, rather than race or political affiliation. Tenders must be well-monitored by the government by determining a basic salary for those employed by entrepreneurs. The entrepreneurs must also prove that they have the necessary skills to do the job to avoid misuse of state funds. Those tenders must be open to every South African regardless of race. All that is needed is to monitor how people are employed and paid by those who were awarded the tender so that the tender could benefit both those who got the tender and the employees. With regard to women empowerment, let the best candidate win. If the woman is best qualified, let her get the job not by the virtue of being a woman, but by the virtue of being the best among the candidates who were seeking the same job (Padayachee 2003:77). If we go that route as the government, the issue of racism and discrimination will be an issue of the past. People should not be defined by race or ethnicity, but by their humanity. Biblically speaking, all man human beings originated from Adam. It is sin that divides people, more especially the sin of pride. Pride tells people that they are better than others.

#### **4.4 UNEMPLOYMENT, POVERTY AND FOOD INSECURITY**

The majority of South Africans are still living in abject poverty, going to bed without food and without hope (cf. Whiteford *et al.*, 1995:1). Those who live in informal settlements live without basic services like sanitation, water, electricity, proper streets and housing (cf. Thipanyane 2013:16). The number of homeless children and adults alike is growing. The sad thing about South Africa is the fact that millions of South Africans are losing jobs. Stats SA 2015 reflected job losses in the finance, manufacturing and agriculture industries at 31 000, 23 000 and 22 000, respectively. Stats SA, 2014 says “The unemployment rate for South Africa increased from 22% in 1994 to 25% in 2014.” To add salt to the wound is the fact that most government entities such as Electricity Supply Commission (Eskom), South African Airways (SAA), the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and different municipalities are in financial crisis. Corruption from political leaders is making it worse. People are losing jobs and are frustrated. Those who have jobs earn a low salary that only allows them to buy basic food, but they cannot afford any decent formal housing or secure bank loans to start sustainable businesses. Baxter (2010:109) says, “Limited availability of credit would mean no growth in lending and no growth in investment or demand.” This is evident with government employees who

earn enough money so that they are not allowed government housing for the poor, but too little to buy a house in town. Government employees can only settle to be middle class citizens. The illiterate can only settle for social welfare or hard labour. Thipanyane (2013:16) correctly points out that, “Poverty deprives the poor of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms and undermines their aspiration to lead their lives free from fear and want.”

Since the start of democracy a new middle class has risen, but the gap between those who have and those who don't have is increasing. The possible direction that South Africa is heading is that the poor become poorer and the rich become richer. Most South Africans are unemployed. In Pityana's (2013:v) words, “To the extent that poverty, inequality and unemployment are rampant and the gap between the rich and the poor has widened, it is clear that the Constitution's vision of an equitable society, characterized by human dignity, fairness and justice, has not been realized.” The painful issue is that even those who have tertiary qualifications don't have jobs. Many people are wondering and roaming around streets in the hope that they will find jobs one day. The rate of unemployment gives rise to poverty. Poverty gives rise to many social ills like prostitution, alcoholism and crime. A person without hope becomes a wondering human being without a future. In words by Vorster, J.M. (2007:100), “Joblessness is still one of the largest social problems in South Africa. It enlarges the problem of poverty and other social problems such as crime, alcoholism, broken families and the neglect of children”.

Poverty is rising in South Africa. The fact that more foreigners are immigrating to South Africa illegally is adding to the problem. The government tries to relieve poverty with social grants to the elderly, the disabled, orphans and children and building houses for the poor. This intervention is regarded as the ‘largest form of government support for the poor’ (Thipanyane, 2013:15). Many welcomes social grants gladly, whereas some contend that social grants are not a solution to the poverty, creating real employment with a decent salary is the solution. Economic Freedom Fighters leader Julius Malema calls government-built houses glorified shacks (Mabuza, 2014). Mabuza (2014) further captured Malema saying, “We want the youth to take their education serious. You must be educated because it is an educated youth who will take their families out of poverty. Liberate your family

through education; don't put your trust in us (politicians).” Many express their fear of the reliance on social grants, stating that it promotes young idleness and unplanned children for the sake of increasing income, which is not enough to raise children anyway. Those who live in poverty contend that due to the extreme poverty they face, the social grants they get for children is used for the entire family's needs, not for the children it is meant for. Thipanyane (2013:16) correctly asserts that, “Despite the provision of social grants and their impact on the alleviation and reduction of poverty, the levels of poverty in South Africa remain unacceptably high and children suffer the most due to slow pace in the reduction of poverty.”

Poverty affects the health of children, as they are malnourished or lack healthy food or have no food at all. Food insecurity is a potential danger in South Africa. With the issue of land reform, food security becomes an issue due to the many unanswered questions in view of what happen to the Zimbabwean economy during land reform. Estimations are that nearly 50% of the population lives below the poverty line, the large majority are Black and rurally-based. Van Zyl *et al.* (1996:15) contends that, “Land reform is one important and powerful tool in alleviating these problems since it addresses both sides of the hunger equation, namely availability of and ability to buy food.” Food should be produced, stored and go to trade. Poverty must be addressed, since it is the central cause of hunger and malnutrition. Black Economic Empowerment must be replaced with poor economic empowerment. Land redistribution to competent people is the answer. Pooven Moodley, an Association Country Director from Oxfam, in an interview with eNCA said that one out of four South Africans go to bed without food. Emily Tjale of Land Access Movement of South Africa (LAMOSA) in the same interview said, “Hunger is everywhere in South Africa not only hunger for food, we are hungry for clothes, shelter, education and information, those are the critical things for our daily survival”. Pooven Moodley says, “Even though the right to food exists in the constitution there is no legislation to enforce it.” Emily Tjale doesn't only speak of food security, but food sovereignty, meaning everyone should have the right to eat the food of their choice. Food sovereignty addresses the issue of malnutrition. Due to economic crisis around the globe, inflation keeps increasing. Basic food prices like that of rice, maize meal, vegetables and meat are increasing daily and that alone makes it unbearable for ordinary unemployed South Africans. Some argue that poor people must plant

gardens for themselves to address food insecurity. Those who contend that poor people must plant gardens for themselves forget that the majority of poor people live in informal settlements without land and basic drinking water, and even if they do have land, how will they water the garden? Moreover, crime looks like an option to a hungry stomach. The vegetables planted become relief for those who lack food by stealing. With the issue of global warming that is facing the world, food insecurity becomes more worrying factor.

Ruling hungry and angry people is difficult. Thipanyane (2013:23) summarizes it this way, “Those affected by poverty and its devastating impact on human rights can make many of them to resort to violence and conduct that constitute a threat to peace and security as an expression of the inhumane conditions in which they find themselves.” Unemployment brings more social illness. The government and private sectors cannot distance themselves from job creation, for without jobs people become unruly. It is the calling of the government to sustain the order, prosperity and peace of the country. The grants that government opted for as a means to decrease the need of the poor also created discourse. Uneducated people who have lost hope no longer see the calling to work, but entirely depend on the government for everything. The strikes demanding free houses from the government is a perfect example. Vorster, J.M. (2007:102) correctly points out that; “Jobless people cannot perform their community service or their service to their neighbour, and their lack of income leads to an inability to look after their families”.

Since 2009 the unemployment in South Africa has been especially high. Thipanyane (2013:19) says, “Economic growth and increases in employment opportunity are fundamental for any meaningful and sustainable intervention against poverty.” Can South Africans manage to live with a few food parcels every month? Of course not, the South African government has the calling to see to it that they build a sustainable economy where people will have employment to take care of themselves and their families. Since many blame the cheap labour offered by desperate workers from other African countries such as Mozambique, Lesotho, Malawi, Sudan and Zimbabwe, the borders of South Africa should be tightened. There are many illegal immigrants in South Africa and that alone is not doing the economy of South Africa justice. This problem is also giving birth to xenophobia, which we will address in 4.4

of this chapter. The issue of a good basic salary must be enforced in South Africa. The mining sector is a good example of this. The huge discrepancies in salaries and the high dividends shareholders receive at the expense of labourers in the mining industries widen the gap between the rich and the poor. Labourers in the mining industries have come to strike almost continuously. Strikes contribute to our economic downfall and to unemployment or a loss of jobs. Instead of collecting more tax from the private sector, the government has to invest in the salary of employees and urge the private sector to pay their employees in a sound way. The more the unemployment rate increases, the more strikes there are for basic delivery, because civilians start to look to government for everything. Stealing from the rich starts to look justified for the poor. This becomes a vicious circle that can only be ended if all South Africans can accept the mandate by God that we are all called to work the ground to produce food for ourselves and our children. The issue of free food parcels and seeking employment must concern us in such a way that even graduates must start to think differently. Our tertiary institutions must train and prepare them to be job creators rather than job seekers. New companies must be established. Many companies that are operating now are remnants from Apartheid legacy, whereas many companies are closing down and it seems no one is concerned. Those companies have to be sustained. Baxter (2010:112) says that despite having the appropriate buffers, many sectors and many companies have moved into 'survival mode', which means they are focused on surviving the global economic crisis. However, the critical point to be made is that if these companies and sectors can be helped to survive, then a significant portion of the labour force will remain employed. The key business input is therefore that a growing vibrant private sector is the basis for creating and retaining employment in the South African economy. Unemployment is the main source of poverty in South Africa.

Land redistribution is done in terms of Section 25 (1-8) of Constitution of South Africa. Land redistribution is not doing justice to farm workers who lose their jobs in favour of one family trust or a few beneficiaries who gain land that was used for commercial farming, but is no longer used for commercial farming by beneficiaries. We cannot go on boasting on getting our land back when nothing is happening on that land. Henning (2010:17) correctly says, "The outcome of Land redistribution must leave the land reform beneficiaries better off and create an increasing degree of

confidence in all stakeholders, especially investors.” The challenge with South Africa is that some beneficiaries want land only for social value, rather than economic value. Social value stresses objectives such as decongestion of overpopulated communal areas; resettlement of squatters, destitute people, and the landless; and the associated reduction of hunger and extreme poverty (Binswanger-Mkhize *et al.*, 2009:15). Indeed people should have a place to stay, recreation and they should inherit what belongs to them, but the economic value of the land should never be taken for granted. Economic value includes the specific objectives of promoting a more equitable distribution of land, thereby increasing the productivity of agriculture; and as a consequence, creating employment and self-employment and reducing rural poverty substantially. Economic value also advocates for allocating land to “competent farmers” (Binswanger-Mkhize *et al.*, 2009:15). Commercial farms should be sustained and preserved for economic benefit and food security. Before the land is redistributed, let the family trust or beneficiaries submit a good practical business plan and acquire skills that show that they will sustain the farming and the employees that are employed on the particular farm. Henning (2010:11) correctly says,

“In order to control the land reform process, the government should involve the private sector in the land reform process. The moment this happens, the skills and experience locked in the private sector are transferred to the government for the benefit of all people involved in and influenced by the land reform process.”

Land redistribution may mean justice to one family or beneficiaries, but great injustice to many families if not well monitored. Those young men and women in agricultural colleges must be groomed well so that they can sustain farm workers’ employment and sustain the commercial farms going forward, even to the point of expanding them. If need be, let the rightful owners of the land who don’t have farming skills just be beneficiaries instead of taking land that will only lay without use. We need employment to nullify food insecurity and poverty. Promises have been made by government to people who expect to receive land, but no promises have been made to the rest of South Africa’s people on where tomorrow’s food will come from if land reform is not a success (Henning, 2010:10).

If the government, society at large, private entities and civilians do not join hands in dealing with unemployment, poverty and food insecurity, Mbeki’s claim in Venter

(2001:4) will remain true, namely that South Africa is a state of two nations: one Black and poor, and the other White and rich. The last 350 years of South African history is based on the fact that land ownership was dictated by race (Binswanger-Mkhize *et al.*, 2009:169). Yes, this should be reversed, but the emphasis of the Freedom Charter and the Constitution must not be neglected that “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White.” Whatever decision is taken should favour citizenry, food security, and job security. The land redistribution should find a balance between social value of the land and economic value of the land. In order to achieve that, those who are eligible for land redistribution should always be subject to screening and verification. This will enable government to redistribute land to the right people and to avoid corruption and fronting by those who hold political power. When the land is in the right hands, unemployment, and poverty and food insecurity will be things of the past.

#### **4.5 XENOPHOBIA**

Xenophobia is a worldwide phenomenon. Vorster (2004:148) contends that “Xenophobia is an emerging social and human rights issue in the contemporary world because of migration. Migration and subsequent xenophobia has become a feature of the international reality that cannot be ignored in reflection on human rights.” Xenophobia is a problem in many countries. It is hatred directed at illegal immigrants, refugees or a fear of foreigners or strangers. Prill (2013:2) defines xenophobia as “A strong fear or dislike of people from other countries or nations”. Illegal immigrants are people who enter the country illegally without proper permission and documentation with the intention of staying in the country permanently. Refugees are people who seek temporary shelter in another country because of fear of persecution, disaster or war. In some cases refugees are kept in refugee camps temporarily until the war, disaster or persecution threat has been dealt with properly. Foreigners are people who come from a country other than your own. In the year 2008, xenophobia in South Africa took a shocking turn when even fellow South Africans who come from far north in the Limpopo Province became the victims of xenophobia due to the difference in language. Some Tsonga-speaking South Africans were confused with Tsonga-speaking Mozambicans. Venda-speaking South Africans were confused with Zimbabweans due to a Shona dialect that sounds close to Venda. Some Tsonga and Venda were attacked based on the darker colour of their skin. Attackers confused

them with other African brothers because of the wrong assumption that most Africans from other countries are darker than South Africans (cf. Nieftagodien, 2008:65). The xenophobia in South Africa is also mixed with tribalism. Some South Africans were attacked just because of their inability to speak the local language of the township and were considered illegal immigrants. There are Vendas who can't speak the prominent languages in Gauteng and Western Cape such as Zulu and Xhosa (cf. Campell 2014:15). However, no attack can be justified, whether it is directed at South Africans or non-South Africans. Prill (2013:3) correctly points out that,

“The riots of 2008 left 62 people dead and about 150,000 displaced, primarily foreign nationals and members of South Africa’s ethnic minorities. These attacks in South Africa townships were surely an extreme expression of ethnic, tribal and national hatred and were not unrelated events.”

Cohen further says “hundreds were wounded and an unknown number of women raped.” After the terrible genocide in Uganda, Ugandan people developed the habit to call themselves Ugandan first before they reveal their tribe. Here in South Africa, the Apartheid government has left a terrible legacy of dividing South Africans based on tribe. South Africans take pride in their tribe, rather than being South Africans (cf. Totemeyer, 2010:180). Tribes still view each other with many stereotypes in South Africa. Stickers displayed on cars and T-shirts with the words “‘100% Venda’, ‘100% Zulu’, ‘100% Tsonga’” are common sights. Although it is not problematic if people take pride in their tribe, a problem arises when one group comes to consider another tribe as inferior or less capable. That is where the spirit of xenophobia, racism and tribalism starts.

As much as xenophobia is bad for everyone, the victims of xenophobia in South Africa are usually poor, desperate fellow African brothers and sisters mainly from Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi. Nieftagodien (2008:66) contends that, “This episode of xenophobic violence involved the poor fighting against the poor, even if only for the right to occupy a dilapidated shack.” Persons from continents other than Africa can usually enjoy their human rights and their stay in South Africa. Diange (2011:2) records that, “In South Africa on May 12, 2008 a series of riots started in the township Alexandra in the north-eastern part of Johannesburg when locals attacked migrants from Mozambique, Malawi and Zimbabwe, killing two people and injuring 40

others. In the following weeks the violence spread, first to other settlements in the Gauteng Province, then to the coastal cities of Durban and Cape Town.” Diange further contends that, whether in Europe or Africa, international migrants often experience similar problems. It usually stems from hatred based on fear; particularly fear of economic competition and an increase in crime.

South Africa is made up of many tribes that live within its borders, namely the amaZulu, the amaXhosa, the Vatsonga, the Ndebele, the Swatis, the Vhavenda, the Batswana, the Basotho, the Bapedi, the Afrikaners, the Indians, the Coloureds and the Khoi and San. In addition to the indigenous groups, South Africa has become saturated with Chinese, Nigerians, Zimbabweans, Mozambicans, Malawians, Sothos from Lesotho and Congolese. Cohen (2013:59) contends that “South Africa is home to many non-nationals. The 1994 transition to democracy in South Africa made the country a continental magnet for those seeking a better life.” Cohen further contends that figures from 2010 estimate that there are between 1.2 and 2 million foreign nationals living in South Africa. Hillbrow in Johannesburg and Sunnyside in Pretoria have come to be regarded as the capital cities of Nigerians and home to all kinds of drugs, from the cheapest to the most expensive ones. Nyamnjoy (2006:31) confirms that, “In certain cases, whole parts of cities (e.g. Hillbrow in Johannesburg) have been appropriated by Black African migrants - derogatorily referred to as makwerekwere.” Those who fear for South Africa’s future ask what will happen when these tribes have many children here in South Africa. In no time they will be fighting for their language to be included as an official language and to be recognized as one of the tribes in South Africa. The migration of Mozambicans and Zimbabweans to South Africa can be justified to a certain extent. Mozambicans can be regarded as refugees because of civil war, and Zimbabweans come to South Africa because of food insecurity and economic downfall, but what is the real reason for the increase in Nigerians, Chinese and other foreigners in South Africa? According to Campell (2014:3) “Southern Africa has been the most targeted region in sub-Saharan Africa due to its relatively high level of economic and social development. The most attractive countries in the region are South Africa, Botswana and Namibia.”

The government paid little attention to this issue for twenty years, but now in President Jacob Zuma’s second term, the new Home Affairs minister is not taking the

matter of controlling and intensifying rules around monitoring migrants, refugees or anyone who is entering South Africa lightly. The borders of South Africa are not tight enough, and the minister of Home Affairs is considering tightening them. It is the calling of the government through Home Affairs to look at this closely, for indeed it brings a threat to the South African economy. Most illegal immigrants settle for lower wages, which frustrates South African citizens who don't want to settle for cheap labour. Campell (2014:2) says "Illegal immigration does contribute positively to the private economic sector in the host countries through the willingness of illegal immigrants to accept lower wages than native workers." In addition to this, illegal immigrants bring the threat of slavery and criminal activities. In most cases when the rate of unemployment increases and the economy drops, the natives blame the illegal immigrants. A good example is Nigeria in 1982 and Ghana in the 1950s respectively. When these countries experienced recession and the unemployment rate rose sharply, the government identified illegal immigrants as the ones responsible for price inflation and unemployment among nationals (Campell 2014:3). Both countries decided to make laws to expel illegal immigrants, and about 1.5 million were expelled and deported. South Africa is no different. South Africa should have learnt from the global trend with regard to illegal immigration. Millions of illegal immigrants are dining with us every day. Should we just expel them? No, that won't be an act of love. Immigrants should be investigated; those who entered illegally should be deported with respect and be advised to apply for legal permits to enter the country. There should be tighter control of the borders. The Aliens Control Amendment Act (ACAA) was established in this regard. Money should be invested in controlling and monitoring borders, rather than the consequences of dealing with the social ills that are blamed on illegal immigrants. Moreover, illegal immigrants have a direct negative impact on the economy. They too have a right to free government hospitals and clinics, without even paying tax. McDonald *et al.* (1998:21) says "Illegal immigrants are aggravating the crime situation and robbing South Africans of jobs. They have added 1.900 million Rand to the country's bill of health, education and housing and are also proving to be a drain on Reconstruction and Development Projects." Since illegal immigrants are mostly poorly educated and therefore compete for jobs with the lower classes of the host country's population, they carry more threat since some employees label South Africans as lazy. The end result of all this is xenophobia.

Politically, South Africa owes the neighbouring countries who supported them during Apartheid. All that should be done now is to admit that immigrants will always be part of us. We owe them. The government should implement policies to control borders. Illegal immigrants bring much concern because of the rise of poverty amongst citizens. Most affected people are Blacks. Uneducated persons and graduates are sitting in the same boat unemployment. Unemployed graduates who turn to criminal activities become more dangerous to the country and community at large. They outsmart policemen and -women who only have grade twelve and two years of police training. Illegal immigrants also have their ways of weakening society morally. Prostitution increases and more fatherless children are born. The Christian view and traditional view of marriage have become irrelevant. A new culture has developed to suit illegal immigrants who have left their spouses in their country to seek greener pastures in South Africa. Not all immorality should be blamed on illegal immigrants, but surely some contribute. The general attitude of South Africans to legal or illegal immigrants is the same, hostility. Nationals feel uncomfortable with the large foreign presence in the country. The solution to this is tightening the borders. The budget for immigration control should be increased substantially, taking into account the increased number of patrol officers needed to cover land and sea borders and maximization of efficiency and accountability (cf. Campell, 2014:17). Visas should be implemented and only people with rare skills should be employed in the country. Those who are already in should be given grace and be granted permits to work or study legally, even if they don't have qualifications. Some of them have contributed positively to the economy and also have families here in South Africa.

#### **4.6 STRIKES/ SOCIAL UNREST**

Rampage strikes are very common in South Africa. Strikes and riots were inherited from the Apartheid regime. Social unrest was seen as a solution. People believed that the solution was to rise against the Apartheid government or to make the country ungovernable. In the democratic era strikes are continuing, but it takes a different form. The common strikes we are experiencing in this era are the following: labour strikes, service delivery strikes and political strikes.

Labour strikes are caused by a lack of proper remuneration, dissatisfaction and insecurity in the job environment. The Bill of Rights enshrined in the South African

constitution in line with Christian ethics states that; “no one may be subjected to slavery, servitude or forced labour”. Vorster, J.M. (2007:105) contends that, “remuneration must empower the worker to live a dignified and happy life.” Due to the fact that the majority of the shareholders in big companies are capitalists, they are profit driven and want to earn more dividends. This usually results in executives and shareholders becoming less concerned with the safety and well-being of their employees. Du Plessis (2013:102) contends that, “The South African mining industry has a poor and safety record. Mine worker death rose by 25 percent in the first quarter of 2011 compared to 2010, with the statistics focused on accidents and not diseases.” The executives earn so much without considering the labourers. The media reported that the CEO and the other executives of the platinum mine at Marikana where 39 miners were killed by police while striking for an increase, earned more than R24 000 000 in bonuses, whereas the miners took home R5 700.00 per worker per month. Vorster, J.M. (2007:103) suggests, “would it not be more responsible to say that an effort has to be made to employ more unschooled workers even though profits and the remuneration of the management must be affected negatively as a consequence.”

The Business Day Live journalist, Alan Seccombe (2014) reported that:

“Mr Griffith, Anglo America Platinum CEO, his 11 executives and top management have been awarded R25.3m in a bonus-share scheme that will pay out in three years as part of a skills-retention scheme. A further R51.8m would be awarded to the team over the same period if a number of performance criteria were met.”

If this report is anything to go by, something is very wrong in the mining industry. Executives are earning more than enough, whereas labourers are demoted to a slavery position. Seccombe further reports that,

“The Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (Amcu), on a wage strike at Amplats, Impala Platinum and Lonmin, said recently the top management of those companies was earning 209 times what the lowest-paid workers were paid. Mr Griffith argues justifying low wages of mine labours by saying, ‘There’s a salary number for a certain skill that will enable employment and enable people

to have a living wage and employment, and for business to prosper,' he said. 'Ultimately, all those ranges depend on skill, education and supply and demand. In South Africa, we have 35% unemployment. Do we want higher unemployment so fewer people can be paid more?' In contrary, The Congress of South African Trade Unions contends that Amplats' scheme exposed outrageous levels of inequality in South Africa. AMCU is demanding the basic monthly entry-level wage for underground workers be raised to R12, 500 from R5 700. Frans Baleni, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, also contends that the gap between the workforce and executives was simply too large."

We cannot solve one problem by creating another problem. To pay workers very low wages is as good as slavery in a new form. If the company is really making a good profit, workers have to be paid good wages. The gap between the executives and employees suggest that our democracy is not progressive. How can we progress when the economy is monopolized and the rich become richer and the poor become poorer?

To address these visible imbalances, the government has to investigate the profit made by different companies so it can make laws that bind businesses that make good profit to pay their employees a good salary, including housing and transport allowance. If this is done the employees will not rely on government social welfare. The government has to create a data capture system that captures all government and private employees so they are able to deny them free access to the government services that are meant for the underprivileged. The local government has to investigate the beneficiaries of social welfare and determine that all workers who are earning more than a certain minimum scale prescribed by the government don't benefit anything meant for the poor from social welfare, like free housing. However, we cannot claim that the demand of mine workers is unjust if the wages they receive do not allow them to build their own houses or take care of their own families. If their families are still depending on tax payers' money for daily survival, then serious wages and salary adjustments are needed so that tax payers' money can only take care of those who are unemployed, even if this means low tax from the mining industries to SARS and executive salary adjustment for the benefit of mine workers, who will then stop burdening social welfare.

If this continues without being addressed, it gives birth to labour disputes, which in turn give rise to strikes. The longest strike in history, more than five months, was experienced by Amplats, Impala Platinum and Lonmin in Rustenburg, South Africa in 2014. This strike crippled the economy of South Africa. Labour strikes are common in South Africa, ranging from the private sector to civil servants, including health, education, defence and public works employees. It is now common in South Africa to strike without even using the proper channels. Labour strikes damage the economy of the country. Furthermore, it takes food away from the unschooled labourers who are retrenched after strikes. The strikes sometimes breadwinners their lives because of the violence involved. The Guardian on May 19, 2014, reported that, "South Africa's longest and costliest mining strike turned violent, with four miners killed as more employees tried to report for work at the world's top platinum producers." The employees must be reminded that the constitution of South Africa provides for peaceful strikes. John Calvin believed that strikes must be a last resort (Calvin, 2002:913-915; Macwilliam, 1940:37; Witte, 2010:142). There are tools that labourers can use to address their concerns. The Office of the Public Protector, the Constitutional Court, the Human Rights Commission, to name the few. The documentary that was broadcast on SABC 2 entitled *Why are we so angry?* revealed that workers don't believe in the negotiations in the boardrooms. They attest that protests put more pressure on negotiations. Negotiations alone are not enough. Employees have to learn that they can raise their concerns without endangering their lives or destroying the little they have. Labour strikes, if not dealt with efficiently, also produce other forms of violence and destruction of other essential services.

Another form of strike in South Africa is service delivery strikes. Service delivery strikes are so common in South Africa that the media reports on them almost daily. Service delivery strikes are the direct result of the anger about promises that have not been kept. How can the new South Africa be at peace when people are still living in bad conditions? There is the general feeling that ordinary people are not valued as human beings. This is evident from the conditions many find themselves in. This pain is experienced mostly by people in rural areas and informal settlements. They live in conditions where there is no basic service delivery like proper sanitation, drinking water, electricity and proper infrastructure. Many ordinary South Africans feel that they are manipulated and used by the politicians during election times with empty

promises. Trevor Ngwane, a community activist and social researcher commented on the 'bad behaviour' of Hlongwane, a resident of Diepsloot hostel. She showed her naked buttocks in a busy road in protest against the bucket toilet system. Waste was not removed for more than three months. Ngwane explains that, "the fact that Hlongwane bared her body for all to see showed that she felt socially and economically exposed and vulnerable and would, therefore, go to great lengths to bring attention to her plight." Ngwane said what Hlongwane did was not a "nice thing", but poor people who felt they weren't being listened to always find desperate ways to appeal for attention, said Ngwane. "It could be that they feel the government doesn't want to address their issues and that this medium of expression will force it to act. The only way her actions should be viewed is with empathy," he said (Molosankwe, 2014). The danger of this kind of strike is that they are usually illegal, so most of them are not peaceful. The strikes often have participants who are hungry to damage shops and infrastructure. Usually they end in violence.

Civilians have to be taught that 'an eye for an eye' or 'tooth for a tooth' is not an option. They need to be taught that destroying the little you have is a step in the wrong direction, since it interrupts the service delivery they desire. A good example is the Kuruman residents who stopped all their children from going to school for more than two months to protest for a tar road. They used their children as weapons. Indeed the government responded, but all these children will remain in the same class without progress. Sowetan Live (3 November 2015) reported that "More than 15 000 Kuruman school pupils from Grade R to Grade 11 will have to repeat their grades next year. In September, matriculants from Kuruman were deregistered for this year's matric examination so they could prepare for the supplementary exams." This introduces a new trend of using innocent children to fight community battles. How do the Kuruman parents ultimately differ from Boko Haram in Nigeria who abducts children to seek the attention of Nigerian government? This behaviour should be condemned and those who are responsible should be brought to book. It is a serious crime against the future of South African children. People must also be taught not to take emotional decisions when coming to vote, because voting is their voice. Many politicians use emotional blackmail to elicit votes from poor 'frustrated' people by making empty promises. After the voting the politicians disappear into thin air or continue with those empty promises. The government must help in this regard

by re-addressing the issue of social welfare. Not all services must be free. Let there be monitoring of who can get these services for free. Government must also assist in this regard by dealing with corrupt officials who take bribes or instances such as when a government house is given to a less deserving candidate who ends up using the government house to earn rent. The government must face the reality of the damage caused by colonization and Apartheid and must stop making unrealistic promises. Our beloved country will find herself in great debt if leaders continue to make more unreal promises to the civilians when income is generated through tax, not through production. We cannot only rely on tax payers' money for survival. Employment, job creation and a sustainable economy is the way to go to avoid service delivery strikes. Service delivery strikes are very unruly and can be avoided if the government is transparent and tell the people its failures and the real challenges that cause slow service delivery. People don't have a sense of ownership, they damage and the government will fix it. This becomes visible when civilians burn schools, libraries, community halls, destroy traffic lights and government offices. If they have a sense of ownership, they will not destroy one service point to demand another. Reorientation of ownership is needed.

Political strikes are self-made. It is a consequence of false manifestoes based on empty promises and corrupt officials who use government money irresponsibly to enrich themselves. Political strikes are also associated with service delivery, usually one party rising against the other to show citizens that the other party is not committed to service delivery. One example is the march planned by the Democratic Alliance to the African National Congress' Luthuli House to demonstrate that the promise made by the party of creating 6 000 000 jobs is not a reality, but it is the reality that Democratic Alliance can deliver if elected to national government (Arendse, 2014). In Khayalitsha, African National Congress Youth League members destroyed flushing toilets that were protected with congregated zincs, saying that the Democratic Alliance is undermining human dignity and it is poor service delivery, whereas there are municipalities led by African National Congress that still uses bucket systems and pit toilets (News24, 1 June 2010). These strikes always end in violence. With a weak education system compared to Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Ghana, South Africa will face more political strikes by frustrated youths who have degrees

without jobs, since many companies indicate that graduates are not good enough or not well equipped to be productive.

## **4.7 GAMBLING AND DEBTS**

### **4.7.1 Gambling**

Gambling and debts are common in South Africa. Gambling by definition is risking something of value on an uncertain event in the hopes of winning something of greater value. There are different types of gambling, namely electronic games (e.g. Slot machines), card games (e.g. Poker), dice games (e.g. Craps), playing or watching activities (Horse racing), drawings (National Lottery). The danger with gambling is mostly addiction. According to Anon. (2015b),

“Gambling is mostly about chance, although some games can involve skill too. Some gambling (like lotteries, slot machines) depends on luck, and no amount of knowledge or practice can help a person win. Other games like pool or darts, for example require skill. So knowing how to play and practicing can influence the results. Card games like poker are mostly chance, but they do have some skill elements.”

A win is never guaranteed in gambling. Although some kinds of gambling is legal, gambling is addictive just like drugs, tobacco and alcohol. You just don't know when and how to stop. Gambling creates personal problems that affect families and friends negatively, even the gamblers work. Those who gamble feel that there is a need to gamble and most of the time they don't know when to stop. Gambling can lead to debts, and debts can lead to gambling. In South Africa there are both legal gambling and illegal gambling.

Legal gambling consists of the National Lotto, casinos and gambling on different sports. What makes gambling attractive is the fact that promises people in need that they will receive quick money without any hustle, and that this will enable them to get rich quicker or to solve their financial problems quicker. It promises those who have money that they can increase their wealth in the wink of an eye. The fact of the matter is that any winner in gambling wins at the expense of others. Gambling relies on the unbiblical principle of depending on luck or chance; not on the blessings of

God. Furthermore, gambling goes against work ethics and the biblical principle of work. Most illegal gambling is founded on deception. Gambling is also built on a Mammon spirit of which we read in Matthew 6:24 as follows, “No one can serve two masters. Either you will hate the one and love the other, or you will be devoted to the one and despise the other. You cannot serve both God and money.” Easton (1897) says “the word Mammon is a Chaldee or Syriac word meaning ‘wealth’ or ‘riches’ (Luke 16:9-11); also, by personification, the god of riches (Matthew 6:14; Luke 16:9-11).” In view of Mammon as a “the god of riches”, De Bruyn (1998:23) warns that addressing “other gods” as God “does not imply that other gods actually exist. It only refers to those idols people make for themselves in their foolishness, and then equate with God. The Bible teaches clearly that there is only one God, and that is the Lord.” “Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, The Lord is one” (Deuteronomy 6:4). Mammon is regarded as a source of evil and corruption.

Riches, avarice, and worldly gain are personified as a false god in the New Testament. This Scripture shows a fundamental truth about Christian ethics. Being rich is not wrong, but being rich at the cost of others is wrong. Our calling is to serve God, and then money will serve us. We don’t chase money, but we will receive money as the reward for the good work we do. The lottery, casinos and betting is based on greed and gullibility. The victims of gambling are led to believe that gambling is meant to empower them, but in reality is luring them to much financial burden that affects their family. In gambling, the Biblical principle of loving your neighbour as yourself is overlooked. With the national lottery the government takes the bread off the table of the poor in the name of charity. Many buy their lottery ticket weekly, but only a few ever win. We cannot live a progressive life if the government and other gambling stakeholders still lure people to the notion of becoming an instant millionaire.

In the Bible the instances where lottery is depicted, it was used positively for the benefit of the other. Only at the crucifixion was it used by non-believers for their own benefit. De Bruyn (1998:81) explains that using of lot in Acts 1:21-26 to make choice between Barsabbas and Matthias was done in prayer. He disputes that casting lot is in itself a prayer and cannot be used in ungodly manner. “Had the casting of the lot been a kind of prayer in itself, the preliminary prayer would have been unnecessary”

(De Bruyn, 1998:82). “When lottery is used in the context of gambling, it is no longer a transgression of the third commandment, but of the eight and tenth commandment” De Bruyn (1998:83). Third commandment says, “You shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God...” (Exodus 20:7). Eight commandment says, “You shall not steal” (Exodus 20:15). Tenth commandment says, “You shall not covet...” (Exodus 20:17).

Gambling is built in most cases upon empty promises or false expectations. It is focused on receiving rather than giving. It goes against those Christian ethics that teach us that blessed is the hand that gives rather than receives. Those who are behind the lottery, casino machines and betting know exactly how difficult it is for one to get the jackpot. Gambling is not made for the gambler’s benefit, but for the stakeholders. It is made to look attractive from the outside, but it is rotten to the core. Indeed, very few benefit from gambling, and then at the expense of the others.

Illegal gambling is any form of gambling that is not monitored or registered with the regulatory board of the country. During World Cup tournaments for instance some people bet large amounts of money, including their property. This kind of gambling is illegal and brings devastating results to the gamblers and their families. Such gambling guarantees that one of the gamblers will lose their lifelong investment in a matter of hours. The results are devastating. In South Africa many people engage in common street gambling with dice. Dice gambling often ends in violence, especially when it is hard for the loser to accept the defeat. In most cases, this gambling targets new gamblers to trick them and give them the hope that they can make easy quick money as they start. Once the initiates are lured in, the masters know how to manipulate the dice to favour them. This brings frustration and violence. This type of gambling is also time-consuming. Sometimes gamblers will play dice from the morning until evening for only a few Rands profit. Dice gamblers mostly come from poor communities and often end up stealing from other poor people. The sad thing is that there is no good story to tell for either legal or illegal gamblers. There is no work ethic in the gambler’s attitude. They want what they didn’t work for, just like the man in the Bible who was walking from Jerusalem to Jericho who get robbed and wounded for nothing. There is no spirit such as that of the Samaritan woman on gamblers. They cannot give if they don’t benefit. Greedy and selfishness is in the core of the gambler’s heart.

What is it that gamblers neglect? Gamblers neglect their calling of stewardship. We are called to be keepers of our brothers. In Luke 16:10-12 we read the following,

“Whoever can be trusted with very little can also be trusted with much, and whoever is dishonest with very little will also be dishonest with much. So if you have not been trustworthy with handling worldly wealth, who will trust you with true riches. And if you have not been trustworthy with someone else’s property, who will give you property of your own?”

In Luke 15:11-32 we learn of a son who squandered the riches of his father by living a careless life in ignorance, wasting what he acquired. We are called to be stewards of the little we have so we can also be stewards of riches that God bless us with. The money that God bless us with is meant to advance his kingdom and our families, not for gambling or selfish reasons. When we gamble, we are denying our calling of providing for our families. In gambling, you make money at the expense of the others. For every person who makes a net gain on gambling at casinos, there are hundreds of others who suffer a net loss, and the losses often drive families to financial ruin. In addition, those who are already financially struggling on average gamble away three times more of their money than middle class gamblers in the hope of getting rich quick, which drives them even deeper into financial despair. Not only does gambling take resources which should be used to provide for one’s family, but it also causes significant increases in divorce, domestic violence, child abuse, and also greatly increases the number of suicides in a community. Gambling gives birth to other social ills (Anon, 2014a).

1 Timothy 6:9-11 teaches,

“But people who long to be rich fall into temptation and are trapped by many foolish and harmful desires that plunge them into ruin and destruction. For the love of money is the root of all kinds of evil. And some people, craving money, have wandered from the true faith and pierced themselves with many sorrows.”

We can deduce the following from the above passage. 1) Gamblers get tempted by longing to be rich. 2) Gamblers are trapped in gambling (addiction). 3) The results of the gambler’s life is ruin, destruction, wandering from true faith, and grief (sorrows). Something that started innocently ends up causing more problems than anticipated.

Calvin (1847:92) says “Now the cause of the evils, which the apostle here enumerates, is not riches, but eager desire of them...” Calvin (1847:92) further contend that those who covet money end up doing evil such as “innumerable frauds, falsehoods, perjury, cheating, robbery, cruelty, corruption in judicature, quarrels, hatred, poisonings, murders; and, in short, almost every sort of crime.” Calvin (1847:93) correctly concludes that “the most aggravated of all evils springs from avarice – revolting from the faith; for they who are diseased with this disease are found to degenerate gradually, till they entirely renounce the faith,” Something may be legal and protected by the law, like the national lottery and casino machines, yet it is morally wrong because of the devastating results these practices have. When someone loses their monthly salary through gambling, they will resort to credit. Credit gives birth to debt. Let’s look at debt as a moral issue that affects our community.

#### **4.7.2 Debt**

Debt is very common and is encouraged by many financial institutions. The main cause of debt is that people want to live beyond their means. This simply means that their expenditure is more than their income. They want things that they cannot afford. Because of unemployment and the gap between the rich and the poor, South Africans are divided according to class, namely a high class, middle class, and low class. The higher class consists of some politicians, entrepreneurs, business men and women, shareholders of big companies, professionals with rare skill and talents (cf. Terreblanche, 2003:399). The middle class is made up of mainly government servants and small business men and women, and graduates. The lower class mainly consists of labourers in mining industries, farmers, casual workers, the illiterate, unemployed and all who depend on social grants for survival. As much as one does not want to be defined by class, knowing where one stands helps us one to manage finances responsibly. Terreblanche (2003:400) correctly says,

“An important results to the rise of an elite within each of the three Black population groups is that South Africa’s skewed distribution of income has shifted, over the past 30 years, from a race-based to a class-based one... But what gives greater cause of concern is the sharp increase in inequality within the three Black populations.”

Before dealing with debt issues, let's first mention that as in the case of gambling, there are legal creditors and illegal creditors. Illegal creditors in South Africa are also known as loan sharks because of the high interest rates they charge and their harsh methods of collection. Legal creditors are known financial institutions and trading stores that are registered with the National Credit Regulator of South Africa. As much as illegal loan sharks are reckless when it comes to lending money to individuals, some legal creditors also follow the same route. The National Credit Report (2012/2013:19) reveals that African Bank Limited was referred to the National Consumer Tribunal for reckless lending. In Marikana, the National Credit Regulator conducted raids on 16 credit providers and uncovered reckless lending, bank cards, pin codes, identity documents, blank debt collection documents signed simultaneously with credit agreements, illegal fees, and excessive interest and fees (National Credit Regulator, 2012/2013:18). The focus of this discussion is not so much on credit providers, but on ordinary citizens who can be easily lured by creditors. Credit benefits creditors, but affect the debtors negatively. Loan sharks go as far as lending to people who receive government social grants. How will they pay back and survive thereafter? The result of credit in South Africa is that it puts the government and citizens in the debt trap. What Van der Merwe (1993:1) witnessed in 1993 still holds water, namely that "socio-political reform aggravated the imbalance between government revenue and expenditure in that it hampered increase in revenue and led to increase pressure for additional expenditure." When we see financial institutions and government neglect to determine the state of the public or personal finances before borrowing to see the potential of debt repayment, it shows that we are moving into the debt trap. Schoeman (2015) observes that "From a public debt stock of 26% of (Gross Domestic Product) GDP in 2009, South Africa's debt-to-GDP ratio increased by almost 70% to a level of 43.9% by 2014."

People want to rather spend than save. More people want to have everything they desire, want and need, and at the same time find themselves in more debt. In order to fulfil their desires, credit cards and different loans are taken out. The global economic meltdown does not make it easy for the debtors with the high inflation rate that influences interest rates. More South Africans are living in debt. Credit causes the debtor to live like a slave or beggar. Debtors lose control of their finances and give the financial institutions power over their finances, be it directly or indirectly.

Debts also cause debtors to enjoy their work less. They start believing that the employer is paying them too little in wages or salary. Debt can also cause unwanted and unmerited strikes from the employees who seek more money to cover up their debts. To avoid debts, South Africans must be taught the culture of saving and the benefits of saving. South Africans need to be aware of the new trend in the global and local economy and how they influence each other, both positively and negatively. They must beware of the danger posed by creditors who proclaim credit as an avenue to living the so-called good life.

The Biblical perspective on debt in the Old Testament time tells that in every sabbatical year, the produce of the land was left for the destitute (Exodus 23:11) and debts were cancelled (Deuteronomy 15:1), “so that there may no longer be any poor man among you” (Deuteronomy 15:4; Vorster, 2004:166). After every seven years it was a year of jubilee. A Jubilee year was considered a year of debt cancellation. In Vorster’s (2004:166) words, “In the year jubilee year a general emancipation was to be proclaimed and every man were to have his ancestral land restored to him.” The jubilee year brought joy to the debtors, but also served as a lesson and reminder to creditors that they cannot grant debtors more than they can afford to pay within seven years. Loan sharks and some financial institutions give people debts that they cannot afford and this causes debtors to be indebted to creditors for a lifetime. This makes debtors the slaves of creditors. Credit regulations must be tightened and be enforced before debts are made. Credit regulations are there, but not followed. For example, how can people who receive social grants and students be allowed to have credit in some stores? This is the kind of credit that makes poor people slaves and causes them to live below the poverty line. Deuteronomy 15:1-4 says

“At the end of every seven years you must cancel debts. This is how it is to be done: Every creditor shall cancel the loan he has made to his fellow Israelite. He shall not require payment from his fellow Israelite or brother, because the Lord’s time for cancelling debts has been proclaimed. You may require payment from a foreigner, but you must cancel any debt your brother owes you. However, there should be no poor among you, for in the land The Lord your God is giving you to possess as your inheritance, he will richly bless you.”

South Africa is not religious state, but guided by a secular liberal constitution, therefore in principle we can learn from Deuteronomy that there must be strong credit regulations that cause the creditor to lose their money or property if they give loans to people who cannot afford it. This implies that the creditors cannot risk lending money to debtors who have much debt or who earns little money. Every debtor who wants a loan should undergo a personal financial audit to determine if they can afford the debts. Debtors are encouraged not to make more debts, but to pay their debts in full. As much as the Apostle Paul in Romans 13:8 emphasizes the issue of love towards one another, we can suggest that his use of the word debt suggest that he has knowledge of the financial status of the Roman congregation and how they were indebted to each other. He literally encourages them to pay their debts, including financial debts, but reminds them that the debt of loving one another is a lifetime debt. In his words in Romans 13:8 Paul says, “Let no debt remain outstanding, except the continuing debt to love one another.....” Debts don’t allow our country and citizens to progress, but demote both the country and the citizens to the position of slavery. Slow progress without debt is far better than fake progress while in debt. Debt demotes our achievement to mere liability. When the country is in debt, the unemployment rate increases. Debt leads to poverty. Poverty leads to crime. People start to depend on the government for everything, instead of the government depending on people.

The next section looks at drugs and human trafficking.

#### **4.8 DRUGS AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING**

Drugs have become a problem in South Africa to such an extent that it is threatening the future of our country. Sections 4.1 and 4.3 discusses the issues of sexual immorality, poverty, unemployment and food insecurity respectively. The social ills of the country are like cancers, which if it they not detected early and treated properly, can easily spread throughout the whole body. In actual fact, prevention is better than cure. The section addressing the issue of sexual immorality mentions the cry of prostitutes who want to sell their body without considering their acts as crime. Even though prostitutes sell their bodies willingly, the reality of the matter is when their bodies can not keep up with the demands of the clients, drugs becomes a solution. Young *et al.* (2000:794) say that “It was found that prostituting women were

significantly more likely to use drugs because they felt that the drugs increased their feelings of confidence, sense of control, and feelings of closeness to others and decrease their feelings of guilt and sexual distress.” Those who own nightclubs and brothels also have to keep up with clients’ demands by finding young beautiful girls to attract more clients. The victims become young poor and vulnerable girls who live in abject poverty without food security because their parents are unemployed. These young lives become victims of powerful people in the name of money. Due to that, human trafficking increases. Hosken, (2013) claims that “South Africa ranks among the 10 countries in Africa where human trafficking is worst...” Hosken (2013) further contend that “Main driving factors for human trafficking in South Africa are sexual exploitation, forced labour, drugs and alarming new trend of parents selling their children for adoptions or sex.” For the sake of the future of our country, the government should do research on the consequences of what they legalize when considering this matter. A minority of prostitutes wants the decriminalization of prostitution in the name of their constitutional rights, but the very same right leads to moral decay. The South African government acted rightly not to give prostitutes this right, for the same right has the potential to destroy more lives. We cannot neglect moral laws in the name of rights. Let’s look first at drug or substance abuse in South Africa.

#### **4.8.1 Drugs and substance abuse**

Drug and substance abuse is common in South Africa. The most common legal substance abused in South Africa is alcohol (Bezuidenhout & Joubert, 2008:28). Alcohol consumption is not legal for people under the age of eighteen. The law to prevent alcohol use by people under the age of eighteen is in place, but there is a lack of enforcement. The use of alcohol is prevalent in South Africa (cf. Jacobs *et al.*, 2013:1; Watermeyer 2013:1). According to Bezuidenhout and Joubert (2008:30), the following factors can lead to alcohol abuse;

“1) having few or no literacy skills. 2) Growing up in an area where education is not deemed important for improving one’s social status. 3) Having to interact with peers and being limited to the ones that environment offers. 4) Growing up in areas where the role models are criminals.”

The above factors show that the government or civilians' failure to address the issue of education could result in a moral dilemma. As things stand, Jacobs *et al.* (2013:2) says "Urban areas not only have a greater availability of cheaper unhealthy foods, but also higher rates of alcohol consumption." Urbanization in itself becomes a threat to South Africa's wellbeing. Urbanization gives birth to a high unemployment rate. When people are without work they become idle or become unfruitful and hopeless. The habit of drinking usually develops because of idleness. In the words of Jacobs *et al.* (2013:3), "Drinking can have adverse social effects on people and communities. The main negative social effects of alcohol consumption are crime, violence and road accidents." According to Watermeyer (2013:1) "Alcohol kills around 130 South Africans every day and well over half of all road accidents are caused by drunk drivers." Some youths consider crime as a career to feed their addiction. For the sake of bravery, drugs are often used. When drugs are used serious crimes are committed without mercy.

According to Bezuidenhout & Joubert (2008:39)

"Young children are experimenting with drugs more than ever in the history of South Africa and this appears to be widespread throughout the racial, cultural and economic sections of our society. In South Africa a significant number of children as young as ten years are addicted to drugs such as dagga, heroin and tik."

The most frequently used drugs in South Africa are Mandrax, LSD, cocaine, marijuana, heroin, ecstasy. Bezuidenhout (2013:42) reveals that "New drugs on the market include cat (battery acid and cocaine), sugars (a mixture of crack cocaine and rattex, a rat poison) and tik." Drugs can be obtained anywhere in South Africa. They are portable, easily concealed and can be delivered to a person's home, so drug-using children do not have to leave home to obtain drugs. Schools are commonly used as supply points. Occasional substance abuse should be dealt with at the family level. The churches should also rise up to challenge. Jacobs *et al.* (2013:1) indicates that,

"In particular, it focuses on the food-based dietary guideline (FBDG) on alcohol promulgated by the Department of Health in 2001: 'If you drink alcohol, drink

sensibly.’ This guideline was re-evaluated in 2011 and the revised FBDG recommended that there should be no alcohol guidelines at all.”

The church should support the view of zero tolerance of alcohol and tobacco use by youths and pregnant women.

Expensive drugs are mostly used by those who are financial stable and regarded by many as celebrities. Therefore, the users have a voice and have the power to say no and they have the means to deal with this challenge, like expensive rehab. Drugs have killed many talents and have destroyed many futures. It has caused people who were rich to die poor. The danger posed by drugs is the empty promise they offer of feeling good about oneself without revealing the danger of addiction. Drugs themselves pose great danger to the user and the people around them. They cause the user to mix with the wrong crowd who don't care about anyone's life and future, but care only about themselves. Most drug lords are gang bosses who don't have mercy for users who owe them. In actual fact, drug lords design their businesses in such a way that users will be indebted to them so that they are feared. Most drug lords stay in expensive suburbs and live progressive lives. Their children attend private schools while they are destroying the lives of the marginalized without mercy. In most cases, those who sell drugs for them like drugs mules end up serving long jail terms when they are caught. Surprisingly it is very rare to hear of a drug lord being arrested because their activities are well organized. The future of young South Africans is destroyed in full view. Street children use domestic products such as glue, petrol, nail varnish removers as inhalants in public (Bezuidenhout, 2013:39). It is becoming so common that we start to consider it acceptable. We will only react when a high profile person is killed by one of those street children in a robbery for the sake of feeding their habit. Ryan (1997) says,

“One serious result of the presence of illicit drugs in a country is the violence that usually accompanies it. The government is not doing enough to curb out drug use in the community, more especially about hunting down drug lords, the main source of drug availability” (Tshangela, 2012).

Tshangela (2012) reported on 16 October 2012: “Locked up, an organization which creates awareness about South Africans prisoned in foreign countries, says

government is not paying enough attention to the drug smuggling problem.” Ryan (1997) contends that “government’s response to the drug problem, thus far, has been fragmented and poorly funded with no co-ordination between reactive and proactive programmes.” Drug lords are gaining more power day by day, helped by corrupt government officials (cf. Ryan, 1997). Recently we heard of Sherly Cwele, the wife of former state Security Minister Siyabonga Cwele and Nabolisa being found guilty of drug trafficking and being sentenced in a South Africa court (Tshangela, 2012). Drug pushers are taking over the inner cities. There is a battle between local authorities, private developers, slum landlords, civic organizations, residential groups, informal traders, drug pushers, and drug users all wanting to appropriate the inner city space for their own purpose (Mashau, 2014:6; De Beer 2008:183-184). Who is winning this inner city battle? Hillbrow in Johannesburg, Sunnyside in Pretoria, and the Cape Flats in the Western Cape Province are all examples of places where drugs are readily available. Those who can’t afford drugs settle for alcohol.

With regard to alcohol, there are different kinds of alcohol, but the most dangerous alcohol used by the poor is homemade brew. Some of those alcohols can be brewed in one day for next to nothing, but it is extremely dangerous to the health of the consumer. The consumers of this kind of alcohol do it for the sake of entertainment, but the entertainment ends up in addiction and broken families. People who are alcoholic also fall into the trap of being dependent on alcohol for survival. The judgement of person who is drunk is diminished. Many breadwinners lose their lives in the road of South Africa due to drunkenness. When breadwinners die an untimely death due to accidents, this implies that drugs and alcohol stole our food and future while we were just watching. Many lives are lost through stabbings in taverns and shebeens. How many lives should be lost for the government officials to intensify the laws that deal with alcohol abuse? The laws that are made by government to safeguard responsible use of alcohol must be enforced without compromise. Moreover, Christians should advocate for an alcohol-free society. Christians should lead in this regard. The light of Christians should start to shine in the darkness. How can Christians advocate for responsible alcohol use when many use alcohol. We are becoming irrelevant to our society.

Many rapes, other crimes, and sexually immoral behaviour occur when people are under the influence of alcohol. There are many unplanned pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections that happen when people are under the influence of drugs or alcohol. The issue of drugs and alcohol need to be dealt with vigorously, since it costs the government much money in terms of the Road Accident Fund, abortion and drugs to deal with sexually transmitted infections. HIV/AIDS infection is growing. Most alcohol and drug users end up losing their jobs. Usually they become unproductive and irresponsible. Their children in most cases suffer when the users are busy feeding their selfish addiction with the little they have. Some lose big properties and their reputation in the name of alcohol and drug abuse. Warning about these dangers is not enough. Tobacco and alcohol bring in huge returns in taxation. Can money deceive the government to such an extent that we rather allow companies who produce these substances to continue? Tax is needed, but more lives must be preserved. Churches ought to stand up and start to teach its members and community to abstain from alcohol and drug abuse, legal cigarettes included. We read from 1 Corinthians 3:16-17, "Don't you know that you yourself are God's temple and that God's Spirit lives in you? If you destroy God's temple, God will also destroy him; for God's temple is sacred, and you are that temple." No wonder that Paul says in Ephesians 5:18, "Do not get drunk of wine, which lead to debauchery. Instead be filled with the Spirit." In most cases drugs and alcohol use lead to wild parties and promiscuity. Fleeing from them is the best solution. Promiscuity itself places people in danger of illness, divorces, job loss and moral decay.

#### **4.8.2 Human trafficking**

Human trafficking is when

"People are bought and sold for sexual exploitation, forced labour, street crime, domestic servitude or even the sale of organs and human sacrifice. Men, women and children are trafficked within their own countries and across international borders. Trafficking affects every continent and every country"  
[stopthetraffik.org](http://stopthetraffik.org).

Bahun-Radunovic and Rajan (2008:143) define human trafficking as follows,

“Trafficking in persons means the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.”

They furthermore say that the exploitation includes at a minimum the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. Davis and Snyman (2005:280) correctly point out that “Human trafficking is not a new phenomenon but simply (an addition) a new name for the age-old practice of slavery.” In addition, Bezuidenhout (2013:259) says “it is estimated that 20, 9 million people are victims of modern slavery around the world at any point in time.” Human trafficking transcends national, regional and international borders. The South Africa Law Reform Commission (2004:14) reports that “Trafficking of persons in South Africa into the South African sex industry takes two forms, i.e. foreigners trafficked to South Africa are re-trafficked from one agency or brothel to another, or locals are trafficked from city to city and from rural to urban areas.” This practice challenges the Bill of Rights, which protects human rights as enshrined in the constitution. People are exploited and used as objects. The main purpose of human trafficking is financial gain, sexual exploitation and cheap labour. There are children who are trafficked by relatives around the borders of South Africa in the name of tradition. Bezuidenhout (2013:270) puts it this way, “the tradition of *ukuthwala*, the forced marriage of girls as young as 12 to adult men, is still practiced” (cf. Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2012:286). The South Africa Law Reform Commission (2004:20) reports that, “Trafficking in women and girls for purpose of forced marriages is a world-wide phenomenon and South Africa is no exception. Mozambican women are trafficked to South Africa to be sold as wives on the mines of Johannesburg West Rand.” Furthermore, the South African Police Service has encountered a number of cases of children being trafficked from neighbouring countries to South Africa to be sold as wives to men in the townships (South Africa Law Reform Commission, 2004:21).

Factors contributing to human trafficking according to Davis and Snyman (2005:283) are,

“Poverty and inequality, conflicts situations, gender discrimination within the family and the larger community, tolerance of violence against women and children, Lack of appropriate legislation and political will to address human trafficking, restrictive immigration policies, the globalization of the sex industry and the involvement of transnational organised networks” (cf. Kruger, 2010:102; South Africa Law Reform Commission 2004:27-30).

Wessels (2007:192) correctly says, “We never dare used to poverty, the same as our forebears never became used to slavery and colonialism.” The contributing factors highlight that a holistic approach is needed to address human trafficking. Every government ministry, civil society and civilian should play their part. The more people live below the poverty line, the more are vulnerable (cf. Davis & Snyman 2005:284).

Trafficking for the sake of sexual exploitation is the main trend. The more the rate of prostitution increases, the greater the chance of human trafficking, especially of young vulnerable girls. The National Human Trafficking Resource Centre reports that the homeless, runaway youths, foreign nationals, and individuals who have experienced violence and trauma in the past are most vulnerable to human trafficking. With the rate of unemployment growing every day, vulnerability is increasing. The poorest of the poor are running to urban areas, seeking greener pastures. It is evident that foreign nationals are all over South Africa. Many foreign nationals are working in saloons and as sex slaves to make extra cash. Young Mozambican women are recruited through job offers in South Africa. Attractive job offers are made to young women working at markets in Maputo where many of them make a living by selling basic commodities. The traffickers also use other women to lure young women from their homes with attractive job offers (South Africa Law Reform Commission, 2004:20). Davis and Snyman (2005:284) correctly observe that “The sexual exploitation of children and women is viewed as the most profitable part of human trafficking and can take different forms, such as forced prostitution, forced marriages, child prostitution and child pornography.” Legalising prostitution comes along with the potential danger of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Human trafficking contributes to crime. Males are often used as mules and drug sellers in streets and public schools. They sell petty small things in the streets like sweets, fruits, flowers, or act as car guards as a cover-up for drug sales (cf. South Africa Law Reform Commission, 2004:19). Human trafficking is a danger to the community and human life. It demotes people to mere sex objects and mere slaves without rights even in a country where human rights are protected by the constitution. The root cause of most social moral ills is corruption. Let us look at how corruption plays a role in moral decay.

#### **4.9 CORRUPTION**

What is corruption? Corruption is dishonest or fraudulent conduct by those in power, typically involving bribery. Tanzi (1998:8) defines corruption as “the abuse of power for private benefit.” Tanzi (1998:8) further highlights that, “In several cases of corruption, the abuse of public power is not necessarily for one’s private benefit but it can be for the benefit of one’s party, class, tribe, friends, family and so on.” Sangweni and Balia (1999:82) says, “To be corrupt is commonly described as to be ‘rotten, depraved, wicked, and influenced by bribery’. The defining characteristic is the misuse of public or private office, trust, roles or resources for private benefit.” The definition clearly shows that those who are corrupt abuse their power, they don’t consider merit in their dealings and are unfair. Their interest in the office is not to serve the people who elected them, but to serve themselves. When government officials put their interest first above those of the public they are directly against the code of conduct for the public service, which says that the public servant should put the public interest first in the execution of his or her daily duties. A public servant is also expected to serve the public in an unbiased and impartial manner to create confidence in the public service (Sangweni & Balia 1999:198). They abuse or misuse state funds willingly and cover up their corruption with blame-shifting. Mafunisa (2000:15) lists the following examples of public resources and common forms of corruption.

Examples of public resources:

- Money, goods, vehicles, buildings and any other resources that belong to the government.

- Pension funds and medical aid funds.
- Trade union money and resources.
- Lottery money.
- Donations to charities.

Common forms of corruption:

- A business or individual pays a bribe to a government official to be given a government contract or license.
- The use of government-owned resources, such as motor vehicles, for private purposes.
- A government official takes advantage of his or her position to favour a family member or business associate for a job or tender contract. This is commonly called nepotism.
- A police officer solicits a bribe or a member of the public offers one to escape lawful punishment (cf. Pickhardt & Shinnick, 2008:6; Lodge, 1999:57; Burke *et al.*, 2011:3).

Corruption in municipalities abounds and protests around delivery continue amid reports of gross underspending or overspending (Kadali, 2009:28). The main causes of this is maladministration, which is influenced by nepotism. Mafunisa (2000:15) correctly says, “Instead of employing capable candidates with suitable qualifications, incapable patrons are employed even when they lack the relevant qualifications” Corruption gives birth to a weak government and a weak government gives birth to corrupt leaders. Corruption is a chain, a corrupt leader corrupts other leaders so that everyone can be corrupt, so that corruption can gain fertile ground. The time will come where everyone in leadership will be considered corrupt. Hence Thabo Mbeki posed the following question at the National Anti-Corruption Summit held on the 14-15 April 1999 in Parliament, Cape Town:

“Can you corrupt a corrupt person? You can only manage to corrupt a corrupt person if you are also corrupt. When corrupt people meet, corruption becomes accepted life style whereby those who are honest are side-lined or even dismissed

or called spies. Honest people are whistle blowers but usually they face rage or even put their lives at risk by exposing corruption.” (Sangweni & Balia 1999:75)

Thabo Mbeki correctly points out that “Many in our society are inspired by a system of values which begins and ends with the pursuit of what is materially beneficial to them, with no sense of what is morally correct.” It is not wrong to be rich, but how you acquire your riches is equally important (Kadalie, 2009:30).

The danger of corruption is that it weakens the government materially and morally. Corruption makes the state poor, because what is meant for the public is benefiting a few individuals (cf. Schedler *et al.*, 1999:227). It weakens the moral fibre of the community because the general public loses the sense of right and wrong or good or bad. If those in positions of influence are caught in corruption scandals and nothing is done, it sends the wrong message to the community that says corruption is acceptable. Most common spheres of corruption in South Africa is in politics, the justice system, the economy and the social systems.

The best example of political corruption is the building of Nkandla village for Jacob Zuma where 246 million rand was used (Madonsela, 2014b:427-447). The ruling party, the African National Congress, is protecting the president. In their view he should not pay back the money that was used irresponsibly for the benefit of only one person who put his interest first above the public interest (Nhleko, 2015:40-47). Mafunisa (2000:13) says “corruption issues focus on dishonest politicians who gain positions of power and trust to promote their own selfish interest.” Jacob Zuma took advantage of his access to other government officials to help him with government transactions. What Jacob Zuma did undermines the Constitution and democracy. In this entire saga, there was no transparency. With all the resources the government has, it should have known the exact estimate of the project, but that was neglected intentionally. No transparency in the government results in more corruption.

Our justice system loses credibility when we see people who are convicted of crimes like Jackie Selebi and Shabir Shaik are on medical parole without even serving a quarter of their sentence. The South African legal system is facing a crisis where those who are politically connected or have good financial muscles seem to be above

the law. When people are not seen the same before the law, that means the legal system is corrupt. Justice for the poor is delayed or dismissed without proper reason.

Economic corruption is relevant in South Africa when civilians pay bribes for the public services they deserve. Some ask for a bribe from an unemployed person in exchange for employment. Economic corruption is also relevant when entrepreneurs are paid large amounts of money for a project that is done with cheap materials or lack quality. Money laundering and fraud is common forms of economic corruption. South Africa is rated as one of the four countries with the highest levels of fraud with Russia, Kenya and Canada (Burke *et al.*, 2011:18). When the community gets used to economic corruption instead of curbing it, they start to perceive it as a way of life (cf. Mafunisa, 2000:14). People have come to see nothing wrong with paying a bribe for a license or traffic offense. Corruption gains even more fertile ground when those in power shy away from accountability.

Social corruption entails for example that people in power use their power to elicit sexual favours from their juniors in exchange for promotion. This kind of corruption disregards families and undermines human dignity. Jacob Zuma was hauled to a court of law accused of raping an HIV-positive young lady. Jacob Zuma was acquitted in this trial. Skeen (2007:122) says “Zuma’s admission that he had not used condom with a woman he knew to be HIV positive and his infamous shower made him the biggest buffoon in South Africa and an international embarrassment to the country.” Sekhaulelo (2007:92) points out that, “As a leader of the Moral Regeneration Movement Zuma was supposed to be moral compass of our nation.” Yes, he was acquitted, yet he admits to infidelity with an HIV-positive without using condom. This alone indicates how Jacob Zuma is careless about social corruption. Silence about rape and child abuse in our communities is evidence of social corruption. This social corruption is more evident when the community blames the victims in case of rape and abuse. Many women and children face sexual harassment, but not much is done to protect them.

What should be done to curb corruption? The legal system says that there is no one above the law and the constitution is the supreme law of the country, and this should be practiced. Anyone who goes against the constitution and the rule of law should be brought to book and face the consequences. The African National Congress

government has weakened the law by defending their comrades who had been caught for corruption. The office of the Public Protector was attacked several times for exposing corruption. Pickhardt and Shinnick (2008:79) calls “the system of oversight of executive power the pillar of good governance, where power is exercised to the benefit of society rather than in support of special interest groups and assists in maintaining a competitive market for ideas and policy initiatives.” This promotes democracy and limits powers. In actual fact, power should be limited and specific. For example, the power of politicians is to see that service is rendered, but they don’t have the power to sign cheques on behalf of government entities.

Meritocracy must be the way to go. No merit, no leadership. No necessary skills, no tender. Politicians should also build their career in politics by doing political sciences. Being an activist is not good enough to be put in a managerial position. When they speak of merit, Pickhardt and Shinnick (2008:79) says the “Pillar of good governance is a meritocratic civil service bureaucracy, entailing recruitment and promotion on the basis of merit rather than on an official’s political contacts.” When merit is considered when hiring people, the country prospers because it is ruled by the best. Moreover, merit encourages graduates to study more because they know that the more they study, the more they stand a chance of employment.

Powers must be separated. Officials must be given power, but limited power. The power that officials have should be defined. General power undermines democracy and leads to autocracy. When powers are separated, the office of the Public Protector cannot be undermined, the justice system will be independent, independent audits will be given space. The instance that we experienced where the office of the Public Protector was attacked by the African National Congress will be avoided. Every institution or individual will be respected when they practice their given powers. There must be transparency and accountability in government institutions. The government should deal with illegal and unethical behaviour. Examples of illegal behaviour is stealing either for one’s own use or for sale to another, whereas unethical behaviour includes giving clients or government officials small gifts at Christmas (Burke *et al.*, 2011:4).

#### 4.10 CONCLUSION

Sexual immorality, reverse racism, unemployment, poverty, food insecurity, xenophobia, strikes, gambling, debts, drug/substance abuse, human trafficking and corruption are the moral demons that face South Africa today. South Africa is becoming a weak state that does not even know how to tame their teenagers so they can preserve themselves from any kind of social ills that are mentioned above. We lack political drive, government institutions and churches that stand up to fight moral decay. Kadalie (2009:156) asks how politicians can preach moral regeneration when the politicians themselves are morally degenerate. Looking at the constitution and judiciary as the source of morality only is a grave mistake that the South African government is making. The constitution and the judiciary are not masters of morality, but families, culture and religious entities are masters of morality. The government should not just dish out rights for the sake of dishing out, but should consult with moral experts so they can make informed decisions on the positive and negative impact of the law they want to pass. Laws are made, but there is no governance. Public service delivery is weak, crime is rampant and poverty due to extremely high levels of unemployment plagues our democracy. We need strong uncorrupted leaders who will start to control and start governing (Kadalie, 2009:168). As much as natural resources are important for government income, moral issues should also be given priority. Corruption must be dealt with seriously. Burke *et al.* (2011:7) says, "Corruption is likely to spread or exist if managers and co-workers observe unethical behaviour but ignore it." Usually this is due to co-optation, incrementalism and compromise.

**CHAPTER FIVE:**  
**GUIDELINES FOR THE GOVERNMENT IN THE PROCESS OF**  
**MORAL REGENERATION**

Even to this day, wickedness, immorality, idolatry and lawlessness are rife in the world. Christian religion stands for good morals founded on the love of God and love for one's neighbour. Whenever lawlessness prevails, moral decay becomes the order of the day, as manifested in Chapters 3 and 4 of this study. Previous chapters indicated how moral decay affects the government and citizenry respectively. As a Christian community we have a calling to stand up and provide assistance to the government and the community at large regarding ways to rebuild our community based on good moral standards. The study uses a Christian perspective as the basis for a good moral standard. This chapter seeks to provide a Christian ethical perspective and to propose guidelines or a method that government can use in the process of moral renewal. In order to reach those objectives, the following aspects will be discussed:

- Legislation
- Good governance
- Protection of human rights
- Exemplary leadership
- The involvement of non-government organizations
- The involvement of chaplains
- The involvement of tribal authorities
- The consistent application of constitutional rights
- Investing more in education and training
- Waging a war against corruption

## 5.1 LEGISLATION

The Constitution in its Bill of Rights, guarantees the protection of the rights of all South Africans. Good legislation is the foundation of good government and development. Practical laws can lead the country to developing a sustainable economy and guarantees a good future for all. However, corrupt leaders cannot make good laws. Politicians are not in the position to make good legislation because most politicians are politically biased and impose their political propaganda onto the government. Politicians have the ability to change democracy to autocracy, they have the tendency to pass weak laws in pursuit of covering the corruption of their political leader. One example is the disbandment of the Scorpions while under the leadership of Bulelang Ngquka, who was about to expose the corruption of elite leaders. Clark (2012) reports that,

“The unit (Scorpions) had a conviction rate of between 82% and 94%. In 2002, 66 people were arrested. In 2006 this number had climbed to 617. In 2002 180 prosecutions were finalized. In 2006 the number was 214. But in June 2008 the Scorpions was disbanded and a total of 287 (Directorate of Special Investigations) DSO cases were transferred to the new Directorate for Priority Crime (or Hawks), which falls under the South African Police Service (SAPS).”

In the process of promulgating good legislation, structures that stand for morality, like religious groups, tribal authorities, non-government organizations and retired judges should be consulted. Moreover, what Mandela said on his 89th birthday holds true:

“Let us call Global Elders (senior citizens who have experience), not because of their age, but because of their individual and collective wisdom. This group derives its strength not from political, economic or military; but from the independence and integrity of those who are here. They do not have careers to build, elections to win, constituencies to please. They can talk to anyone they please and are free to follow paths they deem right, even if hugely unpopular” (Magubane, 2008:14).

One of the dangers of the fact that politicians make up the legislature is that most of them think in terms of five years. In contrast, global elders don't take the easy, short-term route, but support long-term, sustainable approaches that address the root of

the problems facing South Africa. They don't take decisions to please their fellow leaders, but to build a country they dearly love and fought for. The global elders uphold the moral fibre of the community. In traditional societies, the elders always had a role in conflict resolution, long-term thinking and the application of wisdom wherever it was needed. In modern days, people are moving to a global village without their global elders. The elders can be a group who has the trust of the world, who can speak freely, be fiercely independent and respond fast and flexibly in conflict situations (Magubane, 2008:15). Elders can apply their mind soberly and would therefore make good legislation. Perhaps changes to the structure of the parliament are something to consider. In my view, a retired judge who is politically informed could be used as a speaker of the parliament to avoid biased decisions that compromise the integrity of parliament. In addition, due to the fact that elders would have nothing to gain, they are in a position to lend an ear to minority parties without fear, favour or prejudice. In order to sustain our democracy, legislation must remain democratic and draw some moral principles from a theocracy. Democratic ends cannot be arrived at through undemocratic means. Political policies should not reign above democratic policies as enshrined in the Constitution.

## **5.2 GOOD GOVERNANCE**

The laws that are made by legislature must be made effective by the governors and all stakeholders. The term governance denotes the process of decision-making and the subsequent implementation of those decisions. Good governance is the backbone of a progressive government and a sustainable economy. Civilians, government and private institutions prosper when good governance is in place. Bad governance is a root cause of government failure, corruption, maladministration and immorality of different kinds. According to Chapter 3 section 40(1) of the Constitution of South African, "government is constituted as national, provincial and local spheres of government which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated." All spheres of government are expected to observe and adhere to the principles covered in Chapter 3 of the Constitution. The chapter deals with cooperative government. The government is not the only a role player in good governance. There are other stakeholders like influential leaders, associations of farmers, cooperatives, Non-government Organizations (NGO's), research institutes, religious leaders, finance

institutions, political parties, traditional leaders, and the military and ordinary citizens ([www.unescap.org](http://www.unescap.org)).

Daly and Sarkin (2007:216) contend that, “Good governance will enhance people’s lives and foster reconciliation .... It gives societies sound structures for economic and social development.” The characteristics of good governance as deduced from Daly and Sarkin (2007:216) are the following: participatory, consultation, accountability, transparent, responsive, effective, efficient, equality, inclusive and follow the rule of law. The above characteristics of good governance are discussed below in an effort to provide the government with guidelines on how each contribute to moral regeneration.

### **5.2.1 Participation**

We should acknowledge that the South African government allows its ordinary citizens a right to vote for a political organization of their choice. After election we no longer see active participation of the ordinary citizens in the government. When people start blaming the government for the bad things that happen in the community, the factor of participation is overlooked. A lack of participation by everyone in democratic government marks the beginning of the failure of a democratic government. Democracy is ‘rule by the people’. The way members of parliament and ministers are elected in South Africa directly or indirectly hinders participation. South Africa should use a constituency system when electing members of parliament and ministers. This would mean that every local government should be represented in parliament by the candidate of their choice. This will improve service delivery and participation. Instead of giving the president the power to appoint ministers, the ministers should be voted in by the members of the political party that won the elections. This will make the president work harder since no-one could be his puppet. Ministers will work harder because only merit will keep them in their positions of power. Lawanson (2006:1047) rightly says, “People tend to see power, like energy, as a finite resource and thus the object of fierce competition - something to be clung to and not to be shared. But Jesus clearly demonstrates that power can be shared without the sharer losing authority (Luke 10:1-22; Mark 16:15-18).” Furthermore, those elected to high political positions, in different corporations, civil societies and government institutions are not there to represent themselves, but the

people who have elected them. When it comes to participation the different stakeholders have to be independent, which means that they should be free to express their views without fear of intimidation. The responsibility of the politicians should be that of monitoring and looking after public interest, whereas the responsibility of the government should be that of service delivery. Politicians should promote participation by going to communities to find out what should be done to better their lives. The better option is that politicians should reside within the community they serve. At the moment, the people in the top positions in government have much more power than those that voted them in. It is a top-down kind of leadership instead a bottom-up kind of leadership. After deliberations with relevant stakeholders, politicians should monitor that those agreements are implemented and they should continue with monitoring. When the government fails, the ruling party is blamed. The participation of politicians in the daily running of government should not end with cutting the ribbons of new buildings, but should include continuous monitoring to make sure that the government renders services to those buildings.

Participation of the community means attending the community meetings called by the government and civil societies with regard to the issues that are of public interest. Participation also means listening and taking into consideration minority voices and the voices of vulnerable people like the poorest of the poor. Participation should be informed and organized. People have to know how to address issues to a point where issues are resolved. Participation should not be manipulative, oppressive and used as a rubber stamp to the already-taken decision by those in power like in case of many of the public hearings that are merely a formality. Good governance creates a sense of ownership and promotes responsibility. Participation builds the spirit of patriotism. As much as government supports citizens, the citizens support government more. For example, a structure like the South African Police Service cannot struggle with criminals alone. The community police forum should be so effective that every community member is willing to curb crime to zero. The community will start to understand that crime affects all of us, not only the victims of crime. Participation endorses Biblical perspective that teaches that a true leader is a servant leader. Instead of expecting the one you lead to wash a leader's feet, the leader washes the feet of the servants (John 13:1-17). Ramphela (2008:146) says "government is not simply about securing individual rights and interests but some

more substantial and transcendent good. Transcendent good is the common good that enables all citizens to develop their full potential and contribute to the public interest.”

### **5.2.2 Consultation**

Good governance must be conscious of the tendency to lead from the top down, and should start to lead from the bottom up. Leading from the bottom up opens the eyes of the leaders to acknowledge and embrace the differences between, for instance, urban life and rural life. Rural life is informed by cultural values that should be considered when making laws, especially those that affect morality. Traditional leaders and senior citizens should be given the opportunity to participate in order to determine what should be done to preserve morality. This implies that the government acknowledges and gives different spheres the relevant power to participate in building the democracy. In this way the government would be endorsing what Van der Walt (2002:280) calls ‘structural’ and ‘confessional pluralism’. When the government makes a decision, the historical, cultural and social context of the given society or community should be considered. A holistic approach will be the way to go. Different structures must be considered before laws and bylaws are passed. This can make the government a more effective agent of development and moral regeneration. Consultation should remind the government that good service delivery is not determined by the government from the top, but by the local community and civil societies, for they know what they want first. For example, in Tshivhuyuni and Muwaweni, areas within the Makhado municipality, a community hall and indoor sports centre were built respectively. They are not in operation, but has become ruined. A lack of consultation causes the government to waste government funds on infrastructure that is not the first priority to a particular community. Instead of an indoor sports centre, daily water supply and road infrastructure are the community’s priorities. Zoutnet (2009) reported that, “Residents of Muwaweni are upset, not only because they have been without water for two years, but also because they now have to collect water from nearby dams where animals graze.” The government should not assume what the community needs, but should do proper consultation so that the relevant service can be delivered.

### 5.2.3 Accountability

Accountability is essential and the core of good governance. It is expected that those in government entities, in the private sector and individuals should be the people accountable who know their responsibility in their respective positions and jobs. Arnone and Borlini (2014:168) contend that, “When institutions are accountable to their citizens or towards supervisory authority there is a strong incentive in favour of meritocratic selective process.” Lawanson (2006:1047) correctly points out that “The biblical pattern of accountability involves both what one does and what one is. It involves using right people (Ezra 8:24, 30) who follow right procedures (Ezra 8:24-34). In doing this, they should be guided by right and standard documentation (Ezra 8:34).” Accountability starts at an individual level and goes up to government level. Without accountability, our country is doomed to failure and reduced to blame shifting. Establishing accountability without looking at a person’s merit is impossible. For example, one cannot account for money when one is not good with money. One cannot account for ones education if one wasn’t exposed to schooling and only has politics as a backup for appointment. In education we need knowledge, skills and a positive attitude, not politics in the forefront. Politics should only monitor the transformation so that people may have an equal opportunity to study at any institution of their choice without any hindrance. Where there is accountability, corruption dies. Arnone and Borlini (2014:169) says that a “High degree of accountability is associated with low levels of corruption.” This simply means that when accountability increases, corruption decreases. Accountability and corruption never dine at the same table. Parsons (2009:187) aptly points out that

“Leaving aside exogenous factors, our growth has been held back not by our lack of imagination but by our unwillingness - or inability - to follow through with much of what we have decided needs to be done, and by a refusal to accept responsibility when there is a failure of delivery. It is now time to ‘walk the talk’ more convincingly.”

Blame shifting is a nasty game that will take all of us down. We cannot afford to blame history for everything that is not going right with the South African politics and economy. Destroying historical statues under the auspices of wiping out Apartheid or xenophobic attacks cannot erase history, nor can it create employment or eradicate

poverty. All that is needed from us is to be accountable, responsible citizens. We need leaders in the government, not bosses. The quality of leadership at every level is decisive. A character in the Bible that showed accountability is Nehemiah. When Nehemiah prays in Nehemiah 1:6-7, he is willing to take responsibility on behalf of his family and fellow Israelites. Contrary to Nehemiah, King David in 2 Samuel 11 was not willing to be accountable or take responsibility for his actions after committing adultery with Uriah the Hittite's wife, Bathsheba. He did his best to cover up his sin to the point of assassinating Bathsheba's husband, Uriah the Hittite. David's behaviour reflected clearly that untamed desires can lead to disaster. All this started with lust, lust gave birth to adultery; adultery lead to lies and deception when David tries to deceive Uriah. When his entire plan failed he resorted to murder. David became cold blooded (cf. Mauchline, 1971:250). Joab the commander was dragged in into the evil plan of David. We smell lack of accountability when people repeat the same mistake intentionally. The report from Joab to David (from verses 18-21) reflect clearly that it was a common knowledge that it was not allowed for them to fight close to the city walls, but they did that, so that Uriah can be butchered (cf. Smith, 1912:320). How many whistle-blowers are assassinated so that those in authority can cover up their corruption (cf. Thamm, 2015; Duncan, 2010)? Failure to be accountable makes us more greedy and cruel to a point of eliminating all that we view as stumbling blocks. Accountability restores and enhances public trust and has a transforming impact (cf 2 Samuel 12:13-20; Psalm 51).

#### **5.2.4 Transparency**

Transparency is also at the core of good governance. It means things are done in line with the rules and regulations without fear or favour. The rule of the law is kept intently. Everything that is done in the government is open to the community. In case of service delivery, people are clear on why some kinds of service delivery take place and some not. There is clear and transparent communication from the government to the ordinary people at ground level. The enemy of transparency is empty promises. The government should always update the community on what would happen in their community in time. Information should also be made available to the media. Where there is transparency, there is mutual understanding. Many government officials lack transparency, and without transparency, there won't be integrity. We need leaders who are sure about their personal transparency and integrity (2 Corinthians 1:12-14).

Leaders who are transparent and have integrity don't speak contradictory messages, their yes is yes and their no is no, no double standards (2 Corinthians 1:17-20). Transparency and integrity allows one to earn trust. Who can trust politicians after empty promises? The ideal that the apostle Paul puts in front of us is a challenge to all of us. He says in 2 Corinthians 4:2, "Rather, we have renounced secret and shameful ways; we do not use deception, nor do we distort the Word of God. On the contrary, by setting forth the truth plainly we commend ourselves to everyone's conscience in the sight of God." Paul puts emphasis on the following: renouncing secrets, renouncing shameful ways, not using deception, not distorting the Word of God (truth). What Paul presents here challenges the government on a matter such as the Secret Bill. It digs deeper and demands the motive for the Secret Bill. Is it not done to cover up corruption rather than security purpose? In 1 Timothy 1:15 Paul is transparent to the saints about his past. Now politicians are mastering lying about their qualifications. SABC News (2014) reported on their webpage that: "According to experts, faking or misrepresenting qualifications is a growing trend in South Africa, a trend which came under spotlight in 2014 with many high profile personalities being accused of it" (cf. Writer, 2015).

### **5.2.5 Effectiveness and efficiency**

Effectiveness and efficiency addresses the issue of using minimal resources maximally. Arnone and Borlini (2014:175) say,

"The indicator of government effectiveness reflects the ability of the government bureaucracy to produce and implement good policies and deliver public goods - consistent with its mandate. Clearly, the degree of effectiveness is also reflected in government's normative ability and its ability to manage public goods."

In order to be effective and efficient we should find strong leadership, effective government and active citizenry. The enemy of effectiveness and efficiency is corruption. One example is fake tenders that receive significant amounts of money for poor quality work that cost tax payers money unjustly. Effectiveness and efficiency go after quality. Effectiveness and efficiency means that a public servant looks out for using natural resources to the benefit of all South Africans. The principles of effectiveness and efficiency contribute to the meaningful development of

the community. It would for instance mean that the government does not approve tenders when they have the resources and skills to do the job themselves. Effectiveness and efficiency simply means no wasting of government resources so that the resources could be used to develop and sustain the services that are intended for the community. The ideal Bible example of effectiveness and efficiency is Luke 16:10-12, which says,

“Whoever can be trusted with very little can also be trusted with much, and whoever is dishonest with very little will also be dishonest with much. So if you have not been trustworthy in handling worldly wealth, who will trust you with true riches? And if you have not been trustworthy with someone else’s property, who will give you property of your own?”

Luke 19:17 further says, “‘Well done, my good servant!’ His master replied. ‘Because you have been trustworthy in a very small matter, take charge of ten cities’”. South Africa must start to raise government officials and a public at large who are ready to work, effectively and efficiently without wasting resources and time. Working hard increases the efficiency and effectiveness of the work done.

### **5.2.6 Equality and inclusiveness**

The ideal South Africa that Nelson Mandela fought for is equal and inclusive. The statement that Mandela made while facing the possibility of the death penalty during the Rivonia trial in the 1960s can lay the foundation of equity and inclusiveness:

“During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against White domination and I have fought against Black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal for which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if it needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die” (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2011).

At that time, it was an ideal. The ideal has translated into reality with the dawn of democracy in 1994. But are we a free society? Mandela’s ideal of a free society means living in harmony with equal opportunities regardless of race, background and religious beliefs. Equality and inclusiveness should mean that we are an integrated

community, not a conflicting community. Just like the rainbow nation that we claim to be, we should reflect our different colours without seeking to dominate or to make other colours dull and useless. South Africa cannot continue to be divided along the lines of race, religion, sexual orientation and ethnicity. To achieve equality, the different powers should be independent. The members of the community must be treated equally. Equality implies respect for people for what they are and wishes to be. It seeks to prevent the occurrence of those abuses that are based on natural difference such as race, religion, background and gender (Andriof & McIntosh, 2001:121). Equality seek to give citizens equal opportunities. A good Biblical example is 1 Corinthians 12:12-26 that speaks of one body with different parts, united yet diverse.

Equality is what makes us realize that the gap between the rich and the poor is unjust. South Africa cannot afford to be divided by economy so that the poorest of the poor are still facing an inhumane situation where they go to bed without food while the economy of South Africa is in good standing. With regard to economy, the economy should be designed to reach even the poorest of the poor in our country. South Africa must come to a point where no-one will go to bed without food. We can reach this point by investing more money in the agricultural sector. The division based on ethnicity is also unjust. South Africans should come to a point where they are firstly known as South Africans, and not as a person from a specific ethnic group. I am South African first, then a Black Venda South African. We should be treated as equal in an inclusive economy. Galatians (3:26-28) says, "So in Christ Jesus we are all children of God through faith, for all of you who were baptized into Christ have clothed yourself with Christ. There is neither Jew nor Gentile, male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus." Once the government sees people as one, equal before the eyes of the law and in general, such a government will be impartial even to the poorest of the poor. Affirmative action, something that has the potential to propagate a new division should have an end date, because unlimited continuation means that the history will continue to judge White South Africans. The constitution says that South Africa is for all South African, regardless of race. South Africa should reach a stage where we become colour-blind and gender-blind society. Arthur (2005:556) says: "A society would be non-discriminatory if race or gender never entered into the awarding of benefits." We should note that there is discrimination

based on gender that is acceptable, for example maternity leave for women and the fact that in sports, women compete with women and men with men. This kind of differentiation is acceptable.

### **5.2.7 Rule of law**

The rule of law simply means that no-one is above the law and that no-one will be treated unfairly based on political affiliation. Justice will be served to all. The rule of law gives men the freedom and protection they need and as a result they enjoy the fruits of freedom, but they don't have the freedom to destroy themselves or to infringe on the freedom of others (Locke, 2005:342). The rights of victims are considered before those of the perpetrators. Lawlessness and crime cannot be tolerated. The government should deal with corrupt officials harshly because they weaken the rule of law, more especially by way of accepting bribery, fraud and nepotism. Arnone and Borlini (2014:153) correctly point out that, "Corruption is capable of endangering political and social stability and security, undermining the values of democracy and the rule of law, jeopardizing social, economic and political development." The judicial system should be fully independent from political powers in a practical way. In order for the constitution to be practical, "Constitutions require institutions, which in turn require commitments of substantial sums of money, as well as cadres of professionals, including judges, lawyers, and clerks, who take seriously their obligation to enforce the constitutional mandates" (Daly & Sarkin 2007:217). The threats that were made by the former African National Congress Youth League leader, Julius Malema, to the National Prosecuting Authority were unwarranted and constitute a threat to the rule of law (Southall & Daniel, 2009:69). Malema didn't want the National Prosecuting Authority to prosecute Zuma on charges of corruption and fraud, and they were eventually dropped in March 2009. Malema threatened the National Prosecuting Authority by saying he is ready to "kill for Zuma", a promise later amended to "die for Zuma". This is a statement that Malema lived to regret and after the 2014 elections, he wanted the National Prosecuting Authority to prosecute Zuma for Nkandla security upgrades. It is a lesson to us that we must allow the law to take its course regardless of a person's position of influence. Silencing the law fuels corruption. Celebrities and common South Africans should be treated equally and fairly before the law. The rule of law implies impartiality before the law. Daly and Sarkin (2007:218) say, "Under law, neither power nor wealth nor access to arms

gives advantage.” Leviticus (19:15) says, “Do not pervert justice; do not show partiality to the poor or favouritism to the great, but judge your neighbour fairly.” The institutions that stand for law enforcement, law agencies and legislation must be given full independence without political intervention. The constitutional court, the office of the public protector, security agencies and law making bodies should enjoy their independence without political influence. Different institutions must only be monitored by the rule of the law as enshrined in the constitution. Daly and Sarkin (2007:217) hold that, “The Constitution should entrench many of the structural decision ....to protect them against excessive political manipulation.”

### **5.3 PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS**

Human rights should be enhanced and protected as stated in Chapter 2 of the Constitution, which presents the Bill of Rights. Section 7(1) says, “The Bill of Rights is a cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. It enshrines the rights of all people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom.” The Constitution is so beautifully written, good governors know how to implement and monitor it. Are the people who are facing inhumane circumstances like the poorest of the poor, unskilled labourers, vulnerable members of the community like children and women protected? Proverbs 31:8-9 encourages the protection of human rights by saying, “Speak up for those who cannot speak for themselves, for the rights of all who are destitute. Speak up and judge fairly; defend the rights of the poor and needy.” Isaiah (1:17) further says, “Learn to do right; seek justice. Defend the oppressed. Take up the cause of the fatherless; plead the case of the widow.”

Good governors have strategies and methods to eradicate poverty, like skills development, a competitive education system, ongoing equipping of civil servants and job creation. It deals with any form of slavery decisively. It will never tolerate child labour and will seek to address the issue of child-headed families. Good governance will create an African dream where food security will be the order of the day. Cases of malnutrition will be things of the past. Food security is promoted by rewarding the agricultural sector so that food prices will be affordable to everyone. Poverty robs poor people of human dignity. Poor wages and salaries relegate workers to slaves. Rape and abuse reduce women and children to sex objects. Government and all stakeholders, including the community, should stand together

against anything that takes human rights for granted. Terrorism and gangsterism is a direct challenge to human rights and freedom. If gangsterism is not closely checked, it will grow and make terrorism eminent at the political level. Good governance is harsh to criminals (Romans 13:4).

#### **5.4 EXEMPLARY LEADERSHIP**

In 1 Corinthians 10:33-11:1 we hear the apostle Paul speaking boldly as an exemplary leader saying, “I, too, try to please everyone in everything I do. I don’t do just what is best for me; I do what is best for others so that many may be saved. And you should imitate me, just as I imitate Christ.” In Ephesians 5:1-2 Paul points his audience to the best exemplary leader of all time, Jesus Christ, by saying, “Imitate God, therefore, in everything you do, because you are his dear children. Live life filled with love, following the example of Christ. He loved us and offered himself as a sacrifice for us, a pleasing aroma to God.” An exemplary leader is not afraid of public scrutiny. Nelson Mandela was an exemplary leader in South Africa. He displayed the spirit of reconciliation when he embraced former Apartheid perpetrators. He did not seek revenge, but reconciliation. Moreover, his moral standards were generally acceptable. Magubane (2008:13) correctly says:

“After a 27 year history of unjust imprisonment and the brutal oppression of his fellow Africans by the government, he could have exercised the power newly bestowed on him to exact revenge on the former rulers. Instead he chose reconciliation and peaceful coexistence and persuaded others that this course was the only acceptable way forward.”

An exemplary leader should be a person of integrity. He or she should avoid self-contradiction. A person of integrity walks the talk. Such a person tries hard to maintain their own essence, resisting those distortions that may be imposed by social, economic, political, cultural and sometimes religious structures. Andriof and McIntosh (2001:120) poignantly say, “Integrity means resisting ‘structures of non-being’ that tend to cause self-decay of the human being, with terrible psychological, physical and moral consequences.” We cannot say the same with Jacob Zuma. He ushered in an era of maladministration, corruption, fraud, immoral behaviour and injustice. The rise in unemployment and increase in strikes are good examples of

Jacob Zuma's maladministration. The Nkandla scandal and the Arms Deal are examples of corruption and fraud. The extra-marital affairs and rape allegations against Jacob Zuma are good examples of immorality. As mentioned in 3.2.5 and 4.8 the medical parole granted to Shabir Shaik is one of the best examples of injustice. Those who are politically connected seem to be above the law (De Vos, 2012; Grootes, 2011). Van Vuuren (2014:1) contends that "levels of corruption are peaking, and are perhaps at the highest level they have been since the final year of Apartheid. The last five years in particular have seen political corruption that was seemingly isolated to the multi-billion arms deal spill over into the rest of the society." Van Vuuren (2014:1) further contends that "elite networks within government and business are deeply compromised, and this appears to be shaping and destabilising current anti-corruption efforts." Van Vuuren (2014:1) correctly concludes that, "This culture indicates a return to Apartheid-style secrecy and the use of security agencies to deal with political conflict and intervene in high-level corruption investigations."

Good leaders don't cling to power for too long. They know when to hand over. That is the mistake that Thabo Mbeki was about to make. He knew that constitutionally he is barred from serving a third term as state president, but the African National Congress' own constitution imposed no obstacle to his re-election as party leader. His decision to exploit this lack of congruence in the two constitutions became fateful and marked his downfall. He started to look and sound like a power-hungry leader who was determined to block Zuma and who wanted to continue to exercise power from behind the presidential throne beyond 2009 (Southall & Daniel, 2009:3). However, the best current example of the dangers of clinging to power for too long is President Robert Mugabe who has reduced Zimbabwe from the bread basket of Africa to beggars knocking on the doors of neighbouring countries. In some countries presidents defied or changed their countries' constitutions to cling to power for decades (Magubane, 2008:14).

The moral fibre of a leader should be considered when electing leaders. There should be a proper background check to avoid what we have experienced recently from political leaders like Pallo Jordan, who claimed to have a doctoral degree while he in fact has no academic qualifications. SABC News revealed that ANC stalwart and MP, Pallo Jordan, has lied about his qualification. Jordan did not have any

qualifications from the University of Wisconsin-Madison or the London School of Economics. SA Airways (SAA) board Chairperson Dudu Myeni and acting CEO, Nico Bezuidenhout, were also accused of misrepresenting their qualifications. Myeni listed a bachelor's degree in Administration as one of her qualifications when she was appointed in 2009, but the degree was removed from last year's annual report. She said she had listed the degree because she had been studying towards it. Another high profile leader who said he never made claims that he had certain qualifications was SABC COO Hlaudi Motsoeneng. The Public Protector ordered that action be taken against Motsoeneng after she found that he lied about having a matric certificate. If Motsoeneng is a CEO of SABC without a matric certificate, where is merit in all this?

1 Peter 5:2-3 contains a message to the church leaders of Peter's day, but it is applicable to any leadership: "Be shepherds of God's flock that is under your care, watching over them - not because you must, but because you are willing, as God wants you to be; not pursuing dishonest gain, but eager to serve; not lording over those entrusted to you, but being examples to the flock." An exemplary leader is a servant leader. He or she understands that the office is a place of service more than it is a place of authority. A servant leader understands that serving the community above personal gain is a priority. People in leadership must add value to the lives of ordinary South Africans. Politics should become morality in practice. In Vorster's (2004:32) words "In the maintenance of morality the king should be an example to the people, because 'it is especially notorious, that the anger of God is provoked against the whole body of people, in the person of the king.'" Politics should be selfless service to fellow human beings based on conscience and truth (Ramphela, 2008:146). Many government personnel fail in this noble task, regardless of Batho Pele principles that put the interest of community service above the personal interest of the personnel. Servant leaders deal with corruption in any form in earnest. He or she does not cover it up, but exposes it even if the corruption was committed by friends.

## **5.5 THE INVOLVEMENT OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CIVIL SOCIETY**

A non-governmental organization (NGO) is any non-profit, voluntary citizens' group that is organized at a local, national or international level. Task-oriented and driven by people with a common interest, NGOs perform a variety of services and humanitarian functions, bring citizen concerns to governments, advocate and monitor policies and encourage political participation through provision of information. Some are organized around specific issues, such as human rights, environment or health. They provide analysis and expertise, serve as early warning mechanisms and help to monitor and implement international agreements. Their relationship with the offices and agencies of the government differs depending on their goals, their location and the mandate of a particular institution ([www.ngo.org](http://www.ngo.org)). The progressive government should consider the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Examples of NGOs include those that support human rights, advocate improved health or encourage political participation. Two broad groups of NGOs are identified by the World Bank: operational NGOs, which focus on development projects; and advocacy NGOs, which are organized to promote particular causes. Certain NGOs may fall into both categories. NGOs play a vital role because they know the challenges of the community better than government officials. An NGO involved in for instance home-based care knows exactly what is going on with the sick people in their community. They can be used fruitfully by local clinics to determine which diseases are more prominent in the community and what are the common behaviour patterns. They may not have expertise on health issues, but they have general knowledge of the community problems and challenges. If the government and other stakeholders listen to and support NGOs, they will render more relevant services to the community because they will be more in touch with the basic needs of the community. Some NGOs rely primarily on volunteers, while others support a paid staff. As non-profit organizations, NGOs rely on a variety of sources for funding, including membership dues, private donations, the sale of goods and services, and grants. Despite their independence from government, some NGOs rely significantly on government funding. Whenever necessary, those NGO's should be funded. The above-mentioned NGOs are organized NGOs.

We should also acknowledge the informal NGOs that mainly arise during times of need. The International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (2006:2) contend that

“On many occasions, local people and organizations are the main actors in disaster risk reduction and disaster response. When a disaster strikes, immediate response (i.e., search and rescue and care for those injured, traumatized and homeless) is often carried out by family members, friends and neighbours and grassroots organizations. In the case of the many small-scale events triggered by natural hazards, there may be little or no external support at all, especially in countries where government capacity is limited.”

The government is not there to serve politicians, but to serve ordinary citizens. In a democratic country the voice of the majority is heard, but the voice of the minority should also be considered. The majority sometimes makes unconstitutional decisions that must be corrected by the rule of law. The best example is the xenophobia that was experienced in Soweto in January 2015. City Press of 22 January 2015 reported on the incident as follows,

“Residents went on a rampage, looting shops and attacking foreigners after a teenager was shot dead in Snake Park. Mthetheleli Siphwe Mahori, 14, was shot dead, allegedly by a foreign shop owner on Monday. He was apparently part of a group that tried to rob the shop. The violence spilled over to Braamfischerville, Dobsonville, Emdeni, Zola and Protea Glen.”

One bad incident cannot be solved unlawfully by residents. This is good example of informal street committees or informal residents gathering unlawfully. Everything done by an NGO should be constitutional and lawful. What the residents of Soweto did is to correct a wrong with a wrong, ‘an eye for an eye’. An eye for an eye will make South Africa blind. Proper procedures should be followed to solve the problems we are facing.

## **5.6 INVOLVEMENT OF CHAPLAINS**

Our government recognizes the work of chaplains, but in a limited way. There are chaplains in government institutions such as the South African Police Service (SAPS), the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), the South African

Correctional Service (SACS), but no chaplains in schools. The late education minister Dullah Omar managed to convince the government to embrace freedom of religion, but they did that at the expense of Christian religion in public schools. Why fix something that is not broken? What is the impact Christian religion has in schools? According to the research done in 2009 by the Edith Cowan University by Hughes and Sims (2009:44) concerning the effectiveness of chaplaincy in government schools in Australia, the benefits of chaplains in schools include the following: 1. Chaplains are proactive. They foresee danger and negative trends as they develop in the lives of children and seek to address it before it gets out of hand. They are proactively involved in many aspects of school life. 2. Chaplains are accessible. They are easily accessed by learners without formal appointment and are available to meet immediate needs. They listen to learners, which is the heart of counselling (cf. Pickford, 2011:47). 3. Chaplains are unaligned. They are interested in the wellbeing of the learners. They bring order and groom learners to be responsible and accountable children. Chaplains work on the character of the learners (cf. Pickford, 2011:47). 4. Chaplains use a holistic approach. Most of them know their limitations. They are able to recommend things to be done to help learners. For example, they can recommend that a child needs career guidance, a social worker, counselling or medical attention, since learners easily pour their hearts out to them. 5. Chaplain are flexible. They are flexible to do other things outside of their scope of practice, like playing sports with the learners and transferring their hobbies and skills to learners. 6. Chaplains are value-based. They bring to their work a specific set of values. They manage to see the best in each person and to provide support and care for them. They pass their good moral values on to learners. 7. Chaplains are church-connected. The connection between a chaplain and a church makes the chaplain answerable to a certain body. He also gains financial, moral and spiritual support from the church. Churches make the work of a chaplain feasible. Evidence points out that most chaplains approach their work holistically without imposing their Christian faith on learners of other religions. Hughes and Sims (2009:47) conclude by saying,

“Chaplains had a significant impact on schools in providing opportunities for students to talk about problems, in caring for the needs of students, their families and staff, and in encouraging responsible and caring behaviour. If the contribution of chaplains is positive like this, more chaplains are needed in schools. We don’t

have to get rid of Christian teaching in schools because it was working so well. Chaplains must be introduced in Schools from primary, secondary to tertiary level. We must not be reactive in social moral issues but be proactive before the damage is done through irresponsible and immoral behaviour. Let's bear in mind that human beings are religious people. They are born with the seed of faith. They may either worship God or God's substitute."

There are many moral lessons that people can learn from the Christian religion, even those who don't embrace it. The best example is the second part of the Ten Commandments in Exodus 20:1-17 and the summary of Ten Commandments in Matthew 23:37-40. Both the Ten Commandments and the summary of Ten Commandments are divided into two main parts. The first part deals with the relationship between God and men and the second part between men and men. From a Christian point of view, neither part can be neglected. In actual fact, the first part forms the basis of the second part.

The book by De Bruyn (1998) titled *The Ten Commandments* fully reflects the importance of Ten Commandments for Christians and non-Christians respectively. As a nation we tend to ignore the following laws: 1. Respect your father and mother. 2. Do not murder. 3. Do not commit adultery. 4. Do not steal. 5. Do not bear false witness against your neighbour. 6. Do not covet your neighbour's house. Can we ignore the law that cries out saying; love your neighbour as yourself? In Deuteronomy 6:1-9 we learn that these laws must be in our heart and should be taught diligently to our children. The apostle Paul in Romans 10:13-15a asks a fundamental question that we should pause to the government, "For whoever calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on Him whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in Him whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach unless they are sent?" All that the chaplains need is to be given the opportunity to teach a religion that promotes love, peace, reconciliation and faithfulness. We cannot afford to ban a religion that teaches one to extend love and the blessings to the enemy (Matthew 5:43-48; Romans 12:18-21) from schools or to dilute such a religion in schools to remain progressive and peaceful. Instead of emphasising law and order, this religion can fully assist in bringing order and law. Where there is order, law is eminent.

Christian religion has that power to bring order. It has a way of addressing social, economic and political issues. The best example of addressing social issues that affect families is the instruction in Ephesians 5:22-6:4 and 1 Peter 3:1-7 where the Bible teaches how the family should live. These texts address the relationship between the husband and wife and the relationship between children and their parents. Furthermore, in Ephesians 6:4-9 and 1 Peter 2:18-23, the Bible addresses the relationship between employee and employer. 1 Peter 2:13-17 is an example where we are instructed to obey and be submissive to governing authority. In Matthew 21:15-22 we hear Jesus telling the Pharisees and Herodians that they should pay their taxes. "Give Caesar what belongs to Caesar and God what belongs to God." An example that addresses the economy is in James 5:1-6 and Job 34:27-30 when God pleads to those who have economic power to pay their employees well. These few Scripture texts clearly prove how dynamic the Word of God is in our daily lives. I recommend that every community should have their Chaplain in place to assist them with spiritual issues. The Chaplain must be an open-minded person who will understand the religious, political, economic and social differences of the community, but who should be ready to point out immoral behaviour of the community and seek to correct it.

## **5.7 THE INVOLVEMENT OF TRIBAL AUTHORITIES**

Tribal authority is enacted by kings, paramount chiefs, chiefs and headmen. The Apartheid government enhanced the status of this administration because it favoured their segregation policy. Segregation is the imposed separation of groups based on ethnicity, race, religion or gender. Segregation was implemented to strengthen the 'divide and rule' principle of Apartheid. As much as tribal authorities can be blamed for endorsing Apartheid to a certain extent, Amtaika (1996:i) correctly contends that, "Abandoning the institution of tribal authorities in the democratic dispensation is unrealistic and irresponsible." Amtaika's plea is answered because the Constitution covers the office of tribal authority. Chapter 12 of the Constitution deals with the institution of traditional leaders. Section 211 provides as follows:

“(1) The institution, status and role of traditional leadership, according to customary law, are recognized, subject to the Constitution.

(2) A traditional authority that observes a system of customary law may function subject to any applicable legislation and customs, which includes amendments to, or repeal of, that legislation or those customs.

(3) The courts must apply customary law when that law is applicable, subject to the Constitution and any legislation that specifically deals with customary law.”

It is a settled matter that tribal authorities should form part of the government, but the challenge is which role they should play? Ntsebeza (1999:83) mentions that,

“The chief did not only have right to pass rules (by laws) governing persons under his domain, he also executed all laws and the administrator in ‘his’ area, in which he settled all disputes. The authority of the chief thus fused in a single person all moments of power, judicial, legislative, executive, and administrative.”

The worrying thing is that tribal authorities are given unlimited governance powers. They are empowered to define customary law and to play a role of land administrators and to perform judicial functions (Manyathi, 2010:1). The sound of all power fused in a single person already challenges the pillars of democracy, which is in essence rule by the people. Tribal authorities should be advised to use the gifts around them by means of delegation and they should also remember that their decisions should not contradict the constitution. They should not see civil societies as an enemy, but as a group of people who can be used to better tribal governance. The tribal authority should be ready and willing to distribute land to people. The chief doesn't only have power, all land is in the hands of tribal authority. Ntsebeza (1999:87) warns, “The key problem is that in communal land in the former Bantustans is unregistered and unsurveyed.” The land that people in rural areas occupy or use for farming does not have title deeds. Municipalities should work hand-in-hand with chiefs to formalize residential areas so that title deeds are issued and streets names are given. Many rural areas lack basic municipal services such as waste removal; sanitation and proper infrastructure (cf. Maepa, 2000:1).

Based on Judges 17:6 and 21:25, there is need for leadership from local level to national level so that order and law can be maintained. Judges 17:6 and 21:15 says, “In those days Israel had no king; all the people did whatever seemed right in their

own eyes.” During the time of Judges in the Bible, Adeyemo (2006:295) contends that “The new nation experienced political instability and suffered from internal turbulence, paralysis, defeat and external oppression. Once Joshua’s generation passed away, the promised peace and prosperity of land flowing with milk and honey disappeared, giving way to chaos and confusion. The primary cause of Israel’s tragedy was a leadership vacuum.” Furthermore, Adeyemo (2006:295) says “Unfortunately Joshua had failed to mentor a successor as Moses had mentored him. He had left the nation without a strong central government or a human head of state. It was a confederacy of twelve independent tribes without any unifying force except God.” What Adeyemo elaborated above clearly matches the situation here in South Africa. We lack public figures with integrity and good leadership quality. The leaders like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Steve Biko, F.W de Klerk and Shaka Zulu’s calibre are no more. We need strong leaders who stand for something. Chief Sebe says, “The Chief was the central symbol of honour and pride, the custodian of all those tribal and national customs and practices that are dear and sacred to the tribe”. Traditional authorities are good custodians of cultural beliefs and customs. In cases where cultural beliefs and customs are found oppressive, they must be challenged by the constitution. To avoid contradictions, tribal authorities should educate themselves on politics and also use the gifts around them, like young academics, to assist them with new trends. For customs they have elders for guidance. Learning about politics will help them understand democracy and will assist them not to fall into an autocratic way of thinking. Tribal authority is a symbol of peace and unity. It should assume the role of being mouth piece of their people with regard to service delivery by cooperating with political ward counsellors and civil societies.

## **5.8 CONSISTENT APPLICATION OF CONSTITUTION RIGHTS**

The South African government has the responsibility to apply constitutional rights consistently and should never tamper with the pillars of the constitution, namely democracy, equality, reconciliation, diversity, responsibility, respect and freedom. This means South Africans should not tolerate any leader who is becoming autocratic or who shows signs that do not reflect democracy. Since Apartheid taught us the danger and the pain of the divide-and-rule-principle, we should not embrace anything that fosters division and tampers with reconciliation. As Christians it should go

without saying since we are called to the ministry of reconciliation (2 Corinthians 5:18:20). Chapter 9 of the Constitution recognizes state institutions that support a constitutional democracy. Chapter 9 of the Constitution says,

*181. (1) The following state institutions strengthen constitutional democracy in the Republic:*

The Public Protector, The South African Human Rights Commission, The Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religions and Linguistic Communities, The Commission for Gender Equality, The Auditor General and the Independent Electoral Commission.

*(2) These institutions are independent, and subject only to the Constitution and the law, and they must be impartial and must exercise their powers and perform their functions without fear, favour or prejudice.*

*(3) Other organs of state, through legislative and other measures, must assist and protect these institutions to ensure the independence, impartiality, dignity and effectiveness of these institutions.*

*(4) No person or organ of state may interfere with the functioning of these institutions.*

*(5) These institutions are accountable to the National Assembly, and must report on their activities and the performance of their functions to the Assembly at least once a year.*

We have recently seen the president's attempts to tamper with the independence of the office of the Public Protector. The Public Protector, Advocate Thuli Madonsela in her letter to President Jacob Zuma dated 21 August 2014 says the following in 14.6:

“I am further concerned that the decision you have made regarding the Minister of Police gives him power he does not have under the law, which is to review my decision taken in pursuit of the powers of administrative scrutiny I am given by section 182 of the Constitution and expected by relevant sections of the Executive Members’ Ethics Act, 1998 and the Public Protector Act, 1994. This, Mr President, unintentionally requires him to usurp the review powers of the courts.

Section 181(2) of the Constitution provides that the Public Protector is subject only to the Constitution and the law.”

In point 16, the Public Protector further emphasizes that “Reports of the Public Protector are by law not subject to any review or second guessing by a minister and/or the cabinet. The findings made and remedial action taken by the Public Protector can only be judicially reviewed and set aside by a court of law.” In this regard we have experienced the president tampering with section 181(2) of the Constitution by appointing Minister of Police Mr Nkosinathi Nhleko on the Nkandla Saga, who eventually exonerated President Zuma’s from taking responsibility and accounting for his unduly benefit from public funds. Holomisa (2015) of the United Democratic Movement holds the view that “the report by Minister of Police that exonerate President Zuma confirms that the government celebrates corruption and crime and hold those suspected of wrongdoing in high esteem, as a role models and heroes.” Constitutional rights should be applied consistently.

## **5.9 INVEST MORE IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING**

The Apartheid government invested more in security agencies and agriculture. It is high time that South Africa should invest more in education and training. Education and training should include politics, economics, social matters, innovation and entrepreneurship. Most South Africans are politically illiterate or ignorant. There should be schools in the field of political science that teach the political character or philosophy of certain political organization. This implies that a person that holds a political office should have a degree in politics or economics in line with the character or philosophy of that particular organization. South African politicians need fundamental principles of a certain kind. We need critical thinkers who have a basis and foundation. This will enable them to read and know the advantages and disadvantages of certain political views and trends. Looking at politics today, one finds leaders in the same political organization holding totally different fundamental principles and philosophies. Political ideology and philosophy also helps the constituency not to idolize a certain leader above others because the political leaders are there to represent what they stand for. With regard to economy, we should know what political organizations stand for. Do they stand for capitalism, socialism, communism, neo-liberalism, just to mention the few? We should come to a point as

South Africans where we as voters know what communists, democrats or federalists stand for. We should not be blind or emotional voters, but informed and rational voters. That will make politicians more responsible.

Since unemployment threatens the future of South Africa, more entrepreneurs should be trained and supported. Tertiary institutions should train more people to become innovative and self-employing. They should prepare themselves to face political, economic and social challenges boldly. They should be prepared well so that all instead of challenges discouraging, destroying and frustrating them; they will have fortitude, tenacity and patience. Entrepreneurship should not mean 'get rich quick scheme', but means developing employment and a sustainable economy. Here we are not speaking of entrepreneurs who focus on government tenders, but of those who are focusing on developing business that will make South Africa produce, manufacture and innovate things that will attract the global market to our products. We should export more instead of importing.

#### **5.10 WAGING WAR AGAINST CORRUPTION**

Soreide and Williams (2014:69) define corruption as follows, "Corruption is commonly defined as the misuse of public office or power for private gain. Corruption may include bribes, sexual favours, furtherance of political or political ambitions, and may take the form of avoiding something undesired in the form of threats." Many books and articles cover the topic of corruption. The greatest obstacle of any economy is corruption. Corruption is all over the world. It has no colour and has no boundaries. Everyone should speak against corruption. We should teach children from a young age how corruption is sickening and weakening our country, just like the way rape, gangsterism, drug abuse and poverty do. Children should be taught by families, religious entities, schools and the civil society that corruption is bad and unacceptable. Keeping quiet when we see corruption is as good as promoting it. We should not normalize corruption because its consequences are bad. As mentioned by Soreide and Williams (2014:89) "Traffic police corruption increases the risk of road accidents, particularly if traffic police allow drunk driving, substandard vehicles, and non-qualified drivers." The implication is more death on South African roads, which leads to orphans, widows, poverty and more payments from Road Accident Fund.

Arnone and Borlini (2014:171) captured the words of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillay saying,

“Let us be clear. Corruption Kills. The money stolen is enough to feed the world’s hungry every night, many of them children; corruption denies them their right to food, and in some cases, their right to life. A human rights-based approach to anti-corruption responds to the people’s resounding call for social, political and economic order that delivers on the promises of ‘freedom from fear and want.’”

Furthermore, Arnone and Borlini (2014:171) argue that, “Corruption affects the poor disproportionately due to their powerlessness to change the status quo and inability to pay bribes, creating inequalities that violate their human rights.” Corruption is a human rights issue, and every single individual should stand up and be counted waging war against corruption. Corruption should not be tolerated. Onianyan (2014:6) correctly points out that:

“Corruption undermines democracy and the rule of law; leads to violations of human rights; erodes the quality of life, and allows organized crime, terrorism and other threats to human security to flourish; hurts the poor disproportionately by diverting funds intended for development, and undermines a state’s ability to provide basic services.”

## **CHAPTER SIX:**

### **RECAPITULATORY COMMENTS**

The recent history of South Africa indicates that this society has relapsed into widespread moral decay. This process started with the advent of Apartheid and is still progressing. The moral decay of the South African society manifests in many destructive patterns of living, namely sexual immorality, reversed racism, unemployment, poverty, food insecurity, xenophobia, strikes, gambling, debts, drug and substance abuse, human trafficking and corruption. Argued within the Reformed paradigm, the government can be regarded as a moral agent with a responsibility to inspire and direct moral renewal in South Africa within the framework of its role in governing the South Africa society. The South African society needs moral regeneration. This investigation considers the role that the government of the day can and should play in such a moral renewal. The problem is formulated as follows: How can the government as a moral agent in moral regeneration of South Africa fulfil their calling in the contemporary South African moral crisis? This question probes us to deal with the following related questions:

- What is the role of a government in public morality?
- Is the South African government playing the role of being a moral agent?
- What are the core moral issues facing the South African government?
- What are the proposed guidelines or methods the government should use in the process of moral regeneration?

In an effort to capture the role of government as moral agent in the process of moral renewal, the study considered the principles laid down by prominent Reformed theologians and philosopher namely, John Calvin, Abraham Kuyper, Karl Barth, B.J van der Walt and the Constitution of Republic of South Africa. Below is the summary of their principles presented in a table form:

JOHN CALVIN	KARL BARTH	ABRAHAM KUYPER	B.J. VAN DER
<p>The governing authorities are God's ambassadors, deployed by God. They are mandated to do God's will. The governing authority must be aware that aristocracy is the best form of government that advances "rule by the best characters".</p>	<p>The governing authorities are servants of God.</p>	<p>The governing authorities are God's servants. It must acknowledge the independence of other social spheres within its ranks.</p>	<p>The government bearers are servants who are in office to serve the people who elected them, ultimately God. The government must protect the state against...</p>
<p>Government is responsible for protecting the sacred ministry.</p>	<p>Government is responsible for protecting the sacred ministry.</p>	<p>Government is responsible for protecting the sacred ministry.</p>	<p>The government must promote structural reforms and maintain confessional pluralism.</p>
<p>The governing authority has the responsibility of maintaining the peace and stability of the country.</p>	<p>The governing authority has to play a role in promoting reconciliation.</p>	<p>The role of the governing authority is to fight against discrimination and racism.</p>	<p>The governing authority must work to promote unity in the church and society.</p>

JOHN CALVIN	KARL BARTH	ABRAHAM KUYPER	B.J. VAN DER
<p>The governing authority is responsible for upholding and maintaining a good social justice system. The governing authority is responsible for social welfare, in other words service delivery.</p>	<p>The governing authority must defend and administer social justice, be the guardian of the common good, maintain peace and stability. The governing authority is responsible for basic service delivery.</p>	<p>The governing authority has an unchangeable role of administering justice.</p>	<p>The governing authority has the responsibility of public justice.</p>
<p>The governing authority has a responsibility with regard to law enforcement and intolerance towards crime and corruption.</p>	<p>The governing authority has the responsibility to put good legislature in place.</p>	<p>The governing authority has the responsibility to put good legislature in place through parliament.</p>	<p>The governing authority must have good legislature because unjust laws never be applied.</p>
<p>The governing authority must be constitutional; no one is above the law.</p>	<p>The government has a role to stand against any form of dictatorship and the totalitarian state.</p>	<p>The governing authority has the duty to uphold the constitution. They don't have absolute power since no man is above other men, consequently no dictatorship.</p>	<p>The government must stand against dictatorship, totalitarian state, government's power and authority.</p>

JOHN CALVIN	KARL BARTH	ABRAHAM KUYPER	B.J. VAN DER
<p>The governing authority has the responsibility to use state finances and resources responsibly for the benefit of community.</p>	<p>The governing authority must teach the community that freedom goes with responsibility.</p>	<p>The governing authority has the role of giving people freedom and basic human rights, which goes with responsibility and limitations.</p>	<p>The government have limited-speci</p>

Based on the above principles laid down by the Reformed prominent theologians and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, we can ascertain the role of the government in moral renewal as follows: Reformed theologians see the government authority as servants of God and people. They deem them as God's ambassadors. The majority of civil servants only see themselves as responsible for the people who elected them and not towards God. The will of men is held high based on democratic value. That is the pitfall of the government, holding high the will of men. Van der Walt (2011:354) correctly says "The state cannot be Christian, but we can have a Christian view of state." Mogoeng (2014:4-5) sees it fit to consider divine or religious views in government issues dealing with morality. Merit should be considered when placing civil servant in the office. Leaders should be servant leaders. Political deployment in government administration should be nullified.

John Calvin, Karl Barth and Abraham Kuyper contend that the government should protect the sacred ministry, meaning Christianity. Van der Walt's approach favours the Constitution, he holds that the government should promote structural and confessional pluralism. The government is partially fulfilling that in the constitution where freedom and equality of religion is endorsed. Freedom of religion should mean freedom of religion. A spirit of religion and the spirit of freedom successfully combined, allows for vital life support of public cooperation. The government should guard from danger of secularism. We see secularism when Christianity is silenced in public institution. Religious structures must be protected so that they are able to witness to the government and the community without fear of marginalization. In order to achieve this, structural and confessional pluralism is the way to go. This approach will curb the secularism that seek to privatize religious.

The government authority has the role of promoting reconciliation and building a united South Africa. In the first fifteen years of democracy there has been more promise with regard to reconciliation and unity. However, as we enter the second decade of our democracy, more cracks are becoming visible that threaten the reconciliation and the rainbow nation we once celebrated. The reason for this is mostly economical differences. The unity of South Africa is superficial. South Africa is not only divided by race but also by class, namely a low class (poor), middle class (mostly civil servants) and high class (rich). Economic imbalances make the gap

between the rich and the poor unbearable. Ethnicity and xenophobia is fuelling the division.

The government has the responsibility to promote public justice. Weak public justice is eminent. Politicians are behaving as if they are above the law. There should be good cooperation between law enforcement agencies and the justice system. Good legislation must be put in place. In order to achieve those aims, older citizens and custodians of culture should be involved in legislature. We cannot rely only on politicians for good legislature because good legislature can only be formulated by people with integrity, transparency and good moral standing in public. We will say public justice is reached in South Africa only when the social justice for the poor, weak, aliens is held high. This can be said when jurisprudence maintains human dignity by protecting the rights of the vulnerable and they maintain justice in jurisprudence, economy, taxes and in general government.

The government authority has the responsibility to offer good legislature and to put law enforcement in place. Good legislature balances power, represents constituents and create new sound laws that are morally and legally acceptable. The danger South Africa is facing is using only the Constitution as a guide when making laws. The law can be legally right, but morally wrong. Bodies that stand for morality, like religious organizations, and tribal authorities that act as custodians of culture and customs should be involved. Good legislature becomes functions when it is supported by a good juridical system and law enforcement.

The government authority is responsible for social welfare and basic service delivery. In most government structure, queues are the order of the day. The South Africa government lacks consultation and monitoring. Basic service delivery is in demand and the government is failing to reach those demands. For the government to reach those demands, the public services should be guided by certain principles, including accountability, honesty, impartiality, service quality, professionalism and motivation. The issue of the political terms of politicians in government sphere threatens the progress of our country. Most politicians in government think in terms of five years. That causes government to lose billions due to incompetent tender entrepreneurs. Corruption is stealing resources to be used for public to personal gain.

After dealing with the principles offered by prominent Reformed theologians and the constitution on ascertaining the role of the government in moral renewal, the study dealt directly with the core moral issues affecting South Africa, namely sexual immorality, reversed racism, unemployment, poverty, food insecurity, xenophobia, strikes, gambling, debts, drug and substance abuse, human trafficking and corruption. South Africa is becoming a weak state that does not know how to tame her citizenry to preserve them from the above social ills. We lack political drive, government institutions and churches that stand up to fight against moral decay. We cannot only look to politicians for moral regeneration whereas the most politicians themselves are morally generated. We cannot look at the constitution and judiciary as the only source of morality because constitutional right and legal correct laws will be passed that is morally unacceptable. We cannot either look to church alone for moral regeneration, the government should capacitate itself with issues of morality learning from these structures that stand for morality. Together we can do more. The constitution and the judiciary are not masters of morality, but families, culture and religious entities are masters of morality. South Africa needs strong uncorrupted leaders who have vision, merit and administrative skills so he/she can start to lead South Africa towards peace and prosperity. There should be a set of moral standard that need to be put in place to rescue South Africa from moral decay and lawlessness. A democratic state based on the rule of law could not exist or function if the government ignored its constitutional obligations and failed to abide by court orders. As ordinary citizens, we are concerned with the integrity of the rule of law and the administration of justice. The undermining of the rule of law by government high officials is often done gradually and surreptitiously. The courts must fearlessly address this through its judgements and not hesitate to keep the executive within the law. Corruption is likely to spread or exist if government officials, law enforcement agency, justice system, managers and citizenry observe unethical behaviour but ignore it.

All is not lost in morality only if the government can take heed to the guidelines outlined in this study in the process of moral renewal. The following guideline should be considered:

- Legislation

- Good governance
- Protection of human rights
- Exemplary leadership
- The involvement of non-government organizations
- The involvement of chaplains
- The involvement of tribal authorities
- The consistent application of constitutional rights
- Investing more in education and training
- Waging a war against corruption

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