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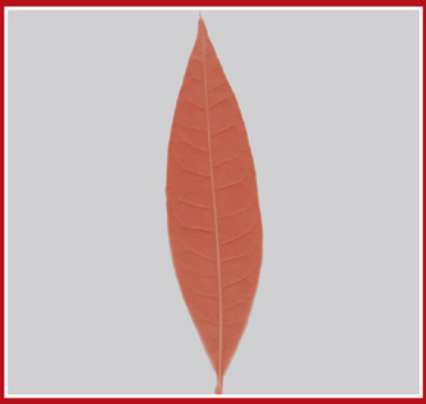

The Theology of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Desmond Mpilo Tutu

Johnny Bernard Hill

Foreword by J. Deotis Roberts

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To all the women who have loved me
My wife, Trinia; mothers, Johnnie Marie and Carolyn; sisters, Gina, Leanette, Sherri, Joyce, Melissa, Teresa, Qiana, and Cheryl
Your support, love, and encouragement over the years has meant more than words can say.

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Acknowledgments

This project is the culmination of many prayers, hopes, and dreams. I am very grateful to many people who have offered, over the years, generous resources, thoughtful and comforting words, as well as genuine criticism when necessary.

Time is rarely taken out of the business of life to thank those who we know as family and friends. I would like to first of all express gratitude for the support of my sisters (Gina, Leanette, Sherrie, Joyce, Melissa, Teresa, Qiana, and Cheryl) and brother, Michael L. Cook. To my parents in marriage, Charlie and Carolyn Simmons, I say thanks. Andolia O. Eaton, who adopted me while in seminary at Duke has been a constant source of comfort amid an otherwise tumultuous climate. I am also indebted to my extended family of Second Baptist Church in Evanston, Illinois and White Rock Baptist Church in Durham, North Carolina. To Dr. Reginald Van Stephens and Rev. Mark A. Dennis, your continual spiritual encouragement has meant more than words can say.

I have always maintained that teachers give us more than knowledge. They give us inspiration, guidance, and hope. This has certainly been the case in my experience. I wish to thank several professors and mentors who have contributed a great deal to my academic and ministry development. I cannot express enough my deep sense of gratitude to Dr. J. Deotis Roberts, who taught at Duke Divinity School and from whom I got the inspiration for this study. Since the beginning of my theological education, Dr. Roberts has been a patient mentor, advocate, and teacher. Both Dr. Roberts and his lovely wife, Elizabeth, are champions in their Christian witness and truly ambassadors of Christ.

At Duke Divinity School, where many of the initial ideas for this study were formulated, I would like to express appreciation for Stanley Hauerwas, Gregory Jones, Greg Duncan, Geoffrey Wainwright, William Turner, and Richard Lischer. In particular, I am eternally

grateful to Peter Storey and Michael Battle who first introduced me to the thought of Desmond Tutu and the courageous witness of Christian communities in apartheid South Africa.

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Of course, this project would not be possible had it not been for the unfaltering love and support of my wife, Trinia. She has been a tremendous source of inspiration and strength. To that, I say thanks.

Series Editors' Preface

With the first book comparing and contrasting Martin Luther King, Jr. and Desmond Mpilo Tutu, Dr. Johnny Bernard Hill tells us a critical and comparative story about the lives and theologies of these two men who received Nobel Peace Prizes and impacted the course of their nations, the segregated United States and apartheid South Africa. Hill focuses on the theme of reconciliation. King has become synonymous with the U.S. civil rights movement, that is, "love the enemy." Tutu is equated with the South African anti-apartheid struggle, that is, "turn the other cheek." In the course of unfolding this pioneering narrative of faith and society, Dr. Hill draws on multiple intellectual traditions. The book takes the reader on a journey encountering King's published books, rare documents from the King papers at Boston University, and texts at the King Center in Atlanta, various books by Tutu, a host of writings that set the historical backdrop for segregated United States and apartheid South Africa, and the thought of modern and postmodern scholars. Hill maintains convincingly that the modern idea of reconciliation reeks with Kant's distortion of rationality that created an individualistic and provincial practice of reconciliation. Moreover, Hill traces the view of reconciliation from biblical times to the present. The fundamental discovery is the historical separation of personal autonomy from social equality.

Rather than apolitical individualism and singular inward obsession with the self, King reworked reconciliation in the context of concern for neighbor, human dignity, and the beloved community. King gifts us with "human dignity." Tutu shares the "ubuntu" alternative. King arose out of Protestant liberalism of modernity and the southern black Baptist church. Tutu emerged from his Anglican church and his Xhosa linguistic traditions. Combining his missionary and indigenous backgrounds, Tutu links reconciliation to a new notion of "rainbow people of God." King appreciated the love of God in all individuals inclusive

of KKK Christians. Tutu stressed that individuals are fully human only in relation to others including the Afrikaner Christians. King became the conscious of America's soul. Tutu gained fame as protagonist of South Africa's wounds.

Furthermore, both figures urge us to pursue interreligious practical cooperation and reconciliation. Specifically Mohandas K. Gandhi, a Hindu, influenced both King and Tutu. In fact, Gandhi first began and fine-tuned the way of life and philosophy of nonviolence in apartheid South Africa before moving on to his home in India. Tutu matured in this cultural ethos as well. And King not only read the works of the little brown lawyer from India, but also traveled to that country to study and learn from Gandhi's contribution to the world. Tutu committed to nonviolence throughout the heinous Christian terrorism of the white apartheid government, though he conceded the inevitability of violence in his own country. Till his death, King pursued nonviolent ways of living, even during the reign of white Christian terrorism in the South.

In this rich, first-time portrayal of King and Tutu, Johnny Hill, in addition, helps us to understand the contributions of the two men to liberation theologies domestically and in the context of global liberation and reconciliation. The world is shot through with fragmentation, war, emotional emptiness, multicultural debates, and personal loneliness. Perhaps a way foreword is offered when we experience reconciliation as individual freedom and autonomy defined by justice and equality.

Dr. Johnny Bernard Hill's book represents one definite dimension of the black religion/womanist thought/social justice series—pioneering conceptual work and boundary pushing effort. The series will publish both authored and edited manuscripts that have depth, breadth, and theoretical edge and will address both academic and nonspecialist audiences. It will produce works engaging any dimension of black religion or womanist thought as they pertain to social justice. Womanist thought is a new approach in the study of African American women's perspectives. The series will include a variety of African American religious expressions. By this we mean traditions such as Protestant and Catholic Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Humanism, African diasporic practices, religion and gender, religion and black gays/lesbians, ecological justice issues, African American religiosity and its relation to African religions, new black religious movements (e.g., Daddy Grace, Father Divine, or the Nation of Islam), or religious dimensions in African American "secular" experiences (such as the spiritual aspects of

aesthetic efforts like the Harlem Renaissance and literary giants such as James Baldwin, or the religious fervor of the Black Consciousness movement, or the religion of compassion in the black women's club movement).

Dwight N. Hopkins,
University of Chicago Divinity School

Linda E. Thomas,
Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago

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Foreword

This foreword is but a short version of my high regards for the witness of Johnny Hill to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. I have been blessed to have a long relationship with Hill. He studied with me for several years at Duke Divinity School where I was Research Professor of Systematic Theology. During this same period, Johnny supported my work as an office assistant. It was good to notice his growth in the academy and the church. Much more could be said about his graduate study and his entrance in academic service. His service in churches is also important.

Let me now turn to the splendid work he has accomplished through his Ph.D. dissertation. He is to be congratulated on the subject-matter as well as the two theologians he has studied. King and Tutu represent two denominations and two cultures. Both men performed well against racism and poverty as church-theologians. Both sought peace and reconciliation in the midst of an awesome struggle. They sought liberation from oppression, at the same time that they sought the freedom of all people from various forms of struggles.

King and Tutu have had an influence upon the direction of my life. When I studied and pastored in Scotland, King's leadership influenced me to return to the United States for a life of service. Later, King's father, (Daddy King), was to serve on the Board of Trustees at the Interdenominational Theological Center, where I was to serve for a term as president. King's influence was to be with me throughout the Civil Rights struggle and continues. My latest book indicates this as I penned *Bonhoeffer and King*.

Archbishop Tutu has also had a lasting influence on my witness. I knew Desmond Tutu in his youth as I dialogued with African churchmen and thinkers. I was later to visit several African countries. I worked with Leon Sullivan and wrote on his life and thought, especially regarding South Africa. I was to visit this benighted country

before and after Mandela's reign. Tutu has been a constant companion as a church theologian for years. He also penned the foreword to my honorary volume, at the request of Michael Battle who was ordained by Tutu. The theme of reconciliation has been a theme much used by Tutu as well as myself.

Briefly, Hill is concerned that two theologians claimed at once a place in the church and academy. They also belong to the post-modern period in theological thought, according to Hill's assessment. I wish this aspect of Hills's thought had received more attention, especially for theologians so attached to the Enlightenment and the West. Both theologians were comprehensive in outlook and not limited in history or geography.

Perhaps the most important concern of Hill is that King and Tutu stressed the importance of social and community oppression and not the oppression of the individual only. In their own time and place they addressed systemic racism and other concerns, i.e. poverty. One only needs to look at King's "Beloved community" and Tutu's "Ubuntu" theology to stress this point. This in no way gives up the concerns for individual freedom, but it does cover significant ground.

While I cannot cover more territory in the reflection upon Hill's important book, i.e. his stress upon Gandhi and other concerns like forgiveness, the relation of all concerns to social justice, a careful reading of this book is rewarding. The book is a significant "read" and should be taken seriously.

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List of Acronyms

ACOA	American Committee on Africa
ANC	African National Congress
ANLCA	American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa
COFO	Council of Federated Organizations
CORE	Congress of Racial Equality
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church (usually used in reference to the NGK)
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NGK	Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACBC	Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Pretoria
SACC	South African Council of Churches, Johannesburg
SADF	South African Defence Force
SAIC	South African Indian Congress
SCLC	Southern Christian Leadership Conference
SNCC	Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
WCC	World Council of Churches, Geneva, Switzerland

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Introduction

The Theology of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Desmond Mpilo Tutu

Martin Luther King, Jr. and Desmond Mpilo Tutu remain two of the most pivotal figures impacting theological discourse on liberation and reconciliation. The purpose of this study is to establish King and Tutu as theologians of reconciliation. I am also interested in bringing King and Tutu into dialogue with contemporary discourse on the themes of reconciliation, social justice, nonviolence, and human dignity. Both were committed churchmen and sophisticated thinkers who attempted to interpret the Gospel message from the perspective of those who suffer. I agree with Peter J. Paris who observed that as Nobel Prize recipients, King and Tutu should be regarded as "moral exemplars" in a global context.[1] Their vision of peace and community, though rooted deeply in the Judeo-Christian heritage, has had lasting value to peoples of diverse languages and regions. In the American context, Martin Luther King, Jr. challenged the vicious structures of segregation and moved progressively toward an uncompromising critique of capitalism and the demons of American militarism in the global community. Although domestic in his direct actions, King was global in his vision and analysis of religious, cultural, and economic developments. In December 1955, King mounted the pulpit of Holt Street Baptist Church, in Montgomery, Alabama to challenge the forces of segregation, initiating a movement that would later transform the landscape of social and political protest world over. He espoused a global ethic of the beloved community characterized by agape (love) and nonviolence. Indeed, he was part of an international cultural and ideological rebellion against racial and economic systems of exploitation.

This legitimate indignation was also seen on the African continent, especially in South Africa. Although King was not directly involved in the liberation movements on the African continent, he was aware of the apartheid South Africa and was in contact with many South African leaders. King's thought and witness inspired black South Africans in their struggle for social and political equality. In 1955, around the same period when King was beginning the Montgomery Bus Boycott, inspired by the infamous stance of Rosa Parks by refusing to surrender her bus seat to white passengers, South African apartheid legislation was taking shape with forcefulness. In fact, perhaps the most pernicious form of apartheid legislation was the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, amended in 1954, with wider provisions for security laws aimed at racial control and degradation.[2] The apartheid legislations of the mid-1950s set the stage for years of repression and black suffering. As one of South Africa's most gifted sons, Desmond Tutu began his journey in the South African antiapartheid struggle in the mid-1970s, several years after the tragic death of King. Unlike King, Tutu experienced a gradual rise to prominence, from teacher at Madibane High School and Federal Theological Seminary in Alice, South Africa to general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), and archbishop of Cape Town. His thought and witness was characterized by a long and arduous journey to bring down the apartheid regime. Events such as the Sharpeville Massacre on March 21, 1960, Nelson Mandela's release from prison on February 11, 1990, and his appointment as chair of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission all contributed to his vision of reconciliation, justice, and community.

King and Tutu challenged and inspired the Christian church and wider society to think and act in new creative ways to illuminate the meaning of human dignity and personhood. King and Tutu emerged from very different religious, cultural, and social experiences. Yet, both shared the vehement commitment to speak truth to power on behalf of the poor and powerless. In many ways, King's emphasis on human dignity and Tutu's creative conception of *ubuntu* theology directly challenged modern notions of blackness, community, and individualism. Their legacies present a stark challenge to any prospects of doing theology, even in the times in which some now call "postmodern," that does not consider the cries of the dispossessed. From this perspective, King and Tutu hold a wealth of creative resources for pursuing justice and community in today's world.

Challenging the Forces of Modernity

In the shadows of what postmodern scholars describe as the "end of history," the configuration of community and justice is illusive, if not invisible. The lure of capitalism seems to be the precondition for understanding the meaning of social justice and how persons are to understand themselves in relation to others. Christian communities are scrabbling to assess what it means to be faithful to the Gospel in the context of racial, ethnic, and cultural differences and a world of expanding globalization. To answer this conundrum, postmodern theologians insist upon a theology absolved of philosophical hegemony. They call for a recasting of theological discourse in a way that avoids the nihilistic pitfalls of the metaphysical tradition. In attempts to avoid what Alasdair MacIntyre describes as a Weberian "vision of the world," some have thrown out the pot with the water.[3] In other words, the underside (the experience of the exploited and marginalized) of modernity did teach us to take seriously the human experience with suffering in theological reflection. In the modern era, with its domineering forces of capitalism and technology, oppressed people emerged to challenge these structures head on. King and Tutu remain significant exemplars in this regard.

Therefore, it is important to engage in serious and meaningful reflection on the experiences of those most deeply afflicted by modern ways of thinking as the way forward. Modes of resistance demonstrated in the life and thought of Dr. King and Archbishop Tutu speak to this matter in dramatic terms. Resistance to the stagnating system of American segregation and the paralyzing legality of South African apartheid unleashed, in my view, the transcending power of the Gospel in human history. King and Tutu inject a needed pharmacological remedy to the often highly individualistic and apolitical notion of reconciliation promulgated in the modern era and still present today. By comparing Martin Luther King, Jr. and Desmond Tutu, we discover a necessary corrective to reconciliation in postmodernity. More broadly, King and Tutu introduce critical insights to understanding, as D. M. Baillie concedes, "What God was doing in Christ."[4]

Both the system of apartheid in South Africa and segregation in the Southern United States were directed against black- and brown-skinned people and motivated by an ideologies of white supremacy. Behind racial distinctions and the destructive meanings often attached to certain categories is a binary linguistic structure. Apartheid in South

Africa and Jim Crow in United States were both produced by the modern obsession to separate and compartmentalize individuals and groups as mechanisms of subjugation and power domination. The relationship between the modern linguistic structure and the Christian idea of reconciliation is seen in the modern propensity to isolate the idea of reconciliation to an individual's moral experience. Albrecht Ritschl was one of the chief proponents in nineteenth-century Protestant thought to cast reconciliation as a matter of personal autonomy. Rationalism and personal autonomy became almost synonymous with moral superiority. As history has shown, it further led to the divinization of whiteness and the negation of blackness. Cornel West provides a meaningful summary in the following words:

> The idea of white supremacy is a major bowel unleashed by the structure of modern discourse, a significant secretion generated from the creative fusion of scientific investigation, Cartesian philosophy, and classical aesthetic and cultural norms. Needless to say, the odor of this bowel and the fumes of this secretion continue to pollute the air of our postmodern times.[5]

The creative genius of King and Tutu speaks to the theological and ideological underpinnings of these ideas and the structures that sustained them. Because reconciliation still poses a problem today, it is important to consider the theology of King and Tutu for insight to approaching questions of difference, fragmentation, multiculturalism, and pluralism in the present. Rampant global disharmony warrants another constructive attempt at the idea of reconciliation and the import of bringing King and Tutu into the conversation. Situations in the Darfur region of the Sudan, Congo, Liberia, Bosnia/Herzegovina, Iraq, the Middle East, along with inner-city gang violence all point to the persistent need for meaningful discourse on peace and reconciliation. It further reflects how the Christian idea of reconciliation addresses these concerns individually and socially. Though distant in historical period, King and Tutu shared a theological commitment that the salvific work of God in Jesus Christ is ultimately found in a liberated and equitable community. The lessons learned from the blood, sweat, and tears of struggle in faithful living displayed in their experiences supplies a needed antidote to liberation and reconciliation in postmodern culture.

The core of my argument brings into view the unique theological contributions of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Desmond Tutu in their

understanding of the salvific work of God in Christ. Behind my analysis of King and Tutu is a critique of conceptions of reconciliation in the modern era. There is also the assertion that King and Tutu provide expressions of how the Gospel moves beyond the individual and the social. King and Tutu, through their creative visions of community and reconciliation, challenge modern Cartesian notions of individual autonomy and rationalism that have seeped into the Christian tradition. Paul Lehmann provides a lens through which to examine King and Tutu. According to Lehmann, the critical question is, "What am I as a believer in Jesus Christ and as a member of his Church to do?"[6] King and Tutu did not distinguish individual freedom and autonomy from social justice and equality. In the same manner that Lehmann rejects a utilitarian ethic and an ethic of law, King and Tutu press for a social ethic conditioned by the individual's concern for the other. In their thought and witness, these figures cause us to think differently about the meaning of the Christian idea of reconciliation, particularly in a postmodern context. As I propose in the final chapter, the work of King and Tutu inject a fresh and needed antidote into the veins of contemporary postmodern theological discourse relating to justice, reconciliation, and the Christian church.

Continuing the Dialogue: A Review of the Literature

There were a number of books, speeches, articles, press conferences, and sermons produced throughout the life of King and Tutu. Some of King's most important works include *Stride toward Freedom*, *The Strength to Love*, *Why We Can't Wait*, and *Where Do We Go from Here?* Other resources helpful in analyzing King's thought are found in James M. Washington's collection, *The Essential Writings of and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.* and *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, Volumes 1–5, edited by Clayborne Carson.[7] Tutu has also written several major books that are important in this study, including *Crying in the Wilderness*, *the Rainbow People of God*, *Hope and Suffering*, *Words of Desmond Tutu, No Future without Forgiveness*, and *God Has a Dream*. No single text by King or Tutu provides adequate insight into their theological understandings of reconciliation. A thorough review of the broad ranging corpus of their writings is efficacious to investigate their contributions to the Christian idea of reconciliation.

Although an extensive body of secondary research is available on King and Tutu, few scholars have established King and Tutu as major theologians of reconciliation in particular and Christian theologians, in general. However, several scholars have made significant contributions to the discourse on King and Tutu, as well as the themes of liberation and reconciliation. Among these figures are Lewis Baldwin, Rufus Burrow, John Ansbro, Kenneth Smith, Ira Zepp, James Washington, Noel Erskine, Rosetta Ross, Walter Fluker, James Cone, J. Deotis Roberts, John DeGruchy, Charles Villa-Vicencio, and Allan Boesak. Countless others have added to research on the struggle for freedom and justice in the South African and American context also. As a religious historian, Baldwin has stood out in explicating the cultural roots of King in the African American religious and cultural tradition. In *There Is a Balm in Gilead*, Baldwin provides a holistic look into King's experience with family, friends, and the Black Church in shaping his thought and actions. However, Baldwin gives little attention to King's theology, especially regarding reconciliation, which is our chief concern. Baldwin's account stands in sharp contrast to the intellectual focus of Ansbro, Smith, and Zepp. John Ansbro's *Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Making of a Mind* offers an extensive appraisal of intellectual influences (from Socrates to Reinhold Niebuhr) informing King's critique of American racial oppression. Though Ansbro's work is very significant, it falls short in explicating the distinctive dimensions of King's thought. In addition, Ansbro neglects the centrality of community and the theological quest for reconciliation in King's work. Smith and Zepp, specifically in *Search for the Beloved Community*, follow the same line of thinking as Ansbro. Although they locate the idea of the "beloved community" at the center of King's thought and actions, they leave much to be desired in pointing out the ways in which King's thought is original and advances the Christian idea of reconciliation in meaningful and unique ways. These persons, among others, have tended to attribute King's thought primarily to the Western philosophical and theological tradition.

Walter Fluker has attempted to balance his analysis by considering the intellectual and cultural contributions to King's thought and witness. Fluker's comparison of King and Thurman focuses on the meaning of community as a theological and philosophical ideal and its implication in the human condition.[8] Unlike the current study that is primarily concerned with Tutu and King's contributions to the Christian idea of reconciliation, Fluker is preoccupied with the anthropological significance of community in King and Thurman.

There has been a reinvigorated look at King's theology in recent years. Rufus Burrow's study, *God and Human Dignity*, has, in my estimation, provided the most authoritative account of King's indebtedness to personalism to date. Burrow attributes a great deal of King's thinking and actions to his training in the personalism doctrines of Edgar S. Brightman, Harold DeWolf, and others during his studies at Crozer Seminary and Boston University. As architects of the black theology movement, both Cone and Roberts have reflected on King's life and theology. Cone compared King with Malcolm X, while Roberts has attempted to evaluate King and Bonhoeffer's theology.[9] Other figures such as Michael Griffith, Carl Moyler, Don Loyd Davis, Ronnie Hood, David Groves, Brian Bandt, and Dennis Ray McDonald are merely a few of the important voices that have also examined King's thought. In particular, Brandt's study, "The Theology of the Cross and Ethic of Redemptive Suffering in the Life and Work of Martin Luther King, Jr." has value to the current study as he explicates the concept of "redemptive suffering" in King's theology. He further asserts that King's conception of God as a "Redeemer" gives crucial insight to his stance and optimism toward the plight of the poor and oppressed.

There has not been as much scholarship that specifically addresses the theology of Desmond Tutu. Most of the research in the South African context has examined the legal and political significance of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. That is not to say there has not been substantial literature written on the theological, historical, and political context of the antiapartheid struggle. In fact, John de Gruchy and Charles Villa-Vicencio have written at length about the church's struggle in South Africa. While De Gruchy has emphasized the historical and social mobilizing efforts of South African churches, Villa-Vicencio has focused on the political and economic dimensions of the antiapartheid struggle. Along these lines, Allan Boesak, Steven Biko, Chief Albert Lithuli, and Nelson Mandela, among others, have been important iconic figures contributing to Tutu's thought and context. In my estimation, Michael Battle's *Reconciliation: The Ubuntu Theology of Desmond Tutu* provides the most rigorous account of Tutu's theology to date. Battle outlines the cultural, theological, and political trajectories of Tutu's life and thought, thus paving the way for the present study.

Approaching the Task at Hand

Engaging King and Tutu with postmodern discourse is essential to understanding social, political, and cultural complexities in the quest for

reconciliation and social justice today. The language of postmodernity has stood out in characterizing the changing dynamics of today's world brought about through technology, mass media, the market place, and cyberspace. King and Tutu were determined to not only change hearts but also social structures. In fact, they saw an undeniable link between the two. Taking these connections seriously makes it imperative to reflect on postmodern discourse in the desire to appropriate their work in contemporary culture. This study focuses on the social, political, and economic dimensions of postmodern thought as a cultural condition and its relationship to language.[10] The postmodern theological perspective operates out of a general suspicion of presuppositions regarding the centrality of rationality arising out of enlightenment anthropological claims. In short, the term postmodern is designated as the ways in which modern rationality has given way to technological modes of cultural production. The postmodern perspective, as used here, will be helpful in understanding contemporary implications of King and Tutu's thought.

In chapter 1, I explore major themes that have shaped discourse on the idea of reconciliation in the modern era. Here, I examine the ways in which conceptions of reconciliation in modernity were fundamentally distorted by an overreliance on Kantian rationality. This position contributed to an individualistic way of thinking about reconciliation that often excludes engagement with social and political realities. Although Enlightenment thinkers did make some positive contributions by influencing early-American theologians such as Rauschenbusch and the Social Gospelers, it is through the thought of King and Tutu that one sees a balance between individual autonomy and social transformation. First, I offer a brief review of the idea of reconciliation in scripture. Second, I introduce Thomas Aquinas to talk about the connection between justice and mercy before moving to an account of Albrecht Ritschl. The historical perspective of Albrecht Ritschl and nineteenth-century Protestant thought offer insight into the origins of understanding reconciliation as chiefly an individualized matter. In the modern era, reconciliation was understood as the individual first being reconciled to God (through forgiveness). As individuals are reconciled to God in Christ, the possibility emerges for the formation of Christian community. Reconciliation with God was principally understood in moralistic and pietistic terms. It had little to do with social or political realities. Hence, concern for the poor, widows, and orphans were consumed by a "utilitarian ethic" based on individualistic morality. Here, I argue that the thought and witness of King and Tutu (in different

ways) challenges the devastating understandings of reconciliation as rooted solely in personal autonomy. Consequently, the notion that reconciliation should be left to the sphere of personal autonomy contributed to harmful consequences on fostering community and bettering the conditions of the poor and oppressed. Finally, I employ the insights of Paul Lehmann as a lens to reflect upon how the work of King and Tutu helps us to move beyond the apprehensions between personal autonomy and social equality. Lehmann's perspective on *koinonia* is a helpful frame of reference for considering King and Tutu. In part because for Lehmann, the Gospel is not as much about individual soul salvation as it is about fostering *koinonia* (fellowship) with God and among human beings.

I provide a renewed look at the theology and witness of Martin Luther King, Jr. as situated in the modern era in chapter 2. The life and thought of King has been well documented. There is much more to draw from in a comprehensive analysis of his work—to include both his intellectual and cultural influences. Although a great deal of literature has been written about King, his life and thought, the tendency has been to emphasize his intellectual or cultural influences. In this chapter, it is my desire to give a comprehensive and critical appraisal of King's thought (considering his intellectual and cultural influences) with an examination of his theological ethics. It will be argued that King is modern in the sense that he was in fact deeply influenced by the Protestant liberal tradition. But he also transcended modern thinking by understanding the limitations of individual rationality. King's use of the dialectical method and pragmatic use of agape allowed him to avoid many of the modern tendencies to compartmentalize and categorize problems and issues. For instance, King's method led him to making connections between racism, capitalism, and militarism, which was later reflected in his actions.

Nonetheless, King embraced many of the modern presuppositions concerning notions of human dignity and freedom. He creatively appropriated the insights of personalism thinkers such as Brightman, DeWolf, and Kelsey to understand the inherent dignity and significance of every human being. He transcended the modern era, however, by appealing to the "love ethic" of Christ as reflected in the Sermon on the Mount. Furthermore, through his cultural roots within the Black Church tradition, he was sensitized to the limits of human rationality. He argued that human rationality must always be tempered by a sincere concern for neighbor. It was King's concern for the other and emphasis on human dignity that gave rise to his prophetic vision of the beloved community.

Chapter 3 examines the theology of Desmond Tutu and his idea of the rainbow people of God. Tutu articulated an understanding of the Gospel that emphasized the language of forgiveness and reconciliation. For Tutu, both the church and his cultural influences were primary resources for theological reflection. Specifically the Anglican Church and Xhosa tribal traditions served as guiding principles that informed his thought and actions in apartheid South Africa. Because Tutu was deeply entrenched within the context of the church's struggle in South Africa, I treat the manner in which the church (with its emphasis on liturgy and moral practices) provided the theological foundations for his understanding of community and reconciliation. Essential to Tutu's theology is the idea of *ubuntu*—that is, persons are fully human only in relation to others. Tutu employs this idea to understand the church, God, and the ethical teachings of Christ. This approach to reconciliation carefully preserves the particularities of the individual autonomy, while emphasizing community and the common good. My intent here is not to reiterate the grand achievements of Michael Battle's comprehensive study of Tutu's thought,[11] but to thoroughly consider how Tutu approaches this tension between the liberal emphasis on personal autonomy and the communitarian desire for social equality. During some of the most intense and dramatic moments of the struggle against apartheid, Tutu emerged as priest of a nation. Indeed, he provided the spiritual and strategic resources for challenging and overturning the apartheid regime.

Chapter 4 consists of a comparison between the theology of King and Tutu. In this chapter, attention will be given to how each thinker understands the Christian idea of reconciliation and how it critiques those perspectives expressed during the modern era. In comparing King and Tutu, I also broach the question of how each thinker envisions the relationship between the church and the world. That is, to what extent is reconciliation possible for Christian and non-Christian communities alike for King and Tutu? This will lead us into a discussion of the implications for King and Tutu's thought regarding social and political inequalities that continue to exist even within the postmodern era.

Because of the enormous role Gandhi and the idea of nonviolence has functioned in the life and thought of both King and Tutu, I devote chapter 5 particularly to their understandings of nonviolence. I explain their indebtedness to the creative orchestration of Mohandas K. Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence, born on the soils of South Africa and employed on the streets of Birmingham, Alabama, Albany, Georgia,

Washington, DC, and Selma, Alabama. Throughout the civil rights movement and antiapartheid struggles for freedom and affirmation of human dignity, the method of nonviolence served as a fundamental weapon of resistance. Both King and Tutu firmly maintained their commitment to nonviolence as the best and most effective means to change social systems, policy, the state, and even the church.

Although Tutu recognized the inevitability of violence if peaceful efforts should fail, King never conceded to the wave of legitimate discontent from the ranks of black militancy emerging in the mid-1960s. Voices like Stokely Carmichael, whose name was later changed to Kwame Ture, refused to dismiss the use of violence in the quest for freedom and justice. Even within Tutu's camp, there were a great many who called for the possibility of violence, including the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), among others. Indeed, the idea of nonviolence is deeply embedded in King and Tutu's view of God and their wider ethical stances. With that in view, chapter 5 specifically addresses the ways in which their conceptions of nonviolence was employed as a fulcrum that much of their subsequent thoughts and actions turned.

In chapter 6, I bring King and Tutu into dialogue with the broader project of liberation theology. Although King and Tutu are not usually assigned to the school of black and African theologies, much less the broader project known as liberation theologies, there is a need to begin anew a critical dialogue with King and Tutu, and the broader aims of liberation theology. King and Tutu belong to the radical and transformative voices of the liberation theology. They also demonstrate the most visible expressions of the task of liberation theologies. King and Tutu surrendered their lives in the cause of justice and reconciliation. They sought to make real the God of justice who transforms enemies into friends and redeems social systems for the benefit of unborn generations.

Chapter 7 considers the ways in which King and Tutu's witness may be appropriated to understand the nature of liberation and reconciliation in today's global context. The life and thought of both figures reveals a deep concern for not just their own immediate social locations, but the world too. They were both convinced that the world was being configured in such a way that local events were intimately tied to global affairs. King's untimely death at the Lorraine Hotel in Memphis, Tennessee in 1968 prevented him from witnessing the explosion of multinational corporations in the 1970s and the shift from massive industrialized economies to more information based technologically

driven economic systems. However, his increased attention to poverty, militarism, and global concerns toward the end of his life indicates an anticipation of many of the current realities of today. Reflecting on key themes in their work, I bring King and Tutu into conversation with some critical questions on contemporary discourse regarding language, culture, reconciliation, and the quest for social justice today. Here, I explore the creative resources of their witness to illuminate, challenge, and overcome the ravages of a world now marked by fragmentation, economic exploitation, religious pluralism, and the dizzying fear of nihilism. I suggest that these figures offer incredible resources for constructive theological and ethical approaches for seeking justice and reconciliation.

1

Exploring the Meaning of Reconciliation and Community

Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he or she is a new creation; the old has gone, the new has come! All this is from God, who reconciled us to God's self through Christ and gave us the ministry of reconciliation: that God was reconciling the world to God's self in Christ, not counting the sins of men and women against them. And God has committed to us the message of reconciliation. We are therefore ambassadors of reconciliation.[1]

King and Tutu, as part of the Judeo-Christian tradition, were heirs of a long and persistent dialogue over the meaning of God's reconciling working Jesus Christ. This chapter brings King and Tutu into conversation with key voices that shaped the Christian idea of reconciliation. From the themes of forgiveness and reconciliation in scripture to the perspectives of Thomas Aquinas, J. Deotis Roberts, Paul Lehmann, and Jürgen Moltmann, this chapter establishes the theological platform for understanding how reconciliation functions in King and Tutu's work. Of course, the ambiguity surrounding what is meant by reconciliation compels us to examine the meaning of reconciliation in scripture and how it relates to liberation. Establishing an understanding of reconciliation will help critique and further explain reconciliation in nineteenth-century Protestant thought and how it functions in King and Tutu. Key passages in the New Testament serve as the basis for establishing a definition of reconciliation that will guide us throughout the study. The scriptural and theological definition of reconciliation will also be used as a heuristic devise to evaluate the idea of reconciliation in nineteenth-century Protestant thought, as well as in King and Tutu. Treating Albrecht Ritschl and nineteenth-century

Protestant thought will further prepare us to consider the theology of King and Tutu relating to reconciliation. In addition, this chapter concludes with a brief consideration of Paul Lehmann's view of the Gospel as a prism to begin our analysis of King and Tutu in subsequent chapters.

The mere notion that one could explicate the impact of modernity on reconciliation in an exhaustive sense is absurd. However, it is plausible to consider the general themes that influenced their thought and current thinking on the subject. The importance of focusing on the idea of reconciliation during the modern era is seen in the monumental attempt to understand it in systematic and doctrinal terms. In particular, Albrecht Ritschl stands out as the one who embarked to trace the historical dimensions at work in the development of the Christian idea of reconciliation. He wanted to show continuity in how the idea of reconciliation developed throughout history. Ritschl influenced an entire school of thought that flourished during reformation and was even transported to American shores. He provided the groundwork for considering the historical and moral life of Christ as the fundamental context of God's work in Christ. He was also deeply affected by Cartesian notions of personal autonomy and rationalism as central to what it means to be human. As asserted earlier, the notion that reconciliation is only concerned with the individual moral life (and the social by implication) must be challenged at its very core.

Bearers of the Word: Reconciliation in Scripture

The task at hand is to establish an understanding of reconciliation that provides a framework for analyzing King and Tutu's thought. Generally, there is widespread agreement among biblical scholars that the work of God in Christ was unification of God and humanity as a focal point. Though the language of reconciliation is confined to New Testament Pauline writings, scholars agree that the idea of "oneness" with God and humanity (and within humanity) is a persistent and reoccurring theme.

Both Martin Luther King, Jr. and Desmond Tutu were preachers and pastors. Indeed, they were critical thinkers and revolutionary leaders in their own right. But both figures viewed themselves as services in the Christian church. Scripture was fundamental to their self-identity and what they sought to do. As a young adult, King was very astute in memorizing scripture to the amazement of his family and

church community. King drew heavily from Old Testament prophets such as Micah, Isaiah, and Jeremiah who proclaimed the justice of God in the world. Both King and Tutu were born into families of a strong Christian faith. Scripture informed not only their vision of community but their understanding of their place in the world. In his last speech in Memphis, Tennessee, King compared himself to the biblical image of Moses leading his people to the Promised Land. However problematic and misguided it may have been, King's use of the Bible was unquestionable. The same was true for Desmond Tutu. But Tutu's Anglican roots led him to the more liturgical, pietistic, dimensions of scripture centering on the sacraments and orthodoxy. Tutu's appropriation of scripture more closely resembles doctrinal interpretations of reconciliation in scripture. In both cases King and Tutu brought a very important perspective to reconciliation in scripture.

But some attention should be given to what biblical scholars have to say about the meaning of reconciliation in scripture as well. The two themes of reconciliation and justification claim the lion's share of attention concerning reconciliation in New Testament biblical studies. However, the nature and substance of reconciliation and justification remains at the center of much debate and scrutiny. In general, one would search in vain to find the language of reconciliation in the Synoptic Gospels. The language of reconciliation surfaces in the Pauline texts, clearly building on this universal and salvific theme of the Synoptic Gospels. The theme of reconciliation, such as peace with God, freedom, and fellowship with God, is seen in both Old and New Testaments. Reconciliation is a Greek term, *καταλλάσσώ* (katallasso), meaning to change mutually, or collective restoration. One of the most significant passages reflecting the idea of reconciliation is found in 2 Corinthians 5. Within the delineation of this passage in 2 Corinthians, chapter 5, there is the Apostle Paul's defense of his ministry of reconciliation (5:18–19), sandwiched between his exposition on how Christians are to understand death (i.e., with confidence) and a parenthesis on relations with unbelievers (6:14–17). In 2 Corinthians 5:19, "God was in Christ reconciling the World to God's self." Here, reconciliation to God is seen as humankind's basic need. It implies that the root of human evil conditions in creation is estrangement from God. God and humanity are not at one in feeling, thought, and will.[2] Although God's work in Christ is finished, there is space for the human ability to reject the completed reconciling work of God.[3]

An example of how these themes functioned with King and Tutu might be observed in some of the events of the Montgomery Bus

Boycott and Tutu's early experience with apartheid as bishop of Lesotho. In both accounts, God's promise of reconciliation as indicated in scripture was put to the test. What is most interesting about these occurrences was the obstacles to reconciliation within the Christian church. At the same time when King was beginning to chart the course for the Montgomery Improvement Association on December 1, 1955, White Citizens Councils began mobilizing their efforts to suppress protest. The most dangerous and passionate racist involved in the White Citizen's Councils was often recognized in the white community as upstanding Christian gentleman. Although the Montgomery Bus Boycott was considered a success, it is highly questionable as to whether Montgomery was any closer to reconciliation with God and with each other. Montgomery did reflect the fact that any steps toward realizing the biblical vision of reconciliation must engage the question of justice. That justice is an uncompromising factor if one is to walk in fellowship and harmony with God or the other.

Tutu came to realize the same when restless black youths in the poor townships of Lesotho intensified their passion to bring down the foundations of apartheid.[4] During this period in 1978, P. W. Botha was beginning his tenure as Prime Minister, while Tutu became general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC). As general secretary, Tutu was emboldened by the reality that there were two churches in South Africa—the English speaking churches that by and large sought reform of the apartheid regime and the Dutch Reformed Churches that supported the apartheid system. He felt it was a Christian imperative to challenge apartheid and all forms of collective evil. These early experiences as essentially a pastoral leader of both communities gave Tutu tremendous insight to the biblical vision of reconciliation. He, perhaps even more than King (who drew heavily from more philosophical and classical theological traditions), held on to the biblical promise of reconciliation. He counted on the idea that ultimately God divinely orders the universe and creation in a just and equitable manner. For Tutu, and King as well, while it is God who justly orders creation, God invites human beings to participate in God's divine plan and make straight the path of God's way in the world.

According to Norman Madsen, reconciliation is an act solely by God, completed by God through Christ.[5] Found without sin, Christ redeems humanity for God's self, thus perfecting humanity for God's intended purposes in creation. God, in Christ, was reconciling. But as biblical scholars have pointed out, the order of the phrase in 2 Corinthians 5:19 is problematic, partly because of the Greek word

order: "God was in Christ the world reconciling to God's self." There are three possibilities:[6] (1) reading the verb, was (en), independent of the participle, reconciling; Christ is not present elsewhere in Paul's letters, and an incarnational emphasis is not otherwise present in this context; (2) reading *reconciliation* as an imperfect periphrastic construction (perhaps an Aramanism), thus obtaining "in Christ God was reconciling" Thus, "in Christ" is essentially equal to "through Christ." That is to say, because of what God was doing in Christ through his death, burial, and Resurrection, humanity now can be reconciled to God. Those reconciled to God are heirs of the sonship of Christ, entering into the fellowship of God. Those in fellowship with God create a community of fellowship, being reconciled both within human relations and with God. G. R. Beasley-Murray's observations are suggestive along these lines when he writes:

> Paul singles out one crucial element of God's new creative activity in Christ—that of reconciliation. God through Christ reconciled us to himself. This reconciliation had to be achieved in order that there might be a new creation of righteousness and that men might participate in it. Apart from Christ man [humanity] is alienated from God, doomed to death, and without hope of entering God's new world of life and holiness. Accordingly the God who effected reconciliation gave us the ministry of reconciliation. He [God] made the provision that it should be proclaimed to men [humanity], that they should experience its power, and so enter the new world.[7]

Reconciliation presupposes that there was a preexisting enmity between God and humanity that has now come to an end. Justification, says Beasley-Murray, speaks to how reconciliation was brought about. This classical view of justification takes into account the Augustinian notion of the Fall. By looking at the incredible optimism of King and Tutu, it is plausible that for them although sin is a reality there is a unique propensity of human beings for good. If this was not the case, I am sure that after such tragic events as the death of four little girls in Birmingham in 1963 and the tragic massacre of innocence in Shapeville, South Africa in 1960, there would be little grounds for continuing their quest for peace, justice, and fellowship. King and Tutu agreed that God has given human beings the capacity for moral agency and it is ultimately up to the individual and communities to participate in God's redemptive plan in history. In this regard, justification does not negate or militate against the prospects for human good, but creates the conditions for its fulfillment in the here and now.

Both King and Tutu would agree that humanity has been "justified" or made right through the activity of God in Christ on the Cross. The Cross is the quintessential event that makes reconciliation possible. Reconciliation and justification were not distinctive events. On the contrary, the act of the Cross is an immutable part of being justified and reconciled with God. Forgiveness, therefore, becomes the receptacle for entering into the reconciling activity of God in Christ. I think that Tutu, in particular, drew heavily from this particular strand. The centrality of forgiveness in Tutu's work was made abundantly clear throughout his leadership against apartheid, but brought to bear moreover as chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Tutu, with the newly elected president, Nelson Mandela, introduced the creative possibilities of the TRC as a way of forging a new path of healing, restoration, and redemption of the nation. Nelson Mandela's new government, in 1995, passed the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act. With this initiative, the TRC was established with the idea that South Africans had to forgive each other of past transgressions if there was any hope of sustaining peace and nation-building efforts. Of course, behind Tutu's commitment to forgiveness in South Africa was a deeply embedded faith in Christ as its author and wellspring.

Forgiveness in Scripture and the Christian Narrative

Although King and Tutu were able to apply the idea of forgiveness to the realm of race relations and social transformation on a grand scale, forgiveness has always played a prominent role in interpreting the Christian message. Vincent Taylor, in *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, has possibly led the most significant study emphasizing forgiveness as the center of reconciliation in scripture.[8] Taylor examines New Testament teachings regarding forgiveness, justification, and reconciliation. He draws on the Apostolic preaching as including a vehement message of forgiveness. Acts 2:38 is a call to repentance and baptism in the name of Christ in order for forgiveness to take place:

> Peter said to them, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ so that your sins may be forgiven; and you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit."[9]

Forgiveness makes possible a right relationship with God that was better than before the relationship was broken. E. B. Redlich writes,

"Forgiveness is full restoration to fellowship."[10] The question of reconciliation in the New Testament proceeds heavily from the language of forgiveness. It implies a sort of forgiveness that affects all human interpersonal relationships. In the New Testament, forgiveness is not directly linked to reconciliation. Rather, it is a prerequisite to reconciliation. Before reconciliation is possible, forgiveness must occur.[11] Forgiveness is represented, not as equal to reconciliation, but as dealing with that which may be an obstacle to reconciliation, namely sin. Taylor's reading of these passages says that the stage antecedent to the act of reconciliation is forgiveness. Finally, forgiveness for Taylor sets the conditions for humanity to partake in the reconciliation made possible in Christ.

From what has been said thus far, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that reconciliation has two dimensions. On the one hand, it speaks to the work of God in Christ to remove the hostility between God and humanity. To this end, the reconciling work of God in Christ has been fully achieved. The invitation to participate in the work of God in Christ has now been extended to all humanity through forgiveness and mercy. On the other hand, God has chosen to make God's appeal through human agency. King and Tutu shared the belief that God works in and through human beings to fully realize God's plan of reconciliation. In the pilgrimage of King and Tutu, there is a clear connection between the biblical vision of reconciliation and the pursuit of community and justice in the here and now.

According to scripture, the message of God's reconciliation in Christ becomes intelligible through human practices and community. That does not mean the reality of reconciliation is dismissed without human participation. The reality of reconciliation still remains constant whether or not humans are involved. At the same time, human practices give meaning and expression to what God has already done in Christ. Practices such as love of neighbor, forgiveness, nonviolence, and prophetic witness are ways in which the world becomes intimately acquainted with the reconciling work of God in Christ. As such, reconciliation is also applicable to how social and political systems are ordered. The reconciliation of God in Christ affected the whole of creation, including social, political, and economic institutions. Hence, reconciliation cannot be limited to individual knowledge and repentance in relation to God. The individual's relationship with God is indeed imperative. In fact, without individual moral agency, the work of God would be coercive and contrary to the nature of God. But individuals also exist within social groups and political and economic

systems. Furthermore, how do we understand the relationship between the mandates for justice and the need for forgiveness in the process of reconciliation? Considering Aquinas might offer some constructive theological resources for addressing this tension.

Thomas Aquinas and the Language of Justice

In addition to scripture, Aquinas has been played a major role in shaping the discourse about the Christian idea of reconciliation. As a Medieval theologian, Aquinas emphasized justice and mercy as two sides of the same coin when thinking about reconciliation with God and humanity. In postmodernity, there is a need to rethink what it means to balance the demand for justice with the imperative of forgiveness. Conceptualizing justice, in particular, means embracing an understanding of justice that finds its ultimate meaning in God. Furthermore, in that God makes all forms of justice intelligible, it is through God in Christ that it is given shape, form, and full expression. Aquinas shines light on this view, while extending its meaning in practical applications as well. In Question XXI of *The Summa Theologica*, Aquinas investigates whether there is justice and mercy in God.[12] What is surprising here is that King, in particular, was able to apply Aquinas language about justice to challenge unjust laws. In the memorable Letter from Birmingham Jail in 1963, King references Aquinas' distinction between eternal and natural laws. Unjust laws, such as Jim Crow segregation, must be directly confronted and changed because they fall out of harmony with God's eternal law of the universe. Birmingham was in many respects the most heated crucible of the civil rights movement. King described the summer of 1963 as the culmination of the Negro revolution. If that was the case, then certainly the city of Birmingham was the Bastille of black liberation. Even amid the tragic murder of four little girls attending Sunday church services at Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, the fragile dichotomy of justice and mercy was tested to its very depths. Though Tutu rarely, if at all, makes any direct appeals to Aquinas in his work, he nevertheless proclaimed the sovereignty and power of God in world affairs, over human laws.

For Aquinas there are two kinds of justice—commutative justice and distributive justice. Commutative justice refers to the direct exchange of goods and services. It applies to the temporal and material

reality of daily existence. As Aquinas illustrates, commutative justice is isolated solely to the process of buying and selling. Distributive justice, writes Aquinas, applies to the equal distribution of resources consistent with the being itself. According to Aquinas, distributive justice may be likened to the human experience of rulers and stewards. He writes:

> Whereby a ruler or a steward gives to each what his rank deserves. As, then, the proper order displayed in ruling a family or any kind of multitude evinces justice of this kind in the ruler, so the order of the universe, which is seen both in effects of nature and in effects of will, shows forth the justice of God. Hence Dionysius says: We must needs see that God is truly just, in seeing how He [God] gives to all existing things what is proper to the condition of each; and preserves the nature of each one in the order and with the powers that properly belong to it.[13]

Aquinas' conception of commutative and distributive justice is very similar to the idea of restorative and retributive justice developed by Tutu and South African leaders. According to John De Gruchy, South African leaders wanted to do something different in the hopes of constructing a lasting peace. They recognized that really there are two forms of justice—restorative justice, which seeks community, healing, and restoration; and retributive justice, which requires reparations or a direct return of what was lost. I believe that tracing the roots of this distinction holds resources for thinking about justice in a postmodern world. Aquinas is an important figure who undoubtedly contributed to this idea.

As is the case for Tutu and South African leaders, the language of justice (and any attempts to realize justice in human affairs) presupposes certain claims about justice and the nature of God. For Aquinas, God is lovingly just and justly loving. God is justice perfected and the embodiment of what it means to be just. As such, God relates justly to all of God's creation and deals with creation at the point of creatureliness. Drawing from Aristotelian influences in the hierarchy of substances, Aquinas suggests that the manner in which God acts justly depends on the being itself. D. Stephen Long describes Aquinas' logic in terms of crime and natural law.[14] According to Long, "Thomas Aquinas understood law as embedded in a hierarchical structure grounded in the mind of God."[15] The eternal law stands at the top of the hierarchy as God's plan for creation. natural law, subordinate to eternal law, was the "participation in the eternal law by rational creatures."[16]

Ansbro observes, as does Long, that King used Aquinas' logic to justify civil disobedience as a means of nonviolent protest.[17] Aquinas provided a theological orientation for approaching institutional law and state rule, while recognizing a rule of law superseding all others. In Etienne Gilson's explication of laws in Thomistic thought, he contends that law seeks maintenance of the common good. The "good of the community" constitutes the legitimacy and intent of law.[18] Gilson does not relate Thomistic understanding of law to his conception of justice. He describes law in relation to the moral life. The centrality of the "good" in the created order guides the law both in content and direction. Every law, says Gilson, "is ordered for the attaining of happiness."[19]

For Aquinas, God's justice is also truth. God's justice is intrinsic to God's wisdom. Similar to the work of an artist, says Aquinas, the justice of God is truth because it reflects God as God is—namely just. Truth, as one of the moral virtues, can be known experientially or through rationalism. Yet what is the relationship between truth, as rational deduction, and God's justice in relation to the human moral life? Are questions of moral law left solely to the individual moral intellect? Aquinas seems to suggest that truth and justice, as a function of rationalism, is held in check by the eternal law expressed in the Mind of God. Gilson surmises Aquinas' position toward truth and the virtue of justice when he recounts:

> The moral virtues introduce into the will the same perfections which the intellectual virtues introduce into knowledge. Some moral virtues regulate the content and nature of our operations themselves, independently of our personal dispositions at the moment of acting. This is the particular case of justice, which assures the moral value and rectitude of all operations in which ideas of what is due and not due are implied. Thus, for example, the operation of buying and selling supposes the acknowledgment or rejection of a debt to a neighbor, and depends upon the virtue of justice.[20]

In order for justice to be intelligible, there must be a presupposition of certain truths in the first place. As such, it appears that God is the perfection of truth and justice. In the moral life, one cannot exist without the other.

Aquinas also addresses the question of whether mercy and truth are reflected in God's creative activity in the world. Aquinas understands mercy to mean the "removal of any kind of defect." Aquinas seems to suggest that even in God's act of judgment, God's mercy is in God's

judgment since God cannot do that which is not consistent with God's wisdom and goodness.[21] Aquinas finds God's mercy in the act of creation as being "proper" to all that God does. Divine justice, for Aquinas, presupposes the work of mercy. That is to say, mercy arises out of God's abundant goodness. An important point for understanding the idea of reconciliation in Aquinas is seen in his account of justification. Because of God's love and "infused" mercifulness, the sinner is justified. Through this justification, the sinner is reconciled to God, thus providing the basis for reconciliation of neighbor. Justice and mercy are preserved as preexistent in the goodness and wisdom of God before creation. Thus, it becomes possible for God to interweave God's justice and mercy in God's ordering of creations and includes a plan for redemption as well. Joseph P. Wawrykow, in *God's Grace and Human Action*, explains God's redemptive plan in Thomistic theology.[22] According to Wawrykow, Aquinas's theology intends to express the affirmation of God as creator. God's act of creation is a function of God's sovereignty and freedom.[23] Of fundamental importance in Thomistic theology, is that the world does not "make a difference to God." Creation does not, in any regard, affect the perfection of God. However, in God's freedom, God chose to express the divine goodness in a special way, as demonstrated in the understanding of human salvation. Human salvation is constituted by God's creative love.[24] The basis for all existence and reality is achieved through God's creative love. Reconciliation, then, would be a function of God's creative and redemptive plan since the beginning of creation. The human responsibility is to complete the end to which he/she has been created, which is God. Reconciliation is merely a means by which to achieve the ultimate end in God. Of course, King and Tutu affirmed both justice and mercy as rooted in the nature of God. However, they recognized that God's justice and mercy must be made visible in the concrete realities of human suffering. In the context of American and South African apartheid, they professed that justice and mercy could not be relegated to the realm of individual morality alone, but that it must seek to transform social and political system that sustain human suffering.

Albrecht Ritschl and Nineteenth-Century Thought

On December 16, 1995, Tutu convened the first TRC session at his residence at Bishopscourt. It was also the Day of Reconciliation, a national

holiday. In these proceedings, Tutu was challenging many of the modern foundational assumptions about the meaning of reconciliation. Before these events, the language of reconciliation laid dormant in the annals of classical Western Protestant doctrine. After Tutu, the term reconciliation became synonymous with community, healing, restoration, and hope. Events such as this shaped Tutu's ideas about reconciliation. Tutu, and certainly King as well, were part of a longer historical dialogue on the meaning of the Gospel. Before moving on to King and Tutu's perspectives we should first take a close look at the roots of reconciliation in modernity.

In order to understand the contributions of King and Tutu to the Christian idea of reconciliation, critical reflection is needed on how it was conceived in the modern era, particularly in the religious fervor of nineteenth-century Protestant thought. It would be presumptuous to suggest that one could observe one unified vision of reconciliation in nineteenth-century Protestant theology. In fact, nineteenth-century thought, in general, covered a wide range of philosophical and theological perspectives. The divergent systems of figures such as Ritschl, Schleiermacher, and Kant represent of themselves the vast differences of the period. However, I wish to suggest that modern presuppositions regarding human reason and individualism distorted certain aspects of the Christian idea of reconciliation. Nineteenth-century Protestant theology was not altogether a negative movement. It was responding to the hegemonic religious mysticism and feudalistic control of the classical and medieval periods. Especially as represented in Albrecht Ritschl, it marked a defining moment in shaping the Christian idea of reconciliation in the modern era to the present. For that reason, an analysis of Ritschl and nineteenth-century Protestant thought is imperative for advancing my original thesis.

It is important to clarify how nineteenth-century Protestant theology is seen as a historical, philosophical, and theological movement in response to the problems of the classical (or premodern) period. Nineteenth-century Protestant theology was, in fact, a movement of modernity. It was essentially modern in its presuppositions and overall outlook. Modernity was marked by a dramatic privileging of rationality as the essential path toward truth. Modernity also has to do with the social and intellectual transformations taking place during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It represents an epistemological focus on terms and categories in a way that produces a binary linguistic structure. Hence, in the modern era, we see the development of racial and ethnic categories dispensed with attached meanings and hierarchies.

Systems of apartheid and Jim Crow segregation, inasmuch as they were constructed as a means of social control and racial subjugation, were a product of modern language and thinking. The modern preoccupation with individualism, rationalism, and efficiency, led to a view of blackness that was cast as social, irrational, and inefficient. What King and Tutu were challenging in their creative and provocative peaceful militarism were the political structures and linguistic foundations of modern Western culture. They also challenged the undercurrents of white supremacist Western ideologies and individualism that were subsequently engrained in the very fabric of the high aims of nineteenth-century thought.

The historical perspective of Albrecht Ritschl and nineteenth-century Protestant thought shines light onto the origins of understanding reconciliation as chiefly an individualized matter within the framework of modernity. Insofar as in the modern era, reconciliation was understood as the individual first being reconciled to God (through forgiveness), and as individuals are reconciled to God in Christ, the possibility emerges for the formation of Christian community. Reconciliation with God was ultimately understood in moralistic and pietistic terms. On this note, I do not think that morality or pietism necessarily contradicts the communal focus of King and Tutu's work. But for reconciliation to remain in the realm of individual morality and pietism would leave the human as, in the words of Tutu, subhuman. The notion of an individual self-sufficient human as subhuman will be examined further in subsequent chapters. But an important note is that nineteenth-century Protestant thought emphasized individual autonomy and rationalism in its interpretation of reconciliation. It neglected the intrinsic communal character of God's work in Christ to establish divine fellowship with God and creation.

Protestant thought during the nineteenth century was a product of Enlightenment claims about reason and human consciousness consuming the landscape. The emphasis on "rationalism" was manifested in a staunch rejection of institutional religious conceptions. As observed, particularly in Ritschl and Schleiermacher, nineteenth-century Protestant thought was a compromise to somehow give scientific and philosophical plausibility to Christian faith claims. Ritschl embraced the theoretical and analytical elements of the Enlightenment and appropriated them to establish a scientific-historical method of understanding Christianity. Ritschl attempted to employ the historical scientific method in order to understand the Christian idea of justification and reconciliation in doctrinal terms. He appropriated Schleiermacher's

assertion that if Christianity was to gain intellectual legitimacy in the modern era, it had to think systematically and dogmatically.[25]

Overwhelmingly, the Enlightenment's emphasis on rationalism dramatically influenced nineteenth-century readings of the idea of reconciliation in the Synoptic Gospels and Pauline writings. An attempt will be made here to respond to the question of how modern priori conjectures on the authority of reason has influenced readings of the Christian idea of reconciliation. Also, how do the liberation efforts of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Desmond Tutu lead to rethinking classical notions of reconciliation with its doctrinal orientation?

Although many figures stand out during the modern era, the work of Ritschl, Schleiermacher, and Kant represent divergent trajectories in the development of Christian thought in the modern era. Considering these figures may offer insight into some of the major theological foundations that shape how we think about the idea of reconciliation in postmodernity. Recognizing the impact of this epoch on theological discourse, two prominent theologians, Karl Barth, and Paul Tillich, offer a comprehensive approach to nineteenth-century Protestant thought.[26] As one might assume, Barth and Tillich emphasize different trajectories that tend to characterize the period. Our first step is to understand exactly what was meant by reconciliation with regard to the major figures that shaped the tone and breath of the discourse. Second, some treatment of Ritschl's legacy, made visible through figures like H. H. Farmer and James Denney, is certainly in order.

The Problem of Individualism, Morality, and Reconciliation

Ritschl employed the historical scientific method in order to understand the Christian idea of justification and reconciliation in doctrinal terms. In his investigation, Ritschl assumes that justification and reconciliation are intertwined with the "doing and suffering of Christ as His direct operations, which are necessarily presupposed in order to the awakening in us our consciousness as believers."[27] At the heart of any discussions about Christian theology are ideas and presuppositions concerning the salvific work of God in Christ revealed in history. Ritschl's account of reconciliation recognizes the place of justification and forgiveness of sins in the reconciliation process as bringing about the Christian community as a reconciled community.[28] Through the believer's reconciliation with God through the forgiveness of sins, there emerges a distinctive community bound by Christian love and

compassion in fellowship and truth. This reflects Ritschl's overall preoccupation with the "ideal moral life." To begin his task, he investigates the theological and philosophical ideas that have historically articulated attempts to understand and represent the doctrine of reconciliation.

When contrasted with Ritschl, there are substantial epistemological differences with King and Tutu's approach. For instance, Ritschl's analysis of reconciliation begins with the individual, and then flows from Christian community to the world. The point of departure for King and Tutu, however, is community and justice. Of course, King was more concerned with preserving the idea of God as personal and the import of individual human personality in relation to God. But even during some of the most turbulent moments of the antiapartheid struggle Tutu remained committed to the centrality of community to understanding God, salvation, and reconciliation. According to Tutu's biographer, Steven Gish, the Anglican bishop was deeply concerned throughout his pilgrimage about the dangers of viewing the Gospel as a private and disinterested reality. For Tutu, the Christian faith demands that one takes action against oppressive forces that seek to demean one of God's children.

Tutu spoke out a context where individual reconciliation and moral piety translated into support for the status quo. To simply pray for the wisdom of the government and do nothing was to indirectly participate in the government's atrocities. One of the activities that prompted Tutu to intensify his theological disregard for individualism and call to social justice was the results of the Bantu Homelands Citizen Act of 1970.[29] The Act essentially revoked any remaining citizenship rights of black South Africans and placed them in geographic locations based on ethnicity. The Act also ordered that blacks were only given temporary permissions to enter into "white" South Africa. The racial and ethnic categorization of black South Africans is but an example of modern ways of thinking and white supremacist ideals. Challenging notions of individual morality at the expense of social responsibility was, for Tutu, a function of liberation as it was reconciliation. Many of the South African churches, including English-speaking and Dutch reformed churches, were products of nineteenth-century Protestant thought. This came through in the church's reluctance to deal with the social and political atrocities before them.

King and Tutu were certainly not opposed to individual autonomy and rationalism. Both were highly trained scholars who openly embraced many aspects of the Western intellectual tradition. They also

understood that being human was much more than being a rational freethinking agent. They recognized that human nature is also constituted by its relationship with others. In this respect, King and Tutu stand in direct opposition to nineteenth-century thought.

In nineteenth-century thought, in general, the emphasis on individual autonomy was guided by the idea of human nature as marked by consciousness and rational thought. To be human meant being a freethinking individual. The underlying assumption of Enlightenment discourse is a rejection of human nature as inherently sinful or evil. What one finds are themes of human nature as essentially "moral," "religious," and endowed with "potentiality." Ritschl, for instance, certainly influenced by Kant, viewed human nature not as inherently sinful but as morally incomplete. Immanuel Kant's emphasis on the consciousness of moral freedom and of moral guilt was, for Ritschl, his chief contribution to the Christian idea of reconciliation.[30] As Ritschl maintains, Kant's synthesis of freedom and moral law provides the basis for accepting notions of an absolute standard of moral law. Kant situates this idea in the context of his discussion of absolute obligation of the moral law. Unlike Kant who supposes that humanity is essentially good and evil by nature but having a propensity toward the good, Ritschl views nature as morally incomplete. Hence, salvation is understood principally as overcoming the limitations of finitude in history. The culmination and fulfillment of the human personality is best achieved through the ethics and message of Christ in history.[31]

Barth is correct when he purports that in Ritschl we see "that modern man wishes above all to live in the best sense according to reason, and that the significance of Christianity for him can only be a great confirmation and strengthening of this very endeavor."[32] Perhaps a critical question of consideration is: In what ways does Ritschl account for questions of human freedom and will in the historical Christian narrative? In his presuppositions of reconciliation, he exclaims:

> It is no accident that the essential peculiarity of man—the fact that he judges himself under the idea of freedom—is demonstrated by reference to repentance and the condemnatory sentence of conscience. For though men are involved in sin, the consciousness of guilt is the most luminous proof that they have still not utterly fallen a prey to natural necessity. And conversely the practical certainty of freedom is the indispensable and fundamental condition of our making ourselves responsible for the transgressions of a past time, or for the whole chain of our empirical character.[33]

Ritschl does not go as far as affirming human nature as inherently sinful. Rather, he understands human nature to be in the process of becoming. Ritschl's reading of Kant demonstrates his willingness to affirm some inherent goodness in human personality. The human person may consciously recognize the need for "repentance"—a conscious and rational acknowledgment of past transgressions. Therefore, the ideal life is achieved through the Christian idea of forgiveness, which properly removes the presence of guilt. Furthermore, through the ethical life of Christ, a paradigmatic model of the ideal life becomes the object.

Within the context of the civil rights movement and antiapartheid struggle, individual moral development was supposed to be in service of the liberation of the oppressed. The ethical life of Christ, for King, means showing human beings how to live in community with others, not the culmination of moral and rational superiority. Tutu would make similar claims by arguing that Christ was the "man for the other." The whole life of Christ was concerned with living in a way that liberates, heals, restores, and celebrates the dignity of the other. The Albany movement, considered the "motherload," in King's pilgrimage was a major occasion for the significance of looking to Christ as a source of liberation, hope, and healing. When King arrived in Albany, Georgia he encountered a climate of chaos and rebellion. Police Chief Laurie Pritchett was a crude and cruel figure who had learned lessons on the art of repression from Alabama officials and the Freedom Rides. To uphold segregation, Pritchett used laws protecting public order as a means of suppressing protest and quailing violence. His strategy proved effective and left Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee leaders, Charles Sherrod and Cordell Reagon, confounded. The complexities of the Albany campaign was merely a reminder for King that if Christ, and subsequently the Gospel message, was to be meaningful, it had to speak courageously and prophetically to human suffering.

Ritschl's account as merely an ethical model and resource for reaching individual moral perfection would be inadequate and dangerous. As he declared in a sermon entitled, "Thou Foul," he cautioned that any religion that concerned itself with the soul but forsakes the social and political conditions that damn the soul is a dry, dead, do-nothing religion in need of new blood.

Christ and the Perfection of Human Rationality

Nevertheless, given the tremendous influence of Ritschl's thought, it is worth exploring his perspectives, particularly related to Jesus as the

Christ. The "saving work of Christ" as essentially moral and rational appears to be Ritschl's primary preoccupation. What characterized the saving work of Christ, and how are we to understand this activity in relation to the human experience? Ritschl seeks to historically uncover the implications and the theoretical views on the work of Christ in history. The Christian conception of reconciliation, he says, can only be appropriately comprehended by the "removal of the one-sided or mutual contrariety between the Divine and human will."[34] Ritschl draws heavily on an historical and scientific method of analysis, reflecting his indebtedness to Hegelian thought. Hegel adopts a more generic historical appraisal rooted in the *Geist* in human consciousness. From this footing, Ritschl examines the historical themes in Christian theology that have attempted to interpret the salvific work of Christ. Methodologically, Ritschl employs Schleiermacher's threefold attributes of Christ in history as "prophet, priest, and king" in order to approach his task. Ritschl also aims to present a "survey of the moral effects of the Life, Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Christ towards the founding of the Church."[35]

Ritschl's christology is further entrenched in historical perspectives from the classical period up to the modern era. The early Greek and Latin church fathers, as Ritschl observes, viewed Christ's death as a legalistic transaction between God and the devil. The God-man (Christ) was delivered over to the devil as a price for sinful humanity. In this view, sin was conceived as a "mechanical subjection to the devil." The idea of redemption from this perspective is seen as totally unrelated to human agency. The problem with this view is that the "devil" loses possession of that which was considered "payment." The conclusion is simply that God had intended this "deception" from the beginning, which contradicts the justice of God. As Ritschl points out, figures such as Anselm and Abelard identified this contradiction in grave detail and went a step further by postulating sin in a legal and moral sense. Of particular interest to Ritschl's account of the doctrine of reconciliation are Anselm's doctrine of Christ's sanctification and Abelard's doctrine of reconciliation as the elect community through Christ. For Anselm:

> His [God's] sanctification for the sins of the human race, in removing the obstacle which had hindered God in that work of perfecting mankind which was a necessity to Him, affords the condition by which the glory of God immediately becomes again operative towards the beautification of men [humanity].[36]

The act of Christ is sanctification, which offers an example to all humanity as to how to relate to God and to others. In this way, reconciliation is brought forth through the sanctification and example of Christ.

Ritschl does not go as far as Anselm in terms of the example of Christ, but does recognize Anselm's ethical contribution as it relates to reconciliation. Inasmuch as the suffering of Christ is an example for humanity's relationship to humanity, honor was restored to God through Christ's sanctification (as the death of Christ was a ransom paid to the devil for the sins of humanity). Hence, human beings should hold to the concept of compensation of damages to injured parties to restore or sanctify relationships. Ritschl appears to favor Abelard's position over Anselm. Abelard takes into account the totality of the life of Christ, Christ's doing, suffering, and death. Abelard views the life of Christ as duty for the honor of God, but Christ's death was not duty. Conversely, for Anselm, Christ's death had a legal and ethical effect. It meant payment for human sin upon God and an example upon humanity. Abelard purports that "the idea of reconciliation gives value to the whole life, doing, and suffering, of Christ, since all may be comprehended in His [Christ's] duty to God."[37] As such, the objects of salvation are Christ's elect. Though the catholic resolution to love God may be free, Christ has freed only the elect from the grip of the devil. Ritschl brings these two positions together to relate the idea of reconciliation within the context of a divine Christian community. The community Ritschl speaks of is subsequently made possible through the suffering and death of Christ.

Ritschl's Enduring Legacy and the Idea of Reconciliation

King and Tutu inherited an understanding of reconciliation with ripples in the lake of Christian experience still being felt today. Ritschl's project prompted the emergence of scholars attempting to explain the Christian idea of reconciliation in doctrinal terms. The implication of this move was a further distancing of the idea of reconciliation from the social, political, and economic spheres of human existence. Among those making attempts to advance Ritschl's project are H. H. Farmer and James Denney. By no means are Farmer and Denney the only figures to put forth a doctrine of reconciliation. They merely serve as models of Ritschl's influence and how it continues to pose stumbling blocks in contemporary theological discourse. Generally

speaking, the theological doctrine of reconciliation claims that God was in Christ reconciling humanity to God's self through the Resurrection. In so doing, the partition of human sin was removed by the redemptive act of God in Christ. This perspective affirms the agency of Christ in whom God has reconciled the world unto God's self and therefore giving to humanity the ministry of reconciliation.[38]

Farmer makes a profound contribution to the doctrine of reconciliation in his emphasis on the personalism of God in relation to human relations. Farmer, in *The World and God*, proposes that in the loving revelation of God's self in Christ dwells the truth that offers the ability to accept reconciliation.[39] The central focus for Farmer is the loving revelation of a personal God that makes reconciliation with God and within humanity possible. Farmer affirms, "Reconciliation to God through Christ is not, and never can be, apart from the fellowship of those in whom that reconciling work is also being wrought out."[40] That is to say that reconciliation is intrinsically linked to God and humanity.

Though humans must reach up to God for reconciliation, there is also an element of human responsibility to one's fellow human beings. Farmer posits "the discernment is given that as the holy love of Christ is in the midst of all this evil, so also is that on which it rests and by which it is sustained, namely the holy love of God."[41] In *Reconciliation and Religion*, Farmer observes the personal relationship of God with humanity. According to Farmer, Christian revelation focuses on humanity's unification and reconciliation through the personal relationship of God with humanity and within humanity itself.[42] Farmer argues that the personal desire for fellowship with God informs the norm for fellowship with self and with others. Because humans yearn for a personal and intimate relationship with God, they seek to understand self. In so doing, they are able to understand self in relation to others. Farmer's contribution to the doctrine of reconciliation has been his emphasis on the personalism of God in relation to humanity. Subsequently, that has informed human relations in a quest for unity.

The works of James Denney advances an understanding of the centrality of the love of God as manifested in Christ, which makes reconciliation possible.[43] Against Farmer and Ritschl, Denney insists reconciliation is not possible apart from the person of Christ. The love of God is what inspires reconciliation through Christ, bringing about transformation in ethical character and personality. Humanity, for Denney, is in need of reconciliation because of estrangement due to

sin. Denney posits that it is through the love of God that the gift of reconciliation is realized. For Denney, the gift of reconciliation is harnessed in the moral life of Christ. It is not God who is reconciled to humanity, but humanity who is reconciled to God. This is unequivocally because of God's love. The emphasis on the love of God in Denney's doctrine of reconciliation can be seen when he observes:

> When we say that because God is love, immutably and eternally love, therefore He does not need to be and cannot be reconciled, we are imputing immutability to God in a sense which practically denies that He [God] is the living God. If sin makes a difference to God—and that it does is the solemn fact which makes reconciliation of interest to us—then God is not immutable, and His love is not immutable, in the sense assumed. He has experiences in His love.[44]

Farmer and Denney help us to visualize the far-reaching influence of Ritschl's thought. Ritschl also established a new breed of scholarship advanced in the work of those such as Ernest Troeltsch, Adolf Harnack, and Walter Rauschenbusch. In this light, Ritschl's influence extends both positively and negatively to Protestant liberalism, liberation theology, and even the prophetic witness of Martin Luther King, Jr. and to a lesser degree, Tutu. In terms of twentieth-century Protestant thought, Ritschl planted the seeds for movements such as existentialism, Protestant liberalism, and especially the Social Gospel movement. For example, through his student, Adolf Harnack and his *A History of Dogmas*, we might observe how Ritschl's project surfaced in the thought of Walter Rauschenbusch and Reinhold Niebuhr, in particular. By opening the door to look critically at the historical and material life of Christ as a means of doing theology, Ritschl laid the foundations for assuming a historical and anthropological approach for theological reflection.

A thoroughgoing understanding of reconciliation must incorporate these areas of human experience as well. As we will observe in later chapters, neither King nor Tutu made significant distinctions between personal and social reconciliation. They saw the critical intersection between the individual's relationship with God and the social, political and economic forces affecting the individual as inseparable. Roberts brings this perspective into view more thoroughly. Roberts further clarifies what we mean by reconciliation and its intrinsic connection to the social, political, and economic liberation of the poor and marginalized.

J. Deotis Roberts and the Idea of Reconciliation

Now that we have surveyed what we mean by reconciliation in scripture, and the perspectives of Aquinas and Ritschl, it is important to clarify the theological dimensions of reconciliation and its links to liberation. A contemporary of King and Tutu, Roberts situates classical understandings of reconciliation with the black liberation struggle in America and throughout the African diaspora. The theological perspective of Roberts offers a credible model for understanding how liberation and reconciliation are intertwined in the Gospel narrative. Robert's theology lacks a clear scriptural focus and draws heavily on classical philosophy to think about reconciliation, but he does ground his theological outlook with the experience of the poor, penniless, and powerless. Speaking from the African American experience, he argued that authentic reconciliation (as rooted in scripture) involves liberation of the oppressed. Conversely, the process of reconciliation is cheapened and weakened without the actualization of liberation. For Roberts, there is an inescapable connection between the two. Roberts sees "liberation theology" as associated with the vigorous manner of interpreting the message and mission of Christian churches in Latin America.[45] Both liberation and black theology deal with real life situations as experienced by the theologians and those for whom they interpret the faith. Apropos the nature of the Christian faith to reconciliation, Roberts indicates:

> Black theology has a special contribution to make to the Christian understanding of reconciliation. Love in Christian context for the black Christian is to be applied horizontally as well as vertically. In fact, it cannot be genuine Christian love if it is not ethical as well as spiritual. There can be no unilateral expression of love between man and God, which does not include the brother.[46]

In his analysis, reconciliation between human relationships is intertwined with reconciliation between God and humanity. In order to have reconciliation within human relationships, parties must come to recognize their fellows as being made in the image of God. The interrelationship between reconciliation among human beings and between God and humanity was behind King's attack on segregation. King stressed "integration" within his conception of reconciliation. For Roberts, the idea is not integration, but "interracial." That is to say,

one is not absorbed into the other, but maintains their sense of identity and personhood. Reconciliation among humanity and God implies persons living in community. Persons are therefore compelled to treat such a one with dignity and respect. This also means that one cannot stand to see other human beings oppressed or experiencing injustice for this disgraces intrinsic value given by human beings. In this way reconciliation is the end, while liberation becomes the means. Liberation becomes the vehicle by which to achieve the ultimate end of reconciliation between God and humanity. This is achieved by the love of God, first in Christ and Christ in the believing Christian working as witness of Christ in the world. Roberts clarifies this understanding of the relationship between reconciliation and liberation:

> Reconciliation is always to be placed in conjunction with liberation. What we seek is a liberating experience of reconciliation . . . It is an urgent responsibility thrust upon us that we seek to "heal our land" by purging it of racism. In this matter as in all others, judgment begins at the house of God.[47]

In this sense, the marriage between reconciliation and liberation is indivisible. From the perspective of an oppressed people, the understanding of God who delivers us from sin cannot be separated from God who promises freedom, justice and an abundant life. What God is doing in our time is being hampered because of the injustice experienced in the lives of God's children. As agents of the reconciling activity of God, we are commissioned to confront the personal and social evils that seem to challenge what God is doing in our midst to reconcile humanity to God's self. That God was in Christ reconciling the world to God's self and giving us the ministry of reconciliation means that as agents (ambassadors) of God we must confront those evils that oppose the will of God in the world. Roberts confronts this issue from the nucleus of the problem, which is racism that serves as a crevice between blacks and whites. Theologically, Roberts brings this understanding to bear when he asserts:

> Reconciliation is an integral part of the gospel. Reconciliation is the very essence of the good news. God in Christ is reconciling in the world and Christians are called to be agents of this reconciling gospel. The "whole" gospel includes reconciliation. The revelation of God includes what "ought to be" and what "must be" as well as what "is." . . . The cross is the arch-symbol of our faith. There is no forgiveness from God

> unless we confess our sins. God's grace is available, but it is not automatic.[48]

In *Black Theology in Dialogue*, Roberts affirms the centrality of liberation as being found in Christ and his church,[49] that Christ has been deeply understood as "friend" and "brother," one who identifies with the suffering of blacks and feels their pain and has had special meaning in black theology. The Christ of Howard Thurman, Roberts supposes, is concerned about human beings who are oppressed.[50] In this sense, Christ is designated as liberator, like Latin American liberation theologies. From the perspective of those who suffer and are oppressed, Christ as liberator invokes a God who shares our pain, poverty, and suffering in this world.

Roberts also draws heavily from Dietrich Bonhoeffer and his understanding of Christ and the mission of the church. Roberts writes, "In his *Sanctorum Communio*, Dietrich Bonhoeffer has made the understanding of Christ central to the meaning of God, personhood, and community."[51] Bonhoeffer upheld the relationship between faith and community, suggesting that Christ is the ultimate initiator of concrete action. From these influences, Roberts delineates the mission of the church as being a ministry of both "liberation" and "reconciliation." That the Christian church has a ministry of liberation and reconciliation means its mission is to heal and disturb. The message flowing from the Christian faith and subsequently the church is a healing balm and a word of judgment at the same time. As Roberts posits, "Jesus, who is Lord of the church, is its priest and prophet."[52] Ultimately, the church must arrive at the triumphant point when "the *ecclesia* of God will become the *basileia* of God in the summing up of all things."[53]

Concerning agape (love) and the ministry of Christ, Roberts proposes that Christ established a new understanding of what is meant by love. When Christ said, "You shall love the Lord your God" and "You shall love your neighbor," he summarized the biblical meaning of love at its core. Christ creates a new and profound order that proclaims divine mercy that brings forth forgiveness—grounded in God alone.[54] The experience of being forgiven of sins brings about a new overflowing power that has the capacity to form new relationships and pave way for new paradigms of living. It is this new relationship of God to humanity through Christ that sets the foundation for a new relationship of person to person. Rudolf Bultmann illustrates this point when he observes:

> Love does not mean an emotion which quickens the spiritual life and makes it sensitive, but a definite attitude of will . . . The command is

> you must love; the will is called to action . . . The man is addressed with the implication that he is placed by God under the necessity of decision and must decide through his free act. Only if love is thought of as an emotion is it meaningless to command love; the command to love shows that love is understood as an attitude of will.[55]

The ultimate aim of God's love is the new humanity in Christ. Divine love renders forgiveness and mercy that a person who is called in love and forgiveness should serve the neighbor.[56] Love, says Roberts, is the willingness to serve and sacrifice and make allowances, to share and sympathize, to lift up the fallen and restore the erring community. This conception of love is strikingly similar to King's conception of love based on the love ethic of Christ and the Swedish theologian Anders Nygren. King believed that love is a radical transformative force and the grounds for meaningful fellowship and community. Though King elevated the ethical life of Christ as the expression of the meaning of love, Roberts looks more to the Christological and Trinitarian language to think about the meaning and prospects of love in human affairs. What we gather from Roberts is that the relationship between liberation and reconciliation is indistinguishable in the Christian narrative. Because one is forgiven and given a new humanity in Christ means that a new set of priorities take center stage. Roberts, however, leaves much to be desired regarding the Trinitarian framework of reconciliation. Scripture, Aquinas, Ritschl, and even Roberts all allude to the prominence of the Trinitarian God, but leave much to be desired in adequately making the connections of such a God to the quest for justice and human fellowship. For that, we must look to Moltmann who gives insight to the Trinity as the God fellowship that is extended to human beings.

Reconciliation and Hope in the Thought of Jürgen Moltmann

In many ways Moltmann's perspectives on the Trinity further illuminates King and Tutu's focus on human fellowship and community. Moltmann offers an invaluable framework for understanding the ways in which reconciliation in human affairs (and the hopefulness it entails for suffering humanity) is grounded in a social understanding of the Trinity and the imago Dei (Image of God). For Moltmann, human relations ought to resemble the Trinity, where the divine Persons of the Trinity share love, fellowship, and harmony. In order to

discover Moltmann's understanding of human relations, we must appraise Moltmann's social doctrine of the Trinity. To establish a frame of reference to examine Moltmann's conception of the imago Dei in the doctrine of the Trinity in Eastern and Western Tradition, it is essential to look at Trinitarian doctrine of the two traditions closely. The Western doctrine of the Trinity rooted in Augustinian thought has been monotheistic, whereas, God is one Person within whom three aspects or modes can be distinguished.[57] In Eastern Orthodoxy, the three are conceived as three divine persons.[58] Major figures have characterized modern Trinitarian thought, namely Karl Barth and Karl Rahner with the *filioquist* conception in the West. Florovsky and Lossky, on the other hand, have articulated a "monopatristic" understanding in Eastern Orthodoxy.

Moltmann's approach to these thinkers is advantageous in setting the stage for analyzing King and Tutu's thought. King and Tutu not only thought critically about the nature of God and the Trinity, but also sought to combine rigorous theological engagement with the sacrificial praxis. On many occasions King pointed to the interrelatedness of all life. Human beings, for King, are caught up in an inescapable mutuality where the reality of a personal God was operating. There is little evidence that King fully developed his understanding of the Trinity. But his dissertation at Boston University, entitled "Comparing the Conception of God in Paul Tillich and Henry Wieman," is a clear indication that King was deeply concerned with how God can be all-powerful, yet gentle and personable. On the other hand, as an Anglican priest, Tutu embraced the Trinitarian God and constantly invoked the idea of a God who loves fellowship so much that God fellowships with God's self in the Trinitarian life of God.

Eastern and Western Trinitarian Traditions

I think it is imperative to reexamine the historical origins of the doctrine of the Trinity in light of the poor, persecuted, and marginalized peoples of the world. In many respects, King and Tutu advanced the Trinitarian tradition as they called upon the God of justice and fellowship as the quintessential source of what it means for humanity to live peaceably together. Their visions of community were inspired by a God who, for them, was recognized as the One who demands nothing less than complete liberation, where the dignity and freedom of individuals was mutually shared and celebrated. As will be observed later on in the study, King and Tutu (in particular ways) challenged individualistic

Cartesian meanings of the Trinity and human nature. As witnessed in Ritschl's project and still practiced in many churches today, many Christians think of the Trinity as an afterthought. The witness of King and Tutu, however, sensitizes and cautions individuals to think critically about the God who seeks community, fellowship, and reconciliation as a point of departure in reaching out to a fractured and broken humanity.

Before going further into Moltmann's social conception of the Trinity, a brief overview of Eastern and Western Trinitarian understandings is in order. In the West, the Trinity has primarily been a methodological principle, a priori, in viewing the triune God.[59] Though neglected, the theological doctrine of energies emerged in the fourteenth century by Archbishop Gregory Palamas of Thessalonika. Bishop Palamas was the first to develop a systematic formulation of the doctrine.[60] Major theologians such as Dietrich Ritschl, Anna Marie Aagaard, and George Maloney have been instrumental in developing the Western Trinitarian conception as well.[61] Because of this, it is difficult in the West to single out one distinct "doctrine," or conception of the Trinity.

In general, the history of Western Trinitarian thinking can be found in the late-antiquity philosophy and the hierarchy of ideas. In early Greek-philosophical thought, Plotinus understood the structure of the cosmos in three ways being the One, intellect, and soul.[62] In essentially this "hierarchy of ideas" are material things at the lowest level leading all the way up to the One, a combination of the intellect and soul in the cosmos. This descriptive reality offered by Plotinus is what provided the seeds for the Western understanding of the Trinity (i.e., God as One person with three aspects or modes of being). Influenced by neoplatonic thought, Augustine embraced the concept of the unity of God and God's simplicity.[63] Because of the "simplicity of God," God's "trinitarian activities constitute God's trinitarian being."[64] For Augustine, Reid argues:

> there is not just a correspondence between the unity of God's being and the unity of God's actions (this necessarily follows from the principle that one essence has one energy or effect or function), but an identity of being and action.[65]

Hence the being of God cannot be separated from the actions of God. "God is what God does," in Augustine's view.

Although King and Tutu stand within the Western Trinitarian tradition, their theological commitments to community and reconciliation

would have been more thoroughly grounded with within Eastern Trinitarian thinking. Regarding the historical developments of Eastern Trinitarian thinking a decisive shift was the rejection of the early church to accept subordinationist understandings in favor of the Nicene emphasis on the consubstantiality of the three hypostases. This led to the distinction in the East between the essence and the energy of God.[66] In Aristotelian anthropology, the notion of will was present and attributed to the highest essence or existence. So the energy of God was equated with the will of God. In this debate, the question of creation has been inescapable. Reid indicates, "God really enters into a relationship with, and is present in, creation, without any implication that God's nature is somehow exhausted in this involvement."[67] Therefore, Eastern Trinitarian thought locates ineffability to God's essence. That the distinction between the essence and the energy of God is made in the East is what leads to the equality of God as three persons in Eastern Trinitarian thought. As Reid states, "In the East, the trinitarian nature of God was taken for granted, and the task was to clarify the relationship between creator and creation."[68] It is this distinction that is not necessarily made in the West that seems attractive to Moltmann. The Eastern understanding of Trinity embraces a socialistic conception of the Trinity where there is equality of the divine Persons. Though himself a German scholar, Moltmann is more inclined to cling to Eastern Trinity formulations, but he does not go all the way by retaining the personal nature of Western Trinitarian concepts. So it is at this point we move to Moltmann's understanding of the Trinity, yet how does Moltmann reconcile the conflict between Eastern and Western conceptions and where does that lead him as it relates to the original design of human relations found in the imago Dei?

Moltmann's Social Doctrine of the Trinity

Viewing Trinity as a model for human fellowship and community is more prevalent in Tutu's thinking, than with King. Both King and Tutu looked to God to ground their vision of community and human fellowship. Moltmann's concept of the Trinity is considerably important to building a theology of reconciliation and establishing a framework for reflecting on King and Tutu's thought. Moltmann is important because he helps us understand that community and human reconciliation is also a matter of reflecting the reality of God. The anti-apartheid efforts in South Africa, for instance, was not just about a political or social attempt to forge some type of utopian world. It was

about demonstrating God's reality and way in the world. For instance, when the World Council of Churches (WCC) held a conference in 1966 in Geneva on Church and Society, they were attempting to live out God's commandment of love, fellowship, and justice. These ideas are not simply true for God's directive for human behavior. It presupposes an already existing model within the life of God, flowing in overflowing abundance to creation and human community. The 1966 conference of the WCC led to a special commission to reflect on the church's role in confronting apartheid South Africa. The commission prepared the document, Message to the People of South Africa, published in 1968.[69] This document would firmly propel the church to the forefront in its protest of apartheid. Its prophetic call to end apartheid was rooted in an understanding of God who not only calls for humans to live in community and harmony, but reflects this fellowship in a Trinitarian reality.

Moltmann helps to further develop the idea of what it means to say that God is a God of community, fellowship, and interrelatedness. Moltmann's portrayal of the Trinity as the fellowship of God, extended to human community, actually illuminates and exposes the deep theological roots of community and interrelatedness. In *The Trinity and the Kingdom of God*, Moltmann constructs a Trinitarian understanding of human relations, where "the trinitarian fellowship of the three divine Persons as a model for true human community which is both to reflect and to participate in God's own trinitarian life."[70] Richard Bauckham delineates Moltmann's Trinitarian language in relation to "human freedom." Human freedom for Moltmann is central to how one views the relationship of persons in community. How does one balance the rule of God, as creator and great Lord of the universe, with human freedom? The "rule of God" would establish a hierarchical view of God as absolute monarch, thus giving precedent for the same pretensions within human relationships. But Moltmann challenges these claims through the doctrine of the Trinity. In contrast, Moltmann advocates a social Trinitarianism. Moltmann's social doctrine of the Trinity entails "God as three divine subjects in interpersonal relationship with each other—a fellowship of love."[71] Hence what follows is a "fellowship and a process of expression of divine life through mutual manifestation" in the life of God. "God's trinitarian history with the world is a history in which the three divine Persons relate both to each other and to the world."[72] Moltmann would propose that we are to understand the nature of human relations through the mutual dependency and fellowship of love shared within the Trinity.

That the Trinity is a process of living relationships of love between the three Persons and open to the inclusion of the world usurps the notion of a divine monarchy.

Throughout Moltmann's illustrious career, he has sought to revolutionize modern understandings of God. Warren McWilliams posits Moltmann's understanding of the Trinity as essentially a "trinitarian doxology."[73] Whereby, Moltmann seems to have combined the Western emphasis on individualism and the Eastern emphasis on socialism. McWilliams claims that earlier in Moltmann's career he neglected the distinction between the "economic and the immanent trinity."[74] This was primarily observed in Moltmann's *The Trinity and the Kingdom*.[75] As Moltmann continued to develop his mature perspective in understanding this relationship, he now holds a "reciprocal relationship" between these two aspects of God's nature.[76] McWilliams postulates, "the traditional distinction between the economic Trinity and the immanent Trinity is based on the differentiation between God's inner, eternal essence (immanent Trinity) and God's activities in the economy (*oikonomia*) of salvation (economic Trinity)."[77] That Moltmann wrestles with the relationship between the immanent Trinity and the economic Trinity defines the core of his understanding of the Trinity.

In Moltmann's *Crucified God*, he proposes that the two traditions must be taken into account if one is to begin to rethink what it means to ponder the doctrine of God.[78] Moltmann says, "There are two traditions in Christian theology which have taken account of this 'revolt' in the Christian concept of God: the development of the doctrine of the *Trinity* and the elaboration of the *theology of the cross*." Moltmann rejects the apathy principle of Hellenistic philosophy, while arguing for the pathos or passion of God revealed in Christ. As McWilliams writes, "Moltmann's linking of the passion of God on the Cross and the doctrine of the Trinity parallels in many ways the thinking of Eberhard Jungel in God as the Mystery of the Universe," where Moltmann accepts Karl Rahner's rule and contemplates a God who suffers.[79] Paul S. Fiddes, in reflecting on Moltmann's social understanding of the Trinity, observes:

> he insist that what is visible at the cross is true of the being of God throughout history; there is an ever-present situation in which a divine Father suffers the loss of a Son, a Son suffers the loss of a Father, and a Spirit of self-giving love and hope flows between them.[80]

So in God's own Trinitarian history of suffering, the whole of human history is open to God. God opens God's self to include this history of

suffering, where "oppressed and forsaken people can find themselves within the situation of a suffering God, and so can also share in God's history of glorification."[81]

According to Moltmann, the Trinity is openly revealed in a differentiated form.[82] Through the "suffering God," Moltmann's understanding of the Cross is essential to his Trinitarian scope. "If the doctrine of God is built on the Cross of Christ, the distinction between God's inner essence (immanent Trinity) and God for us (economic Trinity) 'seems to be abandoned,'" says McWilliams.[83] At the center of the doctrine of the Trinity is the Cross of Christ, says Moltmann.[84] God's experience in Christ, particularly as it relates to the Crucifixion, points to the fact that any doctrine of God has to be Trinitarian.

The Imago Dei and Community

As we will see in later the study, the concept of the imago Dei was one of the most important themes in their work. Very rarely, however, in Christian history has the imago Dei been used as a means of liberation or demanding the rights of an oppressed group. King and Tutu's use of imago Dei was critical to show that segregation and apartheid were not just social and political issues. They were also theological problems. Because all human beings are made in the imago Dei, all life has significance and dignity. Exploring Moltmann's approach to the imago Dei is helpful as a theological platform. Moltmann gives insight and depth to imago Dei in a way that is consistent with thought and witness of King and Tutu. For instance, the image of God for Moltmann is not in terms of the isolated autonomous individual. Rather, the image of God is mutually inclusive of the human community reflecting the interpersonal life of the social Trinity. God made "humanity" in the image of God as a collective community of fellowship with each other and the divine. The Trinitarian *perichoresis* [co-indwelling] initiates a pattern of personhood as that of individuals in relationship. Since the divine Persons are themselves in their distinction from and (equally) at-oneness with each other, this establishes the paradigm for understanding the equality in human relationships.

Moltmann asserts in his *The Trinity and the Kingdom of God* that the imago Dei cannot be understood in its fullness outside and apart from human sociality.[85] Moltmann adds, "If we take our bearings from the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, personalism and socialism cease to be antitheses and are seen to be derived from a common foundation."[86] Moltmann offers a medium between the Western emphasis

on personalism and the Eastern emphasis on socialism. Therefore, social personalism or personal socialism becomes necessary antecedents to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Bauckham attempts to summarize Moltmann's project here suggesting that the concept of God as divine monarch, which provides a basis for human domination and hierarchical structures at the expense of freedom, the social Trinity provides a model for human community where people are free for each other and find freedom in relationship with each other. If indeed this is so, how has the imago Dei shifted from its original designation and where are the possibilities for success in human relationships to reflect that of the Trinitarian fellowship of the Godhead? In God and Creation, Moltmann traces the historical development of the understanding of human beings as the image of God. Moltmann claims that the imago Dei was the original designation of human beings. The messianic calling of human beings, imago Christi, where we are called to conform to the image of Christ precedes the eschatological glorification of human beings: *Dei est homo*.

For Moltmann, the true likeness of God, image of God, is to be found not in the beginning, out of its original designation. Rather, it is to be found at its end and the center of its goal is manifested in the present and during every moment of history. Although I am concerned about the eschatological hope of *Dei est homo*, the question of how human beings are to live in peace in the here and now is an urgent question. Amid the Middle East crisis, is there a message for peace? That God's original designation of human beings in the image of God is to reflect the social Trinity presents great meaning for understanding how human beings are to live in a state of peace and justice. Moltmann, I am sure would argue that because of the Trinitarian fellowship, of love, justice, and harmony that exist in the interpersonal relationship between Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit, human beings are eternally linked to this relationship through grace. Hence, the risen Christ is the image and glory of the invisible God on earth and through these fellowship human beings (in the context of human relationships) becomes what they were created to be.

Moltmann encapsulates what is being said here himself when he writes:

> Created as God's image, human beings are not merely restored from their sins to this divine image through the messianic fellowship with the Son; they are also gathered into the open Trinity. They become "conformed to the image of the Son." (Rom. 8.29)

This does not merely presuppose that the eternal Son of God becomes human and is one alike themselves; it also means that as a result human beings become like the Son and, through the Holy Spirit, are gathered into his relationship of sonship, and in the brotherhood of Christ the Father of Christ becomes their Father also. This is to say that through the Son the divine Trinity throws itself open for human beings. The Son becomes human and the foundation for the image of God on earth. Through the Son, human beings as God's image on earth therefore acquire access to the Father. As God's image, human beings are the image of the whole Trinity in that they are conformed to the image of the Son (imago Christi). According to Moltmann, "Human beings are imago trinitatis and only correspond to the triune God when they are united with one another."[87]

Because Moltmann in many ways combines the two while adding his own distinctive touch, the scope of this study could not adequately appraise Moltmann's position. We are able to understand the contribution of Moltmann's thought to a Trinitarian understanding. Moltmann in many respects illuminates and advances King's focus on the personal God who lifts up and preserves human dignity and Tutu's God of Trinitarian God of fellowship, forgiveness, and community. The implications of Moltmann's position are far reaching and important to how human beings reflect and live out the true imago Dei found in and created by the triune God.

Conclusion

On the basis of what has been said thus far, the basic idea of reconciliation in scripture is recognized as the work of God in Christ, bringing forth unity with God and humanity. It has also been made clear that the idea of reconciliation cannot be isolated to the individual's rational and moral life. What we find is a redemptive component to the idea of reconciliation that speaks to a holistic view of life. This view does not distinguish the individual's moral life from the social, political, and economic systems existing in human creation. Seen in this perspective, reconciliation also brings to bear a mounting critique upon Ritschl's conception and similar musings during the modern era. Ritschl presents the reader with a rich historical survey of major theological voices in history concerning the atoning work of Christ. Though Ritschl attempts to present a "scientific" and unbiased approach to the historical study of Christian theology, he is firmly situated in the modern experiment by presupposing that scientific investigation holds primacy

over other forms of theological inquiry. Hegel's historical dialectic appears to be an underlying theme in Ritschl. That is to say, Ritschl assumes a type of "progressivism" in the development of Christian theology and dogma. However, by taking serious the social and historical development of Christian theology, especially concerning justification and reconciliation, Ritschl sets the stage for the subsequent rise of Protestant liberalism, paving the way for such figures a Tillich, Rauchenbusch, Niebuhr, and Brightman. Harnack seems to have simply continued the theme established in Ritschl's project. Though Harnack tends to be preoccupied with presenting historical evidence of the life and work of Christ, Ritschl is more concerned with the theoretical formulations of salvific activity of Christ in the historical moment. Ritschl is also deeply indebted to Schleiermacher's distinction between "redemption" and reconciliation. Although Ritschl does not follow the ontological presuppositions of Schleiermacher and Kant, he creates the discursive space for a "moral" critique of the salvific work of Christ. Hence, the work of Christ was centralized to the idea of forgiveness of sins and personal salvation. Through the scientific categorization process, Ritschl overlooks the interrelationship between justification and reconciliation, thereby reducing the ontological significance of the work of Christ to moral and ethical aspects. By supposing there is a theological distinction between justification and reconciliation, Ritschl repeats the same flaws indicative of the modern era. Nevertheless, Ritschl's historical account of the "doctrine of justification and reconciliation" is a major achievement in the history of Christian theology. Ritschl shows the vast amount of discontinuity in the doctrine. Here we observe that the doctrine of justification and reconciliation are unfinished works continually being shaped and formed through the march of history.

Ritschl was also instrumental in developing an individualistic understanding of reconciliation as normative for Christian thought and practice. By negating the social, political, and economic dimensions of reconciliation, Ritschl instituted a model of individual salvation grounded in human rationality. Of course, Ritschl was a man of his time. He was responding to the rigid theological hegemony of the church and very much a part of the avant-garde culture of his day. Nevertheless, Ritschl's project was incredibly significant in formulating a "doctrine of reconciliation" that viewed the activity of God in Christ working chiefly in the moral life of individual persons alone. The consequences of Ritschl's perspective led to lack of social, political, and economic engagement in the public sphere. His influence is

indisputable not only in the context of nineteenth-century thought, but even in the postmodern times, of which we now speak.

Aquinas, Roberts, and Moltmann also illuminate the delicate connections of liberation and justice with the mandates of forgiveness and reconciliation. Aquinas shows that the idea justice is intrinsic to the very nature of God and thus deeply related to God's ordering for creation. But Aquinas equally emphasizes the centrality of mercy, expressed in God's act of forgiveness. For Aquinas, justice and mercy go hand in hand. One does not exist without the other. Mercy meets and exceeds the demands of justice, creating the space for forgiveness and reconciliation to occur. Roberts, as a classically trained historical theologian, goes beyond Aquinas by suggesting that the Christian idea of reconciliation is only intelligible as a liberating act. He postulates the notion of reconciliation-with-liberation as the essential characteristic of God's work in Christ. Similar to Roberts, Moltmann makes claims about the interrelatedness of reconciliation (as God's plan for harmony in the created order, human community and togetherness) and the problem of human suffering and the quest for human dignity. Although Moltmann draws from a number of resources, his reliance on the Trinitarian perspectives of the Eastern Orthodox tradition is apparent. The social nature of the Eastern Orthodox Trinitarian God, for Moltmann, is a powerful and provocative illustration for God's intention for humanity. According to Moltmann the Trinitarian God serves as the quintessential source of hope, healing, and restoration for broken and wounded human relations. God is not simply three independent, freethinking, divine personalities coexisting for a single purpose and telos. Rather, the Trinitarian God is depicted as a mutually dependent God, a relational God, and communal God. That the very nature of God is One that exists within the reality of perpetual fellowship and harmony. God, as Trinitarian fellowship, extends to humanity the invitation to participate in this divine fellowship, made possible by the sacrificial life, death, and Resurrection of the crucified God, Christ.

Through the Lens of Paul Lehmann and the Idea of Koinonia

Going beyond the doctrinal shackles now allows us to rethink conceptions of reconciliation in light of the liberating contributions of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Desmond Tutu. Before moving into our analysis of King and Tutu, however, a brief consideration of Lehmann's understanding of the Gospel is essential to this project. Lehmann

offers an adequate transition from the origins of the doctrinal conception of reconciliation in modernity to the idea of reconciliation advanced in King and Tutu. I introduce Lehmann at this moment as a lens through which to view King and Tutu. By looking at King and Tutu through Lehmann's account of the Gospel, more texture and depth is given to my original thesis that King and Tutu help to overcome the problem of reconciliation as only concerned with the individual moral life.

Lehmann is seldom mentioned among those who have made contributions to the field of liberation and reconciliation. However, his thought emerges out of a context of resistance to collective evil and sensitivity to social transformation. Lehmann became close friends with a young German theologian, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, during the Third Reich in Hitler's Germany. Bonhoeffer completed his dissertation, *Sanctorum Communio*, at the University of Berlin with Adolf von Harnack, Hans Lietzmann, and Reinhold Seeberb. In particular, Harnack was a disciple of Ritschl and certainly had a major impact on Bonhoeffer as well. This was especially true in terms of the meaning of the Cross concerning human affairs. Bonhoeffer was concerned with the significance of the suffering of Christ as it relates to systematic forms of oppression that affected not only individuals but also whole societies. He would carry this sensibility with him throughout his international experience and in his encounter with Lehmann.

After receiving the Sloane Fellowship, Bonhoeffer joined the faculty at Union Theological Seminary in New York City. It was at Union that Lehmann and Bonhoeffer became close friends and dialogue partners. Lehmann and Bonhoeffer shared a profound commitment to making the Gospel relevant to the marginalized and politically disenfranchised. Though Bonhoeffer was concerned with the plight of the Jews in Nazi Germany, Lehmann pursued the question of political and legal justice as it relates to the Cross of Christ. When it comes to how persons, particularly Christians, are to live in community, Lehmann rejected both a utilitarian ethic and an ethic of absolute law. Instead, he argued for a "contextual ethic," rooted in the activity of God, fellowship, and the situation at hand.[88] The Gospel, and certainly the idea of reconciliation, could not be defined in simply individualistic terms or a utilitarian ethic determined by pragmatic and individual interest. According to Lehmann, the function of the Christian community is essentially the formation of the ethical and moral life of the individual. Christian ethics for Lehmann derives from and within Christian *koinonia*. He describes *koinonia* as "'a new fellowship-reality' between

Christ and the believers, between the head of the body and its members."[89] Lehmann says that Christian ethics is in effect *koinonia* ethics because the activity of God in Christ remains unintelligible apart from the community of faith, or the *ecclesia*[in-gathering]. The reality of the church serves as the basis and ongoing space whereby the meaning of God's revelation in Christ is observed and celebrated. Through liturgical practices in the context of the church, the answer to the question of "what God is doing in the world" is expressed and lived out. Hence, it is impossible to legitimately know not only what God is doing but the meaning of justice distinct from faith community.

At the center of Lehmann's *koinonia* ethics is a Trinitarian foundation. The fellowship and creative energy of the Father and Son relationship, out of which the Spirit proceeds, makes possible a new *koinonia* community in the world. In other words, the fellowship from within God, Son and Spirit is reflected in the *koinonia* community inaugurated and sustained through the Cross. In this light, one observes how the Gospel is not solely limited to the individual, but is only meaningful in the context of community. Lehmann understood this community to be primarily the church. However, he recognized that the *koinonia* ethic is one that continues to seek relationship with the other. Consequently, the *koinonia* ethic recognizes that humans exist as persons in community. There is a powerful fluidity that continues to circulate between the individual and community and vise versa. Inasmuch as Christ entered the world into human community, for community, and whose presence is manifested in the realization of community.

It is from this perspective that a reading of King and Tutu can be properly situated as a continuation of Christian doctrinal formation. Of course, neither King nor Tutu explicitly uses the language of *koinonia* when referring to fellowship or community. There is no clear evidence that King or Tutu ever seriously read Lehmann at all. However, the meaning of Lehmann's discourse would not be foreign to either figure since King and Tutu grounded their thought and witness in an early church conception of community and fellowship, as does Lehmann. Paul Lehmann affords us the opportunity to appreciate the depth and complexity of King and Tutu, and their immense contribution to Christian theology. Lehmann's conception of the *koinonia* ethic also provides a unique prism to understand the relationship between theology and praxis in their thought. Both King and Tutu believed that Christian theology is only meaningful as it speaks to the concrete issues of human suffering and community in the world. Hence, the

quest for community and reconciliation was not simply a practical strategy for social transformation; it was also a theological message of what God was doing in the world. King and Tutu's witness was a theological presentation of the Gospel that privileged Christian practices and community over against individualism and rationalism. With Lehmann in full view, let us now plunge into King and Tutu's thought with diligence and assiduousness.

2

From Every Mountainside: Reconciliation and the Beloved Community

Sometimes I feel discouraged and feel my work's in vain; but then the Holy Spirit revives my soul again. There is a balm in Gilead to make the wounded whole; there is a balm in Gilead to heal the sin sick soul.[1]

Nearly fifty years ago, Martin Luther King, Jr. entered into the pages of human history as theologian, pastor, husband, teacher, and leader. After receiving his PhD from Boston University in June 1955, King assumed the pastorate at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, a position that would be the launching pad of his courageous witness against racist social and political structures in American society. From his initial struggle with leadership as head of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) to his tumultuous journey as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), King's enduring footprint in the Christian church, theology, and the world witness are felt till today. In this chapter, I am interested in exploring the multidimensions of King's theology and conception of the "beloved community." A thorough consideration of King's cultural and religious influences will set the tone as the foundations of King's thought and actions.[2] It is also my intention to render an analytical appraisal of the major themes in his theology, establishing King as a major theologian of reconciliation. Of course, the vision of the beloved community espoused by King has very seldom been mentioned in the same breath as the Christian idea of reconciliation.

King is rarely included in the diatribe of contributions to Christian ethics in general. At the same time, King remains one of the most

influential religious leaders of the twentieth century. His efforts impacted not only the Christian church but also American society and the global community. In many ways, King's conception of the beloved community continues to provide meaningful sources of reflection for formulations of community and reconciliation. With that in mind, this chapter sets out to do the following: (1) look briefly at the historical context of King's thought and witness; (2) examine King's thought in relation to his cultural roots; and finally (3) explore the various dimensions of King's theology, including his conception of God, Jesus Christ, humanity, community, and his eschatological vision.

I would agree with James Cone who observed that King's ideas, particularly concerning the American dream, could be situated in two historical periods. From the Montgomery Bus Boycott, beginning December 5, 1955, until the passing of the Voting Rights Bill in August 1965 was the first epoch. It was a time of profound optimism and relative successes in King's leadership and thinking. During these years, King concentrated heavily on the Southern realities of segregation. After the passing of the Voting Rights Bill of 1965, he turned his attention to the problem of poverty and militarism. He shifted his strategic initiatives during the period between 1965 and his untimely death in April 1968 to issues of poverty and antiwar activism. Through it all, he remained terribly consistent in his commitment to peace, nonviolence, the God of justice, and redemptive hope.

It must be said early that King did not explicitly use the language of reconciliation. His vision of the beloved community was expressed in the language of "freedom," "justice," "equality," and "human dignity." The idea of reconciliation seen in scripture, in King's estimation, was not simply for "Christians" alone. It was intended for all humanity, including persons of different cultures, faiths, and worldviews. The "love ethic of Jesus" epitomized what it means to live in community and to exist in a cooperative relationship with God. It is not my desire to make a direct correlation between King's beloved community and the Christian idea of reconciliation. Rather, it is to show how the beloved community serves as an exemplar, more faithful to the Christian idea of reconciliation as presented in scripture. King viewed the salvific work of God in Christ ultimately as working to bring about a harmonious human community. Like many postmodernist theologians, King grounded his theology in Christian practices. He was committed to the idea that the God who moves and directs history also operates in the human community to liberate the hearts, minds, and souls of those who suffer. Although King recognized the importance of being

personally reconciled with God, he maintained that this reconciliation was made intelligible and meaningful in the quest for freedom and justice. It was not simply an existential pragmatic conception of freedom and justice drawn from the wells of Locke, Rousseau, Kant, Hegel, Bacon, Nietzsche, Hume, and others. Rather, Dr. King planted his ideas of justice, freedom, and community firmly in the soils of the biblical prophetic tradition and the African American religious experience in the Black Church. His ideas were further expanded, clarified, and deepened in the rich chambers of theological reflection during his formal studies and even amid the fires of protest.

On the Winds of Change: King's Social and Political Context

King's conception of reconciliation was fundamentally shaped by the social, political, and historical climate of the day. In many regards, the period of the 1960s in which King played a prominent leadership role was not only a social and political movement. It was cultural as well. It was essentially a grassroots movement consisting of churches, student groups, and black intellectuals working together.[3] Martin King, Jr. was part of a larger community of freedom fighters seeking to challenge the stagnant forces of modernity and white supremacy. It is, therefore, necessary to briefly appraise King's relationship with the broader elements of the resistance movement during the era. It is also important to note King's complex relationship with more radical voices of black nationalism, like Malcolm X, before proceeding to the influences of Daddy King, Mays, and Thurman.

Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Roots of Black Religious Radicalism

While being a global figure whose life and legacy has meaning to individuals from all walks of life, King also had deep roots within the tradition of black religious radicalism. King did not invent the idea and practice of prophetic resistance and carrying in the banner of black liberation and freedom. He received a trust fund of incredible theological and strategic resources for linking faith with political action and protest. As a third generation African American Baptist preacher, King graciously embraced his place and legacy in a long succession of black preaching and radicalism. Subsequently, King's thoughts and actions were a product of this tradition and deserves some attention as the

historical and cultural origins and distinctive characteristics of his thought. For this reason, a brief survey of this tradition is in order. That black radicalism in America exhibits religious ancestry presupposes some understanding of what is meant by religious. By most accounts, in the context of Garnet, religion (specifically Judeo-Christianity) was used as a means of justifying the slavery machine by dehumanizing persons of African descent, eternally condemned to a life of servitude. A hermeneutic painted with the eyes of white supremacy and capitalistic interest produced a reading of the Christian bible that excluded the suffering of the enslaved African. For Garnet, Allen and Jones, and Crummell religion meant a radical reinterpretation of the biblical record beyond the boundaries of "institutional religion," yet religious in the sense that it sought to interpret their conception of the "divine" through the lens of the lived experience and suffering of African peoples. King was inculturated into the tradition of Garnet, Allen, Jones, and Crummell where black religion was synonymous with black liberation and uplift. It was the duty of black religious leadership to find creative ways to advance the cause of the race and speak to the suffering of black masses. With this understanding of "religion," we will consider the following religious leaders as planting the seeds of resistance in the black radical tradition.

Henry Highland Garnet was critical in forming a new theoretical and biblical framework for addressing the suffering of Africans in America. He developed a new means of resistance drawing on the same resources that had once oppressed.[4] King drew from the tradition of Garnet that the bible is not about condoning the oppression of black people. On the contrary, the scriptures were concerned with the liberation of the oppressed as seen in the biblical story of the Exodus. Garnet's thought and inspiration came from David Walker and his *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*.[5] Along with the *Ethiopian Manifesto* of Robert Alexander Young, Walker's *Appeal* had a profound impact upon Garnet and subsequent radical religious leaders of the period.[6] Walker recognized the agonizing contradiction between the biblical claim of an all powerful and loving God and the crucible of slavery in American society. In his *Appeal*, Walker propounded the idea that the biblical record spoke directly to the liberation of enslaved Africans and the ultimate destruction of the institution of slavery. Garnet, taking up this theme, expanded it to involve revolutionary, even violent, liberation of African descendants at home and throughout the African diaspora.[7] Garnet trumpeted the radical call for unity and resistance, appropriating the Exodus as a source of

empowerment and as a theoretical framework. In his address at the Female Benevolent Society in 1848, he said:

> Let there be no strife between us, for we are brethren, and we must rise or fall together. How unprofitable it is for us to spend our golden moments in long and solemn debate upon the questions whether we shall be called "Africans," "Colored Americans," or "Africo American," or "Blacks." The question should be, my friends, shall we arise and act like men, and cast off this terrible yoke?[8]

The contribution of Garnet's thought is reflected in his ability to present a revolutionary hermeneutic that takes into account those who are oppressed. This factor was of grave importance for King as well. It was King's unique ability to recall the radical dimensions of a liberating biblical God that ignited the souls and feet of Black Church folk. He incorporated Garnet's belief that God had ordained the black struggle for liberation. Further, that through a messianic vision, God would lead the colored peoples of the earth to final victory. Eddie S. Glaude, Jr. locates Garnet's thought in the broader discourse of "political messianism," drawing from Michael Walzer.[9] The political messianism of Walzer provided Garnet with the moral and theoretical foundations necessary to attract the black masses and white sympathizers. Garnet's sense of urgency to bring an end to the institution of slavery and its derivative forms of economic and political subjugation, emerges from his "pragmatic view of race shaped by an ironic use of moral reform that took seriously the cycle of existential pain and unrest that penetrated deeply the lives of African Americans, slave or free."[10] Garnet was part of a climate of resistance, to a large extent, set into motion and expanded by such figures as Allen, Jones, and Crummell.

Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, and Alexander Crummell, among others, added to the climate of radical resistance in the face of oppression. A brief word about these persons would be helpful to further demonstrate how black radicalism in America finds it roots in religious expression. Gayraud S. Wilmore, in his *Black Religion and Black Radicalism*, supposes that as members of the Black Methodist Church, Allen and Jones represent some of the earliest expressions of political resistance to slavery and institutional oppression.[11] No doubt, King understood this historical experience when he said in his first public message as president of the MIA that the only thing oppressed people in America have at their disposal is the weapon of protest. Allen and Jones, in their opposition and rejection of the White Methodist

Church, established the African Methodist Episcopal Church, marking the first black religious denomination in America. As a momentous event in the history of black radicalism, Jones and Allen demonstrated nationally the radical self-determination of blacks to be free. Jones and Allen directly challenged notions of racial inferiority and the absurdity of these ideas in white society.[12] These actions set into motion a storm of resistance for other radical black groups and institutions to follow. ,

Crummell also drew heavily from the ideological and religious influence of his predecessors, Allen and Jones. Crummell also confronted the religious contradictions he saw in the institution of slavery and Judeo-Christianity as reflected in the biblical record. Crummell expanded the views of Jones and Allen by positing a vision of "providence" for blacks in America and divine retribution for slaveholders.[13] In this "providential" plan, blacks would return in triumphal glory to Africa, serving as missionaries and agents of renewal and restoration. In *Africa and America*, Crummell writes:

> I feel as if I could laugh to scorn all the long line of malignant slave-traders who have defiled and devastated this wretched coast of Africa, and fling in their teeth the gracious retort of Joseph: "As for you, ye thought evil against us, but God meant it unto good, to save much people alive.[14]

Crummell, along with Garnet, Jones, and Allen, appropriated a biblical hermeneutic that radically transformed how blacks understood their social condition in the shackles of slavery. In so doing, they provided radical seeds of resistance that would continue to evolve in the black radical imagination of how blacks have sought to interpret and respond to the insanity of racial oppression in America and throughout the diaspora. Prior to the events in Montgomery in 1955, King stood on the shoulders of former freedom fighters like the figures mentioned. He also called upon the wisdom, experiences, and historical lessons of W. E. B. Dubois, Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey, Adam Clayton Powell, and Sojourner Truth, to name a few. With this historical and cultural cadre, King was equipped to meet the challenges of the years ahead.

In the Crucible: The Civil Rights Era and a Climate of Hate

There are essentially three elements that influenced the context for King's work.[15] Those were (1) images of "North" and "South" in the

American consciousness of the 1950s and 1960s; (2) the emergence of a resistance movement among the Southern black masses; and (3) the resurgence of black nationalism in the North, especially as defined by black Muslims and Malcolm X. For blacks, the image of the South was "Egyptian captivity." Marked by unjust laws of segregation and blatant terrorist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, the South was viewed as dangerous and demeaning. These forces led to the emergence of the civil rights movement, championed by some Northern whites and mostly Southern blacks. The ideals symbolized in the Declaration of Independence and Constitution were used to confront the injustices of the South. Their purpose was to ensure equal access to the democratic system and to live in the freedom of their own potentiality. As Cone suggests, "they wanted to put an end to southern barbarism and broaden the processes of liberal democracy so blacks could live without fear and also share in the sociopolitical development of America according to their interest and individual abilities."[16]

Deriving from the desire to enter fully into the liberal democratic process, young blacks emerged to form the resistance movement. Beginning with the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955–1956, the movement developed into sit-ins (1960), freedom rides (1961), the Albany Movement (1961), the Birmingham Campaign (1963), March on Washington (1963), and other mostly Southern protests. The sentiments of black nationalism rose with the development of these forms of resistance. Unlike black nationalist leaders, King was an integrationist. He believed in the idea of a multicultural community of persons with a mutual recognition of differences. However, the voices of black nationalism were not as optimistic about American's treatment of its black citizens. Led primarily by Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam, they considered separatism as the best path toward freedom. For Malcolm X, whites could not be trusted.

Like King, Malcolm X was a product of the tumultuous climate of change reflecting the heat of the late 1950s through the 1960s. Malcolm also lived through some of the most brutal moments in South African history. Though Malcolm was familiar with the African struggles against colonialism and apartheid in South Africa, there is little evidence suggesting he maintained relations with those involved in the South African struggle. Although Malcolm X's father was a Christian minister and outspoken activist during his time, Malcolm X drew much of his theological resources from the Nation of Islam. Three factors that informed Malcolm X's theological and social critique of American society were his early experiences with family and subsequent

problems with delinquency, involvement with the Nation of Islam, and his eventual international experience (with the trip to Mecca as the definitive event).

To fully understand the nature of Malcolm X's social critique of American society means to grasp the cold reality of his childhood experience corresponding to white society. According to Cone, Malcolm X looked upon the American social condition from the vintage point of the "black masses living at the bottom of the social heap."[17] Reflecting on the difference between his childhood and King's, Malcolm X recounted, "while King was having a dream . . . the rest of us Negroes are having a nightmare."[18] In many ways, Malcolm exposes the blind spots of King's optimism. Too often, interpretations of King and the civil rights movement dismiss Malcolm's message of bitterness and hopelessness shadowing the consciousness of black America. There are no state-sanctioned holidays for Malcolm. There are no monuments erected in Washington for Malcolm (now under construction for King). But Malcolm's message, life, and witness to the underside of the American dream renders a stark reality check about the triumphs of civil rights and social transformation. The son of Early Little, Malcolm X was born in Omaha, Nebraska. Cone asserts that Malcolm considered his childhood a "nightmare" attributed largely to white hatred. Malcolm X, in his autobiography, reflects upon his earliest memory of many traumatic events that would follow. In this experience, Malcolm X recounts:

> I remember being suddenly snatched awake into a frightening confusion of pistol shots and shouting and smoke and flames. My father had shouted and shot at two white men who had set the fire and were running away. Our home was burning down around us. We were lunging and bumping and tumbling all over each other trying to escape. My mother, with the baby in her arms, just made it into the yard before the house crashed in, showering sparks. I remember we were outside in the night in our underwear, crying and yelling our heads off. The white police and firemen came and stood around watching as the house burned down to the ground.[19]

Much of the violence from whites was repressive in order to quiet Malcolm X's outspoken father. Early Little was an itinerate preacher who embraced the nationalistic ideology of Marcus Garvey, serving as president of the Omaha branch of Garvey's UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association). Early Little's vehement promulgation of Garvey's message would eventually lead to his death and further

hardship in the Little household. After his father's death, Malcolm's family drifted into deeper poverty, forcing the family to take public assistance. Because of the mental condition of Malcolm X's mother, Louise Little, he and his siblings became wards of the state and took shelter in different homes. Cone asserts:

> with no parental love to affirm his personhood and to instill in him the self-confidence that he was as good as anybody else, he, though gifted and popular, did not have the emotional strength to cope with a white society that refused to recognize his humanity.[20]

A critical event in Malcolm X's development that had a fundamental impact on his view of white society occurred with his English teacher. Although the young Malcolm held initial aspirations of becoming a lawyer, his eighth grade English teacher determined this was an unrealistic path for a "nigger," suggesting he become a carpenter instead. Unlike Niebuhr's pessimism of American society rooted in theological and ethical analysis, Malcolm's pessimism spawned from his bitter encounter with racist whites early in life. Malcolm X's childhood gave way to a life of delinquency that would later result in a prolonged prison sentence. It was in prison, however, that Malcolm X would undergo a social and religious transformation through the teachings of Elijah Muhammad.

If Malcolm X's childhood and family experience provided the framework for his pessimistic analysis of American society, the exposure to the Nation of Islam intensified his nationalistic orientation and laid the groundwork for his view of "separatism." The Nation of Islam could not have been more different from the Black Church experience in which King served. As the unabashed leader of the Nation of Islam, Elijah Muhammad sought a religious ideology that would offer dignity and respect to the black man in American society. According to Cone, Muhammad characterized his movement as "antiwhite" and "anti-Christian."[21] In his critique of white America, Malcolm X (prior to his break with the Nation of Islam) believed the white man to be the devil both historically and naturally.[22] Malcolm X had a keen awareness of the complex social issues affecting the urban poor and the historical legacy of oppression among many Western nations. Hence, unlike King who saw possibilities of reconciliation and hope for liberation, the young Malcolm X was convinced the white man was the embodiment of evil. Therefore, the only response for Malcolm X was "complete and total separation."

The affirmation of black history and culture in the Nation of Islam influenced his understanding of black nationalism considerably. In this sense, Malcolm X's critique of white America was also a celebration of black history and culture. Responding to a bombardment of criticism as being racist Malcolm X responded in the speech, "The Ballot or the Bullet": "Our gospel is black nationalism. We're not trying to threaten the existence of any organization, but we're spreading the gospel of black nationalism."[23] C. Eric Lincoln, in *The Black Muslims in America*, insists that black Muslims (Malcolm X being one of its chief proponents) have made a science of black nationalism.[24] He maintains that they have "made black the ideal, the ultimate value; they have proclaimed the black man to be the primogenitor of all civilization, the Chosen of Allah, 'the rightful ruler of the Planet Earth.'"[25]

Prior to his pilgrimage to Mecca, Malcolm X posited a "defensive offensive" of black nationalism and separatism as a response to the American system of racial oppression. Lincoln delineates several areas that characterized black nationalism as exemplified in the black Muslim movement: group consciousness, avoidance, acceptance, and aggression. Group consciousness refers to a state of mind held by individuals with an awareness of their particularities alongside other groups and serves as a defense mechanism for the preservation and attainment of values they deem important. Avoidance emerges out of concern for physical, psychological, and economic security. The urgent cry for social, political, and economic separatism that Malcolm preached reflected this sentiment. Though acceptance often means recognizing what one cannot change about one's social condition, Malcolm rejected notions of accommodation to any forms of oppression in American society.

In his autobiography, Malcolm is recorded as saying "If you pull a knife halfway out of a man's back, that's not progress; . . . only until you pull the knife all the way out and begin attending to the wound does progress take place."[26] Malcolm X's critique of American society was expressed as a bitter rejection of any notions of racial, cultural, or historical superiority held by whites. Like Garvey, Malcolm praised the beauty of black humanity and celebrated the historical contributions of blacks throughout history. Dyson's *Making Malcolm* describes the black nationalism of Malcolm X as a response to the erosion of communal identity and as a strategy to struggle against the cultural effects slavery, political disenfranchisement, and centuries of subjugation.[27] Malcolm's brand of black nationalism, says Dyson, serves as a powerful tool in contemporary black nationalism, yet elicited a dynamic program of progressive black politics. Though Malcolm was restricted to the teachings

of Elijah Muhammad, during this period he also broadened and refined the meaning of black nationalism. Self-determination and affirmation of black dignity and personhood was Malcolm's resounding message prior to and even after his pilgrimage to Mecca.

However, a major change did take place in Malcolm's critique of American society after his visit to Mecca and Africa. While he was consistent in his indignation of America's treatment of blacks, he now showed a spirit of racial cooperation and a sincere concern for all of suffering humanity. Theologically, Malcolm no longer held the exclusionary belief that all white men were evil. Malcolm's international experience substantiated a new way of viewing the racial situation in America. Malcolm began to focus in on the economic and political conditions affecting whites and blacks. Notions of separatism and antiwhite sentiments were replaced with a call for unity and international pressure as a means to deal with the race problem. Malcolm X remained consistent in his pessimistic view of the American political landscape. However, now his sense of pessimism was tempered by the possibility for unity and international cooperation to address human suffering. Malcolm shared this sentiment in an interview with Harry Ring, "I'm for whatever gets results . . . that gets meaningful results for the masses of our people."[28] Malcolm, like Reinhold Niebuhr, recognized the depth and reality of human sin that made sweeping social change in America virtually impossible. Niebuhr and Malcolm, nevertheless, shared a "realistic optimism" about the human condition.

The notion of black integration could only lead to blacks being further dependent on whites for their livelihood.[29] The impact of nationalism is critical to understanding King's emphasis on the "love ethic" as a means of enacting change in American society. Further, King's critique of American ideological hypocrisy was a result of the religious and cultural dimensions of his experience coming to bear with full force upon the American psychic. It is evident that his cultural context, in his relationship with his father, "Daddy King," and encounters with Mays and Thurman provided the basis and ongoing inspiration for his thought and leadership in the movement.

King's Cultural Roots as Seeds of the Beloved Community

King's experience within the African American religious tradition and growing up in a community steeped in struggle and mutual dependency

provided a framework for his conception of the beloved community. Scholars of King have tended to focus on the intellectual influences he encountered at Crozer Seminary and Boston University, while downplaying the impact of his cultural influences. Although these contributions have been immense, the cultural dimensions of King's experience, rooted in the African American community, must never be denied. King's cultural roots not only planted the seeds for his interpretation of Western philosophical ideas, but also provided the basis and ongoing inspiration for his campaign against injustice in American society. These sentiments may be summarized in the words of J. Deotis Roberts when he writes, "Any real appreciation of King's approach to ethical decision making must begin with a look at his experience of the black family, church, and community."[30] Roberts further insist that this was the basis of his worldview and the lens through which he shaped his reality. In the spirit of Lewis V. Baldwin, who has written extensively on King's cultural roots, the contributions of Benjamin Elijah Mays, Daddy King, and Howard Thurman are worthy of serious reflection in relation to King.

Certainly, there were other cultural influences on King such as his paternal grandmother who lived with the King family for many years, grade school teachers, friends, and other family members. However, I focus on those persons most instrumental in shaping King's sense of "call" and model for a ministry of social justice and nonviolence. These three figures not only held a poignant place in King's cultural development as a minister, scholar, and family man, but also helped to sharpen King's vision of the beloved community and his sophisticated intellectual repertoire. Daddy King, Benjamin Mays, and Howard Thurman extended to Martin King, Jr. a legacy of resistance to social injustice rooted in the African American religious tradition. At the heart of this tradition is the institution of the Black Church of which Martin King, Jr. was an ostensible heir, a prince of the Black Church tradition. Through his vision of the beloved community, King embodied the hopes, dreams, and aspirations of his forebears who groomed and supported him during his pilgrimage.

"Daddy" Martin Luther King, Sr. and the Black Church

King emerged from a long succession of black preachers. As a fourth-generation black Baptist minister, the idea of being deeply involved with the church was not unreasonable. King's father, affectionately

known as "Daddy King," was well respected and quite active in the black community in Atlanta, Georgia. Daddy King was also influential in civil rights movement in the city and through his involvement with the National Baptist Convention, United States.[31] Through this model of leadership, King was sensitized to the sting of Southern racism and the unflagging responsibility to resist its unjust systems. Reflecting on his father's life in his autobiography, King states, "With this heritage, it is not surprising that I also learned to abhor segregation, considering it both rationally inexplicable and morally unjustifiable."[32] The deep religious convictions of Daddy King's mother left an enduring imprint upon his psyche as she would often say, "God provided."[33] This intrinsic familial insistence on the faithfulness of God directly related to the young King's experience in the church community. For King, the Black Church and his father provided the theological foundations and framework for his subsequent encounter with Protestant liberalism at Crozer and Boston. Although King rejected the fundamentalism and emotionalism he saw in his father's practices, King nonetheless embraced the prophetic and liberating dimensions of Christianity reflected in his experience at church. Baldwin's definitive account of King's cultural roots emphasizes the church's continuous and profound impact upon his life and work.[34] According to Baldwin, the Black Church significantly informed King's personal and intellectual formation as much as, if not more than, his own family.

With a combination of his cultural roots in the Black Church tradition and his intellectual pilgrimage, King determined that authority for social and political ordering rested in the love ethic of Christ. The centrality of the love ethic for King had grounds in his cultural and intellectual experiences. Culturally, the Black Church, in practices of social witness, fellowship, and kindness, was an important source for making his intellectual tools intelligible and not merely theory. Though "Daddy" King was a major role model for Martin King, Jr. as far as the Black Church was concerned, King also looked for a balance between the passion of religious conviction and the depth of critical thinking. His exposure to figures like Benjamin "Bennie" Mays at Morehouse College would further offer him a blueprint for his own life and thought.

Benjamin Elijah Mays and the Morehouse Experience

Long time chaplain of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Chapel at Morehouse College, Lawrence E. Carter, Sr., in *Walking Integrity*, has

produced perhaps the most substantial expositions of Mays' influence on King to date.[35] Carter critically explores the life of one of the giants in black leadership and higher education during the mid-twentieth century.[36] Dr. Mays's outlook was formed in the Southern tradition where God and education went hand in hand. While at Morehouse, Mays came into contact with Mordecai Wyatt Johnson. Johnson, who was then pastor of the First Baptist Church of Charleston, West Virginia, would become a significant mentor to Mays and, as has been documented, would have a profound influence on Martin King, Jr. as well.

Although many scholars have noted Mordecai Johnson's role in introducing young Martin King, Jr. to the thought of Mahatma Gandhi, the influence of Mays has been less visible. As with Mordecai Johnson of Howard University, Mays was fascinated by Gandhian philosophy. He visited India many times during his life. Mays' influence on King was felt not only in terms of Gandhi but also toward King's conceptualization of the church and of himself as a minister. Initially King had aspirations to study law. He was turned off by his father's fundamentalist views and overly emotional style of preaching. But after encountering Ben Mays, the minister and scholar, King found a model that would allow him to be a critical thinker and passionate clergyman simultaneously.

In 1933, Mays published his book, *The Negro's Church*, a text that critically examined the multiple dimensions of African American congregations. As Carter writes, in his assessment Mays demonstrated "how desperately the black church needed trained leadership."[37] It became apparent that Mays understood there was little concern for intellectually trained clergy, either internal or external to the church. He was intentional about identifying and preparing young men for leadership in the freedom struggle. Deeply rooted in the black religious tradition, Mays exhorted students to high moral and religious ideals emphasizing service and developing the mind.

"Bennie" Mays was also an important, though often overlooked, forerunner to the black theology movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. One of the signets of black theology, represented in James Cone, J. Deotis Roberts, Major Jones, and others, is that knowledge of God must begin with serious reflection on black suffering. Furthermore, "God" chose to identify God's self as a first-century disenfranchised jew named Jesus. Ultimately, God is on the side of all oppressed peoples in the struggle for freedom and justice. According to Carter, Mays, in his dissertation entitled "The Idea of God in Contemporary Negro Literature," was among the first to posit that African American

conceptions of God draw from their social condition.[38] Mays' thought was deeply affected by the Social Gospel movement of the 1920s and 1930s led by Walter Rauchenbusch.[39] Rauchenbusch was certainly not Mays' only influence, important as he may have been. Mays was heir to a proud tradition of black religious leadership rooted in protest and resistance dating back to Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, Henry Highland Garnet, Henry McNeal Turner, and others.[40] These influences propelled Mays toward a life of preparing young men for leadership to stand against social injustice. In his many speeches and conversations, Mays often shared with young students, including King:

> You are young and beautiful, you are not responsible. If you were born with physical defects, you are not responsible. If you were born with a brilliant mind, you are not responsible. If you live in slums, you are not responsible. If you live in a high class neighborhood, you are not responsible. Therefore, you have no reason to boast and become arrogant because you were born privileged or to feel ashamed and unworthy because you were born poor. You are only responsible for how you use your God given talents.[41]

Mays compelled his students to not only recognize the dehumanizing social forces around them, but to respond with a desperate sense of personal responsibility and creativity. This enduring emphasis on social change and academic excellence emerged in the life of young King as Mays quickly became an important figure in it and among the King family. In recalling his Morehouse experience, King expressed the feeling of freedom to have open discussions on social issues and race.[42] The relationship between Mays and King, though spawned during the chapel sessions on campus, carried over into King's family life. Benjamin Mays and Daddy King were very well acquainted with each other. Daddy King served as a member of the Morehouse Board of Trustees. In addition to being a close family advisor during King's public tenure during the civil rights campaigns, Mays also served on King's ordination council at Ebenezer Baptist Church, where Daddy King served as pastor.

George P. Kelsey, who was chairman of the Department of Religion at Morehouse, also shaped King's mental conception of the prototypical minister. According to Carter, through these figures King "visualized his ideal of what a minister could be and came to see that the ministry could be intellectually respectable as well as emotionally satisfying."[43] Mays also became associated with another figure, Howard

Thurman, who studied at Morehouse College, while Mays had taught there, earlier in his career. Thurman, like Mays, would also have that Morehouse connection with King and become an important spiritual mentor and intellectual predecessor.

King and the Spirituality of Howard Thurman

The overwhelming influence of Thurman on King cannot be overstated. Contrary to many arguments supporting the notion that King adopted very few intellectual ideas from black scholars or his cultural surroundings, Thurman's theology directly linked the life of Christ as a first-century Jew with suffering blacks. This thinking was a driving force behind much of King's work.[44] Behind King's notion of the beloved community and reconciliation was Thurman's notion of community. This was especially the case regarding Thurman's understanding of the love ethic of Christ. The love ethic of Christ, and Gandhian principles of nonviolence as a strategy, served as pillars of King's thought and actions. Because of the importance of the love ethic of Christ in King's thought, we will closely consider the intersections of Thurman and King in this manner.

As author, minister, prophet, poet, and mystic, Thurman drew upon vast experiences and a keen spiritual sensitivity in order to shape his theology. Thurman's theological conception of community also provided seeds for the latter development of "Black Theology" as a distinct discipline. The theme of reconciliation is essential in examining the theology of Thurman. The "community" Thurman envisions is the embodiment of reconciliation in action. For Thurman, reconciliation entailed the threefold relationship between God, the individual self, and the world. Thurman emphasized the centrality of human personality in the formation of community. Unlike Fluker, comparing the ideal of community in Thurman and King, our purposes here are to understand how Thurman's theology impacted King's thought and action.[45] Stewart's critical analysis shows the multiple dimensions seen in Thurman's theology.

In looking at Thurman's thought, one cannot divorce his intellectual experiences and influences from his cultural experience with family and community. Thurman's theology has often been understood within the context of process theology. Thurman holds a high regard for nature and views the activity and nature of God as continually transformative. For Thurman, nature offered a unique insight into the inner life. Amid the incessant storms of the beaches of Daytona, natural

metaphors, analogous to the human spirit, would be a reoccurring theme in Thurman's writings. In his autobiography, Thurman recounts:

> The ocean and the night together surrounded my little life with a reassurance that could not be affronted by the behavior of human beings. The ocean at night gave me a sense of timelessness, of existing beyond the reach of the ebb and flow of circumstances. Death would be a minor thing, I felt, in the sweep of that natural embrace.[46]

Although Thurman experienced many hardships related to family tragedies and entrenched racism in the South, the social context of the Black Church and community provided strength and spiritual resources necessary to endure these struggles, as with King. Another important similarity Thurman shared with King involved their family life and early experience with the Black Church. The belief of "somebodyness" was implanted into the heart of young Thurman within the context of the church and stayed with him throughout his life and ministry. That sense of somebodyness was also imbedded in young King. Ansbro, Garrow and Smith, and Zepp have attempted to relate this sense of somebodyness to the idea of human dignity reflected in Boston personalism and the schools of Protestant liberalism in which King studied.[47] But King knew what these ideas meant before setting foot on those Northern campuses. King shared the experiences of Thurman, which explains why they would later become close friends and fellow freedom fighters.

Thurman's intellectual and spiritual formation established firm foundations from which to stand amid the tempest of struggles before him as his ideology began to take form. While Thurman's social and cultural experiences were pivotal to his thought, his intellectual pursuits provided a forum to further develop his thinking. Some of those who influenced Thurman were George Cross, of Rochester Seminary, Olive Schreiner, Rufus M. Jones, and Mohandas K. Gandhi, among others. As Fluker indicates, Thurman explored multiple streams of theological and philosophical ideas. Consequently, no single perspective would be adequate in approaching Thurman's thought. Although these persons had a profound effect on Thurman's thinking, his theological and spiritual creativity is undeniable. For instance, Thurman understands the "self" as having both inner and outer dimensions. Religious experience is the primary means by which to understand and cultivate these dimensions. Thurman's *The Creative Encounter* offers an interpretation of religious experience concerning the individual and

his/her relationship to society.[48] Religious experience means "the conscious and direct exposure of the individual to God."[49] Howard Thurman, in his *Jesus and the Disinherited*, presents a powerful reflection of the manner at which God is on the side of the oppressed, the poor, the marginalized of our society with their "backs against the wall." Thurman was writing to "those who need profound succor and strength to enable them to live in the present with dignity and creativity."[50] In many regards, Thurman offers a remarkable "1940s" version of a Christocentric liberation theology by surveying the "world of the oppressed and asking how it might be possible for human beings to endure the terrible pressures of the dominating world without losing their humanity, without forfeiting their souls."[51]

The individual moral life plays a fundamental role in Thurman's conception of reconciliation. Speaking to the intricacies of reconciliation, Thurman asserts that reconciliation applies both to the individual life and the social life.[52] Inner turmoil, for Thurman, is intrinsically connected to social disharmony and strife. Reconciliation seeks to resolve both the inner and outer contradictions of the human experience. It overcomes division and brings forth wholeness. According to Thurman, the inner being ultimately becomes whole through a relationship with the divine and that relationship extends to broader human relations.

Thurman also had a profound appreciation for the inner resources or what he calls "inward center" (the heart and soul of the dispossessed) of those who have throughout history stood valiantly against the brutal feet of oppression. He imparted this truth to King. In fact, when King was stabbed during a book signing in New York City on September 20, 1958, Thurman came to counsel him. During the visit, he urged King to take the needed rest and develop his inward spirituality. Luther E. Smith, Jr., in *Howard Thurman: The Mystic as Prophet*, posits that community for Thurman is a consequence of the "sense of self."[53] Smith highlights Thurman's notion of "unity" as a central motif in relating the "sense of self" to all other dimensions of life and religious experience. The idea of "unity" as it pertains to Thurman's conception of community, says Smith, is "characterized by its ability to allow persons (and nature) to actualize their potential. In actualizing potential, persons come to recognize and realize their worth and purpose for life."[54] A sense of self promulgates stability amid the tumultuous outward experiences of life. One's self-awareness or lack thereof informs all other experiences. Religious experience, for Thurman, is measured and interpreted by the sense of self. The intelligibility of

religious experiences begins with the sense of self. The idea of finding one's purpose in the world and connecting it with a sense of "self" would be critical for King as he understood his role as a black "Moses" leading African American people to the "promised land" (as articulated in his final "Mountain Top" speech in Memphis, Tennessee). According to Fluker, Thurman's claims about the self may potentially lead to subjectivism and isolationism.[55] Fluker is correct in observing Thurman's tendency to leave all modes of interpretation to personal experiences, characterized as a sense of self. However, Thurman seems to ward off such temptations through an elucidation of the individual in relation to community. Thurman understands the sense of self does not exist in isolation. Rather, there is an inherent need within the self to connect with others. The beginning of outward connection is the encounter with God. The human spirit, says Thurman, "seems inherently allergic to isolation."[56]

In his distinction between the "inward" and "outward" dimensions of religious experience, Thurman illustrates the unity of life and community. The two dimensions of religious experience are mutually inclusive. That is, it is impossible to separate the personal and intimate nature of religious experience from the outward interactions and occurrences of life. The outwardness of religion is where the resources of self-awareness become affirmed and intelligible. "Experience must make sense," Thurman declares. Inward religious experience aids in finding understanding to the simple and sometimes unexplainable facts that happens.[57] Interpretation means examining the facts and understanding the meaning of the facts in relation to one's lived experience. Thurman's emphasis on the inner and outer dimensions of religious experience supplied King with the necessary tools to envision a theology of reconciliation that links the individual moral life to the social and political realities in the public sphere.

King's Conception of God

With the significance of King's family, church, and community influences clearly established, we are now ready to examine King's theological ethics. King's conception of God is pragmatic in orientation, yet ontological in substance and scope. At the center of King's view of God was the idea that human persons are "coworkers" with God in the quest for liberation and community. Like James Cone and other liberationist theologians, King believed God was on the side of those who suffer. King's God was a God of liberation and reconciliation. He

drew heavily on the liberating themes of the Old Testament Exodus paradigm and the prophets to advance his understanding of justice, human freedom, and liberation. However, it was the love ethic of Christ and the vision of community reflected in the Sermon on the Mount that King used to develop his understanding of community and fellowship. For King, God was not some transcendent, holy other, entity detached from the harsh realities of human suffering. King resolved that the nature of God is revealed and made intelligible in the quest for social transformation and community. He perceived reconciliation as a process of community building and the redemption of social, economic, and political systems.

A number of intellectual foundations, including his cultural experiences, contributed to his theological understanding of God. John J. Ansbro, in *Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Making of a Mind*, treats other important influences in King's conception of God.[58] Indeed, there were many contributions to King's theology, too numerous to name. As has already been stated, King drew from a deep well of cultural and intellectual influences in formulating his thought. However, some stand out in helping us to understand some of his more dominant themes. Among these were Paul Tillich, Anders Nygren, George Davis, L. Harold DeWolf, Paul Ramsey, and Howard Thurman.[59] King affirmed Tillich's notion that God is the ultimate ground and basis for human existence. Like Tillich, King believed that to reach one's full potential as a human person means to participate in the activity of God. The activity of God, for King, was a space of justice, peace, wholeness, and community. God revealed His self in the redemption, healing, and restoration of the outcast and marginalized.

King's God spoke to the personal needs and concerns of those who suffer. As Noel L. Erskine observed, King would reject the God of Tillich as "impersonal" and "wholly other."[60] In his dissertation at Boston University, entitled, "A Comparison of the Conceptions of God in the Thinking of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman," King critiques Tillich's God as overly ontological.[61] Instead, he embraced the personal dimensions of God as a redeemer, who relates to persons in intimate and familial ways. King's God could be expressed in the familiar refrain he often called forth, "God is a mother to the motherless, and a father to the fatherless."[62]

Of course, the influences of DeWolf and Davis are apparent in King's conception of God and the universe as it relates to social justice and the plight of the oppressed. Like DeWolf, King recognized the limitations of human reason and presented a "rational plausibility" of an

assent to the existence of a God Who has created man and the world, and Who cares for man—an assent that is a presupposition of the Christian faith.[63] King drew an understanding from DeWolf that offered the basis for his belief that the struggle for freedom would be successful and had cosmic companionship. His belief that humans are "coworkers" with God in social transformation was funded by the affirmation of God as "Redeemer." King understood God as the all-powerful creative force that redeems individuals, social systems, and institutions. Just weeks into the Montgomery Bus Boycott campaign, on January 30, 1956, King was speaking at one of the MIA's weekly mass meetings when he received news of his house being bombed.[64] King's wife, Coretta was at the house with their two-month-old daughter and a family friend. King rushed home from the meeting to find his house bombed and hundreds of people poised for violence and retaliation. Although no one was injured, the bombing sent shock-waves throughout the city and those present were far from relieved. They felt that if the perpetrators would harm a preacher who stood for nonviolence, then no one was safe. On the steps of his mangled home, King announced, "unearned suffering is redemptive." He recognized that ultimately one could be prepared for the sacrifices required to seek justice and liberation because of the redemptive qualities of human suffering in the process. Theologically, he believed that as the God who redeems, He has chosen to use human persons as agents of His transformative power in the world. Inasmuch as it is through practices, expressing the love ethic of Christ, that the nature of God is revealed. Drawing from the influences of Rauchenbusch, King maintained that God was moving through and ordering human history toward a community of love and mutual interdependency.

King and Edgar S. Brightman

As indicated, there were several important influences shaping King's ideas about God. However, Brightman may well have had the most compelling impact in King's thinking. Brightman's giant presence in the field of personalism dominated the landscape at the time. While studying at Boston University, King took several classes with Brightman. In fact, Brightman served as King's advisor for some time. Brightman's project, overall, attempts to examine the relationship between what he describes as "divine dignity" and human suffering.[65] Brightman's influence upon King is evident in his emphasis on human suffering and religious experience in the idea of God. In Brightman's analysis,

understanding who God is cannot be divorced from the meaning of religious experience in general and human suffering in particular. The God of theism, he contends, conserved both themes, yet left God "too dignified to be helpful and too helpful to be dignified."[66] Traditional theism was helpful in making the idea of transcendent dignity of the divine self-existence and God's relation to suffering humanity an intelligible prospect. Aquinas is criticized as upholding divine dignity while neglecting the imperative of human suffering in approaching the idea of God. For Brightman, attributes of God, such as God's omnipotence and impassibility, distanced God from the reality of human suffering. To understand the paradox between divine dignity and human suffering, Brightman introduces his conception of the "Given" in God that frustrates the achievement of the highest value. The Given may not only account for natural evil, says Brightman, but also potentiality, the devil, and the irrational.[67] He challenges the Thomistic idea of God as wholly impassible and therefore unable to respond to reality of human suffering.

One of the reasons King was attracted to Brightman and other personalist thinkers was because of their strong sensitivities toward social issues. Brightman and other personalism thinkers thought very critically about social and political realities responsible for massive human suffering and wanted to understand the nature of God in this respect. As a revision of traditional theism, Brightman argued for limitations in the divine nature of God. God is infinite in God's will and knowledge but limited as it relates to the Given in the being of God. This divine nature suggests a personal God who is both creative and finite. The meaning of religious experience is critical to Brightman's understanding of religion in relation to God. He draws parallels with scientific inquiry and the meaning of religious inquiry. As nature is considered that which science seeks to describe, so God is one who religion seeks to worship. Both are forms of exploration and seeking. The search for God, says Brightman, lead to varieties of conceptions of what God is, and have all held in common that God indeed is. The idea of God, for Brightman, is best understood from the perspective of religious experience.

The efficacy of religious experience is critical in probing the idea of God. For Thomas, human religious experience is suspect since human beings are limited as intellectual beings. While God is pure act, human experience involves potentiality. The potentiality of human existence hinders our understanding regarding the idea of God. Yet, in order for the idea of God to be intelligible, to any extent, requires some likeness

of the essence of God in the intellect, which for Aquinas is "the light of glory strengthening the intellect."[68] But how does Aquinas reconcile the significance of religious experience as it relates to human suffering and what it means to speak well about God? Brightman elucidates that the idea of God exhibits "both the religious man's sense of the divine dignity and also his sense of human suffering."[69] The synoptic Gospels speak to the reality of human suffering, he contends. Also, though dignified, the God of the synoptics seeks to lift the weight of suffering humanity. This is against the idea of sin as the cause of human suffering. Brightman affirms Harnack's idea that the Hellenization of Christianity through the influence of philosophy on theology was secularization. That is to say the interest of divine dignity usurped the interest of divine suffering.

For Brightman, human suffering requires a God who is *actus purus*—actuality without potentiality. Like Aquinas, Brightman wants to maintain God's immutability, which God is without potentiality and is unchanging. God's immutability does not negate God's concern for suffering humanity. "Human suffering requires a God who can love; divine dignity requires a God who is impassible and for whom, therefore, love is divested of significant content for the human sufferer."[70] Human suffering demands a God who is able to respond to the pains of human experience. Divine dignity suggests an impassible and unchanging God in both will and knowledge.

Suggesting an alternative view, Brightman insists upon the idea of God as an interpreter of human experience. The God of human experience acts justly in light of that human experience in recognition of divine dignity and for the relief of human suffering. In asserting this claim, is Brightman able to maintain divine dignity in relation to God's attributes? To hold that God's divine dignity can be maintained in the face of human suffering, Brightman points to the existence of dualism both in human experience and in all religious forms. This dualism is seated in consciousness and located in the object of religious worship. Brightman seems to be positing a struggle between God's nature and God's will within God's own inner life. Hence, there are limitations within the divine nature. Limitation in the divine nature is seen in that God is other than what God is not. To claim God has a divine nature presupposes God does not have a human nature. Therefore, God is limited since God cannot be what God is not. Brightman seems to suggest that the Given is played out in the relationship between God and that which is not God, namely creation. He maintains that the eternal nature of the divine consciousness includes both form and content as eternal facts.

God is the rational explanation of cosmic order and interaction, hence the embodiment of reason and will. Because God knows all and wills what is best, God is eternal, good, and wise. This causes a problem for the theistic conception that creation is related to God's content, says Brightman. The Given is the nature of consciousness itself. Inherent in the nature of God, the Given raises problems of dualisms. Thus it is a limitation within the divine nature, "a problem for the divine will and reason." The Given is viewed as an eternal problem or task in the eternal nature of God. Brightman holds that the Given is best resolved throughout eternity. The Given is not eliminated, but through divine will and reason it may be used for the purposes of God. Hence, "the divine perfection, then, is an infinite series of perfectings. Perfection means perfectibility."[71] Brightman's claim of successive perfectabilities in God seems incompatible with Thomistic thought. Since for Thomas God is pure act-of-being, God is absolute perfection. That "Perfection" requires perfectibility suggests incompleteness and defect. For Aquinas, in God are all perfections, since God is "universally perfect."[72] Furthermore, Aquinas purports God as subsistent being, thus containing the whole perfection of being. Rightly so, the Given may possibly offer explanations for the activity of God and suffering in human experience as well. The reality of the temporal becomes the forum for God's mastery of the Given. The Given replaces the functionality of potentiality, the devil, and the irrational. This would do away with dualism, since the Given is within the divine nature. If there were a dualism, it would only exist as process within the "Supreme Person."[73] Brightman's theology raises serious questions about King's appropriation of personalism. Brightman's impact on King is quite apparent. At the center of King's theology is a deep commitment to alleviate human suffering. Furthermore, religious experience as a matter of Christian practice provided the power and impetus for confronting the dogs of segregation and envisioning the teachings of Christ as a form of nonviolent militancy and resistance.

King and the Love Ethic of Christ

Although King celebrated and embraced the Christ of faith and saw the work of Christ as transforming unjust social systems in history, he most often alluded to the Christ of history. Inasmuch as King's Christology was deeply connected to the love ethic of Christ. The love ethic of Christ referred to the ethical teachings and moral life of Christ as reflected in the Gospels. The core of the love ethic concept was

agape (love)—a self-sacrificial, unconditional, love that flows from God. Drawing from his ethical teachings, and observations from Gandhi and Thurman, King argued that the Person of Christ served as a moral example pointing humanity toward the intended purposes of God in creation. For King, the Person of Christ in the human experience becomes meaningful when the love of God is shared with the other. The love ethic of Christ stands at the center of King's Christology. His view of Christ is grounded in the practical material realities of the human condition. While King's view of God seems to heavily reflect personalist influences, his Christological formulations are intricately tied to the practices of Christ, expressed in agape.

In order to fully comprehend King's Christology and its relation to the love ethic of Christ, one must look to the thought and influences of Thurman upon King. Mozella Mitchell says the conversion process is self-created by the concept of love.[74] Melvin Watson describes Thurman's concept of love as being essential to his understanding of religious experience—both personal and social.[75] Watson explains:

> To be loved is the experience of having been totally dealt with. Love is the experience through which an individual passes when he relates to another human being at a point which is beyond all good and evil. To be loved is to be dealt with at a point where one's own confidence operates—to have one's trust activated.[76]

He professed that the Christian conception of love is the foundation of power and the source of justice. King distinguished between eros, philia, and agape. Drawing heavily from Nygren's view of love as self-sacrifice, King emphasized agape as an abiding principle in his thought.[77] In the Gospel and epistles, Nygren viewed agape as a self-sacrificing love that flows from God into sinful humanity, giving humans the capacity to recognize their sinfulness and to forgive and love their enemies. He indicated that agape does not require a sentimental or affectionate emotion. This love regards every human being, friend or foe, as a neighbor. For King, agape involves the recognition of the fact that all human life is interrelated. King asserted that humanity must be seen as a single process. Agape requires that we be our brother's keeper. Borrowing from George Davis, the practice of agape would enable humanity to move toward the recognition of human dignity and the universal realization of justice. This understanding was rooted in the belief in an all-powerful and benevolent God who guides history with His loving purpose. King maintained that God was on the side of the

oppressed in their struggle for freedom and this enabled and empowered the practice of agape realized in nonviolent action.

The centrality of "love" related to the inward aspects of religious experience is seen in the human longing both to love and to be loved.[78] King's notion of the beloved community explicated in his book *Strength to Love* is reflected in Thurman's ability to relate the love ethic and community. Thurman views love as a crucial element in the formation of community since it establishes a response to other human beings. In the structure and development of the human personality, love is a learned behavior that teaches the human personality how to relate and interact with like creatures. That communities are collections of individual personalities makes the principle of love an imperative for the existence of harmony and reconciliation. One of the ways this idea is expressed in the adult life is in the desire to be cared for and given attention in spite of what Thurman calls the "residue of the world." In other words, there is a deep and profound longing for a personal encounter where one can lay aside false pretenses and express one's true self.

King certainly had this experience when after returning from a mass meeting during the Montgomery Bus Boycott, he received yet another threat. Only, on this occasion the threat cut to the core of King's deepest fears and concerns for his family. He kneeled over a cup of coffee in the kitchen and prayed that God would come to his aid at a personal level since the burdens of leadership seemed too great to bear. King recounted that something inside of him told him to stand up for justice and truth, and that he would not be alone. King's deep commitment to the love ethic of Christ was alive in his personal life and wider understanding of human nature. The nature of human existence demands recognition and acceptance simply as being human. Although this need for love extends to other people, Thurman contends that it finds fulfillment and utter triumph through an individual's experience with God.[79] In Fluker's analysis, Thurman associates all love with God.[80] God is love and the source of all love. In the light of God's blinding love, one is brought to the realization of their true personhood and laid bare in truth and humility. Loving and being loved in this manner means the exclusion of pretensions, stereotypes, and abstract judgments.[81] Love demands particularity, not generality. In *Disciplines of the Spirit*, Thurman contends:

> The experience of love is either a necessity or a luxury. If it be a luxury, it is expendable; if it be a necessity, then to deny it is to perish. So simple

> is the reality, and so terrifying. Ultimately there is only one place of refuge on this planet for any [person]—that is in another man's heart. To love is to make one's heart a swinging door.[82]

Thurman argued that love makes possible the actualization of reconciliation as it moves and operates in the sense of self. This is quite similar to the classical notion of reconciliation in Scripture whereby one becomes reconciled with neighbor only as a consequence of being reconciled with God. Without Thurman's insights, it would have been nearly impossible for King to ground the lofty theological and philosophical ideas at Crozer and Boston with the crucible of black suffering in the South. Drawing from Thurman, King related the radical implications of the love ethic of Christ to political resistance and the development of community. Ultimately, he would use the love ethic of Christ as the bedrock for his vision of a just and reconciled society.

The Quest for Human Dignity

Human dignity, nonviolent protest, and social transformation all converged in King's thought. He held a very optimistic view of human nature. King believed that through the power of agape, even the cruelest individuals in human society could be redeemed. Drawing from personalist thought, he maintained that persons, as they are made in the image of God, are endowed with inherent dignity and eternal significance. He embraced an Irenaen approach to human nature, arguing that human nature and society as a whole, was in the process of becoming. Unlike Niebuhr, he did not generally accept the notion that human nature is inherently sinful. On the other hand, King acknowledged the limitations of human potentiality. He took seriously Niebuhr's idea that individuals, not social systems, could be transformed. At the same time, he moved beyond Niebuhr to personalist theology.

King's reception to the personalist doctrine allowed him to identify with insights on the dignity of the human person from a variety of sources. Among those were Immanuel Kant, whose emphasis on rationality, freedom, and responsibility influenced many personalists; Edgar Brightman, whose moral laws demanded the formation of values in the person and in the community; Reinhold Niebuhr, whose understanding of the potential of individual and collective man for evil challenged any excessive optimism; and the existentialists, both theistic and atheistic, who championed the value of the person while stressing the limitations that hindered human freedom. In particular, Kant's

demand for respect of the dignity of human personality, where "all men must be treated as ends and never as mere means" established the groundwork for the idea of a "moral obligation" to confront collective evils.[83]

Although King did not explicitly develop a theological anthropology, much of his views on human nature are intertwined with the quest for social transformation and protest. According to King, to be human meant resisting evil and injustice. Ansbro deals with several sources of King's formulation of the idea that one has a moral obligation to resist collective evil. Some of those influences were Henry Thoreau, Socrates, St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, Mahatma Gandhi, and Reinhold Niebuhr. Thoreau's "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience" maintained that one must refuse to cooperate with an evil system.[84] The objective for Thoreau was to produce revolutionary ends and a change in the political order to preserve human dignity. Thoreau articulated the radical nature of protest to King in the face of societal stagnation. Thoreau wrote:

> Action from principle—the perception and the performance of right—changes things and relations; it is essentially revolutionary, and does not consist wholly with any thing which was. It not only divides states and churches; it divides families, aye, it divides the individual, separating the diabolical in him from the divine.[85]

For King, protests were not intended to be revolutionary in that way, but regarded the law as the highest appeal, named the Constitution only in so far as it is in harmony with the moral law of the universe. Using Socrates as an example, King in his "Letter from Birmingham Jail" wrote, "To a degree, academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience."[86] King also referred to St. Augustine's contention in *De libero arbitrio* that an unjust law is no law at all.[87] Regarding disobedience of unjust laws, King pointed to the doctrine exposed by St. Thomas Aquinas that "an unjust law is a human law that is not based on the eternal law and the natural law." Human nature, then, was subject to and conditioned by eternal and natural laws. In the quest for freedom, one could not separate what constitutes being human from the eternal and natural laws shaping human nature. The insistence of freedom in the thought of King is clear in his position about the relationship between eternal law and human law. Eternal law was God's plan for creation and divine wisdom. Human law should be in harmony with eternal law. These ideas

were the building blocks of the philosophical and theological reasoning to address the problem of collective evil. All that was left was a method that would be effective in the hands of an oppressed people as they sought to bring into harmony human and eternal law.

King was also influenced by Reinhold Niebuhr's theology on social change. For King, Niebuhr's most important contribution was his refutation of extreme optimism about humanity's natural capacity for good, like in Protestant liberalism, without yielding to antirationalism or semifundamentalism.[88] The influence of works like Niebuhr's *Moral Man and Immoral Society* and *An Interpretation of Christian Ethics* helped shape King's understanding of the mission of the church in that the church must not only be concerned about the individual soul of human beings but also with the social structures and institutions that impact the soul. In reading Niebuhr, King was attracted to Niebuhr's understanding of the dynamics of social systems. King struggled with the question of how systems of segregation and false notions of white supremacy can be held by so many and goes unchallenged. He saw in Niebuhr the invisible forces that operate in social relations; that individuals are motivated by self-preservation and preservation of the common ideas of the group. Niebuhr's explication of "sin" as both individual and social helped King to understand the depths of the problem. But had King fully accepted Niebuhr's thought uncritically, he would have never moved beyond stagnant pessimism to transformative optimism. Although Malcolm X relied on personal experiences and his Islamic beliefs to inform his critique, Niebuhr appealed heavily to Judeo-Christian theology and history to shape his thought. Son of a pastor and brother to H. Richard Niebuhr, Reinhold Niebuhr professed a theological, cultural and political critique of American society. A number of factor influenced Niebuhr's theological assessment of race relations and social conditions in America. Among those factors were his family life, ministry experience, and his theological formation. While growing up, Niebuhr was tutored in Hebrew and Greek. He was introduced early to the complexities of Christian thought and biblical studies, allowing him to have profound insight into essence of Christian thought, as well as those theological forces that have shaped American culture for centuries.

During King's initial studies at Crozer and later at Boston, he embraced many of Niebuhr's presuppositions about human nature and society almost uncritically. Throughout his pilgrimage, though, King continued to struggle with Niebuhr's ideas. Niebuhr later joined the faculty of Union Theological Seminary in New York, where he

produced the magisterial work, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*.[89] In this study, Niebuhr offers a scathing critique of American society with the existence of a false "optimism" resulting from the peculiar dynamics of collective evil. Niebuhr observed that the compelling power of group identity might undermine individual good will. In short, Niebuhr surmises, "man can be moral in a way society cannot."[90] Motivated by self-interest, groups are inherently subject to aggressive and evil acts in order to preserve the interest of the group. Niebuhr is convinced that individuals do have the ability to do good, thus transcending the lures of collective evil. He draws examples from such messianic figures as Gandhi and Christ. For Niebuhr, the capacity for "self-transcendence" promotes the possibility for positive social change in human history. He spells out the tension between the forces of collective evil and individual transcendence when he writes:

> A realistic analysis of the problems of human society reveals a constant and seemingly irreconcilable conflict between the needs of society and the imperatives of a sensitive conscience. This conflict, which could be most briefly defined as the conflict between ethics and politics, is made inevitably by the double focus of the moral life. One focus is in the inner life of the individual, and the other in the necessities of man's social life. From the perspective of the individual the highest ideal is unselfishness. Society must strive for justice even if it is forced to use means, such as self-assertion, resistance, coercion, and perhaps resentment, which cannot gain the moral sanction of the most sensitive moral spirit. The individual must strive to realize his life by losing and finding himself in something greater than himself.[91]

The essence of Niebuhr's social critique reflects a deep pessimism about social change occurring in groups, yet a profound sense of possibility deriving from individual transcendence. Making a similar move in his *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, Niebuhr offers further insight into the anthropological state of the human condition.[92] In the Pauline-Augustinian theological tradition, Niebuhr emphasizes "pride" and "sensuality" as the chief sins afflicting the human condition. Niebuhr describes the sin of pride as failure of the human person to raise her condition to unconditioned significance.[93] Sin of pride, for Niebuhr, is exacerbated when associated with group allegiances, or the social life of the individual. Bertrand Russell observed, "of the infinite desires of man, the chief are the desires for power and glory."[94] Although the propensity for power does exist in all human life, it is heightened among individuals and classes with an increased share of

social and political power. Niebuhr's theological conceptions of pride substantiated him being placed in the camp of Christian realism. Because of his theological and social critique of pride as the driving force behind racial and economic oppression in America, he posited a cautionary "pessimism" when it comes to transforming large groups of persons. Like Malcolm X, Niebuhr did not envision sweeping social change, especially among those in power. Nonetheless, both posited certain political and social advances that could improve the life of oppressed people.

When King encountered Rauschenbusch, he found an alternative framework for the possibilities of social change. Rauschenbusch's perspectives on human nature and the Gospel inspired King's sense of optimism. Rauchenbusch argued that Christ by his words and deeds was similar to the prophets in mind, manner, and in the love of his heart above them all. Ansbro suggests Rauchenbusch found in Christ a definition of goodness that King later found also in personalism. That Christ desired to establish a society founded on love, service, and equality provided the basis for rejecting the pursuit of wealth at the sacrifice of justice. From Rauchenbusch, King recognized the revolutionary spirit of Christ and therefore the church has the moral obligation to condemn conditions that do not embrace this love ethic, especially evil systems related to economic conditions that stifle spiritual growth. The greatest contribution of Rauchenbusch was that the Gospel deals with the whole man, not only with his soul but also with his body and his material well-being.

Indeed, it was not until King began to seriously consider other thinkers such as Rauchenbusch that he begins to critique Niebuhr as being overly pessimistic, and perhaps even fatalistic, in the possibility of social change. Rauchenbusch, as the premier proponent of the Social Gospel movement, argued that the "Kingdom of God" is demonstrated in serving the needs of the poor, penniless masses. He observed that the life of Christ, in its identification with the poor, reflected a Gospel that transforms social conditions and speaks to the material necessities of those who suffer. Both Niebuhr and Rauchenbusch recognized the inherent evils that existed in American society and operative in social and political structures. Where they disagreed was how to respond to such structures. Better yet, what is the nature of the church in relation to such social ills as poverty, unemployment, poor housing, and so on? In the *Nature and Destiny of Man*, Niebuhr outlines what he thinks are the limitations and possibilities of social transformation in terms of human agency. Niebuhr held that because of the entrenched

nature of sin as pride that motivates social groups, certain social structures would never be fully redeemed. They can, however, through legislation and advocacy be made livable.

Ecclesiological Foundations of the Beloved Community

King's ecclesiology was articulated principally in his ideas about the beloved community. His writings seem to suggest that his view of the church and community was not limited to institutional religious structures. Indeed, King recognized the particularity of the Christian church as instituted by the salvific work of God in Christ. In establishing the SCLC King understood that the base of the movement was in the Black Church.[95] He saw the Black Church, in particular, and Christian church, in general, as a fundamental agent in bringing about the beloved community. At the same time, King expanded his view of the church and Christian community as extending to all humanity. The task of the Christian church was to model and express the beloved community to the wider society. In King's thought, there is no clear distinction between the concept of the beloved community and the actualization of justice. King's understanding of the church was, in broad terms, considered a community of persons who demonstrate the form of love toward each other that was exhibited in the life and practices of Christ. Reconciliation, it would seem, also becomes actualized in this beloved (*agapagos*) community. As we consider how King advances the Christian understanding of reconciliation, it is important to observe that King saw the idea of reconciliation intertwined with liberation of the oppressed. The language of reconciliation was rarely used in King's writings, sermons, and speeches. One does find a theological emphasis on the activity of God as seeking to transform human relationships and bringing about community and social harmony. Drawing on the Sermon on the Mount, along with his cultural and intellectual influences, he conceptualized the idea of the beloved community as his call for action.

Smith and Zepp affirm how "the vision of the Beloved Community was the organizing principle of all King's thought and activity."[96] The heart of this community was inclusiveness based on love and justice. Reconciliation and liberation within King's conception of the beloved community were axial contingencies from the beginning of his

involvement in the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Recounting the mission of the Boycott, King insisted it "the end is redemption; the end is the creation of the beloved community."[97] The beloved community could be described as a community transformed by the power of love and affirmation of human dignity. This was seen in the purpose and goals of the SCLC when King stated "the ultimate aim of SCLC is to foster and create the 'beloved community' in America where brotherhood is a reality."[98] Central to King's conception was integration, where unity and equality were a reality.

Ansbro maintains King's construction of the beloved community is an amalgamation of many sources in his intellectual development that included the Hebrew prophets, the New Testament, the founding fathers, Kant, Hegel, Marx, Rauschenbusch, the existentialists, Nygren, Gandhi, Niebuhr, Ramsey, Thurman, DeWolf, Brightman, Muelder, and Davis.[99] Personalism, lead by DeWolf and Brightman, dominated in influencing King's thought as it relates to the beloved community. The beloved community, according to Ansbro, requires that "In their private lives and as members of a caring community, they would regard each person as an image of God and an heir to a legacy of dignity and worth with rights that are not derived from the state but from God." The centrality of human dignity and inherent human worth was the abiding principle in King's promulgation of the beloved community. Innate human dignity as divinely given is what informed much of King's attack on segregation. Segregation was counter to the reality and actualization of the beloved community, because it denied the possibility of brotherhood met with justice and human dignity. Reconciliation for King involved integration and the creation of a society where barriers of separation are no longer present. Not only desegregation, but also full integration was a fundamental part of his vision for the beloved community.

Desegregation, says King, results in a condition where "elbows are together and hearts apart. It gives us social togetherness and spiritual apartness. It leaves us with a stagnant equality of sameness rather than a constructive equality of oneness."[100] King, like Tutu, recognized the interconnectedness of human existence. Reconciliation embodies the understanding of the mutual dependence of persons living in community. In other words, the self cannot truly be the self devoid of others within the community. For King, this meant that humanity was a family that needed each other. Reconciliation as realized in the conception of the beloved community not only involved liberation for

black people, but for all humanity as well. In *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community*, King contends:

> All men are interdependent. Every nation is an heir of a vast treasury of ideas and labor to which both the living and the dead of all nations have contributed. Whether we realize it or not, each of us lives eternally "in the red." . . . The agony of the poor impoverishes the rich; the betterment of the poor enriches the rich. We are inevitably our brother's keeper because we are our brother's brother.[101]

Reconciliation, for King, involved a sense of inclusiveness of all peoples and cultures. The necessity and urgency of this integration of all persons into one human family stems from the idea of mutual dependency and interrelatedness. With this cogitation of King's beloved community as reconciliation, the concern for justice also extended to all humanity. The quest for liberation for blacks in America was also a quest for justice to others who suffered injustice and oppression. Because humanity is mutually dependent, concern for justice and liberation must also include everyone. In his prophetic proclamation that "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere," King's vision of the beloved community brought together the two themes of reconciliation and liberation. Bringing together these two themes, King was able to appeal to the idea of the American Dream, absorbed in his vast understanding of the beloved community.

King's dream, as delivered in his historic "I Have a Dream" speech, indicated that its roots were within the American dream. The American dream for King was located within a conception of the Judeo-Christian faith that involved a futuristic hope of a Holy Commonwealth or "a land of the free and home of the brave." John Howard Yoder proposes that King's "dream" as seated in the Christian hope for history is a "profound reflection of how the American dream has fused together the Christian hope with secular ideas of success that includes not just a few blacks but rather all American citizens."[102] King illustrates what he means by his dream when he writes:

> The dream is one of equality of opportunity, of privilege and property widely distributed; a dream of a land where men will not take necessities from the man to give luxuries to the few; a dream of a land where men do not argue that the color of a man's skin determines the content of his character; a dream of a place where all our gifts and resources are held not for ourselves alone but as instruments of service for the rest of humanity.[103]

The affirmation of human dignity and mutual interdependency that play a central role in King's "dream" are salient to his understanding of the beloved community. To be reconciled means to recognize the human dignity and inherent worth of human personality. To do so would mean to struggle for the liberation of those walls that obstruct persons from sharing in the fullness of community. DeWolf's influence on King's understanding of the beloved community is seen in his book *Crime and Justice in America: A Paradox of Conscience*. While recognizing the realism of Niebuhr, DeWolf emphasized the power of love and justice in the creation of a beloved community. DeWolf foreshadows King when he wrote "Even Reinhold Niebuhr with all his 'realistic' warnings about the 'impossible possibility' of love in the social order, assumes it as the Christian ideal."[104] Like DeWolf, in recognizing the problem of human sin and collective evil in bringing about the beloved community, King also held true to the notion that humanity was moving toward his vision of the beloved community. His vision of the beloved community celebrated the idea that "the God we worship . . . is an other-loving God Who forever works through history for the establishment of His [God] kingdom."[105]

Crooked Ways Made Straight: The Eschatological Hope of the Beloved Community

For King, the end of history, or the "consummation of the ages" represented the fullness of the reality of the Kingdom of God. Reflected in the beloved community, the *eschaton* would be expressed in the perpetual reality of God's presence in community and human fellowship. King very rarely made reference to the Kingdom of God in the classical sense. At the center of King's eschatology was the assertion that the goal of human existence was both unity with God and humanity and harmony among humans as well. Drawing from Rauschenbusch, King affirmed an optimistic and transformative view of the Kingdom of God. He visualized the Kingdom as a possibility in the immediate human condition. King accepted Rauschenbusch's basic claim that through the improvement of living conditions and recognition of the sanctity of human life, social groups and institutions could be transformed. Furthermore, political and economic institutions could be redeemed and incorporated within the Kingdom of God. In King's mind, the end times would result in the Kingdom of God lived out in the form of the beloved community. It would be seen in the abundance of love, peace, justice, and social harmony.

Clearly, King held a very utopian view of the end times when referring to the reality and possibilities of the beloved community. King also held that humans are moral and rational agents with the capacity to choose good or evil. Reflecting on the destructive potential of developing militaristic technologies, King warned, "Together we must learn to live as brothers or together we will be forced to perish as fools."[106] He grounded his views on the end times in the prophetic tradition of the Old Testament prophets. Because God is a God of love and justice, God invites humanity to share in the vision and intentions of God in creation. King argued that the God of history would ultimately establish God's way in the world. The Kingdom of God, for King, was at once present and coming into existence. It was present in that God dwells in and among communities where the love ethic of Christ is practiced. The Kingdom of God is also in the process of becoming, since incessant reality of evil and suffering reveals it has not reached ultimate consummation.

Conclusion

Now that we have assessed at length the theological and cultural influences that shaped King's thought and action, it is important to analyze both the strengths and weakness surrounding the man and his mission. Martin Luther King, Jr. did not encounter classical theological and philosophical thinkers (at Crozer and Boston University) with an empty slate. The impact of Daddy King, Mays, and Thurman on King's life and thought is beyond measure. Personalism and the Protestant liberal tradition of Crozer certainly helped King to further develop into a sophisticated thinker. It was to a large extent through Daddy King, Mays, and Thurman that King developed his sense of identity and mission in terms of his place in American society. Much of what King had been taught and embraced at Crozer and Boston had already been felt and experienced at Morehouse College and among his family and friends.

One cannot discount, however, the contributions of the schools of Protestant liberalism (at Crozer) and Boston personalism. Figures such as Edgar S. Brightman, Peter Anthony Bertocci, and L. Harold DeWolf provided enormous theological depth to King's analysis of race conditions in America and its religious underpinnings.[107] The memorable "Letter from Birmingham Jail" reflects the extent to which King drew from his philosophical and theological training under Brightman and DeWolf in particular. King's cultural resources not only gave him a

sense of self and "somebodyness," which he shared with black masses. It also gave King an expression of his conception of the beloved community. Since childhood, nurturing individuals surrounded King. At every stage of his development and even during his public ministry as leader in the civil rights movement, King had powerful networks at his disposal and skills of organizing and inspiring people, which were embedded in the Black Church tradition. King was part of a wider community of persons who were committed to the quest for freedom and justice in the North and South. King's philosophical and theological language received from Crozer and Boston allowed him to speak to diverse audiences (whites and black elites especially) and even to the international community.

King's genius as a scholar and his commitment as a civil rights leader cannot be divorced from the cultural environment of which he lived, breathed, and moved. King's cultural resources, to include his familial and church environments, are reservoirs out of which he drew his conception of community.

At the heart of King's theology was a God who seeks to redeem and transform individuals, institutions, and social systems. He advances the Christian idea of reconciliation by causing us to think differently about the reconciling work of God in Christ. King understood the import of personal and social transformation when it comes to reconciliation with God. Drawing from Brightman and DeWolf, King celebrated God as a Divine Personality who relates to human persons in very intimate and particular ways. At the same time, King held to the belief that God is personal and is concerned with sustaining the inherent dignity of every individual. He would reject the individualistic characteristics of Ritschl's understanding of reconciliation. Instead, there is extensive evidence to suggest that King would regard reconciliation as a matter of personal and social concern. Therefore, reconciliation carries with it a form of social, political and economic liberation. Liberation, for King, meant seeking to transform hearts, minds, and social structures such as governmental institutions, unjust laws, and social groups. In King's mind, we see no apparent distinction between seeking freedom and liberation of the marginalized and the quest for reconciliation. For King, reconciliation is made possible in Christ yet made intelligible by reality and practice of the beloved community. His thought and actions all seemed to point to this end in profound and enduring ways.

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3

The Rainbow People of God: Reconciliation and Apartheid

Yes, God save Africa, the beloved country. God save us from the deep depths of our sins. God save us from the fear that is afraid of justice. God save us from the fear that is afraid of men. God save us all.[1]

Tutu's thought is essentially a response to the pain and persecution wrought by South African apartheid. On October 7, 1931, just two years after the birth of King, Tutu was born in Klerksdorp in the southwestern Transvaal province, to Zachariah and Aletha Tutu.[2] After surviving infant sicknesses that left him near dead, his grandmother assigned him the middle name, "Mpilo," meaning life. This name would come to have far more meaning than his grandmother could have imagined. Though small in stature, Tutu was and is a giant figure in the struggle for freedom and dignity in South Africa. Tutu's thought and witness emerged from a climate of deep racial hostility, African ethnic diversity, and human suffering. Early Dutch settlers, as early as 1652, developed a society based on white supremacist ideas. The British in South Africa abolished slavery in 1833. But the tug-of-war over the treatment of black South Africans continued up until the fall of the apartheid government in 1990.

Because of the enormous racial, ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity of South Africa, Tutu often described his nation as a "rainbow." Given the history and social realities in South Africa, it is not surprising that Tutu would commit himself to a life of justice, peace, holiness, and reconciliation. He is primarily concerned with how persons are to live in community together, and how God reveals God's self

through others. Tutu uses the Bantu concept of *ubuntu* to describe his theology. *Ubuntu* means "humanity" and is taken from the familiar Xhosa saying, "*ubuntu ungamntu ngabanye abantu*." (Each individual's humanity is ideally expressed in relationship with others.)[3] This concept, for Tutu, is grounded in a classical doctrine of Creation, where all human beings are made in the image of God (*imago Dei*). It is also rooted in an African cosmogony that understands human relationships as the primary context of God's activity in Creation. The denigration of human life, then, goes against the very nature of God's intent for humanity.

Before analyzing Tutu's thought in detail, I provide a brief survey of those sociological and philosophical perspectives that at first glance seem to foreshadow Tutu's thought. Specifically the work of T. H. Green, Emile Durkheim, and Charles H. Cooley are introduced as the theoretical context of earlier modern thinking on the subject. This is an important step in order to show how Tutu's thought moves beyond many of the presuppositions of modernity. He adds a unique dimension to the Christian idea of reconciliation with his concept of *ubuntu* and the notion of an "African Christian spirituality," as will be explained. Following the sociological and philosophical perspectives, we move to general influences that have shaped Tutu's theology. Those influences often took the form of the social and political context of apartheid, the activities of the church, and the developments and inner workings of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (SATRC). Finally, the last part of this chapter is devoted to Tutu's theology, ranging from his conception of God to his eschatology.

Like King, Tutu's life played a major role in the development of his thought. The son of a schoolteacher and African Bantu chief, Tutu was educated at Johannesburg Bantu High School before studying to be a teacher at Pretoria Bantu Normal College. In 1954, Tutu finished the Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of South Africa and after a short-lived teaching career he ventured to London to study theology, where he earned the Bachelor of Divinity and Master of Theology degrees at the University of London, United Kingdom. It was in London that Tutu began his administrative roles as a member of the Anglican Church of England. Tutu assumed a position as Dean of St. Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg. It was in this role that Tutu gained the notoriety and respect that lead him to become bishop of Lesotho from 1976 to 1978. From there, Tutu was appointed the first black general secretary of the South African Council of Churches

(SACC), a position of incredible strategic and organizational significance in forming communities of resistance.

Like King, Tutu is a theologian of the church. He viewed his work as a theologian to be in service to the church and the people of God. He also recognized that the church is not just for Christians. Rather, its mission is to model and bear witness to God's way of peace, justice, and fellowship in the world. Hence, a critical analysis of Tutu's relationship with churches and religious communities in South Africa is foundational for understanding his thought and action. Tutu's theology is a combination of his experience with South African language and culture, as well as orthodox Anglican theology. Described by Michael Battle as "communitarian spiritually," Tutu viewed reconciliation as a matter of spiritual self-awareness in relation to the other, and ultimately the wider created order. The Anglican influence on Tutu's thought is immediately evident as he places a major emphasis on sacrificial Christian practices such as prayer, the Eucharist, forgiveness, and giving. In fact, Tutu would carry this emphasis on Christian practices with him in his role as chairperson of the SATRC, established in 1995.

The first meeting of the TRC took place at the residence of the archbishop of Cape Town, on the Day of Reconciliation on December 16, 1995. Tutu assumed his position in full clerical Anglican regalia. Although the commission was enacted at the behest of the African National Congress (ANC), Tutu saw his position on the commission as an agent of God. He believed that through the commission, God was revealing to the world God's divine plan to bring about community and reconciliation to a broken and fragmented humanity. In Tutu's mind, there was no distinction between his mission to serve the church and his work as a commissioner of the state.

In a real sense, through Tutu the church and the state converged to create a bloodless revolution of mind, body, and spirit. Bloodless does not mean there was no loss of life. In fact, hundreds lost their lives in the struggle to end apartheid and even before the apartheid policy took place in the mid-1960s. However, with the release of Nelson Mandela and the immediate establishment of the commission, black South Africans achieved access to the political process. Through this political transformation, they were given a resounding voice to their struggle for freedom and human dignity. The TRC, then, becomes vitally important to comprehending not only the mind of Tutu but also his broader aims as a theologian of the church and national symbol of healing and restoration.

Tutu and Theoretical Perspectives on Community and Otherness

Tutu's unique understanding of human relationality has appeared in various ways through others in the fields of sociology and political philosophy. Illuminating some of those perspectives will be helpful in fully engaging Tutu and his concept of *ubuntu*. Tutu's views on community and reconciliation were very much engrained in the sociopolitical and cultural context of South Africa. It is also important to note that Tutu is part of a larger historical, multidisciplinary, conversation about, as Dwight Hopkins observed, what it "means to be a human being—a person who fulfills individual capacities and contributes to a community's well-being."[4] Sociologists, Charles Horton Cooley, Emile Durkheim, and political philosopher, T. H. Green, generally represent the major trajectories related to Tutu's "*ubuntu* theology." Tutu's theology, though profoundly theological, is very concerned with the social makeup of human beings in the here and now. Because of Tutu's method of celebrating difference for mutual understanding and illumination, it would be the natural order of things to use these voices as a pathway into Tutu's theology and ministry of reconciliation.

Cooley developed an extensive system of thought regarding rationality based on conscience emerging from human relationships. Societies, for Cooley, were organic wholes, whereas individuals and social groups were uniquely intertwined. His ideas were epitomized in his book, *Human Nature and the Social Order*.[5] Here, Cooley outlines his theory of the "looking-glass self." According to Cooley, individuals develop self-understanding on the basis of how they feel others view them. Randall Collins and Michael Makowsky have observed that this idea has three dimensions: (1) we imagine our appearance or image in the eyes of others; (2) we imagine some judgment of that appearance; and (3) we experience some self-feeling such as pride or mortification.[6]

Cooley maintained that society, as a whole, is framed and held together based on how individuals are perceived through the eyes of others. Individuals, in turn, project themselves in social life based on these perceptions in ways that either affirm or reject these perceptions. For Cooley, "primary groups" are the spaces where individuals are shaped and nurtured, interpersonal relations occur, and the foundations of civil society laid.[7]

Durkheim was also concerned with human interpersonal relations. However he went a step further by arguing that contractual agreements and rituals held human relationships together. For him, at every

level of human existence are ritualistic mechanical norms and rules that inform the self and the self in relation to the other. Mostly known for his book, *The Division of Labor in Society* (1893), he surmised that while individuals operate out of contractual agreements, those agreements presuppose some form of trust or morality to hold them together. He deemed this phenomenon as "precontractual solidarity." Durkheim proposed that this sense of solidarity or moral feeling is a consequence of the human need to belong to groups. He used "rituals" to describe the various forms of social interactions shared between individuals in a given group. Durkheim introduced an elaborate system to characterize the social life, which he believed were simply "social facts." The Durkheimian analysis presented a rigid structuring and categorization of social realities and offered it up, not as theory, but as priori. Durkheim, in association with Augusta Comte, represented the genesis of the modern field of sociology. Specifically, religious experiences for Durkheim were characterized in terms of empirical observations. John Milbank brings to bear the significance of Durkheim's project and sociology, as well as its implications on theology and religious experience when he writes:

> For sociology, religion is a component of the protected "human" sphere, although this sphere is sometimes [for Durkheim] made to coincide with the schematic possibility of theoretic understanding. But although religion is recognized and protected, it is also "policed," or kept rigorously behind the bounds of the possibility of empirical understanding. Hence sociology is inevitably at variance with the perspectives of many traditional religions, which make no separation between "religious" and "empirical" reality, and who do not distinguish their sense of value from the stratified arrangement of times, persons and places in their own society.[8]

Cooley and Durkheim disregarded the spiritual and theological aspects of human interpersonal relationships. As an outgrowth of Enlightenment thinking, these thinkers and their counterparts denied the activity of God at work in human relationships. If it could not be empirically proven, it was denied entrance into the gates of intellectual legitimacy. Conceptions of reconciliation during this era, as seen in Ritschl, were obliged to accept many of the claims about empirical realities. As a consequence, the idea of reconciliation further protruded to the realm of individual morality.

During the same historical period, T. H. Green introduced his theories on "political obligation." Green proposed that humans are constituted

by relationships and social interactions. He developed a social ontology that ends in a "common wealth" ethic of social responsibility and political necessity. According to Green, the function of the state is to serve the common good. Human persons, he argues, find meaning in the realm of social relations (i.e., only through social relations does an individual know what it means to be human). As such, the state should advance the interest of the whole. If a society is to survive, it must address the needs and concerns of the individual in relation to the wider society. Green maintained that the state's sole purpose for existing is to facilitate and encourage the "nature" processes of social relations. One important distinction between Tutu and Green (and Cooley and Durkheim as well) is that Green was not a theologian. He did not explicitly narrate the social dimensions of human existence through theological lens. As will be seen later in this chapter, Tutu views human social relations as not simply a social fact, but a theological mandate of God's divine purposes for humanity. The church in South Africa, in particular, would reflect this theme as it organized in protest and mass demonstrates against the apartheid regime.

In the Heat of Repression: The Social and Political Context of Apartheid

Tutu recognized that challenging the system of apartheid would not come without a cost. Certainly this was the case in the South African social, political, and historical context. Tutu's context, though similar to King in many ways, was radically different. Understanding the differences between these contexts allows us to explore more precisely the nature of Tutu's social critique and his witness. Like in the United States, oppression in South Africa was primarily along racial lines. Because the struggle to end apartheid in South Africa extended over several decades, it is necessary to limit our scope to the context of the 1950s and onward.

Baldwin's *Toward The Beloved Community* examines the relevance of King's conception of the beloved community toward the struggle in South Africa.[9] Primarily three forces produced Tutu's conception of community in South Africa. First, black South Africans were in the majority, while in America blacks were in the minority. Similarly, segregation was perhaps the chief symbol of social and political subjugation. Second, in America King was able to appeal to the federal government for support. This was not the case in South Africa. In

South Africa, the federal government was critical in perpetuating unjust laws. Third, religious and nonreligious groups played a vital role in creating the atmosphere of resistance. Unlike in America, initially the use of nonviolence was not as successful. Chief Albert J. Luthuli, a contemporary of King's, led the Defiance Campaign along with the ANC in 1952–1953. Luthuli attempted to use the principles of nonviolence, articulated by Gandhi and King, as an approach to apartheid. Nonviolence in South Africa during the 1950s was not as successful because of the lack of a "natural rights" tradition as illustrated in the Constitution and Declaration of Independence. Moreover, Luthuli and the ANC viewed nonviolence as a social strategy and not as a way of life. Mokgethi Motlhabi proposes that "for them [black South Africans] nonviolence was mostly only a strategy, while for Gandhi and King it was also a way of life as well as a theological and moral principle."[10] Massive repression campaigns took place in the mid-1960s that led to the imprisonment of hundreds of ANC leaders, including Mandela. The ANC was forced underground and became increasingly disillusioned at the possibility of peaceful resolutions to dealing with the plight of black South Africans.

Divided Pews: The Church and Apartheid in South Africa

As a priest, bishop, and archbishop of the Anglican Church, Tutu's thoughts and actions dramatically reflected the moods, attitudes, and theology of liberation permeating black South African churches during the apartheid struggle. For that reason, any serious reflection on Tutu's thought must take into account the role of the church in the antiapartheid struggle. For our purposes, we will only consider those years Tutu's presence was most felt upon churches. During the period 1976–1994, Tutu was actively engaged in the church's struggle against apartheid. In August of 1976, Tutu was appointed bishop of Lesotho. Two years later, he became general secretary of the SACC. He also served as bishop of Johannesburg and archbishop of Cape Town. Tutu stood at the forefront of the churches' witness in South Africa. But it would be remiss to suggest that Tutu was alone or the mastermind behind the church's activities. He was part of a larger continuum of individuals, churches, religious groups, and activists who openly challenged the apartheid regime. To that extent, I understand Tutu as belonging to the prophetic voice of the church in South Africa. The difficulty in distinguishing Tutu from the actual administrative and organizational structures of the church in South Africa was that many

of the actions Tutu took in South Africa was on behalf of the churches he represented. He was among its chief leaders, thinkers, and outspoken members. For that reason, it is important for us to say a word about the church in South Africa as a collective body of believers who called for the end to apartheid. The church, in its liturgical practices and social witness, was perhaps the primary source of Tutu's theology. His theology developed as a response to the complexity and division within the church in South Africa.

Clarity must first be given to what is actually meant by the "church" in South Africa. There were primarily two arms of the church in South Africa—the Dutch Reformed Church and the "English Speaking" churches throughout the region. As the climate of new religious ideas emerged in the 1980s, churches associated with the SACBC[11] and SACC became more persistent and adamant in their stance against apartheid, which was definitely a positive dimension of the church. However, because the church vacillated over the legitimacy debate, room was given for the South African regime to continue its reign of terror. It was not until the Lusaka Statement of 1987 (which sought to clearly define the role of the church in the apartheid struggle) that the church had to make a decision about its position toward the government.

During the late-1970s and early-1980s, the Dutch Reformed Church in concert with the apartheid regime intensified their support of apartheid and the legitimacy of the regime. In response, Tutu and the SACC crafted the *Kairos Document*.[12] The document criticized both the theologies of the state as well as the church. Baldwin's words are suggestive, "The *Kairos Document* critiqued biblical and theological models that encouraged Christians to follow policies of nonaction and nonresistence in relation to the apartheid."[13] Drawing from this growing wind of discontent, Tutu remained at the forefront in organizing mass protest and mobilizing churches under the banner of a God who liberates the oppressed and even forgives the oppressor. Tutu's strategy was to convince supporters of the apartheid regime that their survival depended upon their recognition of the humanity of black South Africans, inasmuch as the humanity of those in power was intrinsically bound up with the treatment of their neighbors who happened to be black and primarily Christian.

Characterized by Borer as the "spiral of involvement," both the SACC and the SACBC became more and more politicized, causing the church to become a visible sign of the Kingdom of God. There was hesitation particularly from members of the SACBC who were consistent

in their caution to various issues concerning the legitimacy debate. However, the SACBC continued to oppose South African occupation of Namibia.[14] With its 1982 Report on Namibia, which noted the atrocities of the South African military in the area, took a powerful stand and called for a "Day of Prayer" in November of 1982. In so doing, it seems that the SACBC placed a tremendous amount of pressure on the regime externally, while the SACC continued to engage in internal pressures of nonviolence. The stance of the SACBC against the SADF (South African Defence Force) in Namibia also focused on the issue of "conscription." In an official statement, *A Call for an End to Conscription*, issued in 1985 by the SACBC, it observed, "Many young men who are conscripted each year into the SADF are experiencing crises of conscience as they become aware of the role that they are being expected to play in the black townships, and elsewhere in RSA [Republic of South Africa]."[15] Moves such as these caused even more tension. Archbishop Denis E. Hurley, president of SACBC at the time, remarked that the "evolution of the Church towards an ever increasing concern about the social, political, economic and cultural dimensions of human life, is a fact of our time."[16]

The SACC made a prophetic stance when it declared apartheid a theological heresy. The Reverend Allan Boesak, then vice president of the SACC, made a powerful witness by his affirmation of apartheid as heresy and suspending the proapartheid, white *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* (or Dutch Reformed Church) from its membership. As Borer points out, this was immutable to the future of the church's political involvement because it prompted the church to take more seriously its role in the struggle against apartheid. It was this move, Borer argues, that "challenged the churches to leave the realm of abstract speculation and to start seriously contributing towards making a new political dispensation in South Africa a reality."[17] As a result, the SACC underwent a four-year-long campaign known as the Eloff Commission of Inquiry, which investigated SACC finances and investment activities.

The church, while prophetic, was in some ways ineffective in its witness when during the same time it struggled with the legitimacy of "counterviolence" by the ANC and the legitimacy of the government as a whole. Borer observes how Reverend Peter Storey took a clear stance against the use of violence whether by the ANC or the government. Although defending nonviolence, Borer maintains "Storey's position was basically one of standing on the sidelines."[18] Storey's prophetic stance on the platform of nonviolence was a powerful

witness to the Kingdom of God amid a turbulent climate of violence. However, one is led to ask whether Storey's neutrality may have been appropriate in light of the present conditions.

This seemed to intensify the nature of the witness by the churches in response to this harassment that caused them to become even more politicized. Because the state, within its constitution, claimed divine affirmation of apartheid, individuals like Archbishop Hurley responded:

> We cannot accept the new constitution because, far from recognizing the right to participation of all in the economy, in politics, education and culture, it continues to enshrine the apartheid principle of separation . . . separate, unequal and powerless.[19]

In addition to the Soweto uprising and intensification of the liberation struggle, P. W. Botha's South African regime was beginning to be viewed more and more as unjust and illegitimate. Amid it all, the church—both SACC and SACBC—remained faithful and consistent in its opposition and stance against apartheid.

Although the churches were faithful in many regards, the church's witness was weak in the sense of vacillating over the issue of involvement and the state's legitimacy. Particularly as it relates to the SACBC, they were continually cautious and indifferent concerning the state's legitimacy.[20] Because of this timidity, the regime may have been viewed as justified to some extent and able to continue its reign of terror upon South African blacks. It is difficult to say how events would have unfolded had the church declared the state illegitimate early in the struggle. However, we can say that because of this procrastination and "sitting on the fence," as noted by Catholic theologian Albert Nolan, the state was able to maintain some sense of implicit support and continuation of injustice against black South Africans.

Out of this orientation, Tutu's thought was shaped and formed. His view of God is a product of his involvement with the church, in its resistance to the apartheid regime. Speaking the truth was the primary form of political activity of the church during this period. By condemning unjust legislation and human rights abuses by the government, the church and its leaders began to fill a major void caused by the removal of ANC and other political leaders from their society.[21] What resulted from this proclamation of truth was a declaration of the state as illegitimate by the SACC. These historical movements laid the

platform for the church's resistance to apartheid and the important forces that impacted Tutu's theology. The establishment of the SATRC was a culmination of this resistance. Although commissioned by South Africa's new president, Mandela, Tutu saw this action as an extension of the work of the church. He viewed the commission ultimately as an expression of God's salvific and transformative work of Jesus Christ in the world.

A Stately Priest: Tutu and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The SATRC was paramount in shaping Tutu's thought and conception of reconciliation.[22] It chronicled the activities taking place around one of the most significant efforts in history to build a nation on peace and reconciliation. The ANC suggested the commission during negotiations with DeKlerk's administration after the ANC ban was lifted. The ANC was also under assault for human rights violations during the antiapartheid movement. They felt the need for internal investigations that led to the support of an independent commission to look into all human rights violations, even from the liberation groups themselves. Establishing a commission would be the most effective way to investigate their own atrocities and those committed by the state.[23] The challenge before transitional leaders was how to deal with the past in such a way as to build a constructive future for the nation and its people. The TRC took into consideration the transitions of Eastern and Central Europe, and also those of Latin American countries like Argentina and Chile, in particular. Generally speaking, the purpose of truth commissions is fact finding. The task is to lift the veil of silence and secrecy of the past. South Africa's TRC was instituted in late-1995 after the passing of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act. Tutu was appointed as chair, along with seventeen other commissioners. The activities of the commission were published in the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa*, volumes 1–5.[24] It was presented to President Mandela on October 29, 1998.

Although the commission was criticized for being partial to achieving reconciliation at the expense of truth, it was very important in establishing the basis for a credible and relatively peaceful new South Africa.[25] Patti Waldmeir's *Anatomy of a Miracle* chronicles the activities that marked the end of apartheid and significant events that have

birthed a new South Africa.[26] Waldmeir draws a sufficient description of the commission when she writes:

> It was a quasi-religious idea: that members of the security forces (and others) must confess their crimes before the commission, which would have the power to grant them amnesty. Families of victims would then have the satisfaction of knowing what was done to their loved one, and by whom. But the perpetrators would not be prosecuted.[27]

The influence of the ANC in the commission's conception and formulation is an understatement. Because of the ANC's sensitivity to African culture, tradition, and heritage, they were able to help create a forum that was not retributive, but restorative in the spirit of reconciliation. ANC members insisted that an alternative commission, such as the Nuremberg-style war crimes trials, would be disastrous for South Africa. Many ANC leaders understood the necessity of healing and knew that South Africa could not heal itself.[28] Journalist Antjie Krog followed the activities surrounding the commission from the beginning. Krog observed the priestly role of Tutu and the courage of the victims and their families to forgive, paving the way for the process of reconciliation.[29] The influence of Tutu on shaping the mood of the TRC is emphasized by Krog in the way that Tutu ran the sessions and the people who sat on the commission. Tutu was able to give credence to the traditional Judeo-Christian conception of reconciliation that we find in Taylor, Ritschl, Farmer, and Denney. Tutu went farther by making the victims the healers. Krog captures Tutu's response when asked what kind of people he would like to see on the commission. Tutu responded:

> People who once were victims. The most forgiving people I have ever come across are people who have suffered—it is as if suffering has ripped them open into empathy. I am talking about wounded healers. A commissioner should be buttressed by spiritual life.[30]

Overall, the accentuation on forgiveness and confession within the TRC makes it consistent with the biblical call to reconciliation. However, the modern theological claim demands that individuals must first be reconciled with God, and in doing so the capacity for human reconciliation is made possible. The commission in South Africa was both secular and religious in so far as it highlighted the biblical principles of forgiveness and confession. The modern doctrinal idea of

reconciliation places these terms in relation to God, having implications to reconciliation within human relationships. Nevertheless, the power of forgiveness and confession within the TRC permitted the conditions for beginning the arduous task of reconciliation.[31] The TRC played a fundamental role in reflecting the emphasis on forgiveness and the idea of "restorative justice" found in Tutu's thought. The TRC, ultimately, was a public and political platform that gave expression and visibility to Tutu's theology—a theology grounded in the church, its liturgy and its proclamation of God in Christ.

Tutu's *Ubuntu* Theology

God, for Tutu, is of both justice and forgiveness, in the Thomistic sense. As with Aquinas, Tutu believes justice and forgiveness are intrinsic to the nature of God. He rejected a utilitarian and humanistic understanding of justice that is not grounded in forgiveness and mercy. Tutu adamantly maintained that God demands justice and is partial to those who suffer and whom the world marginalizes. He also held that God was also merciful, seeking to heal and rebuild torn relationships. God seeks to "transfigure and transform the world" in a way that reflects God's love and justice. In his book *God Has a Dream: A Vision of Hope for Our Time*, Tutu relates the nature of God to the transfiguration of Christ.[32] As God seeks to transform Creation, the nature of God does not change. Love, justice, and grace become essential features that characterize who God is and the manner in which God expresses God's self in the world.

Attributes of love, justice, and grace, as principle characteristics of God are exhibited in community. Even the Trinitarian relationship between God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit model the form of fellowship God intends for humanity. At the center of Tutu's conception of God is a communitarian ethos founded on a Trinitarian model. Tutu rejects the notion of an individualistic transcendent God that is detached from community and the other. According to Tutu, God is transcendent. God's incorruptible righteousness, truth, and justice are beyond Creation. At the same time, God is not so aloof that God is not intimately connected and sensitive to suffering humanity.

There is a close relationship between Tutu's concept of *ubuntu* and the affirmation of the Trinitarian God. The Trinitarian God suggests that the goodness and character of God derives from the mutual love, fellowship, and creative energy that flow among the Trinity and that further seeks to guide human relations into this divine community.

Tutu challenges the modern assumptions about an individualistic God that seeks individual relationships. While God respects and honors our uniqueness as individuals, God views the ultimate good in the realm of community and social harmony. The following is illustrative as he writes:

> According to *ubuntu*, it is not a great good to be successful through being aggressively competitive and successful at the expense of others. In the end, our purpose is social and communal harmony and well-being. *Ubuntu* does not say, "I think, therefore I am." It says rather: "I am human because I belong. I participate. I share." Harmony, friendliness, community are great goods. Social harmony is for us the *summum bonum*—the greatest good. Anything that subverts, that undermines this sought-after good is to be avoided like the plague. Anger, resentment, lust for revenge, even success through aggressive competitiveness, are corrosive of this good.[33]

Tutu's way of thinking poses a direct challenge to Cartesian and Kantian thinking that declares individual reason as the ultimate measure of what it means to be human. As was argued earlier, Kant's influences spilled over into nineteenth-century Protestant theology, which paved the way for an imbalanced individualistic and pietistic expression of Christianity that negated concern for the other and for community. Tutu does not see individual reason or individuals as free moral agents. However, he holds that the goodness of God is intrinsically found in the common good or the good of the other.

As a theologian of reconciliation, Tutu's God is a God that seeks to alleviate human suffering, while also restoring fractured relationships. Tutu, like King, shared a common belief that God celebrates freedom, justice, equality, and community. In fact, for Tutu the God who revealed God's self in Christ makes these terms intelligible to Christians and the wider social order. Tutu, along with King, consistently maintained that God's gift of the Gospel message was a gift, not merely for Christians, but for the entire world. That the God who revealed God's self in Christ was the God who celebrates difference and calls the world into a community dominated by love and mutual understanding. In the process of reconciliation, God seeks to liberate and redeem social systems, economic and political institutions, and history as well. But what is problematic in Tutu's *ubuntu* theology of reconciliation is whether the nature of God is too intertwined with humanity and the quest for community.

As history has shown and contemporary society makes painfully clear, there is a staunch rejection of community, both within institutional Christianity and beyond. Postmodern culture reflects a sense of fracturing and brokenness perhaps never before seen in human history. In addition, if the nature of God is revealed in community, and modeled in the divine fellowship of the Trinity, can there be any particularity among God the Father, the Son, and Holy Spirit? Furthermore, in the quest for human community, which looks to the Trinitarian God for example and inspiration, can the idea of community withstand the tensions of difference and otherness? Ultimately, Tutu's God is a God of liberating reconciliation, seeking to balance the theological dictum of community with the desire to overcome human suffering.

Christ: A Man for the "Other"

On many occasions, Tutu declared that it is in Christ that we understand how God's love becomes meaningful and significant in the human condition. He would have nothing to do with the idea of a Christ that is only concerned with individual moral piety (as important as it may be). But this morality must demonstrate itself, as with Christ, in service to the lives of others. The ministry of Christ, he maintains, was not "otherworldly." Christ was concerned with the concrete material and spiritual circumstances of human life. Essentially, for Tutu, Christ was a "man for others." Since all of life belongs to God, both sacred and secular, there are no dimensions of the human experience or human persons that Christ does not relate to.

At the center of Christ's life, activities and message of the Gospel were concern for the other. Christ, for Tutu, is the source of redemption and hope for those who suffer and for sinful humanity. As an extension of the Hebrew prophetic tradition, Christ related individual piety with the material and spiritual well-being of the social, political, and economic spheres.[34] Unlike the modern inclination to compartmentalize and "police out" the activity of God, relegating it to the "private sphere," Christ speaks to all persons and all systems. According to Tutu, Christ rendered faith in God meaningful by responding to the practical needs of people—the need for food, clothing, shelter, physical health, love, forgiveness, and the like. Speaking to the ruling body of the Anglican Church in South Africa on reasons for the SACC's activities, he observed:

> Jesus describes himself as the ransom, and the ransom is paid to set free those who are kidnapped . . . Indeed the liberation is to be set free from

> sin, the most fundamental bondage, but Jesus was a Jew and he would have known nothing about an ethereal act of God—God's liberation would have to have real consequences in the political, social and economic spheres or it was no Gospel at all. It was liberation from bondage and liberation for the service of God and his [God's] creation, liberation so that we might become fully human with a humanity to be measured by nothing less than the humanity of Christ himself.[35]

The unity that God desires within humanity and with God's self in Christ is invariably linked to the practical concerns of the human condition. Behind Tutu's understanding Christ is what Battle describes as "communitarian spirituality." The notion of *communitarian spirituality* seems to develop through our identity as Christians in the body of Christ—a peculiar community of Christians. Here, the primary source of a communitarian Christian spirituality derives from Christ. Because Christ is (or ought to be) the source of our Christian identity, it is impossible to share in the identity of Christ in isolation.

This is best illustrated through the Lord's Supper. What is more indicative of community than the sharing of bread and wine? Through the Eucharist, the person of Christ gives full expression to what it means to be in fellowship with God and other human beings. For Tutu this idea has two dimensions. On the one hand, Christ, through practices such as the Eucharist, prayer, forgiveness, almsgiving, and the like, serves as the quintessential model and redemptive inaugurator Christian identity and community. In Christ, the Christian church and the world may be able to understand what it means to be an autonomous person living at one with God and others. The God who revealed God's self in Christ works in Christ to bring individuals and groups into fellowship with God. Very similar to King's view of Christ as characterizing the "love ethic" and the moral authority of the universe, Tutu has a view of Christ that encompasses liturgy as well. Liturgical practices in the life of Christ may be understood as a means for spiritual and material transformation. Tutu would use liturgy as a revolutionary force for political witness. Black South Africans held many of the critical support roles in the public sphere during apartheid. In the same way Oscar Romero, the El Salvadorian bishop, would hold massive Eucharistic celebrations in protest to the state; Tutu and the church would hold "stay-a-ways" and "pray-a-ways." These strategies would encourage church members to stay home from work or refrain from working and pray as a symbol of protest. These efforts would often cause major disruptions in social, political, and economic

activities since many black South Africans were laborers, housekeepers, sanitation workers, and clerical assistants.

On the other hand, Tutu emphasizes the spiritual significance of the life of Christ in facilitating the development of community. He introduces the notion of "African Christian Spirituality," in shaping distinctions to more individualistic forms of spirituality. By this, he means that spirituality is not simply an individual matter, but it is the creative force in Christ that brings together the individual and the other. Tutu argued that Christ was the source of spirituality, a spirituality that is both communal and transformative. According to Tutu, Christian spirituality must be concerned about individual morality and social transformation. To disassociate this relationship would be foreign to the Gospel as revealed in Christ. Tutu avoids the compartmentalization often characterizing modern philosophical and theological suppositions. He draws close connections between social transformation and individual spiritual formation. As he observes:

> Soon after church and business leaders helped to broker a National Peace Accord in South Africa in 1991, I talked to my fellow bishops about the need for contemplation as well as activism during the transition to democracy. I talked about the importance of the hidden, the inner life, of pouring oil and balm on wounds, of nurturing our people for the tasks of transformation. This was not pietistic. I knew it was important to cultivate an authentic spirituality of transformation in that transition period of much flux, bewilderment, violence, and turbulence. This authentic spirituality of transformation is the basis for any true and lasting transfiguration in our world. Discovering stillness, hearing God's voice, is not, as I have said, a luxury of a few contemplatives. It is the basis for real peace and real justice.[36]

As an exemplar and spiritual force of social transformation and community, Christ is the primary agent of God's work of reconciliation in the world. In the life of Christ, we observe the practices that bring about personal and social transformation. Christ has extended to the world, through personal and communal practices, the opportunity to participate in God's activity in the world. It is through the person of Christ that the idea of reconciliation and community has meaning. Rather than focusing on the complexities related to the humanity and divinity of Christ, Tutu accepts the liberationist view of Christ as God's transformative agent in the world. The humanity of Christ, then, becomes the manner in which Christ identifies with the suffering and pain of those whom the world has marginalized. In the end, Tutu

celebrates the person of Christ as an extension of a Trinitarian God—the God who comes to establish a community in fellowship with God's self and with the other.

Created for Community: Tutu's Conception of Human Nature

The core of Tutu's view of human nature is that human beings are made in the image of God. Hence, individuals are constituted by their relationship to others. To be in isolation as a human being means to not be fully human. Quite similar to Green's understanding of human nature, Tutu declares that to be made in the image of God means to share in a common humanity and fellowship. As humans who are made to live in community and fellowship, humans are also free moral agents. He brings together the idea of a kind of communitarian ontology with the belief that humans are also free moral agents.[37] According to Tutu, being created for community and fellowship does not negate individual freedom and moral agency. Individual freedom and moral agency is fully realized when it shows concern for the other. On the other hand, human freedom and moral agency is denigrated when it causes harm to the other or seeks to serve self. Human freedom, he argues, is a freedom that ultimately comes from God. The freedom humanity enjoys has been given by God, to be used to the glory of God by serving others. These sentiments are made clear when he illustrates:

> To be human in the understanding of the Bible is to be free to choose, free to choose to love or to hate, to be kind or to be cruel. To be human is to be a morally responsible creature, and moral responsibility is a nonsense when the person is in fact not free to choose from several available options. That is how God created us. It is part of being created in the image of God, this freedom that can make us into glorious creatures or damn us into hellish ones. God took an incredible risk in creating us human beings. God has such a profound respect, nay, reverence, for this freedom He [God] bestowed on us that He [God] had much rather see us go freely to hell than compel us to go to heaven.[38]

Tutu further develops his understanding of human nature through the concept of *ubuntu* we referred to earlier. Tutu draws a connection between *ubuntu* (what it means to be human) with the notion of "communitarian spirituality" that guides the human experience with difference and otherness. The idea of *ubuntu* expresses, "persons are

ends in themselves only through the discovery of who they are in others."[39] Ackerman, in her *Becoming Fully Human*, places this quest for identity (particularly African Christian identity) within the context of our stories. As Ackermann posits, "differences and otherness are our reality."[40] Ackermann locates this understanding in the context of stories that all humans experience. Communitarian spirituality promotes the *ubuntu* understanding that "a person is a person through other persons."[41] Persons can develop some sense of who they are only in community with others. Through relationship with others, the concept of Christian identity and personhood ultimately is formed and molded.

For Tutu, the idea of reconciliation is seen in terms of a spiritual community whereby the humanity of others shapes the identity of self. Tutu submits, "A self-sufficient human being is subhuman."[42] Human nature is inextricably linked to the differences of others. From Tutu's perspective, the awesome sin of apartheid, like slavery in the United States or the Holocaust in Germany, was marked by a total and emphatic denial of the humanity and divine worth of the victimized peoples:

> The evil of apartheid is perhaps not so much the untold misery and anguish it has caused its victims (great and traumatic as these must be), no, its pernicious nature, indeed its blasphemous character is revealed in its effect on God's children when it makes them doubt that they are God's children.[43]

Tutu, in his interview with Bill Moyers on PBS (April, 1999) expressed that at the core of racism, discrimination, and humiliation is a denial of the innate divine significance of all human beings as made in the image of God. He purports that persons treat each other unjustly because they do not see the intrinsic worth from God in the other. Although Tutu does affirm the sinfulness and fallenness of humanity (in the Augustinian sense), he is finally optimistic in his view of human nature. Even after his experiences with the anguish of South African apartheid and his activities with the TRC, he still holds a high view of human nature. Like Kierkegaard who affirmed the potentiality for good in human nature, Tutu believes there is an enormous possibility for good among human beings. Furthermore, he declares that God "relies on us to help make this world all that God has dreamed of it being."[44] In being created in the image of God, humans are also God's ostensible agents of transformation in the world. Subsequently, it is

through humanity that God has chosen to extend God's work of reconciliation in Christ.

The Rainbow People of God: Tutu's Vision of Community

The church and Christian community, for Tutu, are considered the quintessential agent for expressing God's reconciling work in Christ to the world. According to Tutu, the church is not simply a vehicle for social transformation. It is the space in which the reality of God's love is made meaningful and extended to all creation. As distinguished from King, Tutu held many prominent positions in the Anglican Church's hierarchical system. Tutu supposed that an apolitical church is contrary to the Gospel. The work of God in Christ was intended for all of Creation, including social, political, and economic systems. Like King, Tutu affirmed that the church was not simply for Christian believers. It also served the function of demonstrating to the world God's original intentions for human community in right relationship with God.

When Tutu emerged on the national stage, he was deeply ensconced as a leader in the South African Anglican Church. Quite different from his predecessors in the ANC, the church was Tutu's primary space for evaluating South Africa's social and political context, while serving as the authority for determining the legitimacy of the state. Tutu's uncompromising identification with the church is reflected in an open letter he wrote to Prime Minister B. J. Vorster as Dean of St. Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg (1975):

> In short, I am writing to you as one human person to another human person, gloriously created in the image of the selfsame God, redeemed by the selfsame Son of God who for all our sakes died on the Cross and rose triumphant from the dead and reigns in glory now at the right hand of the Father; sanctified by the selfsame Holy Spirit who works inwardly in all of us to change our hearts of stone into hearts of flesh. I am, therefore, writing to you, Sir, as one Christian to another, for through our common baptism we have been made members of and are united in the Body of our dear Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. This Jesus Christ, whatever we may have done, has broken down all that separates us irrelevantly—such as race, sex, culture, status, etc. In this Jesus Christ we are forever bound together as one redeemed humanity, black and white together.[45]

Tutu relied heavily on the church and Christian theology to advance the antiapartheid struggle. His first approach was to call on Dutch and English Churches to remain "faithful" to the Gospel of Christ through solidarity with black South Africans. Tutu used the language of "faithfulness" to articulate the role of the church in the struggle. If churches, and Christians for that matter, were to be considered "faithful," they had to be engaged in bringing about the liberation of the oppressed. For Tutu, to be a faithful Christian means to pursue community and reconciliation with the outcast, marginalized, and subjugated of society. He saw the church as an agent of social transformation and a catalyst of liberation and reconciliation. The church, with Tutu at its helm, served as the primary means of resistance in the antiapartheid struggle in the late-1970s until the early-1990s with Mandela's release from prison. In addition, the church also played a major role in shaping Tutu's thought and actions. While Tutu served as a leader in the church, he was also deeply moved by his fellow clergymen and individual Christians. His thinking reflects both his love and commitment to the church and its critical place in the antiapartheid struggle.

Although Tutu's ecclesiology expanded way beyond the bounds of institutional religious structures, he views the church, in particular, as change agents in the world. He believes the church, as instituted by God in Christ, is called to bear witness to the power of God by speaking the truth and aiding those who suffer unduly. His understanding of the church, and ecclesiology more broadly, may be summarized in the following quote taken from a sermon in Pretoria to a Presbyterian Church Assembly on September 18, 1978:

> The Church of God must say that despite all appearances to the contrary, this is God's world. He cares and cares enormously, his is ultimately a moral universe that we inhabit, and that right and wrong matter, and that the resurrection of Jesus Christ proclaims that right will prevail. Goodness and Love, Justice and Peace are not illusory, or mirages that forever elude our grasp. We must say that Jesus Christ has inaugurated the Kingdom of God, which is a kingdom of Justice, Peace and Love, or fullness of life; that God is on the side of the poor, of the hungry, of the naked, with whom the Church identifies and has solidarity.[46]

He goes on to announce that the Church of South Africa must be the prophetic church that challenges oppression and seeks to reclaim and affirm all persons as children of God. Tutu's ecclesiology is deeply planted in the idea that the Kingdom of God is "now and not yet." The Kingdom of God, for Tutu, was not some static imaginary organism,

but a concrete reality that makes real the possibilities of freedom, justice, and community in the world. The Kingdom of God, as it is both present and yet to come, is intrinsic to how he understands the church, and certainly the idea of reconciliation as well. As we move into Tutu's eschatology, it is important to bear in mind that Tutu's thought moves frequently among these conceptual categories and descriptions. Hence, some elements of Tutu's understanding of the church and ecclesiology are found in his ideas about the Kingdom of God as well.

Making Way for the Kingdom of God on Earth

Tutu's eschatology is grounded in the idea that the Kingdom of God is continually upon humanity—redeeming individuals, groups, institutions, and even history. He rejects the notion that the Kingdom of God is realized in the afterlife. Rather, it is a consequence of both the present and the eternal. The telos of God's activity is to bring all things into a unity with Christ. From this point, Tutu basically expresses his formulation of the Kingdom of God as a Kingdom of unity, justice, and love. As a Kingdom of unity, Tutu asserts that the Kingdom of God ushers in a community that restores human relationships, breaking the bonds of racial, ethnic, religious, economic, and other differences. In this Kingdom, differences do not disappear. Differences actually become visibly clear and are celebrated in the space of God's love. In this space, God's love invites individuals and groups to God's self. For Tutu, the Kingdom of God is a spiritual and material reality where difference is celebrated and upheld as the majestic tapestry of God's creativity. In this Kingdom, he argues, there are no outsiders. But all "belong in the one family, God's family, the human family."[47] The Kingdom of God reflects a unity that embodies difference and diversity. The Kingdom of God overcomes these distinctions by highlighting and even promoting differences for the sake of unity. Of course, the immediate problem with this idea is that differences, especially religious and ideological ones, often result in the exploitation of the other. So how can there be a celebration of difference when the difference of the other may lead to persecution and suffering?

Tutu seems to respond by suggesting that the Kingdom of God is not only a Kingdom that seeks to establish unity in Christ, it is also a Kingdom of justice. The idea of justice for Tutu is akin to a Thomistic

conception. Justice is rooted in God who reveals God's self in a way that characterizes God's justice in the world. God's justice, realized in the Kingdom of God, is shown in the life and activities of Christ. For instance, the justice of the Eucharistic celebration expresses that in spite of their differences (or rather because of their differences) all persons are invited to share in the body and blood of Christ. The justice of God dictates that all persons are offered an equal share and opportunity to participate in what God is doing through Christ. In contrast, the problem with apartheid was that it sought to dehumanize black South Africans, while privileging whites.

In order to further comprehend Tutu's understanding of the Kingdom of God as a Kingdom of justice, a brief analysis of Aquinas' conception of justice is in order. Aquinas makes a distinction between commutative justice and distributive justice.[48] In contrast to "commutative" justice that refers to fair exchanges in the market place, "distributive" justice is rooted in a divine order reflected in nature and human will. In keeping with distributive justice, the justice of God is as such because it is true. The Medieval theologian points to Dionysius to say, "God is truly just," and also God's justice is truth. Aquinas contends, "Justice, therefore, in God is sometimes spoken of as the fitting accompaniment of His [God's] goodness." For Aquinas, God's justice is also merciful. Mercy does not negate the justice of God, but rather makes it even truer. Mercy recognizes the goodness of who God is and how God reveals God's self in human affairs.

Very similar to this idea is the notion of "restorative justice" that was the subject of much discussion and controversy between Tutu and his countrymen. John De Gruchy observed this unique demonstration of justice as altogether different.[49] According to De Gruchy, "reconciliation is about building bridges, about allowing conflicting stories to interact in ways that evoke respect, build relationships and help restructure power relations." God's covenant with Creation, he argues, sought to heal and restore God's relationship to the world. Through Christ, God's project of reconciliation was ultimately a mission of restoration. Tutu, in his emphasis on forgiveness and mercy, in the quest for healing and reconciliation, helped to enliven the concept of restorative justice as an efficacious path toward peace and nation-building.

Although the idea of restorative justice is not unique to the South African context, the manner in which Tutu holds up "forgiveness" as the fulcrum on which justice hangs is significant in itself. It sheds light on Tutu's distinctive contribution to the Christian idea of reconciliation. Tutu appears to argue that God's justice, as realized in the Kingdom

of God, goes beyond the utilitarian notion of justice based on simple reciprocity and retribution. But the Kingdom of God is a condition where justice is understood in terms of God's truth. As such, this truth was made plain and given full expression in Christ.

In addition to unity and justice as characterizing the Kingdom of God, Tutu also points to the centrality of love. Love, as expressed in the life and practices of Christ, directs and conditions the Kingdom of God. It is the creative force that moves individuals as agents of God's transformation in the world. The love of God in Christ makes possible the perpetuity of fellowship, community, and what he describes as the "delicate network of interdependence."[50] Similar to Lehman's notion of a *koinonia* ethic that conditions Christian community and serves as an example for the world at large, Tutu views love as making visible the Kingdom of God at all levels of human interaction—social, political, economic, religious, and the like. Tutu draws on the eschatological vision of Teilhard de Chardin, in *Le Milieu divin*, to advance his understanding of love in establishing God's Kingdom on earth.[51] The following reflection from Tutu is suggestive:

> All over this magnificent world God calls us to extend His kingdom of shalom—peace and wholeness—of justice, of goodness, of compassion, of caring, of sharing, of laughter, of joy, and of reconciliation. God is transfiguring the world right this very moment through us because God believes in us and because God loves us. What can separate us from the love of God? Nothing. Absolutely nothing. And as we share God's love with our brothers and sisters, God's other children, there is no tyrant who can resist us, no oppression that cannot be ended, no hunger that cannot be fed, no wound that cannot be healed, no hatred that cannot be turned to love, no dream that cannot be fulfilled.[52]

Overall, it is evident that Tutu's eschatology is situated firmly in the context of community and human relationships. The realization of God's Kingdom in the world comes by way of personal and social transformation. God's presence in the world is affirmed and celebrated when individuals and societies embrace difference and strive toward community. As it relates to his eschatological vision, Tutu uses the imagery of the transfiguration of Christ to talk about God's final Kingdom being established on earth. Like the transfiguration, the Kingdom of God ultimately says, "nothing, no one and no situation is 'untransfigurable.'"[53] The Kingdom of God comes to transform and transfigure the minds and bodies of those who suffer. Its objective is to restore persons, groups, and systems to their proper teleological place

in God. The Kingdom of God, therefore, is the condition where God's "dream" of justice, mercy, love, and community come into fruition. Instituted by Christ, the Kingdom of God is "a Kingdom of Justice, Peace and Love, or fullness of life; that God is on the side of the oppressed, the marginalized and the exploited."[54] It was his eschatological hope in the Kingdom of God and the finality of God's work in Christ that propelled Tutu and fellow freedom fighters forward during the most troubling waters of the antiapartheid struggle—a struggle that still inspires many across the globe.

Conclusion

Tutu compels us to take seriously the relationship between community building and socioeconomic and political transformation in the doctrine of reconciliation. Tutu gives attention to God's supremacy over all creation. In other words, reconciliation was chiefly a covenant between God and Creation, as De Gruchy has observed. The process of reconciliation is concerned with the transformation of the whole of Creation, including the social, political, and economic spheres that condition the individual human experience. Because human beings were created in the image of God to live for others and in relation to others, all structures or institutions that divide or denigrate human beings must be vigilantly contested.

On these very grounds, the legitimacy of the state was questioned in South Africa. Led by the ANC, tribal leaders, and some churches, the people began to question the legitimacy of the state based on its denial of the people's ability to strive toward self-actualization. Tutu seeks to demonstrate that to be human means to be in community with others—socially, politically, economically, and morally at least at some level. His notion of "*ubuntu* theology" that emerged out of his African culture and Anglican theology recognized the importance of Christian personality within the context of community. With Tutu's communitarian spirituality (as Battle explains), there is a sense in which the individual is not free until all are free. Rooted in the South African context, Battle affirms this understanding by adding, "no one is a person in South Africa until blacks attain the freedom to express their God-given personhood and humanity."[55] Communitarian spirituality, then, interlocks the spiritual well-being of the individual with that of the community.

The Anglican cleric provides the resources to further explore the manner in which individuals and societies are interconnected in God.

Through the vision of the TRC, Tutu led the people of South Africa to confront the past, grapple with its hideousness, and expose the wounds of a racist history of exploitation. Finally, we may conclude that Tutu's emphasis on forgiveness and justice as essential to the process of reconciliation does advance the classical notion of reconciliation in modernity. Tutu opens the door for a reconsideration of the implications for God's work in Christ as it relates to global economic trade, public education, the criminal justice system, and not the least of which poverty. Because of Tutu's insights and witness, we are led to think differently and more comprehensively about the nature of God's reconciling activity in Christ, that while the work of God in Christ is at work in the individual moral life, it also seeks to overcome rugged individualism, compartmentalization, and fragmentation. In short, the Kingdom of God and subsequently the task of reconciliation is to heal and restore persons, societies, and even political and economic institutions to God's self.

4

Ambassadors of Reconciliation: Comparing Martin Luther King, Jr. and Desmond Mpilo Tutu

Lord, bless Africa; May her spirit rise high up; Hear thou our prayers
Lord bless us.
Lord, bless Africa; Banish wars and strife; Lord, bless our nation
Of South Africa.[1]

*Lift ev'ry [*sic*] voice and sing; Till earth and heaven ring. Ring with the harmonies of liberty;*
*Let our rejoicing rise; High as the list'ning [*sic*] skies. Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.*[2]

As theologians of reconciliation, King and Tutu offer substantial insights into how the work of God in Jesus Christ goes beyond the sphere of individual moral reflection. Though emerging from different religious, cultural, and social realities, King and Tutu are strikingly similar in life and thought. Both experienced a relatively stable and nurturing home life. Both were very well educated and exposed to the Western intellectual tradition. Both were pastors and committed churchmen. At the same time, there are differences between them. For instance, King never really questioned the legitimacy of the federal government. It was always a matter of whether America would live up to its high ideals with respect to black freedom. In the South African context, the very legitimacy of the government was at the center of the church's witness. Tutu, along with other leaders came to this conclusion when it drafted the *Kairos Document*. Blacks were promised very

little, if any, rights at all under the apartheid government's constitution. The struggle in South Africa was for basic human rights. When the South African Council of Churches (SACC) published "*A Message to the People of South Africa*," it proclaimed that apartheid was "unchristian" because it obstructed the ability of God's people to fellowship freely and unconditionally.[3] In response to the document, Prime Minister B. J. Vorster threatened clerics. He cautioned that it would be dangerous for clergy to "do the kind of thing here in South Africa that Martin Luther King, Jr. did in America."[4]

In spite of the warning, Tutu was deeply affected by King's legacy in America. Tutu's rise to international profile in the mid-1980s led to several trips to the United States. He became well connected to prominent Episcopal congregations in New York and many saw parallels between Tutu and King. Of course, some such as Jerry Falwell and Patrick Buchanan did not welcome Tutu in America. But members of the Black Church community, such as Leon Sullivan of Zion Baptist Church in Philadelphia, were major supporters. Sullivan exerted pressure on American businesses operating in South Africa to develop strong nondiscriminatory practices and promote black training and advancement in the workplace. On January 20, 1986, Tutu graciously received the Martin Luther King, Jr. Peace Prize at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia. In the presence of King's widow, Coretta Scott King, Tutu said he did not belong in the same league as King.[5] Pointing to their differences in terms of nonviolence, Tutu remarked that unlike King he was a "peace-lover" not a "pacifist."[6] Because of the harsh conditions of apartheid, Tutu could understand why violence for some seemed to be the only alternative. Though different, in the final analysis Tutu agreed that they both shared a deep passion for justice, peace, and reconciliation.

King and Tutu emphasize the themes of reconciliation and liberation as synonymous to the salvific activity of God in Christ. To speak of one means to speak of the other. They are joint processes in the redemption of human beings to God's self. King understands reconciliation in terms of the establishment of the "beloved community." Tutu approaches the idea of reconciliation by employing the concept of "*ubuntu* theology," described by Michael Battle as a distinctive "African Christian spirituality." In many regards, they both envisioned a condition where human relations are interdependent and nonviolent interaction of radical love transforms human society in social, political, and economic realms.

It is evident that King and Tutu shared a great deal in common when it came to the question of nonviolence. After all, they both were freedom fighters and church theologians who led campaigns in the quest for justice and reconciliation. But this question will be taken up in more detail in the next chapter. Perhaps not as apparent are the theological differences that fueled their activities. For instance, because of his personalist influences, King seems more interested in preserving the dignity and humanity of individual persons. Ultimately, for King it is the community that must uphold the dignity of the individual. Tutu, on the other hand, sees the individual as ontologically created for others. Inasmuch as the realization of human potential and personhood, as created in the image of God, is achieved through "delicate networks of interdependence." King and Tutu do find a vast amount of agreement. However, their theological differences, though not extensive, do surface in their views on God, Christ, the church, human nature, and the Kingdom of God. Nevertheless, even in their differences they both proclaimed the centrality of community and justice (in the individual and social spheres) as the culmination of God's plan in Christ for human beings.

God the Reconciler

King and Tutu's conception of God reflected a commitment to confronting social ills and taking seriously the urgency of human suffering in the present. According to King, God was a "coworker" with humanity. A person yields to God's will to become a coworker with God in the fulfillment of God's divine purpose in creation. In contrast, Tutu is very Trinitarian in his understanding of God. He says very little about who God is apart from God's revelation in Christ and the Holy Spirit. Accordingly, Tutu views God as God of fellowship and community. God reveals who God is through others. In that, the more individuals seek to know others, they gain a deeper awareness of God. The theological differences between Tutu and King, in terms of God, could be described in Rufus Burrow's analysis of King as "personal communitarianism."[7] The undercurrents of Boston personalism are seen in King's explication of God as Personal. It is God who seeks to empower and lift up the dignity and personhood of human beings in a way that brings into the human experience the reality of God. God limits God's self to preserve the individual moral and rational agency of humans. As God seeks to transform creation, God as a divine personality guides

the individual personality and human history toward God's ultimate eschatological vision. For King, this vision is seen in the beloved community. The following observations by King are suggestive:

> This is the meaning of faith. If we want to solve the race problem, this is it. We can't do it alone. God will not do it alone. But let's go out and protest a little bit and He [God] will change this thing and make America a better nation. Do you want peace in this world? Man cannot do it by himself. And God is not going to do it by himself. But let us cooperate with him and we will be able to build a world where men will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks and nations will not study war anymore.[8]

God has extended to humanity the opportunity to participate in God's activity in the world. That activity is characterized by the alleviation of human suffering and the promulgation of social transformation. Somewhat different from King's view, Tutu's *ubuntu* theology appears to emphasize human effort through community as the fundamental space where knowledge of God comes into being. Unlike King, Tutu appears to highlight the Trinitarian nature of God as the basis for establishing community and fellowship among human beings. Tutu begins his conceptualization of God from the perspective of community, no doubt drawing from his African cultural roots (as he points out in the language of *ubuntu*). In Tutu's thought, God has created humans for community. The image of God is an image that reflects a Trinitarian God, where the fellowship within the Godhead is extended and projected to the human experience.

Perhaps the primary difference in Tutu's concept of God and King's is recognized in God's relationship with humanity. For King, God seeks to preserve the human dignity of individuals. Therefore, the task of individuals and communities is to protect the inherent dignity and worth of every person. The process by which this occurs for King is through agape, the love that flows freely from God to humanity. In contrast, Tutu begins his theological reflection on God from the perspective of community. Operating out of what Battle describes as "African Christian spirituality," Tutu purports that the nature of God is communitarian. Furthermore, knowledge of God is found through difference and otherness. The creative energy that flows between persons is the space in which humans participate in the activity of God.

In the end, King and Tutu are in widespread agreement that God seeks to liberate persons the world marginalizes. They view God as a

redeemer. God redeems not only individuals but social, political, and economic areas of human experience as well. By explicating a version of Boston personalism that deals with human suffering, King portrays God as one who seeks to establish a community where all individuals have intrinsic significance and eternal value. He demonstrated that the activity of God in the redemption of humanity involves elevating the potential and significance of human personality—individually and in the context of community. Similarly, Tutu views God as embodying community and fellowship. The community reflected in the Trinitarian God is the ostensible force that seeks to liberate and reconcile fractured relationships and social structures.

The Radical Life of Christ

We now turn our attention to who Christ is for King and Tutu. As stated in earlier chapters, King's Christology focuses on the "love ethic" of Christ. Tutu, on the other hand, elevates the sociality of Christ—that Christ was above all a "man for others." Tutu, of course, would not deny that the love ethic of Christ is an essential guide for human relationships and more broadly, all aspects of human life. However, Tutu would go further by saying that Christ, as fully God himself, is best cast as one whose essential attribute was living for others. In King's eyes, the love ethic of Christ was a paradigm of human behavior to be modeled by persons of all religious traditions and cultures. In short, for King, Christ was not for Christians only but for all humanity. That is to say, persons of all different religious and/or cultural backgrounds could look upon the practices of Christ as a road map to govern human society.

King and Tutu hold that Christ is the quintessential revelation of God to humanity. But while King focuses on the ethical dimensions of Christ, Tutu appeals to the spiritual manner in which Christ informs community through liturgical practices. The love ethic of Christ derives from King's conception of love that he appropriates from Anders Nygren. Nygren, who made the distinction between agape and eros, sensitized King to how love functions in Christ to establish community. As agape flows from God to humanity, Christ gives dramatic expression to this love in action. Tutu holds a similar view of Christ as an ethical example of how human beings are to live in community. At the same time, Tutu goes beyond this view by drawing on the spiritual and liturgical dimensions of Christ's life as a means to fight social injustice. Such practices as personal devotion, prayer, the Eucharistic

celebration, forgiveness, and quiet meditation all serve as critical resources for confronting systematic evils like apartheid. Spiritual practices, for Tutu, are just as essential as loving the neighbor.

Both theologians concluded that Christ is a liberator of the poor, downtrodden, and marginalized. In the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth, Christ comes to redeem and restore humanity to its intended place. In terms of the redemption of God, King saw Christ as an extension of the Old Testament prophetic tradition. Like the prophets, Christ has also come to redeem individuals, groups, economic and political organizations, and divided racial communities. God's redemption, exemplified in the life of Christ, is realized finally in the beloved community. Truly, Christ is redeemer for Tutu as well. Because of the desperate call for racial reconciliation and healing following Nelson Mandela's release from prison in 1990, Tutu also portrayed Christ as a source of restoration and healing.[9] As an agent of restoration, Christ was a visible embodiment of what it means to hold together the delicate balance between justice and mercy. As he chaired the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), Tutu was greatly scrutinized for focusing on "forgiveness" and "reconciliation." Boraine, in chronicling the activities of TRC, says of Tutu:

> It was with such a philosophy [of atonement and forgiveness] in mind that Desmond Tutu called upon the political leaders in South Africa to make some symbolic act of atonement. Showing great sensitivity and awareness of the human psyche, he did not ask this only of the former apartheid leaders. He asked Nelson Mandela to make a public act of atonement at the site of the Church Street bombing by ANC cadres, which had led to the loss of civilian lives. He asked Mangosuthu Buthelezi to make a similar act of atonement at KwaMakhutha in KwaZulu-Natal, where women and children had been massacred by IFP supporters . . . . Tutu appealed to all of them, "Would it not be wonderful if the leaders of these political parties could go to the site of a notorious atrocity committed by his side and say, 'Sorry—forgive us.' With no qualifications, no 'buts or ifs.'"[10]

The social and political context played a major role in shaping King and Tutu's understandings of Christ. It was, in many ways, necessary for King to emphasize the prophetic nature of Christ's life and message as a way of advancing the cause of justice while proving that the establishment of the beloved community was the ultimate goal. In stark contrast, Tutu and postapartheid leaders had to reckon with how to maintain peace throughout the country. The ANC's (African National

Congress') insistence on the establishment of the TRC, with Tutu at the helm, proved to be a wise and theologically prudent undertaking. Tutu was unapologetic about his priestly role on the commission, with his affirmation of Christ as restorer and healer. In his book, *No Future without Forgiveness*, he advances the idea of forgiveness as the basis for the possibility of any lasting peace, justice, or community. Forgiveness, for Tutu, creates the conditions for justice and community to be in any way achievable. To summarize, it is in the person of Christ that forgiveness and justice become intelligible and meaningful in the lives of Christians and even the wider social order as well.

Sin and Human Potentiality

King and Tutu both appealed to an Augustinian understanding of human nature. They acknowledged the sinfulness of human nature. At the same time, they expressed a very optimistic view of human potentiality. King looked to Niebuhr to understand human nature. Especially early on in his theological education, King uncritically accepted Niebuhr's critique of human society. Reflecting on the Montgomery Bus Boycott experience, King wrote:

> In spite of the fact that I found many things to be desired in Niebuhr's philosophy, there were several points at which he constructively influenced my thinking. Niebuhr's great contribution to contemporary theology is that he has refuted the false optimism characteristic of a great segment of Protestant liberalism, without falling into the anti-rationalism of the continental theologian Karl Barth, or the semifundamentalism of other dialectical theologians. Moreover, Niebuhr has extraordinary insight into human nature, especially the behavior of nations and social groups.[11]

But King, like Tutu, was dissatisfied with the pessimism of Niebuhr. He appropriated the optimistic views of human nature from personalist thought, which argued for the immense possibilities of human personality in God. King determined the idea of self is a function of the human personality. His theology reflected personalism thought led by DeWolf and Brightman. He understood the self as having sacred worth and dignity. The human personality has eternal value and worth precisely because of the Person of God as Creator. For King, the human personality has been created by a personal God who affirms the freedom of human personality—freedom to deliberate, of self-expression,

and freedom guided by responsibility. King's conception of community embraces such notions as "friendship" among equals. In fact, King often commented that the objective of civil disobedience and nonviolent resistance was to turn enemies into friends. In "Pilgrimage to Nonviolence," King outlines six basic tenets to his understanding of nonviolent resistance. The second tenet articulates what he sees as the supreme intent:

> Nonviolence does not seek to humiliate or defeat the opponent, but to win the opponent's friendship. As such, its ultimate goal is redemption and reconciliation. "The aftermath of nonviolence is the creation of the beloved community."[12]

Conversely, Tutu follows T. H. Green's model of human nature as essentially social. Human beings were made for community and "delicate networks of interdependence," according to Tutu. Although human beings are bound together by intricate social networks, they are not necessarily created for social relations in King's thought. Tutu's social ontology of human nature argues that although humans are capable of great evil, they are also capable of incredible selflessness. The more persons live for others, the more they become fully human as created in the image of God.

It would be misguided to suggest that somehow King and Tutu were utopian and unrealistic concerning their view of human nature. On the contrary, they were very cognizant of the depths that humans could plunge. History, in both countries, had taught them as much. The killing of four innocent little girls in the Birmingham bombing and Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 made that painfully clear to both. In fact, Tutu and King viewed evil and human sin as the root cause of racial oppression and disharmony among human beings.[13] On one occasion King surmised that evil is a force in the world that "works against wholeness and harmony in creation. Evil is real and is characterized by disorder, disruptiveness, intrusion, recalcitrance, and destruction."[14] The struggle within the divided human will is where evil lurks. In a similar manner, King recognized human sin as manifesting evil forces. He understood sin to be grounded in notions of human freedom and limitation.[15] King emphasized the social ills caused by sin, reflected in selfishness, pride, and ignorance. In his "Letter from Birmingham Jail," King responded to indifferent white clergymen held hostage by the system of segregation.[16] Similarly, Tutu appealed to fellow Christians, arguing that the reality of persons being created in the

image of God is a means of overcoming the sin and evil of apartheid. As persons are made in the image of God, Tutu also affirmed human freedom and moral agency. King and Tutu, even in the face of evil, were hopeful about the capacity for humans to choose what is just and right. It was this sense of "hope against hope" (as Cornel West puts it) that provided the inner resources seeking justice and reconciliation.

King appealed to the Christian conscience and the urgency of human suffering caused by segregation. King posited the idea of agape as the ultimate means for confronting social and political injustice. While the legitimacy of the state was in question for Tutu in South Africa, King attacked what he and others considered unjust laws. He enlisted Augustine's position in *De libero arbitrio* that "an unjust law is no law at all."[17] However, according to Ansbro, Augustine would not have supported civil disobedience. Because the authority of the ruler comes from God, for Augustine, one is summoned to obedience and reverence regardless of how evil a regime may be.[18] In contrast, King held that one has a moral obligation to disobey any law that does not conform to God's eternal law.[19] King believed social change is brought about through challenging unjust laws.

Tutu's understanding of human nature can also been seen in his critique of humanism. According to Battle, Tutu distinguishes between Western humanism and how he understands humanism in the African context. Humanism in the West, argues Tutu, is a function of economic systems and guided by market forces;[20] Tutu purposes that the individual is isolated and seen as dependent upon one's own energies and abilities. This form of humanism encourages isolationism and ideas of personhood characterized by self-determination. Tutu argues that humanism within the African context is unintelligible outside of community. That is to say, a person's environment and familial associations constitute fully what it means to be human. According to Battle, "In the African concept of *ubuntu*, which Tutu appropriated for his own purposes, human community is vital for the individual's acquisition of personhood."[21]

Community, Resistance, and Social Transformation

The idea of community, whether as the Christian church or in the wider social order, was the basis of much of King and Tutu's thought and actions. As mentioned earlier, King articulated his ecclesiology in

the language of the beloved community. As for Tutu, the concept of *ubuntu* was used to describe his understanding of community. There is no clear distinction in King and Tutu between the *ecclesia*, as the church established by and for Christ, and the ways in which persons are to live together with neighbor in the world. The mission of the Christian church is to show the world how God desires for humans to live together in community. What King and Tutu both observed was that the Christian church, as with the wider social order, was ingratiated in a fallen sinful condition too. Hence, the destiny of the Christian church community was intertwined with the wider social, political, and economic dimensions of human life. There was an inescapable relationship between Christian community and the problem of racial, ethnic, cultural, and economic differences. Specifically, the task of the Christian church was to be God's agent of reconciliation and restoration in the world. For King, God has established God's church in the world to serve as a guidepost for human community in relationship to God. Certainly, Tutu would find agreement with the church as a light to the world and agent of social transformation. But the church is also the body of Christ; the ingathering of those called out and redeemed into the Lordship of Christ. The ultimate expression of the church, and its message of justice and community to the world, is witnessed in the Eucharistic celebration. Practices such as Eucharistic sharing, "binding and loosing," and martyrdom are key expressions of faithfulness.[22] Hence the church has the twofold function of "serving God and ruling the world."

King also viewed history differently and found that the significance of human suffering, though contradictory to secular society, is a spiritual force that has been made possible through Christ. Jane Elyse Russell offers an analysis of some nonviolent church communities.[23] In particular, the Anabaptist movement and John Dear's "ecclesiology of nonviolence" are of specific interest to this study.[24] Dear points to the witness of King and Oscar Romero to illustrate examples of such nonviolence-based communities. The centrality of human dignity and inherent human worth was the abiding principle in King's promulgation of the beloved community.

The innate worth or human worth as divinely given is what informed much of King's attack on segregation. Segregation opposed the reality and actualization of the beloved community because it denied the possibility of human fellowship. It militated against God's vision of justice and human dignity. Reconciliation for King involved integration and the creation of a society where barriers of separation are no longer

present. Not just desegregation, but full integration was a fundamental part of his vision for the beloved community. Desegregation, says King, results in a condition where "elbows are together and hearts apart. It gives us social togetherness and spiritual apartness. It leaves us with a stagnant equality of sameness rather than a constructive equality of oneness."[25] King, like Tutu, recognized the interconnectedness of human existence. Reconciliation embodies the understanding of the mutual dependence of persons living in community. In other words, the self cannot truly be the self devoid of others within the community. For King, this meant that humanity was a family that needed each other. In one of his famous quotes, he remarks, "We are tied together in the single garment of destiny, caught in an inescapable network of mutuality."[26] The quest for liberation for blacks in America was also a quest for justice to others who suffered injustice and oppression. Because humanity is mutually dependent, concern for justice and liberation must also include everyone.

On the other hand, Tutu believed that ultimately the capacity to confront apartheid was grounded in the liturgy and language of the church. Tutu, as an Anglican priest, maintained that Christian concepts, such as forgiveness and reconciliation, are applicable not only to the church but also to all human relations. Tutu maintains this language is intelligible to all humanity and essential to overcoming injustice and division. For Tutu one can only have true knowledge of self, the world, and God through the knowledge of others.[27] *Ubuntu*, says Battle, declares "persons are ends in themselves only through the discovery of who they are in others."[28]

Actualizing the Kingdom of God on Earth

King and Tutu may have arrived at many of the same conclusions regarding the Kingdom of God in the world, however, they seem to have different sensitivities as to the configuration of the Kingdom of God and redemption of Creation to God. Unlike Tutu, King had not witnessed the visceral triumph of the freedom struggle in the United States. In fact, King was in the gallows of protesting for the rights of sanitation workers in Memphis, Tennessee when he was assassinated. In contrast, we are fortunate to partake in Tutu's evolving and optimistic view of the Kingdom of God, which he regards as God's "transfiguration" and "transformation" of creation to God's self. The Kingdom of God, for Tutu, must find practical expression if it is to be meaningful, especially to those who are on the fringes of this new and emerging postmodern

society. Accordingly, for Tutu, reconciliation in South Africa is not a destination. Rather it is a process of building a new community, a new people, and a new nation. The Kingdom of God, especially in the context of South Africa, means building a sustainable sense of community and nationhood affecting all areas of human experience. Villa-Vicencio in *A Theology of Reconstruction* deals with the theological, political, economic, philosophical, and legal debates surrounding the new South Africa. Rightly so, Villa-Vicencio locates the process of reconciliation within the complex realm of social and political liberation. More and more as the story of the new South Africa begins to unfold, the language of reconciliation, once considered almost a cliché, centers around social and political issues of land ownership, wealth distribution, and social stability. Of particular interest is land ownership and redistribution. Villa-Vicencio points to the theological necessity for ownership in the factors that control the lives of people. He writes:

> Theologically central to this focus, as already made clear in the earlier chapters on human rights, is the need for people (as agents of God in history) to participate in the creation of their own future, both economically and politically.[29]

In South Africa while blacks maintain political control, economic power remains in the hands of whites. So could there be reconciliation devoid of economic equality? Moreover, what is the relationship between economic justice and reconciliation? Theologically, Villa-Vicencio proposes, God's creation regarding land ownership ought to be used for all of God's children, and not merely for the privileged few. John Paul II submits, "If the common good requires it, there should be no hesitation even in expropriation."[30] The language of reconciliation in South Africa (and the Kingdom of God more precisely) also means a commitment to not only a "colorless" society, but also a society of fair distribution of land ownership. M. Douglas Meeks, in *God the Economist*, concludes that national and global economies must be seen as part of the "household of God." In the household of God, people must have the basic necessities of life to live. This may even require redistribution from the pockets of the rich few to the bellies of the poor many.[31] Like in America, the inequities of land and economic distribution in South Africa are startling:

> 5 percent of South Africa's population own 80 percent of the personally owned wealth.

> Whites effectively own in excess of 70 percent of the land in South Africa and 95 percent of the "means of production."
>
> As far as control of industry goes, six corporations ultimately control companies whose shares account for more than 85 percent of the total value of shares quoted on the Johannesburg Stock exchange.[32]

The plea for economic redistribution weighs heavily on the hearts of many South Africa amid the newness of nation-building. It demonstrates that reconciliation is an ongoing process of healing and restoration. At issue is the distinction between what Alex Boraine calls "retributive and restorative justice" in the reconciliation process.[33] Boraine questions whether these two approaches are contradictory or complimentary in the move toward reconciliation. The TRC contributed to the conception of restorative justice, but did not attend to the questions raised by retributive justice, such as land redistribution. Reconciliation requires to a large measure a synthesis of both restorative and retributive justice. Reconciliation with justice requires restorative justice in its vision and goals. It must seek to restore and heal in order to form a more just community of persons. In the final analysis, restoration also requires equality and justice as it relates to material resources as well.

Conclusion

We have observed the extent to which King and Tutu bring scathing critiques to bear on the individualistic readings of reconciliation characteristic of the modern era. The centrality of human dignity was an abiding principle in King's promulgation of the beloved community. Innate human dignity as divinely given by God is what informed much of King's attack on segregation. Segregation was counter to the reality and actualization of the beloved community because it denied the possibility of brotherhood met with justice and human dignity. Reconciliation for King involved integration and the creation of a society where barriers of separation are no longer present. Not only desegregation, but full integration was a fundamental part of his vision for the beloved community. Likewise, the influence of Tutu on shaping the mood of the TRC is emphasized by Krog in the way that Tutu moderated the sessions and reflected in those selected to sit on the commission. The preoccupation with individual autonomous thinking in the modern era denied communal responsibilities, relegated to individual subjectivity. Tutu, however, was able to give credence to the traditional Judeo-Christian conception of reconciliation that we find in Taylor,

Ritschl, Farmer, and Denney. However, he goes further by narrating the salvific work of God in Christ as encompassing the social and political order as well. God reigns over all creation and declares God's justice and way of being in the world in all dimensions of life—personal, social, political, economic, and the like. From this perspective, Tutu advances the centrality of healing, forgiveness, and restoration in terms of reconciliation.

In the life and thought of King and Tutu, we find that reconciliation ultimately means both personal and social liberation. King's conception of the beloved community, which informed much of his intellectual, spiritual, and social quest for justice, brought together reconciliation and liberation in a way that is authentic to the Christian faith tradition. That the quest for liberation was not merely a plight to end the suffering of blacks, rather that it was the emphatic freedom of all who suffered and the affirmation of human dignity and brotherhood within the human family. It shows commitment not only to liberation but also to reconciliation as well. The beloved community, in its vision and eschatological hope, envisioned a condition where human relations are interdependent. And that nonviolent interaction and brotherly love are guiding principles.

King and Tutu's conceptions are consistent with the traditional doctrine of reconciliation. However, they go further by emphasizing the liberating power of reconciliation. That the efforts of many, such as Tutu, Mandela, Boraine, the ANC, and others, sought to create a new South Africa, different from the old, is a testament to the power of reconciliation and the hope it embodies. Through the vision of the TRC and King's beloved community, the people of South Africa and America were able to confront the past, grapple with its hideousness, and expose the wounds of a racist history of exploitation.

5

The Power of Nonviolence: Mohandas K. Gandhi's Influence on King and Tutu

God will judge between the nations and will settle disputes for many peoples. They will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation will not take up sword against nation, nor will they train for war anymore.[1]

We must become the change that we seek.[2]

King and Tutu embraced the idea of nonviolence. At the same time, they came to very different conclusions as to its application and efficacy in all circumstances. Both figures gained inspiration and strategic insight from Mohandas "Mahatma" Gandhi. Shortly after the Montgomery Bus Boycott, King was encouraged by Bayard Rustin, Stanley Levison, and Harris Wofford to take a major trip to India to study Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence.[3] During the visit, King met with Gandhi's disciples, India's political officials, and traveled extensively across India, mainly to Agra, Delhi, and Karachi. The trip broadened King's scope of the potential of nonviolence in the American freedom struggle. Through this experience, King became acquainted with Gandhi the man. Gandhi's ability to throw off his capitalistic desire and personal discipline deepened King's appreciation for him. At every phase of King's leadership and thought, his commitment to Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence was consistent.

The context played a far greater role in shaping Tutu's understanding of nonviolence. Although he considered himself a "man of peace," he was not convinced that the nonviolent strategies of Gandhi and King would be successful in South Africa. King and Tutu seem to find

agreement that nonviolence is fundamentally part of what it means to be Christian. Yet, they looked to Gandhi for practical expression. They recognized that Gandhi's practices were consistent with the life and teachings of Jesus Christ. Furthermore, that Gandhi helped to advance Christian practices of nonviolence by demonstrating its applicability for social and political revolution.

Because of the role nonviolence played in the life and context of King and Tutu, I briefly examine the influence of Gandhi as well. More broadly, I am concerned with initiating a conversation between Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence and the Christian idea of nonviolence reflected in the teachings of Christ and the Sermon on the Mount. From this perspective I compare them on the question of nonviolence, and how it functions in King and Tutu's conception of reconciliation and community. As will be seen, King was an absolutist when it came to nonviolence. For King, nonviolence was not simply a strategy to fight injustice. Nonviolence was also a way of life and fundamental to what it means to be fully human. Although Tutu embraced nonviolence as a way of life and strategy, he stands closer to Dietrich Bonhoeffer as a contextual theologian. Tutu does not go as far as King in holding a nonviolent stance at all cost. Tutu held that nonviolence is consistent with the Gospel, but should be contextualized in light of the reality of human suffering. King, however, followed Mahatma Gandhi's principles of nonviolence as an absolute and eternal ideal. At the core of King's vision of the beloved community is nonviolence as a personal and social practice.

This chapter will offer a short review of Gandhi's life and thought, followed by Gandhi's impact on Tutu due to his legacy in South Africa as a proving ground for nonviolent resistance. Then I continue in exploring Gandhi's impact on King's conception of nonviolence. I also bring King into dialogue with the pacifist tradition as represented in the work of John Howard Yoder. It is my hope that by establishing a conversation with King and Yoder on the question of nonviolence it will yield fresh insights on the often controversial relationship between nonviolence and political protest in the Christian tradition.

In the Footsteps of Peace: A Brief Appraisal of Gandhi and Nonviolent Resistance

Far too often, theologians have attempted to co-opt the idea of nonviolence solely within the Christian narrative. Before moving on to King

and Tutu's understanding of nonviolence, some attention should be given to the life and thought of Gandhi. Certainly, racist and elitist attitudes toward traditions outside the purview of the West have fostered a relentless denial of Gandhi's contributions to Christian thought. Considering Gandhi's influence on King and Tutu creates an opportunity for such an exploration. There is little evidence that King or Tutu had any serious or ongoing relationship with Gandhi on a personal level. Gandhi was an entire generation removed from King and Tutu's pilgrimage. In many studies on King and Tutu, Gandhi receives only a footnote of attention, in part due to the far-removed historical and cultural context in which he lived. But Gandhi's unquestionable influence on King and evolving presence in South Africa demonstrates his significance in the life of King and Tutu. When King read Gandhi as a student at Crozer Theological Seminary, he immediately embraced Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence as a method of political protest. Hearing Mordecai Johnson, then president of Howard University in Washington, DC, give an inspiring lecture on Gandhi, he ran out and purchased as many of Gandhi's writings as he could find. He recognized in that moment that Gandhi had something very profound to say about the freedom struggle. What appears to be less obvious is Gandhi's influence on Tutu. Tutu had no dramatic experience or interaction with Gandhi's thought as with King. However, Tutu characterized himself as a man of peace and looked to the wealth of resources in South Africa's historical experience, of which Gandhi was tantamount. Overall, Gandhi provided enormous resources for both King and Tutu as they considered the possibilities and limitations of nonviolence as a method of social transformation.

Seeds of Nonviolent Resistance: The Life of Gandhi

In the same manner as King and Tutu, Gandhi's life was indispensable in shaping his philosophy of nonviolence. Born on October 2, 1869 on the west coast of India, into a Vaishnava family of the *Vallabhacharya* tradition, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was later given the title "Mahatma," or Great Soul, of which he attributed to the people of India. He belonged to the Vaishya caste, the third category in the occupational division of the Hindu society. Living at a time when the barriers between castes were beginning to deteriorate, Gandhi's grandfather Uttamchand served for many years as the princeling of Porbandar in western India. Both the deterioration of the caste system and his grandfather's position gave the Gandhi family a newfound

social status among dignitaries and political structures. Gandhi's father also served as prime minister of the small Wankaner state. Because of his family's status, Gandhi grew up very cultured and well to do.

Ignatius Jesudasan, in *A Gandhian Theology of Liberation*, insists that Gandhi's childhood and family orientation provided the groundwork for his later encounters with other religions and political structures.[4] He says, "The family was to be Gandhi's model or ideal image of the polis and politics."[5] Jesudasan maintains that the methods of Gandhi's adult life were to become part of Gandhi even as a boy. As a young man, Gandhi absorbed the significance of Shravana and Harishchandra (Hindu mythical characters who represented the ideal devotion and duty to parents and honesty respectively) that informed his attitude toward Christ.[6] A common scenario played out in the lives of Gandhi, King, and Tutu is that all of them came from relatively well to do, two-parent families. They experienced early on the beauty of strong familial ties, economic security, and a context in which religious and moral values were taught and engrained into their personalities. King's experience growing up in the middle-class neighborhood on Sweet Auburn avenue in Atlanta, Georgia was emblematic of Gandhi's strong family upbringing. As I have said earlier, their families were as much part of their theological formation as their academic training. Gandhi, like King and Tutu, was steeped early in the lessons of integrity, truth, love, and compassion—foundations that would be guiding forces in their life's work.

In many regards, the ultimate objective for Gandhi was reconciliation, built on love, truth, forgiveness, and nonviolence. These truths were revealed to Gandhi very early in his life. At the age of thirteen, Gandhi was married, under the arrangement of his parents, to Kasturbai who was the daughter of a Porbandar merchant named Gokuldas Nakanji. This union lasted for sixty-two years. Though deeply in love with his wife, for many years Gandhi was haunted by the "shackles of lust," that gave him a relentless feeling of guilt. This feeling heightened in the event of his father's death. During the final hours of Gandhi's father's life, he left his father's bedside to be with his wife, Kasturbai. His father died moments later. While in England, Gandhi became familiar with British life and culture. Even while struggling with his own identity as an Indian in England, Gandhi soon realized that his ultimate loyalties would be to his home country. Subsumed with dietary concerns, Gandhi cultivated the discipline that would in the future be a powerful weapon in the nonviolent struggle to liberate India. As he became familiar with the customs and etiquette of British

culture, Gandhi enrolled in the Inner Temple of the Inns of Court, considered the most aristocratic law studies institution at the time. Though Gandhi found his legal studies quite easy, he also expanded his learning of the Hindu heritage. The Bhagavad Gita, Hinduism's holy scripture, was tremendously appealing for Gandhi because of his affinity for action, as glorified in the Gita. The discipline he acquired in England would later give him an internal power that would be at the center of his philosophy of nonviolence and self-sacrifice.

Although his philosophical views were beginning to take shape as he returned to India, he struggled to understand his professional identity as a practicing attorney. Though knowledgeable about legal procedures and the laws, Gandhi found practicing law quite unsettling. In *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, Gandhi confesses:

> It was difficult to practice at the bar. I had read the laws but not learned how to practice law . . . Besides, I had learned nothing of Indian law . . . I had serious misgivings as to whether I should be able to earn even a living by the profession.[7]

This failure in many regards was a powerful element of providence because it lead to Gandhi's experiments in South Africa and provided the foundation for his future confrontation with the British Empire on Indian soil. After failing as a lawyer in India, Gandhi was offered a case by Porbandar Moslems to represent them as their lawyer in South Africa for a year. Hungry for new experiences and to see a new world, Gandhi prepared to leave for South Africa. King and Tutu are related in their identity within the African diaspora's freedom struggle. They are also related by Gandhi's presence in South Africa and Gandhi's obvious influence on King. These connections reveals much about their shared sources and passion for nonviolence.

Gandhi and Christianity

I highly doubt whether King would have readily embraced Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence or even taken seriously by Tutu if Gandhi had not had some sensitivities toward Christianity. Although Mahatma Gandhi did not profess Christianity in the traditional sense, he embodied many of the principles of Christianity in terms of nonviolence, the "love ethic of Christ," and in his quests for liberation and political freedom. Gandhi's attitude toward Christianity is helpful in seeing how nonviolence functioned in King and Tutu's work. While the influence of Gandhi on King is more direct (as he acknowledged Gandhi's

influence and preached his views), Gandhi's influence on Tutu came in more indirect ways. The King-Gandhi principle of nonviolence was tested in the refiner's fire in South Africa. According to Lewis Baldwin, the sharp polarization in South Africa among religious, tribal, and racial lines made the use of nonviolence a formidable challenge.[8] Violent and often sporadic clashes between factions within the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) contributed to a culture of fear and intensified white backlash. Gandhi's ideas were introduced during the most intense periods of violence in South Africa in the 1980s as leaders looked for peaceful alternatives.[9]

Many of Gandhi's ideas are not in keeping with some of the most fundamental beliefs regarding Christianity. First, Gandhi's perspective is insightful when talking about Christian practices, especially nonviolence. Gandhi found many of the teachings of Christ compatible with his conception of "satyagraha" and "ahimsa."[10] This was especially the case regarding the Sermon on the Mount. For Gandhi, the sermon represented the most powerful expression of his ideas. In the Sermon on the Mount, Christ articulates alternative reality to worldly notions of power and domination. Satyagraha seeks to appeal to the inner psyche of human experience, similar to Schleiermacher's notion of "feeling."[11] Satyagraha, through nonviolence, attempts to tap into the conscience, where the degradation of the other also spells self-degradation and the destruction of the other also means self-destruction.

Gandhi exhibited appreciation for the ethical teachings of Christ. For Gandhi, the teachings of Christ balance the basic human desire for dignity and self-worth amid the social and political forces at work in the individual life. In the sermon, Christ presents the Gospel message as liberating for the marginalized and a pathway toward community and relationality with God and others. The Sermon on the Mount addresses the concern for individuals to exercise rational capacities in moral behavior. It also situates the actions of the individual within the context of the universal redemptive act salvation. Gandhi also recognized that liberation was not merely material but carried over to social, political, and economic spheres. Genuine liberation means wholeness for both the individual and community.

Gandhi came to this realization during his pilgrimage in South Africa. Prior to his assault on the British colonialism in India, Gandhi developed and refined many of his core ideas of nonviolence among poor communities of South African Indians seeking political representation and racial dignity. In his memoirs, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Gandhi recounts how South Africa was a proving ground for his ideas on nonviolent resistance. Here, Gandhi also expressed his sincere

appreciation for Christian ethical teachings on nonviolence and rejection of materialism. While pursuing law in London Gandhi had met many encounters with Christians, but observed a profound contradiction between his understandings of the teachings of Christ and Western Christian practices. Drawing from these experiences, Gandhi looked to the ethics of Christ as an expression of satyagraha. Gandhi maintained that nonviolence leads to centering of one's self with creation. In that sense, nonviolence also means withdrawing participation in indirect associations with violence. Gandhi had a global awareness of the interconnectedness of the marketplace and the degree to which capitalism (through worker exploitation, manipulation of local governments and markets, etc.) perpetuates and fuels violence abroad. By advocating disciplining one's spending practices, Gandhi made connections between individual capitalistic practices with political and economic domination. Nonviolence, therefore, held physical and ontological dimensions. In the quest for truth and righteousness, nonviolence was nonnegotiable, either in word or deed.

Although Gandhi's understanding of Christianity supports the quest for liberation and reconciliation in terms of nonviolence, a denial of materialism, and ethics, he could not accept one of the most basic concepts to classical Christianity—that Christ died for the sins of the world, and in doing so redeemed all of humanity. Nonviolence stands at the core of Gandhi's belief system. Therefore, in Gandhi's estimation if Christ died for sinful humanity then somehow God used violence for God's own purposes. In which case, violence could somehow be attributed to God. Gandhi also could not go along with the idea that "Christ" was the only way in which God had manifested God's self to humanity. Gandhi held that manifestations of the divine were universal in scope and could not be limited to one particular religious expression.

Gandhi, like King, ultimately saw nonviolence as an absolute. According to him, nonviolence arises from what it means to be human. Nonviolence meant rejecting all forms of violence and coercion, including psychological and emotional forms. Of course, King did not accept Gandhi's views on capitalism and Tutu could not follow Gandhi's absolutist position on nonviolence. Nevertheless, they did see Gandhi's life and conception of nonviolence as the quintessential example of Christ's teachings related to nonviolence.

Gandhi's Footprints of Peace in South Africa

In many regards, South Africa can be considered a proving ground for Gandhi and the method of nonviolent resistance. The significance of

Gandhi in South Africa has been neglected in modern scholarship, particularly as it relates to the Truth and Reconciliation movements currently enacted by the new South African government. Long before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), Gandhi on African soil utilized the power of ahimsa and satyagraha to eventually win important rights for Indians in South Africa. Yet, what is the relationship between Gandhi's presence in South Africa and the subsequent liberation movements in South Africa, including the TRCs instituted? Since these commissions are now being implemented in many parts of the world, to what extent has Gandhi's influence affected these movements?

When Gandhi first arrived in South Africa, he would have an experience that would forever change his way of thinking. When asked by a Christian missionary years later about the most creative experience in his life, Gandhi told the story about his Maritzburg Station encounter. Gandhi remarked candidly when he wrote:

> The train reached Maritzburg, the capital of Natal, at about 9 p.m. [A white man entered the compartment] and looked me up and down. He saw that I was a "colored" man. This disturbed him. Out he went and came in with one or two officials. They all kept quiet, when another official came to me and said, "Come along, you must go to the van [third class] compartment."[12]

Though he showed his first-class tickets, Gandhi was forced from his seat and later beaten, all the way to his destination in Pretoria. This experience gave Gandhi profound insight into the Indian condition in South Africa. Not different from the experience of Rosa Parks in Montgomery, Alabama, this encounter of humiliation and degradation would contribute to the transformation of a shy and timid Gandhi into a powerful and dynamic leader. Although Gandhi had only planned to stay for a year in South Africa, he soon became engulfed with the political struggle of the Indian people in the country. Fischer posits that a week into his arrival in Pretoria, Gandhi summoned the Indians of the city to a meeting, a meeting that included not only Indians but also Moslem merchants as well.[13] In order to "present to them a picture of their condition," Gandhi beckoned his people to have both political and personal responsibilities. The Indian merchants were denied opportunities and scolded for their sanitary misgivings. Regular meeting with the Indian merchants lead

to the Natal Indian Congress, with Gandhi as its leader.[14] Because of Gandhi's nonviolent organizing activities, he was not a foreign personality in the mind of Tutu. Unlike Gandhi, Tutu could not altogether accept nonviolence as a universal principle. It is quite understandable how Tutu would arrive at such a position. In the 1980s especially, the South African apartheid regime devised a sophisticated strategy to eliminate antiapartheid efforts. Decades earlier in March 1960, sixty-nine black South Africans engaged in nonviolent protest against Pass Laws were killed by South African police at Sharpeville. It came to be known as the Sharpeville Massacre. In America, King was outraged. During this time, King was active in two organizations geared toward supporting a free South Africa—American Committee on Africa (ACOA) and the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa (ANLCA). Through these two organizations, King dialogued with South African activists like Albert Lithuli to continue its prophetic witness to nonviolence in their native lands. The Sharpeville Massacre and King's early efforts to encourage nonviolence in South Africa were but a foreshadow of the conditions leading to Tutu's position on nonviolence. Nonetheless, through King's influence and his overall legacy in the country, Gandhi provided the space for serious consideration, even a desperate plea, for the impetus of nonviolence in their protest.

Nevertheless, Gandhi was an important figure in the work of King and Tutu. In particular, the South African experience allowed Gandhi to cross paths with Roman Catholics, Quakers, and Protestants, many of whom attempted to convert Gandhi to Christianity. Though unsuccessful, Gandhi was nonetheless profoundly influenced by Christianity. In a sense, Gandhi was a theologian and interpreter of the Christian legacy centered in Christ. Margaret Chatterjee, in *Gandhi's Religious Thought*, proposes that Gandhi soon made distinctions in his mind between Christianity, Christians, and Christ.[15] Perhaps the most significant dimension of Christianity that influenced Gandhi was the Sermon on the Mount.[16] In as much as Christianity was concerned with conversion and service, an inward change of the heart expressed in action, Gandhi was on board. But Gandhi had very little tolerance for the "arrogance of the evangelically twice-born."[17] Able to embrace the idea of a change of heart, which he found consistent with satyagraha, Gandhi found this change as ultimately resulting in changed relationships, such as the one between employer and employee or between Hindu and Moslem.[18] Gandhi could not accept the Christianity

promulgated by those who claimed that conversion leads to salvation and redemption from one's sins. Chatterjee postulates:

> He [Gandhi] singles out the unacceptability of once for all atonement, of vicarious suffering, of conversion (in the light of following one's own *swadharma*), of a single God-man, and the belief that there is "none other name" through whom man can be saved.[19]

Responding to missionaries in Calcutta, Gandhi replied:

> I do not experience spiritual consciousness in my life through that Jesus (the historical Jesus). But if by Jesus you mean the eternal Jesus, if by Jesus you understand the religion of universal love that dwells in the heart, then that Jesus lives in my heart—to the same extent that Krishna lives, that Rama lives. If I did not feel the presence of that living God, at the painful sights I see in the world, I would be a raving maniac and my destination would be the Hooghli [river]. As, however, that Indweller shines in the heart, I have not been a pessimist now or ever before.[20]

According to Gandhi, Christ was "a martyr, an embodiment of sacrifice and a divine teacher, but not as the most perfect man ever born."[21] Though Gandhi was given a number of books to read on Christianity, none stuck to him more than Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is within You*. Regarding his religious beliefs, Gandhi was a free thinker; he recognized the flaws in Christianity as well as in his own Hindu beliefs. He could not accept Christianity on the grounds that it was either "the perfect religion or the greatest religion." He had seen transformation among men and women of other religions as with Christianity and saw no need to embrace it whole-heartedly.

In South Africa, Gandhi launched a series of campaigns against unfair taxation and in defense of indentured laborers. Fischer insists that "Appeal" was the key to Gandhi's politics. Gandhi's strategy was to appeal to the common sense and morality of his adversary.[22] Gandhi published two pamphlets: *An Appeal to Every Briton in South Africa* and *The Indian Franchise, an Appeal*. It can be said that Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence was born out of his experience in South Africa. Returning from Bombay with his family to stay longer in South Africa, Gandhi was greeted in Durban by angry white residents. He was accompanied by about eight hundred Indian passengers as a show of support and protection for their emerging leader. After leaving the ship, Gandhi was beaten severely and had to escape the mob in a disguise. The notion of encountering violence through the power of nonviolence became clearer then. When asked what he would do if

whites made good on their threats, to what extent could he stand on his principle of nonviolence, Gandhi replied:

> I hope God will give me the courage and the sense to forgive them and to refrain from bringing them to law. I have no anger against them. I am only sorry for their ignorance and their narrowness. I know that they sincerely believe that what they are doing today is right and proper. I have no reason therefore to be angry with them.[23]

This conviction was deeply rooted in Gandhi's religious beliefs. Two vows became evident to Gandhi, that he should live "a life of celibacy," and that he must "accept poverty as a constant companion through life."[24] The Bhagavad Gita carried special meaning for Gandhi. Much of the Gita's teaching centers on sacrifice and nonpossession as a means to Salvation. Gandhi grew in his religious convictions and progressively began relinquishing himself from his worldly possessions. For Gandhi, even the body was a possession in terms of pure Truth. According to him, the body should be committed to service. Gandhi pronounced:

> We thus arrive at the ideal of total renunciation and learn to use the body for the purposes of service so long as it exists, so much so that service, and not bread, becomes with us the staff of life. We eat and drink, sleep and awake, for service alone. Such an attitude of mind brings us real happiness . . .
>
> And those who have followed out this vow of voluntary poverty to the fullest extent possible . . . testify that when you dispossess yourself of everything you have, you really possess all the treasures of the world.[25]

These sentiments illustrate the formation of a man who would lead the Indian people in their struggle for freedom and liberation. Perhaps the most powerful instrument used in South Africa, says Lischer, was a weekly journal known as *Indian Opinion* (founded by Gandhi in 1903).[26] This material was a way of educating and informing the Indian community, not only in South Africa but also across the world, of their condition.

Gandhi read Henry David Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience* and even used this designation to describe the struggle to English speakers. But this was not fully reflective of what Gandhi felt they were attempting to do. "Passive Resistance" was also used to describe the Indian struggle in South Africa. Gandhi combined the terms "*Satya* (Truth)" and "*Agraha* (Force and Firmness)" to create "satyagraha," that is say "the Force which is born of Truth and Love or Non-violence"[27] Gandhi coined the

term to distinguish the the struggle taking place in the United Kingdom and South Africa.[28] In Gandhi's eyes, the meaning is clear:

> Its root meaning is holding on to truth, hence Truth-force. I have also called it Love-force or Soul-force. In the application of *Satyagraha* I discovered in the earliest stages that pursuit of truth did not permit violence being inflicted on one's opponent but that he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For what appears to be truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of Truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but on one's self.[29]

The philosophy of satyagraha in practice in South Africa was an embodiment of ahimsa, the Hindu belief of nonforce or nonviolence.[30] The concept of ahimsa is not restricted to Hinduism, it is also common to the other Indian religions of Jainism and Buddhism. According to Peter Bishop, of all the Indian religions, Jainism is the strongest proponent of the concept. Nonetheless, Gandhi understood ahimsa as truth, for in each lies the meaning of the other.[31]

Satyagraha proved to be a success in South Africa. But what is the relationship between this success and later reconciliation movements in South Africa led by leaders such as Desmond Tutu? Was Tutu himself influenced by Gandhi's presence in South Africa and was there a relationship, a borrowing of ideas, between Gandhi and early black leaders in South Africa? Though Gandhi's writings do not suggest such a relationship, the centrality of forgiveness and confession in Tutu's understanding of reconciliation ignites curiosity about such a relationship. In Tutu's *No Future without Forgiveness*, he recalls his experiences during the dark days of struggle during the black's rebellion of the unjust South African government.[32] Here Tutu exposits "True reconciliation exposes the awfulness, the abuse, the pain, the degradation, the truth."[33] Similar to Gandhi's understanding of ahimsa, Tutu embraces the centrality of truth and confession in the reconciliation process. But of course, for Tutu this was rooted in Christ. Furthermore, Tutu's reluctance to accept the principle of nonviolence without reservation may have been justified insofar as nonviolence presupposes a sense of moral consciousness. The question of moral consciousness was debatable in South Africa, as was the case in Hitler's Germany toward Jews. Some 150 people were killed at Sebokeng in November 1984; nearly 243 people were killed and wounded at Crossroads in February 1985; another 43 were murdered in Langa on March 21, 1985.[34] These

events merely point the fact that for Tutu, the context was paramount in reflecting on the question of nonviolence in South Africa.

The Impact of Gandhi on King

Martin Luther King, Jr. took a very different approach to Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence. Becoming perhaps Gandhi's greatest disciple of nonviolence, King embraced Gandhi's philosophy as a methodological weapon to fight apartheid in America; he took hold of Gandhi's principles as a way of life. Through King, Gandhi profoundly influenced the civil rights struggle and countless black freedom fighters in America. King was influenced by a number of liberal theologians such as Walter Rauschenbusch, George Davis, and L. Harold DeWolf. However, King adopted the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi as a method to confront the harsh realities of America. James Cone posits:

> Though liberal theology influenced King's philosophical understanding of love, it was the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi . . . from India . . . who provided the intellectual justification and the methodological implementation of his perspective on nonviolent direct action.[35]

As early as the second year at Crozer Theological Seminary, King had become a believer in the precepts of the Gandhian philosophy of nonviolence.[36] It was at a lecture King heard by Mordecai Johnson in Philadelphia that spurred his interest in the Gandhian philosophy of nonviolence. The president of Howard University, Mordecai Johnson returned from India and spoke how the power of Gandhi's satyagraha gained independence for India. While the biblical legacy of Christ remained the center of King's theology, he shared similar views with Gandhi that appealed to the redemptive nature of suffering related to the philosophy of nonviolence. When Gandhi remarked, "[It] is the vindication of truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but on one's self . . . Rivers of blood may have to flow before we gain our freedom, but it must be our blood," he was conveying the essence of satyagraha. He affirmed, "real suffering bravely born melts even a heart of stone . . . [it] is the potency of suffering . . . there lies the key to *satyagraha*."[37] King matched these sentiments when he wrote:

> We will match your capacity to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force. We will not hate you, but we cannot in all good conscience obey your unjust

> laws. Do to us what you will and we will still love you. Bomb our homes and threaten our children; send your hooded perpetrators of violence into our communities and drag us out of some wayside road, beating us and leaving us half dead, and we will still love you. But we will soon wear you down by our capacity to suffer. And in winning our freedom we will so appeal to your heart and conscience that will win you in the process.[38]

The Judeo-Christian idea of love was consistent with the nonviolent philosophy of Gandhi for King. Preston N. Williams proposes that nonviolence and justice were inseparably part of his Christian heritage and religious understanding of African Americans.[39] Williams expresses that while Tillich, Wieman, DeWolf, and others have a profound effect on King's intellectual development, the two abiding pillars of love and justice emerged from his early experiences as a child from his father and during his days at Morehouse College among men such as Benjamin E. Mays, George Kelsey, and William Holmes Borders. In an essay entitled *Gandhi and King: On Conflict Resolution*, J. Deotis Roberts contends that King's acceptance of Gandhian thought came by way of several African American leaders.[40] Among these were William Stuart Nelson, Howard Thurman and his wife, and Benjamin E. Mays.

Roberts highlights the influence of Nelson on King's intellectual development over and above the prevailing sentiment that much of King's formation was drawn from white scholars. Preston Williams supports this claim when he speaks of Reinhold Niebuhr's realism and Paul Tillich's love as being. On the other hand, Roberts maintains that Nelson's study of Hindu and Gandhian thought as well as his meeting with Gandhi contributed heavily to King's understanding of nonviolence. According to Roberts, Nelson has been a bridge between Gandhi and black Americans. Through Nelson's associations with Benjamin Mays at Morehouse and Howard Thurman, a forum was developed that eventually led to King being influenced by Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence.

King in the Pacifist Tradition: In Dialogue with John Howard Yoder

Although King did not consider himself a pacifist, he adopted many of pacifist practices and tenets in his work. This is perhaps due to the fact that the pacifist tradition in America was perceived as disengaged and apolitical. On the other end of the spectrum, many within the pacifist tradition did not embrace King into their ranks. Some look upon King's

use of nonviolence as coercive and inappropriately methodical. Also, some within the pacifist community thought it was problematic for King to introduce Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence as an example of Christian practice. King's use of nonviolence could be construed as idolatrous within a Christian framework. One of the chief architects of the pacifist tradition in America was John Howard Yoder, a contemporary of King. In general, Yoder and King have greatly affected contemporary understandings of Christian pacifism. Although Christian pacifism finds many expressions, King and Yoder were perhaps among the most visible proponents. As a Baptist minister, theologian, and civil rights leader, King employed the philosophy of nonviolence as a strategic force to bring about social change. Yoder, on the other had, embraced nonviolence as a fundamental practice of the Christian faith, characterizing what it means to be Christian and thus establishing the grounds for a pilgrim church.[41] I believe that bringing Yoder and King into conversation on the subject of nonviolence will yield fruitful resources for practices of nonviolence in an extremely violent world.

Years after the contextual issues of King and Yoder surrounding World War II and the civil rights movement, the critical question of the efficacy of nonviolence persists. Exactly what is the meaning of nonviolence and how does it function in the Christian church? Furthermore, what role does nonviolence play in shaping the social and political spheres? King and Yoder, though different in their historical experiences and the practice of nonviolence, held firmly to the notion that the modern world could no longer afford to resolve conflicts using violent and coercive means. In short, the only possible outcome to the use of violence as either a personal or political practice was self-annihilation. But while King and Yoder share a common commitment to the idea of nonviolence as a personal practice and social telos, there are many points at which they part company as well.

King and Yoder find the roots of their ideas about nonviolence planted firmly in the Christian church. The church, for both figures, was the primary context and workshop to develop and practice their pilgrimage of nonviolence. As observed earlier, Gandhi deeply affected King's understanding of nonviolence. Nevertheless, the Black Church provided King with the hermeneutical framework by which to accept and apply Gandhi's ideas to his social context in the Jim Crow South. Rodney Sawatsky considers Yoder a son of the Mennonite Church, in summarizing the essence of Yoder's ideas.[42] Yoder began his intellectual development through engagement of Mennonite scholars Guy F. Hershberger and Harold S. Bender at Goshen College. Yoder's

experience at Goshen College and Oak Grove congregation would provide the foundations of Yoder's exposition of nonviolence. Yoder's intellectual development during his doctoral studies in Basel brought him in contact with Karl Barth. The extent to which Barth influenced Yoder is seen in his *Karl Barth and the Problem of War*.[43] Yoder was involved with relief workers in France in his work with the Mennonite Central Committee. He wrote a great deal about nonviolence while teaching at Goshen College and in his service on the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities. The challenge to understanding Yoder's conception of nonviolence is that he wrote so profoundly in so many different areas and so many different ways. Yoder would not be bound with the shackles of modern academic discipline. In speaking of how reading Yoder led to his conversion to pacifism, Stanley Hauerwas remarks, "You have to work to read a lot of what John wrote, not because he wrote obscurely but because he found a way to publish in the most obscure places."[44]

To understand nonviolence in Yoder's theological system is challenging since pacifism emanates from almost every area of his reflection. The tradition that Yoder inherited and became an intricate part of may help to understand Yoder's conception of nonviolence and social transformation. Yoder inherited the Anabaptist Mennonite Church tradition rooted in ideas of reformation and freedom. Key figures in this movement were Huldreich Zwingli, Michael Sattler, Martin Bucer, and Wolfgang Capito, among others. The activities surrounding this movement led to a split between "state churchdom" and "Anabaptism." These splits took place in different places between 1520 and 1540. Yoder maintains that these events were a "prototypical laboratory of the history of Christian thought about violence."[45]

Yoder drew heavily from the Anabaptist movement in their history of nonviolent resistance.[46] The nonresistant witness of the actors during the time established a continuing legacy of peace and nonresistance. Even in a postmodern context, Yoder points to the 1930s' movement to distinguish between what is meant by "nonresistance" and "nonviolence."[47] Niebuhr led this effort in drawing distinctions between nonresistance, active nonviolent combat, and programmatic political pacifism. The nonresistance aspect of the peace movement referred to the ideas exposed by Tolstoy and the Mennonites. This model proposes to reflect the teachings and examples of Christ but fails to address the problem of collective evil. The active nonviolent form of pacifism refers to the methods used by Gandhi. The latter, as a mixture of the two, supposedly does not consider the nature of human sin. In

Christian Attitudes to War, Peace, and Revolution, Yoder digs deeper into Niebuhr's position on these forms of Christian pacifism.[48] Here, Yoder locates the civil rights movement with Niebuhr and the wider spectrum of Christian pacifism.

In line with Franklin Littell and Donovan Smucker, Niebuhr would perhaps describe King's activities as a form of pragmatic pacifism. According to Yoder, Hershberger criticized King's actions initially as being coercive, but eventually affirmed King after conversations and visits.[49] After King's reflections of the Montgomery Bus Boycott in *Stride toward Freedom*, attitudes about King's position as being coercive changed dramatically. As a response to the lack of nonviolent political engagement from some Mennonites, Yoder offered reasons why North American Mennonites took a "separatist" attitude toward the civil rights movement. Clearly, Niebuhr had an effect on Mennonite conceptions of Christian pacifism and subsequently influenced Yoder as well. Overall, the distinctions drawn by Niebuhr, and his analysis in relating Christ to social power, influenced Yoder's understanding of nonviolence as it relates to social transformation.

Quite different from Yoder, King was part of a larger conversation among black religious leaders on strategies that would lead to total liberation of black Americans. There was a strong link between the Black Church and Gandhian philosophy prior to King's pilgrimage. These figures helped make it possible for King to receive Gandhi's views. In particular, Mordecai Johnson and William Stuart Nelson (then vice president of Howard University) were disciples of Gandhi. Roberts proposes that Nelson, though little known, is crucial to understanding Gandhi and King. Nelson studied in India many times and examined closely the documents that shaped Gandhi's concept: The Vedas, The Upanishads, The Ramayana, The Mahabharta, The Bhagavad Gita, The Laws of Manu, as well as Jaina and Buddhist documents.[50]

More than any other African American, Nelson was committed to understanding Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence. Nelson was in closely associated with others who had a profound impact on King's life and thought. At Howard University, Nelson dialogued with Mays and others. It was Mays, a close friend of the family and mentor of King, who influenced him into going into the ministry.[51] Howard Thurman, who also associated with Nelson, invited Gandhi to the United States. Reflecting on the struggle of blacks in America, Gandhi responded prophetically, "If it comes true, it may be through the Negroes that the unadulterated message of nonviolence will be delivered to the world."[52]

In the face of incredible degradation, King continued to pronounce that nonviolence was not merely a method at the hands of an oppressed people to fight injustice. It was also a way of life and expressing community, love, peace, and fellowship.

Yoder's Ecclesiology and King's Beloved Community

King's vision of nonviolence and the church was deeply informed by his idea of the beloved community. In many ways, looking at Yoder's conception of community and human fellowship illuminates King's idea of community. Cartwright, in *The Royal Priesthood*, recognizes Yoder's vision of the church as a call for faithful servanthood that renders the confession of Christ's lordship as a meaningful activity.[53] For Yoder, the role of the church, intrinsic in its existence, is to serve God in community as messenger of reconciliation. Cartwright maintains, "The royal character of this community can be specified in terms of its participation in God's intentions for the direction of the world."[54] This is achieved through the embodiment of certain social practices of faithful Christianity. Practices such as basin and towel, Eucharistic sharing, "binding and loosing," and martyrdom are key expressions of faithfulness. Hence the church has the twofold function of "serving God and ruling the world. Smith and Zepp affirm how "the vision of the Beloved Community was the organizing principle of all King's thought and activity."[55]

King emphasizes the role of the church as serving God through service to humanity. Unlike Yoder, King did not have an explicit ecclesiology but some of the aspects of the beloved community do exhibit some of what Yoder speaks of in his ecclesiology and vision of the church. King, like Yoder, was concerned with the unity of the church, but not at the expense of truth. That truth was found in the quest for freedom of the oppressed. In their differences, both King and Yoder recognized the urgency of ecumenism. At the core is a call for faithful discipleship and to recognize where the church has been faithless. In Yoder's view, the way forward as it relates to the future of the church is not to "reinvent" the existing church but to "reimagine" or see the church in a different light. Herein lies new possibilities and requires a rereading of history or to see history doxologically.[56] In his essay, "To Serve Our God and to Rule the World," Yoder insists:

> To see history doxologically is to own the Lamb's victory in one's own time. Yesterday Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the victims who in our century have enabled us to keep talking about the power of meekness,

> would have been fifty-nine. The power of his vulnerability taught us again something about the weakness of Caesar . . . It took the principled noncooperation of America's Black minority to enable elite powerbearers . . . to make small steps toward being honest with the American dream.[57]

Yoder recognized the power of the civil rights movement and King's conception of the beloved community. King also viewed history differently. He observed that the significance of human suffering reveals God's triumphant march to set free those in bondage. For King, the work of God in Christ throughout history has been a struggle to redeem suffering humanity and to call oppressors to repentance. Hence, the "Lamb's victory" is found in the idea that love can conquer hate and violence must yield to the power of nonviolence. Jane Elyse Russell offers an analysis some strands of nonviolent church communities.[58] In particular, the Anabaptist movement and John Dear's "ecclesiology of nonviolence" are of specific interest to this study.[59] Dear points to the witness of King and Romero to illustrate examples of such nonviolence-based communities. Nonetheless, for both King and Yoder, the question of nonviolence is an intricate dimension to their conception of faithful Christian community.

The significance of the "powers" in relation to nonviolence plays a key role in this inquiry. King did not explicitly use the language of powers. He spoke of moral and spiritual forces and often alluded to the existence and reality of evil. Whether his understanding of the powers was similar to that of Yoder cannot be determined. Yoder begins his chapter on "Christ and Power" in *The Politics of Jesus* by disputing popular claims that the radical personalism of Christ has nothing to do with power structures. The love ethic found in the thought of King directly links the message of Christ with a nonviolent witness to the powers. It suggests that the objective is not to destroy or humiliate the offender, rather it is to befriend such a one through the love of Christ. Hence, evil is not returned with evil, but evil is overcome with love. For many, King's actions were considered a laboratory for testing theories of social ethics.[60] In his analysis, Yoder articulates the arguments of some regarding the use of nonviolence as a faithful witness. Niebuhr, like a few during the civil rights movement, criticized Gandhi's method of nonviolence in order to affect change in social structures to favor the oppressed as being coercive power and therefore sinfully selfish.[61] Respondents point to the moral integrity of such movements, as with Gandhi and King, and the use of nonviolence

as an expression of that moral integrity. King affirmed that Christians have a moral obligation to resist collective evil.[62]

Yoder places this discussion in the context of American progressivistic thought and offers background into what is meant by the "American dream." That everyone is affected by the American dream, which King appealed to, causes one to closely consider the relevance both had for social and political oppression is undeniable. At the heart of Yoder's analysis of King is the "power equation." The idea that strength is found in weakness is an abiding principle seen in King's project. Says Yoder, "It is the Lamb who was slain who is worthy to receive power. It is the victim who will see the victory." King and black Americans, as victims of oppression, will see the victory. But Yoder wants us to disentangle the Christian hope for history and the American dream. The Christian hope for history was the idea that there was "cosmic companionship" during the Montgomery Bus Boycott. This "companionship" is what led to the Supreme Court ruling against local laws just in time. Meanwhile, the American dream postulates the idea that the Constitution prevailed. Yoder proposes that bearing the cross for King was a matter of choice and vulnerable faithfulness. Indeed, this choice was costly and was a faithful witness that made the confession of Christ of profound depth.

While Yoder and King are different in many regards, they both shared a passion for faithful witness in the world. A significant part of that faithful witness is nonviolence—not in a passive sense, but active. King held that "the most potent weapon available to an oppressed people in their quest for justice is the weapon of nonviolence." Yoder seems to argue that "nonviolent resistance" is good as long as it is working. For King the motivation behind confronting social and political oppression was because it hindered the embodiment of a beloved community. Hence, seeking to abolish segregation laws nonviolently was purposed to breakdown the barriers that hindered a community motivated by love.

Conclusion

King studied Gandhian philosophy with intention of using it for confronting racial segregation in the South. Tutu views Gandhi's work as an inspirational example of Christian practices of nonviolence. Nonviolence carried more of a spiritual dimension that involved a way of living Christ-like. That King embraces Gandhian principles of nonviolence is largely due to Christian ethical principles. Gandhi called

Christ the "prince of satyagrahis," and embraced the Sermon on the Mount.[63] Tutu, however, never fully accepts Gandhian philosophy.

The use of violence for King was impractical and immoral. Violence thrives off of hatred rather than love. Hatred and violence only intensifies the fears of the white majority and lessens their shame of prejudice. He echoed Booker T. Washington when he said, "Let no man pull you down so low as to make you hate him." He also argued that violence is immoral because it increases the existence of evil. Hate begets hate, King affirmed. For King, violence was also unreasonable because it would only be crippled by not being able to appeal to the conscience of opponents. This would merely raise anxieties and fears and make possibilities of reconciliation impossible.

King's pilgrimage to nonviolence as a way of life and strategy of resistance came as a result of his understanding of the love ethic of Christ along with his reading of Gandhi's thought. Though King drew heavily from a mirage of theological and philosophical perspectives, the love ethic of Christ provided the basis for his understanding of nonviolence. One cannot, however, examine King's conception of nonviolence without also considering the influence of Gandhi. Christ provided the idea of nonviolence, but Gandhi showed King a method to apply this principle to fighting social injustice. The love ethic of Christ was essential in giving King a visual expression of the power of nonviolence and its promises for radical social transformation. Drawing from the love ethic of Christ, and also Gandhi, King viewed nonviolence as an absolute. One of the assumptions of King's was that nonviolence appeals to moral conscience. In many instances, the task of nonviolent protest was to provoke a violent reaction, only to respond nonviolently. This was done to point out the underlying hatred and violence that was already present, yet hidden in secrecy.

This is perhaps one of the major weaknesses in King's thought. To adopt the idea of nonviolence in all situations means to not take seriously the Niebuhrian critique concerning human sin. For example, the ethical viability of King's use of nonviolence may be called into question by the willingness to sacrifice even children. King's insistence to use nonviolence at all cost may have been too costly. In some instances, King took part in demonstrations where children were encouraged to participate in nonviolent protest, to be bitten by dogs and clubbed by police, without remorse or shame. However, the consistency of nonviolence with King's goal of the beloved community points to his commitment to reconciliation, but not without liberation. Although King did not express the language of liberation and reconciliation explicitly,

in his embrace of nonviolence these themes are salient to his message. Others would come later who would place the relationship between reconciliation and liberation in clear terms, building on the liberating spirit of the movement and the reconciling tradition of the Christian church.

On the other hand, what Tutu brings to bear is a contextual understanding of nonviolence. He maintains that the question of nonviolence must be contextualized if it is to have currency. For example, in the case of a Hitler and the Third Reich or a DeKlerk in apartheid, should one still maintain a stance of nonviolence when the oppressor appears to have no conscience? After returning from a trip to the United States, Tutu issued a statement calling for international sanctions against the South African government for its atrocities. He returned to observe that in two years some 1200 black South Africans had been killed due to political unrest. Months later in June 1986, the government attempted to undermine protests marking the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising, which led to 2,000 people arrested. Tutu could not ignore the social and political realities of his countrymen as he thought about the question of nonviolence. Tutu seems to follow the contextual theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, though he seems to emphasize nonviolence as the best path toward social transformation and reconciliation. King's understanding of nonviolence may have been advanced with the contextual theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Tutu. In Hitler's Germany, the church worked in concert with the state to perpetuate atrocities against the Jews. Unlike Bonhoeffer and Tutu, King was able to appeal on many occasions to the federal government for legal (and at times militaristic) support of its nonviolent practices. This was not the case in Bonhoeffer's situation when he said that at times it is necessary to "place a spoke in the wheel."[64]

As an Anglican bishop, Desmond Tutu's position concerning nonviolence in South Africa were crucial. In comparing King and Tutu, Baldwin suggests that the context of South Africa made it almost impossible to totally rule out the use of violence in the struggle for liberation.[65] Indeed, King and Tutu were both committed to the "liberation of the oppressed as its highest goal," and envisaged a kind of just society that would emerge from such a struggle.[66] However, Tutu found this position impractical to accept absolutely. Tutu admittedly expressed his lack of confidence that nonviolent means (as the one adopted by Gandhi in India) could be effective only if the oppressor shows some semblance of morality. That was not the case in South

Africa. "I doubt, however, that such a Ghandhian [*sic*] campaign would have saved the Jews from the Nazi holocaust," says Tutu.[67] However, both were committed to justice and liberation. In the final analysis, they both share a common vision of community and recognized the rightful place of nonviolence in the liberation of a people.

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In Dialogue with Liberation Theology

I count Black Theology in the category of liberation theologies. I would hope that my fellow Christian theologians would recognize the bona fides of Black and therefore liberation theology, since I don't want us to break fellowship or cease our dialogue . . . I will not wait for White approbation before I engage in Black or liberation theology, nor will I desist from being so engaged I try to convince my White fellow Christian about the validity of Black or liberation theology, for I believe that the Black or liberation theology exponent is engaged in too serious an enterprise to afford that kind of luxury.[1]

Everywhere in Latin America one finds a tremendous resentment of the United States, and that resentment is always strongest among the poorer and darker peoples of the continent. The life and destiny of Latin America are in the hands of United States corporations. The decisions affecting the lives of South Americans are ostensibly made by their governments, but there are almost no legitimate democracies alive in the whole continent . . . Here we see racism in its more sophisticated form: neo-colonialism.[2]

Although King and Tutu were committed to reconciliation as the ultimate goal of any quest for justice and personhood, it was made abundantly clear in both of their lives that complete liberation was nonnegotiable. Engrained in their theology of reconciliation was this irreducible drive toward actualizing the full potential of oppressed people. They stood shoulder to shoulder in the militant struggle for freedom from the domineering forces of imperialism, colonialism, as well as political and economic subjugation. In their reconciling voice of peace was also a determined and militant proclamation of freedom and justice. For that reason, it is important to address the relationship between King and Tutu, as theologians of reconciliation, in the backdrop of liberation theology, which includes black theology, Latin

American liberation theology, and womanist theology. King and Tutu planted the seeds and even produced the fruits of many of the aims embedded in liberation theologies. Figures such as James Cone, J. Deotis Roberts, Gustavo Gutierrez, Jon Sobrino, and Jacquelyn Grant have been important in founding and developing the field of liberation theology, particularly with respect to the poor. These voices also seem to reflect more fully the aims and liberating visions of King and Tutu.

This chapter seeks to bring King and Tutu in conversation with the broader liberation theology movement. The fact is that liberation theologians and activist were not detached, simply because the discourse of one may have taken place in the streets and the other the library. Scholars and activists alike worked in tandem to bring about the liberation of the oppressed. There is a unifying force that binds all forms of liberation. Some contemporary liberation theologians have observed quite forcefully its interconnectedness with the words:

> Liberation theology arises in response to this corporal violation of human dignity, both as negative critique and emancipatory inspiration. Simultaneously arising out of the black church in the United States, feminist networks in North Atlantic countries, and grassroots religious communities in Latin America, liberation theology demystifies the production of theology in culture. Because it gives interpretive priority to sites of pain, social marginality, and freedom praxis, liberation hermeneutics expose the material alliances of every other theological and ethical system.[3]

Liberation theologians, among the ranks of whom I count King and Tutu, shared a common theme of understanding the nature of God from the perspective of the poor, outcast, humiliated, and socially, economically, and politically disenfranchised. These communities emerged from the same soils of righteous indignation against human suffering in all its forms. Here, I will attempt to locate the work of King and Tutu in the realm of the ongoing conversations in the history and contemporary discourse on liberation theology.

Liberation or Reconciliation?: Black Theology in the Life of King and Tutu

Though rooted within the African American religious experience, the language of black theology has become inclusive of the broader African diaspora's struggle for freedom and justice. It emerged from

the prophetic rage of the black power movement, alongside a maturing Martin Luther King, Jr. On June 16, 1966, Kwame Ture (then known as Stokely Carmichael) gave a stirring speech in Greenwood, Mississippi to a crowd of more than three thousand introducing for the first time the term, "black power." King was presiding over an SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) staff meeting in Atlanta when the report came in that James Meredith had been shot, a day after he started the Freedom March through Mississippi. King's staff agreed that they must continue the march on Meredith's behalf. During the march, King met a young activist who said to him, "I'm not for that nonviolence stuff any more."[4] Another person chimed in, "If one of these damn white Mississippi crackers touches me, I'm gonna knock the hell out of him."[5] To King's surprise and amazement, during the march the student activist began changing the song, "We shall overcome," to "We shall overrun." These sentiments in King's mind represented more than anything a cry of disappointment.

The legitimate indignation of Ture and many of the other young activists had grown weary of ten years of nonviolent protest. After immense suffering and humiliation, they felt little gain had been made using the nonviolent strategy. The language of black power galvanized black youth across the nation, but it was met with ambivalence from some black and white leaders, particularly King. King interpreted black power to mean the economic, political, and social means of blacks to determine their own destiny. The black power movement was incredibly influential in shaping the future of the black theology project. In the grand scheme, it certainly impacted King's thought and vision of the beloved community. After 1965, King began to recognize that if the nonviolent vision of the beloved community was to remain a source of hope for black people, it had to address the bitterness of poverty.

Black theology also affected the black consciousness movement of South Africa, led by figures such as Steve Biko and Chief Albert Lithuli. The themes of black consciousness, power, and theology flowed together as subsidiaries in the same stream. Allan Boesak, one of the most prominent theologians and antiapartheid activists in South Africa, made an insightful distinction between black consciousness and black power. He noted that black consciousness meant an awareness of the humanity and dignity of being black.[6] It communicated that blacks should no longer be ashamed of their black identity. Desmond Tutu also appropriated black theology as a resource of inspiration and liberation. He once observed that black theology

(or African theology as he called it), and black consciousness in general, seeks to "awaken the Black person to a realization of his worth as a child of God, with the privileges and responsibilities that are the concomitants of that exalted status."[7]

For our purposes, we will consider briefly the particular relationship of black theology to King and Tutu. Since James Cone and J. Deotis Roberts have typically represented the historical trajectories of black theology, our discussion will be limited to them. Cone and Roberts locate the African American struggle for liberation within the South African struggle. Bringing Cone and Roberts into conversation with the contributions of King and Tutu offers the theological resources to begin to rethink the nature of liberation and reconciliation in postmodernity. The idea of reconciliation must take seriously Cone's insistence on the material and political liberation of those who suffer. However, Cone's argument is incomplete without the claims about the Christian idea of reconciliation given by Roberts.

Neither Roberts nor Cone, unfortunately, gives us practical solutions for treating the problem of individualism and how to think of "difference" in a postmodern context. John Milbank's critique of liberation theology, in *Theology and Social Theory*, demonstrates the need for theological discourse to challenge modern linguistic presuppositions about social realities, on which liberation theologies have relied.[8] The quest for liberation and reconciliation is not simply about transcending racial difference, but ethnic, racial, and even economic differences. Tutu's notion of "*ubuntu* theology" does advance the idea of reconciliation as community, but at the same time takes seriously the particularities of the individual. The Sermon on the Mount, as a biblical expression of community and individual particularity, in my estimation, provides critical insight into the limits and promises of reconciliation in our world. Reconciliation for all demands a theology of difference or a communitarian theology that celebrates difference and seeks truth in the midst of otherness. It would require a theology existing within the gap between the real and imagined; between dusk and dawn; between the now and the not yet.[9]

Cone and Roberts emerged out of the context of the civil rights movement, evolution of the black power movement, and on into the present.[10] These figures also seek to explain theology from the perspective of the poor and oppressed. Examining their contributions to the discourse on liberation and reconciliation helps us to thoroughly consider if reconciliation is at all possible amid the postmodern insistence on individual liberation (often solely understood in material

terms). Cone, rooted deep within modern theological discourse, views reconciliation as solely an act of racial and economic liberation in essentially materialistic terms. In his classical work *Black Theology Black Power*, Cone sets out to build a theological framework for understanding and appropriating the black power movement of the 1960s in religious terms.[11] For Cone, black theology means reclaiming the cultural and religious roots of the black experience in relation to conceptions of Jesus Christ. Cone seeks to engage in a "theology from below." Conceptions of God and the salvific work of Christ are best developed from the perspective of the poor and oppressed. Because Christ was a first century Jew, a member of an oppressed community at the hands of an oppressive Roman Empire, he shares the experience of suffering and abuse with black Americans and subsequently all who suffer racial, ethnic, or economic oppression. Cone's book *God of the Oppressed* advances his earlier work, however, he answers his critiques by taking seriously the language of reconciliation. Cone believes that reconciliation must take place in the context of liberation. According to him, only the victim can initiate or fuel the reconciliation process.

On the other hand, Roberts challenged Cone's version of black theology by suggesting that the quest for liberation is not the final act of the redeeming work of God in Christ. The ultimate goal is reconciliation and community. Roberts' *Liberation and Reconciliation* emerged as a counterweight to the prevailing discourse on liberation theology during the early 1970s.[12] Roberts' theology is not without its limitations. As I mentioned earlier, the critique Milbank brings to bear on liberation theologians also holds true for Roberts. Roberts does incorporate many of the presuppositions of modernity and rationalism in his thought. However, Roberts' has accomplished the delicate balance in his thought of bringing into harmony liberation and reconciliation. He also roots this synthesis in a biblical framework. According to Roberts, the work of God in Christ has as its end the reconciliation of humanity to God. The salvific work of Christ seeks to liberate persons from all forms of social, political, and economic subjugation, but the essence of the Gospel seeks to build a "reconciled" community of believers in worship and adoration of God. While Cone incorporates Old Testament prophetic themes to speak of reconciliation, Roberts appeals to Pauline writings, such as Romans:5, "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto God's self, thus giving us the ministry of reconciliation." Roberts does not discount the work of liberation. In fact, in his later works, *Black Political Theology*, and *Black Theology*

in Dialogue, he treats the manner in which theology must be discussed in relation to the practical realities of human experience. It must also reflect upon social and political realities in the midst of religious and cultural differences.

In contrast to Cone and Roberts', Tutu's understanding of liberation developed out of the crucible of apartheid in South Africa. Behind Tutu's understanding of reconciliation is the concept of *ubuntu* theology, a theology of difference and otherness. Tutu's thought could perhaps be best understood alongside T. H. Green and his social ontology. According to Green, the individual does not exist, or think, in a vacuum. Neither is the individual self-sufficient and freethinking, as Kant would have us to believe. Rather, persons are dependent upon "social relations" in order to understand who they are and their place in society.[13] Green challenged many of his contemporaries with what may be described as a "social ontology," where individuals are only human through their interactions and associations with other humans. Of course, Tutu draws on his experience with the Bantu tribal tradition and Christology to give a more concrete expression to his understanding of "community" and otherness.

Tutu also views the salvific work of Christ and Christian practices as essential to the idea of reconciliation. His conception of an "African Christian spirituality" understands the work of Christ as a communal event where Christ shares in the suffering of all humanity. It is through Christ that humanity is afforded the means by which to enter into community and demonstrate mutual love and appreciation for others. The most poignant example is observed in the Eucharist celebration. According to Tutu, in the Eucharist, individuals share from a common table where the needs of individuals become a shared need. The particularity of individuals within community is not negated. But the particularities of the individuals are celebrated for the benefit of the whole. Throughout Tutu's writings, we find an urgent insistence on "celebrating difference."[14] In his memoirs, *God Has a Dream*, Tutu purports that it is through difference that the creative work of God is accomplished in the world. Social transformation occurs when human beings recognize the necessity of solidarity with persons who are different from us. The idea of *ubuntu* theology supposes that it is through difference and otherness that we know more about who we are as individuals and who God is.

It is my belief that appropriating certain elements of the aforementioned thinkers moves us toward a model of reconciliation that holds in creative tension the universal scope of the salvific work of Christ

and individual freedom. Today's culture presents a culmination of a technocratic culture that presupposes the "rights" and freedom of the individual. Hence, in a postmodern world, notions of reconciliation must inherently incorporate difference and otherness if it is to find legitimacy. Overcoming Enlightenment claims regarding the primacy of individual reason requires a language that "celebrates" difference and affirms human dignity. The promise of reconciliation for all may ultimately hinge upon how we are to think about difference and otherness.

King and Tutu in Dialogue with Latin American Liberation Theology

Another matter of immense concern is that the postmodern world has contributed to a more global, yet fragmented, world. Owing to the capitalistic economic landscape and increasing technology, the suffering of one group can be intimately linked to the suffering of others thousands of miles apart. Engaging King and Tutu, in the sphere of liberation theology, provides the creative space for reflecting on global suffering and global action, often appearing in local forums. Very little has been said about King and Tutu's interaction with Latin American liberation theology. But King and Tutu's theological outlook was far-reaching. King, in particular, was very concerned with America's expanding imperialism abroad and the exploitation of American corporations in Latin America. As he turned his attention to the structural forces that perpetuate systems of poverty, he recognized there was a pattern of racialized poverty flowing from Western nations across the globe. He understood that poor people in America, Africa, Asia, and Latin America had much in common. And through nonviolent resistance, poor people must begin to demand the right to basic human material needs. The Poor People's Campaign, initiated in 1967, had as its primary focus the need to alleviate poverty in America and globally. As high and audacious as it may have been, it spoke volumes to the poor masses in America and illuminated the question of poverty and economic exploitation in international forums as well.

During the period of the Poor People's Campaign in 1967 and 1968, Latin America was experiencing its own quest for liberation. Interestingly enough, the issue of land and hunger is among the greatest challenge for Latin America today and in years past. Roots of Rebellion, by Tom Barry, illustrates how "the region's wealth and

poverty, its history of repression and rebellion can all be traced back to the use and control of land."[15] Latin American countries have experienced centuries of exploitation and alienation by the few at the expense of many. As Guillermo Melendez laments, everyone—from the Spanish conquistadors out to "discover" the Pacific to the modern-day drug cartels—has used Central America.[16] Also, the reign of oligarchies have been devastating to the poor of the region. Oscar Romero, the Salvadoran archbishop assassinated in 1980 for his identification with the plight of the poor wrote:

> The cause of our problems is the oligarchy, that tiny group of families which has no concern for the hunger of the people, but in fact needs it in order to have cheap and abundant labor to export its crops.[17]

Complexities and violence of the Latin American Church and its political climate were illustrated through the martyrdom of Oscar Arnulfo Romero. Known as the "people's bishop," Romero responded to the assassination of a priest in El Salvador and found himself in solidarity with the poor and oppressed. He began to dwell among the poor and it was there "he saw the disfigured face of God."[18] Jürgen Moltmann referred to his form of martyrdom as "participation in the sufferings of the oppressed people."[19] Indeed, King's untimely assassination at the Lorraine Hotel in Memphis, Tennessee in 1968, also exemplifies this form of martyrdom. The Christian church in America, and more generally in the West, has been hesitant to recognize King's death as a legitimate form of martyrdom in concert with the prophetic and sacrificial witness found in salvation history.

It is important to understand that Latin American liberation theology is a conversation partner with King and Tutu in an effort to uplift the plight of the poor and oppressed. King, in particular, had shown a global awareness and would not limit his vision to America only. When King addressed the crowded group of clergymen at Riverside church in New York, in April 1967, in a message entitled "A Time To Break the Silence," he made it clear that any meaningful struggle for justice must be about preserving justice for all people. His prophetic stance in speaking out against the Vietnam War demonstrated an awareness and deep concern for the suffering of all people. King argued that the same form of exploitation existing in Africa was also occurring in Asia and America's backyard in Latin America. America, with its massive corporations and military machine, exerted hegemonic power and control across the world. So the black struggle for

freedom in America was, in King's mind, inextricably linked to the well-being of foreigners as well. As he observed in some of his final writings:

> We have inherited a large house, a great "world house" in which we have to live together—black and white, Easterner and Westerner, Gentile and Jew, Catholic and Protestant, Moslem and Hindu—a family unduly separated in ideas, culture and interest, who, because we can never again live apart, must learn somehow to live with each other in peace.[20]

Tutu's present work also reflects a global awareness, in his understanding of both black and liberation theology. Even before Tutu received the Nobel Peace Prize on December 10, 1984, he had risen to international prominence. In spite of his government's repeated attempts to restrict his travels, Tutu conducted several tours throughout the United States, the United Kingdom, and Europe. In 1981, Tutu preached a riveting sermon at Westminster Abbey in London where he admonished the Western world for its indifference and support of apartheid.[21] As president of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), Tutu became (and continues to be) the symbol of peace, justice, and reconciliation in South Africa.

Through this dialogue, I believe there will be an opportunity to form new alliances, fellowships, and coworkers in the ongoing liberation struggle that now appears in the face of the poor. Whether in the ghettos of urban America or the rural farming communities of Honduras, Mexico, Argentina, or Brazil, the cries of the poor and dispossessed warrant constructive theological approaches to justice. Latin American liberation theology had similar origins as black theology. In terms of its beginnings, Juan Luis Segundo S. J., of Uruguay, propounds that the concept of liberation theology did not begin with the work of professors or scholars, rather it was by those who were responding to the social and political climate of liberation during the early-1960s.[22] Years before Gutierrez's *Theology of Liberation*, a major methodological and ideological shift took place across Latin America. Something began to happen that would establish a new paradigm of explaining theology and understanding the Christian faith. Jon Sobrino argues a fundamental methodological characteristic of this shift is found in an orientation of consciousness. According to him, the nature of Latin American theology arises from the position of

the poor and oppressed. This shift emerged out of an intense political and social context. A movement developed in Latin America during the early-1960s that pushed for student control of state universities. Beginning in Argentina, the movement quickly spread to nearly all Latin American countries. Hence, the universities became a "state within a state" and using certain intellectual tools, many began to challenge and confront conventional ways of understanding their condition. Indeed, even before the first session of Vatican II and the Constitution *Gaudium et Spes* (GS)[23] in 1965, the fire of liberation theology had begun. Although definitely concerned about the poor, the issue of race and its connection to political subjugation was more explicit in King and Tutu's approach to theology. Nevertheless, they articulated a theological outlook that looked to the justice and communitarian nature of God to inform their witness. In general, Tutu understood theology as a human activity subject to the particularities and limitations of the one doing theology. One cannot distinguish theological discourse from the subjective realities in which it functions. This claim is highlighted in Cone's project. For Cone, the chief problem with theology emerging out of the Western world is that it is insidiously informed by white supremacist ideologies. Also the refusal to acknowledge and confront the racism that informs Western theological discourse has continued to support the structures of racial oppression and exploitation worldwide. This theme in Cone's work is illustrated when he writes:

> We began to see the connections between the black ghettoes in the United States and poverty in Asia, Africa, and Latin America; between the rising unemployment among blacks and other poor minorities in the U.S.A. and the exploitation of the labor of Third World peoples; and between racist practices of white churches of North America and Europe and the activities of their missionaries in the Third World.[24]

Cone observed, as had King and Tutu, that developing a shared theological movement of liberation provides the creative bridge through which to fellowship, dialogue, and forge communities of resistance. King and Tutu's leadership illustrates the possibilities for social transformation, not just for the African American and African context, but in the Latin American and Asian worlds too. For instance, after 1965 King's focus on poverty and economic conditions led him to the slums of Chicago. In Chicago, King and his young family lived in a small apartment in one of poor communities on Hamlin Avenue on the West

Side. To the dismay of his wife, Coretta, King wanted to expose the harsh realities of black life in the ghetto. By making this move, King dramatized and linked the racism of the South with the indifference of the North. He understood full well that racism has the tendency to shroud the naked realities of poverty and economic exploitation. The same pernicious capitalistic forces operating in America's ghettos (like Chicago) were also at work in Mexico, Honduras, Argentina, and Brazil. King's proclamation of human dignity as a foundational principle for social action directed his actions, not just in Montgomery, Albany, and Birmingham, but also in his protest of the Vietnam War and subsequent charge to subdue the evils of economic exploitation.

King, Human Dignity, and Gaudium et Spes

The idea of human dignity is not unique to King. In fact, human dignity as a thematic resource for protest is a reasonable point of contact between King and Latin American theological discourse. Tutu also emphasized human dignity. But his perspectives on fellowship informed much of his work. There have been two significant studies of King's conception of human dignity—*Somebodyness* by Garth Baker-Fletcher and Rufus Burrow's *God and Human Dignity*.[25] What is most interesting is that while King was using human dignity as the basis of black protest, the church in Latin America faced a similar struggle. In many respects, the Vatican II document GS helps to illuminate King's conception of human dignity although King did not necessarily look to this tradition as a theological and ethical resource. Though more conservative than the activist, GS stressed the importance of human dignity and the imago Dei as legitimating the Latin American people demands for economic and political liberation. In GS, the divine image is related to the dignity of the human person. For it is in the divine image, the God in man, that dignity and worth is given to human life. Although GS does not define the term, the meaning of human dignity is located in imago Dei. Without the God in humanity, without reflecting the God within, the human person has no value and is but dust of the ground. The roots of human creation are found in God and apart from God, humans cease to exist.[26] Not only is the dignity of humanity, as in the image of God, located in the creative act of God, but also in the incarnation and Resurrection of Christ. The Pastoral Constitution in Article 22 reflects this understanding when it says:

> He [Christ] who is "the image of the invisible God" (Colossians 1:15), is Himself the perfect man. To the sons of Adam He restores the divine

> likeness, which had been disfigured from the first sin onward. Since human nature as He assumed it was not annulled, by that very fact it has been raised up to a divine dignity in our respect too. For by His incarnation the Son of God has united Himself in some fashion with every man.

Indeed, GS brings further clarity to what King meant by human dignity and speaks to the resources within King's thought for Latin American theological discourse. Though not restricted to the Latin American experience, the idea that human dignity derives from humanity's relation to God was affirmed in the Vatican II Pastoral Constitution. For humans are given liberty to relate to God as God relates to the human person. In this relationship, there is a mutual sharing and respect on behalf of God to allow freedom and the expectation to make decisions. Hence, to offend the human person means to offend God and any violation against God is a violation against the human person. So human activities, as seen in the Pastoral Constitution, are deterministic of human dignity. King's thought finds agreement with the sentiments of GS inasmuch as human activities (social, economic, political, cultural, and scientific) are good if they promote human dignity in the relationship between God and humanity. If these activities do not respect human dignity and demote this relationship, then they are bad. As Article 29 articulates:

> Human institutions, both private and public, must labor to minister to the dignity and purpose of man. At the same time let them put up a stubborn fight against any kind of slavery, whether social or political, and safeguard the basic rights of man under every political system. Indeed human institutions themselves must be accommodated by degrees to the highest of all realities, spiritual ones, even though meanwhile, a long enough time will be required before they arrive at the desired goal.[27]

Human dignity is also social in nature since God created human beings as individuals and as social beings. GS affirms this understanding when it expresses human nature in the context of society. If human dignity is to be understood in relation to society, then how are human persons to interact and function as persons in community? The role of freedom and responsibility must be necessary antecedents to human dignity in relation to society. In order for persons to live freely in a social setting, they must also live responsibly, so as to protect the freedom of others. Likewise, absolute individualism, seen in capitalism, infringes upon persons in society by violating the human person through isolation.[28]

King illustrated this point when he chose to become involved in what would be his last campaign among sanitation workers in Memphis, Tennessee in April 1968. With the slogan, "I Am a Man," taken from the lyrics of the classic blues artist Willie Dixon, King marched with these individuals who were essentially claiming their human dignity personhood. King's commitment to human dignity and the poor was expressed throughout his pilgrimage. However, the indignant and raw truth of Malcolm X, Watts riots in the summers of 1964 and 1965, and the crushing nihilism of the urban poor led King to a more direct concern for the poor. He made this stance clear when he said, "I choose to identify with the underprivileged. I choose to identify with the poor. I choose to give my life for those who have been left out of the sunlight of opportunity."[29] King understood that a commitment to preserving and celebrating the dignity of human beings means living sacrificially for the other. In his identification with the poor, King illustrated the theological stances of Latin American liberation theology. King, and Tutu as well, recognized that there is an unbreakable link between human dignity and fellowship. The authentic community and human relationship can only happen when people (in spite of their differences) respect the dignity and humanity of the other.

Although many scholars have reflected on the idea of human dignity and "somebodyness" in King's thought, there was very little said about the connection between individual human dignity and the social life. According to Pannenberg, human beings are incomplete as individuals. It is only in relation to community that human potential is realized and the destiny of humanity is understood. If this is so, then the question of human freedom in discussing the divine image cannot be avoided. G. C. Berkouwer, in *Man: The Image of God*, on human freedom reminds us that it can be understood only in a relational sense—vertical and horizontal.[30] Berkouwer locates the centrality of human freedom in relation to the sovereignty of God. According to Berkouwer that the "man of God" has been the focus for theologians surrounding human freedom, and not "a self-sufficient 'being'" supports this claim.[31] Because God is the architect of human freedom, in creating human beings they have been created to be free—the divine image as related to human dignity hinges on this relationship. While placing more emphasis on human freedom within the context of community, Pannenberg, like Berkouwer, recognizes God regarding human freedom. Through Christ, humanity is made aware of the divine mutuality existing between Christ, God the Father, and the Holy Spirit.[32] Similar to Berkouwer, Erhueh echoes the centrality of God in the midst

of freedom found in human dignity when he argues "in freedom, responsibility, love of God and neighbor, that community could grow stronger until it resembles the true family of God even on earth."[33] Insofar as human freedom must be understood consequentially to society, the divine image of God in man determines the nature and outcome of this interaction. Since to be fully human means to reflect the image of God in man, freedom is understood as the freedom to live out the divine image. This idea seems to reflect Tutu's *ubuntu* theology, which essentially claims that humans were created for fellowship and community. In what Michael Battle describes as "communitarian spirituality," Tutu repeatedly asserted that apartheid was a denial of the basic human need to be in fellowship with the other. For both Erhueh and Tutu, human beings were created for freedom and have the capacity to embrace social limitations if they encourage the freedom of others and enhance the dignity of human persons.[34]

Overall, the Pastoral Constitution, GS, is an important document in the Latin American context, and in relation to King and Tutu. It affirms the solidarity of all humanity, in the image Dei, as bound in its history and vision of the future. The whole of humanity is in the process of becoming the church that has been "created good by God, redeemed by Christ, and sanctified by the Holy Spirit."[35] More broadly, the church and the world are not in opposition; rather it is through the church that the light of Christ and hope of redemption is offered to the world. The destiny and divine calling of the world is the church. In light of this, the church is servant to the world, in truth, justice, and righteousness. The point of dialogue for the church and the world is found in the imago Dei, which all humanity has in common. Through the dignity of the imago Dei in man, there is room for discussion on issues of justice, liberation, and truth.[36] All of humanity is of value because of being made in the image of God. Therefore, there is an interconnection within the human family that requires a concern for the well-being, the dignity of the person, regardless of culture, economic status, place of origin, and the like. Understanding this, the pontificate of Pope John Paul II resembled this concern due to the imago Dei in every human being.

The traditional understanding of imago Dei is enhanced by GS by recognizing the dignity of all human persons, of diverse religions, cultures, races, and social contexts. If the church is to continue to grow and prosper, it must perform her missionary activity and evangelization. If to be fully human means to be in communion with God, made possible through the redemption of Christ, then the necessity of the

church cannot be negated in the world. Rather, it is through the church that the hope of the world lays and subsequently rests. The worth and dignity of the human person is expressed in the GS and it brings new meaning to how the world is to value the life and destiny of all human beings throughout the world.

Partners in the Struggle for Liberation: Gutierrez and Tutu on Fellowship and Human Fulfillment

Tutu's concept of *ubuntu* holds a great deal in common with Gustavo Gutierrez's sacramental theology of human fellowship. Of course, one of the chief differences between Gutierrez and Tutu's approach to liberation and community surrounded problems of race, apartheid, and poverty. Poverty and economic exploitation of the West is Gutierrez's primary concern. Poverty was a major concern for Tutu in apartheid South Africa as well, but the fundamental source of the poor conditions of South Africans was the system of apartheid. The idea of human fellowship, Gutierrez expresses, is fully realized through the Eucharist and has profound meaning in its historical biblical origins. Gutierrez illustrates this by paralleling the Last Supper against the background of the Jewish Passover. The Jewish Passover saw it as a celebration of the liberation of the Israelites from Egypt and within the Sinai Covenant. It is only through the Christian Passover, Gutierrez asserts, that the Jewish Passover is fully realized. Liberation from injustice and oppression is predicated on communion with God and others. This is demonstrated through the institution of the Eucharist during a meal, which for Jews marked a sign of fellowship and carried sacred connotations. Moreover, the elements of "bread and wine" suggest a reference to the gift of creation.

While the idea of human dignity is a dominant theme in King's thought and witness, Gutierrez and Tutu have elevated the centrality of *koinonia* (fellowship). The New Testament term, *koinonia*, illustrates in its multiple meanings the ideas expressed in the Eucharist with regard to human fellowship. Essentially, *koinonia* involves three truths: a commonality of human goods and resources, union of the faithful with Christ, and union of Christians with God the Father.[37] As it relates to the common ownership of goods, Gutierrez refers to New Testament text, "Never forget to show kindness and to share what you have with others, for such are the sacrifices which God approves" (Heb. 13:16; cf. Acts 2:44; 4:32). The second designation for the use of *koinonia* as union of the faithful with Christ is revealed through the

Eucharist. In this instance, as believers take part in the bread and wine, they are sharing in the body and blood of Christ, and therefore have communion in his sufferings and Resurrection. Union with the Father, within the understanding of *koinonia*, relates to the call of God to have fellowship and share in the life of Christ.

It is this line of reasoning that points toward the communitarian nature of Gutierrez's theology and Tutu's *ubuntu* theology. Because of what Christ did through his death, burial, and Resurrection (as celebrated in the Eucharist), the union between God and humanity finds meaning and has prophetic sociopolitical significance. If one is to take seriously the Eucharist celebration, then the notion of human fellowship is inseparable to union with Christ and God. Human fellowship, in the form of solidarity, then becomes the gateway to the eternal riches of the trinity. For Gutierrez and Tutu, the Eucharist then becomes more than a ritualistic act or symbolic gesture. Rather it means to accept the life of Christ given for others by the powers of this world and to stand within the shadow of the Cross and to reach toward the hope of the Resurrection. This was evident for Tutu, in particular, as he chaired the first TRC hearing at the East London city hall on April 16, 1996. A radically public affair, Tutu opened the hearing with a prayer. In the prayer, Tutu asked God to "comfort the victims, forgive the guilty, and help the commission reveal the truth and foster reconciliation."[38] As the people gathered during the hearing, Tutu resembled a priest residing over a service of the sacraments, not only because he appeared in his bishop's attire, but because his presence and language communicated healing, truth, and the space for forgiveness to take place. On this occasion, Tutu said to those gathered:

> We are charged to unearth the truth about our dark past; to lay the ghosts of the past so that they will not return to haunt us. And that we will thereby contribute to the healing of a traumatized and wounded people—and in this manner to promote national unity and reconciliation.[39]

Therefore, to engage in the Eucharist, means to stand for the things Christ stands for and to struggle against the same oppressive forces as Christ did. Like his Latin American counterparts, Tutu did not think of Christian practices as a function of individual morality alone. Rather, Christian practices such as prayer or presiding over the Eucharist were political statements. They were socially transformative activities to bringing about God's vision of human fellowship in the world. Like Gutierrez, Tutu agreed that human fulfillment is bound up

in one's ability to enter into relationship with others. Humans are incomplete without fellowship, community, and a strong sense of human interrelatedness. The "delicate networks of interdependence" was for Tutu modeled and reflected in the sacramental practices of the church. He believed that like presiding over the Eucharist, his work on the TRC was fulfilling the biblical charge to be "ambassadors of reconciliation."

A primary theme in Gutierrez's theology is the notion of human fulfillment found through the liberating activity of Christ to bring about fellowship with God and fellow human beings. While drawing on historical, ecclesiological, social, and political experiences of Latin America, Gutierrez presents a conception of God as identifying with the poor through God's revelation in Christ—who was born poor and lived among the poor. This provides an exciting paradigm for Gutierrez's theology and sets it apart from all others. Leonardo Boff offers insight into Gutierrez's theology of liberation.[40] He remarks, "What is specific about liberation theology [in the Latin American context] lies not in the fact that, like all theologies, it speaks of God, Christ, the Spirit, the church, the human being, grace, sin, and politics."[41] Rather it is that it speaks of all these things from the condition of the poor.

It is this line of reasoning that points toward the communitarian nature of Gutierrez's theology and Tutu's perspectives on human fellowship. Because of what Christ did through his death, burial, and Resurrection (as celebrated in the Eucharist), the union between God and humanity finds meaning and has prophetic sociopolitical significance. Gutierrez affirms, "Without a real commitment against exploitation and alienation and for a society of solidarity and justice, the Eucharist celebration is an empty action, lacking any genuine endorsement by those who participate in it."[42] Human fellowship, in the form of solidarity, then becomes the gateway to the eternal riches of the trinity. For, "the basis for fellowship is full communion with the persons of the Trinity."[43] Gutierrez explains that the Eucharist then becomes more than a ritualistic act or symbolic gesture. Rather, it means to accept the life of Christ given for others by the powers of this world and to stand within the shadow of the Cross and to reach toward the hope of the Resurrection. Therefore, to engage in the Eucharist means to stand for the things Christ stands for and to struggle against the same oppressive forces as did Christ.

While Gutierrez highlights the need for fellowship and solidarity to address the issue of poverty, Tutu seems ultimately concerned about promoting reconciliation and forging community as an end of itself.

The idea of fellowship for Gutierrez appears to be a method for developing partnerships, allegiances, and strategic resources in dealing with the desperate conditions of an impoverished Latin American world. This was not the case expressed in Tutu's leadership as general secretary for the SACC, bishop of Lesotho, archbishop of Cape Town, and chair of the TRC. When Tutu became general secretary of the SACC in 1977, he worked diligently for abolishing apartheid. He also sought reconciliation within the churches under his care. There was an understanding that reconciliation of the churches and liberation of black South Africans were two sides of the same coin. He resisted the urge to make SACC a political organization but said, "SACC is neither black nor a white organization. It is a Christian organization with a definite bias in favor of the oppressed and the exploited ones of our society."[44] It was certainly not that Tutu was more concerned about community than social justice. It was his refusal to separate the two or to prioritize the one over the other that gives Tutu's concept of *ubuntu* its essential character. As retaliation to Tutu's prophetic leadership with the SACC, South African prime minister Botha appointed C. F. Eloff to serve as chairman of a commission assigned to investigate the SACC and specifically Tutu.[45] The notorious Eloff Commission was determined to undermine Tutu's leadership. The commission criticized Tutu for supposedly inciting racial conflict in the country. However, he stayed the course in his pursuit of reconciliation. Tutu was ordered later to testify before the commission in September 1982. During his testimony, Tutu summarized in effect his theological position by saying that the life of Christ was about the ministry of reconciliation among human beings. He insisted that apartheid was contrary to Christianity because it treated some people better than others.[46]

Conclusion

Issues of racial marginalization and economic exploitation within the African American, African, and Latin American context are strong undercurrents of King and Tutu with liberation theologies. I believe that King and Tutu offer profound theological and ethical resources for advancing the liberation theology agenda in a time when it is under assault by more conservative postmodern theological voices. As theologians of liberation and reconciliation, King and Tutu effectively made the connections between language about God and Christian practices. Long before the postmodern call to rethink modern theology with its nihilistic tendencies, King and Tutu offered up a theological

vision that places suffering humanity at the center of theological and ethical reflection. Both King and Tutu brought into question Western Cartesian notions of the autonomous self as characterizing what it means to be human. By saying, in effect, that to be human means to be in fellowship and community, they broadened the vision and scope of modern and postmodern discourse. What is significant about King and Tutu's understanding of liberation theologies is that it deals with life and death issues. It is more than simply an academic discourse. It speaks to the concrete, heartfelt, material realities of the human condition.

In particular, it remains questionable whether Milbank takes seriously this perspective. Is there any other way available to understand the material conditions of oppressed people in a way that does not expose the depths of human suffering other than social analysis? Milbank lumps all "liberation theologies" and "political theologies" together. It shows he does not take into account the particularities of each of these traditions. Indeed, there are major differences among liberation theologians themselves. Milbank's reading of Gutierrez's understanding of "praxis" is not held hostage by social analysis, as he would suggest. Inasmuch as Gutierrez not only draws on social analysis to make his point, he also appeals to Old and New Testament scriptures, which is grounded in premodern understandings. The essential meaning of the "poor" as rooted in both the Old and New Testaments is understood by Gutierrez as the "oppressed one, the one marginalized from society, the member of the proletariat struggling for the most basic rights, the exploited and plundered social class, and the country struggling for its liberation. Solidarity with the poor is not an easy task, Gutierrez says. It may even lead one to a "renunciation of the goods of this world."[47]

Indeed, viewing King and Tutu in the paths of liberation theology holds great promise for renewed conversations in today's world. There is a profound need to recover the radical vision of liberation and fellowship as witness in the life of King and Tutu. Reconciliation was a means to achieve liberation, as it was an ultimate end. At issue was not *either* liberation *or* reconciliation. It was a matter of *both* liberation *and* reconciliation. Complexities of postmodern culture with the ravaging effects of technology and profligate materialism pose immense challenges. But if there are any lessons that can be taken from King and Tutu, it is that God is at work in human beings, establishing justice, community, and reconciliation in the world.

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Building a Legacy of Peace: Quest for Justice and Reconciliation in a World of Difference

And they said one to another, Behold, this dreamer cometh. Come now therefore, and let us slay him, and cast him into some pit, and we will say, Some evil beast hath devoured him: and we shall see what will become of his dreams.[1]

True forgiveness deals with the past, all of the past, to make the future possible. We cannot go on nursing grudges even vicariously for those who cannot speak for themselves any longer. We have to accept that what we do we do for generations past, present, and yet to come. That is what makes a community a community or a people a people—for better or for worse.[2]

King and Tutu's theology seeks to be relevant, not just in a historical context, but to the social, economic, and political conditions affecting the poor, marginalized, and powerless in the present. As the world becomes more global, militaristic, and fragmented, there is a more urgent need to seriously reflect on the life and legacy of King and Tutu. Toward the end of his life, King's determination to end poverty became more apparent. In 1967, he announced that SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) would "dislocate" everyday all across America.[3] In the same year, King organized the Poor People's Campaign aimed at exposing the destructive structures of poverty in America. Despite efforts by the FBI to disrupt the Poor People's Campaign, King pressed on. His dramatic shift toward economic justice and critique of the Vietnam War would be a prophetic forecast to the storms of globalization, militarism, global HIV/AIDS epidemics,

healthcare, and other thunderous issues concerning human suffering today.

Similarly, Tutu's activism continues to inspire peace, reconciliation, and justice efforts. In January 1999, after being rejected a decade earlier, Tutu preached at an Anglican Church on the West Bank and attended a meeting in Tel Aviv of the Peres Peace Center, of which he was a board member.[4] Tutu was greeted with fascination and intrigue. It confirmed for him that what occurred in South Africa was a unique event in human history. Israelis and Palestinians alike now looked to Tutu for guidance and hope for their situation. Tutu shared with the group that true security would never be achieved through the barrel of a gun. True security, he preached, "would come when all the inhabitants of the Middle East, that region so revered by so many, believed that their human rights and dignity were respected and upheld, when true justice prevailed."[5] His original commitment had not changed concerning the need for forgiveness as a means to achieve security for Israel or to ensure justice for the Palestinians. Tutu's theological and ethical commitments, as with King's, give new meaning to approaches to current realities such as the war in Iraq, genocide in the Darfur region of Sudan, civil war in Congo, and police brutality and gang violence in urban centers across America. Their theology and work suggest, in different ways, that the work of God in Jesus Christ, the ultimate meaning of reconciliation at its core, speaks to the multiple dimensions of the human experience. In short, for King and Tutu, God has a great deal to say about social and political ordering. The urgent call of King and Tutu to respond to the crushing effects of systemic oppression makes an engagement with their thought and postmodernity as a theological imperative in today's world.

Hence, what insights do King and Tutu offer in responding to the mandate for reconciliation and justice in a world more globalized, divided, and technologically treacherous? King during his life was, and certainly Tutu continues to be, acutely aware of the quaking firmament of multinational corporations (MNCs), massive media and technological systems, and the monumental fragmentation of nations, churches, and ideology. Tutu is still a courageous voice for developing nations, challenging the destructive nature of unbridled capitalism.

What follows is a critical reflection on postmodern culture, its relevance to justice and reconciliation, and constructive theological responses. In this final chapter, I focus on how some postmodern theological responses to the question of reconciliation and justice might be advanced by reflecting upon the thought of King and Tutu. First,

I attempt to clarify the relationship between postmodernity, justice, and reconciliation. Each of these terms carries with them a great deal of misunderstanding and conflicting viewpoints. Here, I consider the issues around globalization, economics, and technology in relation to community and the quest for reconciliation. Second, by appropriating elements of King and Tutu's thought, I reflect on what it means to seek constructive approaches to a theology of reconciliation and liberation within a postmodern framework. At this point, I bring to bear the views of Graham Ward, John Milbank, and Cornel West. They represent the various trajectories of theological responses concerning postmodern discourse. In addition, an effort will be made to demonstrate the importance of converging justice, forgiveness, and mercy in thinking about liberation and reconciliation today. Next, there will be a careful probe of the viability of black theology as a model for justice and liberation in a postmodern setting, while also pursuing alternatives. I conclude with a broad overview of the primary issues raised, a critical analysis, and potential ways forward.

Speaking in Unknown Tongues: Postmodernity and the Problem of Language

In the Jim Crow South and apartheid South Africa, there appeared to be clear lines between justice and injustice. This was symbolized in the demeaning signs stating "for whites only" and the Bantu passes given to black South Africans as a means of controlling movement in white areas. In today's world, the language and nature of justice remains illusive. As Gilles Deleuze has observed, the postmodern world has contributed to a condition where justice is in a state of flux. The rise of the information age has brought with it the question of meaning itself. Individuals, groups, and cultures all over the world are calling into question presuppositions about humanity, politics, philosophy, justice, and even God that flowed from Western philosophical discourse. This has not been unwarranted. Out of the Western world flowed slavery, apartheid, colonialism, two World Wars, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the Holocaust, just to name a few. I recognize the postmodern critique, though still a product of modernity, as an important development as it provides a framework for understanding present theological and social currents around the subject.

The postmodern critique of society is essential to understanding the present context in which the church is called to bear witness to the

Gospel, and carry out the ministry of reconciliation. Postmodernity has been characterized by Gianni Vattimo as the "end of history," or rather the end of Western philosophic hegemony of truth and knowledge. That is to say, in postmodern culture we see a heightened suspicion of rationality (science and technology) as the most legitimate path toward truth. The implications are seen in a fracturing and fragmentation, not only of language, but also of culture and communities. Because of how technology (mass communication, transportation systems, electronic communications, etc.) has brought incredibly diverse groups in close proximity, now cultural, economic, ethnic, and particularly religious and theological differences are more visible.

Martin Luther King, Jr., and to a lesser extent Desmond Tutu, operated out of a modern view of the world. However, their use of the language of love, compassion, truth, justice, human dignity, and radical fellowship pierced through the hollow walls of modern structures. Because of this, they provide insight to pursuits of justice and community as we reflect on a more fragmented and disjointed world. In general, the context for understanding reconciliation and justice today can be understood in postmodern terms. The emphasis on language, economics, and cultural realities in postmodern discourse provides a meaningful platform for considering the implications of King and Tutu's thought. First a word about what I mean by postmodernity and how it relates to the concerns voiced by King and Tutu concerning the poor, powerless, and persecuted.

Generally, postmodernity is considered a social and political condition marked by the end of the cold war and Fordist economic systems. It speaks to the emergence of complex landscapes of exchange of religious, ethnic, and political ideas. It is understood as the emergence of globalization, rise of free trade and MNCs, generated by an information-based economy (i.e., information-related occupations and production processes; a decline in mass production). These social, political, and economic forces have come to shape the way language is construed and disseminated.

This is brought into clearer view in the work of the Canadian scholar Jean-Francois Lyotard. He observes in the *The Postmodern Condition* that postmodernity is marked by "incredulity toward metanarratives." That is to say, there is a cultural and intellectual suspicion of universal truth claims and an embrace of multiple perspectives and fluidity. Lyotard shows how self-identity becomes fragmented; the formation of the self is conditioned by a continuous flow of technological language and information. Notions of truth and even theological

reflection becomes consumed in a radical subjectivism that forever seeks the "new and improved." In the essay, "The Last Refuge of Nihilism," James Williams purposes that prior to his death in 1988, Lyotard began to address his two most ailing philosophical problems shadowing him throughout his career.[6] The first concern for Lyotard was how we should approach the question of the subject after the postmodern critique. That is to say, how do we speak of thinking and of life while considering the actions and decisions of subjects in light of their self-identify and social development? As William points out, the other challenge for Lyotard was how to situate a condition for a reflective identity with the capacity to produce hope and action in contemporary thought. The societal changes that occurred reconfigured the manner in which knowledge is both disseminated and received.[7] Reflected in the sciences and technologies, a new form of discourse was forged into existence, a language that has transformed the modes of production, mercantilization, and commercialization.

A grand narrative, for Lyotard, describes any particular narrative that claims to encompass all others. The notion of grand narrative assumes to absorb innumerable theoretical perspectives into a single framework. Lyotard seems to argue that the "postmodern" is a withdrawal from reality or absence of "unity, simplicity, communicability, etc."[8] In order to recover a sense of the "real," the goal is to "invent allusions to the conceivable which cannot be presented."[9] Lyotard argues that the postindustrial age was the beginning of these changes in societies. The societal changes that occurred reconfigured the manner in which knowledge is both disseminated and received.[10] Lyotard supposes that modernity operates in the absence of reality, between the presentable and conceivable. Insofar as it is a quest for the unimaginable empowered by the allusion that the unimaginable could be attained. In short, says Lyotard, the postmodern "puts forward the unpresentable in presentation itself."[11]

This explains Lyotard's appreciation for difference that seems to be a guiding principle in his work. Lyotard responded to his contempt for grand narratives through his conception of *difference*. Gary Browning, in *Lyotard and the End of Grand Narratives*, offers a useful appraisal of Lyotard's valorization of *difference*.[12] Browning asserts that Lyotard views *difference* as irreducible for reality itself. According to Browning, Lyotard's respect for *difference* derives from his analysis of the gap between the operation of prescriptives and descriptives. Lyotard promotes *difference* as creativity and inventiveness, while rejecting theories that are totalizing in scope.

Where Lyotard's perspectives find visible expression might be seen in Tutu's experiences shortly after the fall of apartheid. In 1994, Tutu visited Rwanda after the genocide where some half-a-million people lost their lives.[13] He went on a tour of the African continent as president of the All Africa Conference of Churches, a continental ecumenical body. He also visited Nigeria, Liberia during its civil war, Angola, and other countries. Four years later in 1998, Tutu visited Dublin and Belfast and spoke with Irish leaders about the possibilities of a new liberated Ireland. Through these travels, Tutu observed the need for reconciliation in these communities, and that many parts of the world looked to South Africa as model for approaching the racial, ethnic, cultural, and political conflicts in their own lands. Reflecting on the visit, Tutu said:

> none but the most obtuse can doubt that we are experiencing a radical brokenness in all of existence. Times are out of joint. Alienation and disharmony, conflict and turmoil, enmity and hatred characterize so much of life. Ours has been the bloodiest century known to human history. There would be no call for ecological campaigning had nature not been exploited and abused. We experience the ground now bringing forth thistles as soil erosion devastates formerly arable land and deserts overtake fertile farms. Rivers and the atmosphere are polluted thoughtlessly and we are fearful of the consequences of a depleted ozone layer and the devastation of the greenhouse effect. We are not quite at home in our world, and somewhere in each of us there is a nostalgia for a paradise that has been lost.[14]

Lyotard looks to the problem of language to understand the cultural problems of global conflict, exploitation, and social injustice that Tutu addresses. For Tutu, today's world is marked by division, brokenness, and fear of the other. Lyotard sees this as a philosophical problem language that undergirds Western culture. If language is the foundation of society and the building blocks for cultural production, then Lyotard is correct in his assessment that language is important to forging new paths of hope in a nihilistic age.

The piercing question arising in Lyotard's attempts, that may be inescapable, is related to how knowledge itself is conceived and understood. Lyotard may be opting for an alternative epistemology situated within his conception of the sublime. He argues that knowledge and meaning is not solely subjected to the dictates of scientific knowledge. Rather a knowledge that may be understood within the gap of the real and the conceived. However, can the gap be bridged between the

technical or scientific knowledge (marked by production and functionality) and narrative knowledge (to conceive the unconceivable)? Herein lies the quintessential question Lyotard leaves us with concerning the relationship between postmodernism and contemporary culture. Understanding this "gap" underlies, to a large extent, Lyotard's lingering concern for how knowledge and meaning is constituted and how it impacts teaching processes. One of the practical spaces where this problem is played out is in trying to understand the meaning of identity and language. For instance, for King and Tutu, there was a general agreement as to what it meant to be say, "black" or "African." In today's framework, these terms collapse into a myriad of categories and subcategories as splintering individuals and groups attempt to understand who they are under the guise of the subjective autonomous self. The collective consciousness that propelled the radical organizing activities of King and Tutu in America and South Africa seems impossible in today's world of competing identities, visions, ideas, and cultures.

King and Tutu on the Threat of Globalization

Now that we have laid out the problem of language as underpinnings to the deep roots of social injustice, we now turn to the issue of economic justice and globalization. As global figures it has become a very dismal reality that the voices of King and Tutu, when dealing with the political and economic complexities of globalization, have virtually gone unheard. In the years 1964–1967, King turned the attention of the SCLC, and other national and international leaders, to the issue of poverty. The Poor People's Campaign was established in 1967 with the uncompromising goal of illuminating poverty, with the first step of postulating a constitutional Bill of Rights for the Poor. His vision of the beloved community evolved into a global ethic that would be functional both in interpersonal community building and in the realm of world affairs. Similarly, in a postapartheid state, Tutu continues to lecture widely around the world and continues to protest the insidious injustices of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the activities of the G-8 summit.[15] Within a postmodern framework, the church is now faced with the complexities of global economic systems and their impact on culture and community formation. Globalization has played a major role in shaping the conditions and context of postmodern culture. But what do we mean by "globalization?" Globalization has been broadly understood as the convergence of local and global economic trading networks. With globalization,

local community conditions are interlocked with grandiose economic exchanges. Globalization for Max Stackhouse refers to the "universalization of the influence of these authorities and regencies as they developed in the West."[16] The "authorities" and "regencies" for Stackhouse speaks to those forces and presuppositions that dictate the way cultures and communities are shaped. In an institutional sense, globalization is marked by global organizations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), World Bank, Vienna Conference on Human Rights, the Kyoto Conference on Ecology and Global Warming, and the IMF. Institutions such as these are often characterized as having partial governmental and regulatory power on an international scale.[17]

The forces of globalization, technology, mass media, and militarism have complicated the nature of suffering both personally and collectively. Some have described the postmodern as the triumph of the VCR (or shall I say the DVD). Indirect participation in capitalism on the local level now carries global significance. MNCs encourage the conditions for a consumptive culture that does not consider the category of suffering, a worldview that actually refuses to suffer. To suffer is alienation and death, and antithetical to what it means to be human. Michael Budde, in *The (Magic) Kingdom of God: Christianity and Global Culture Industries*, proposes that this problem has been accentuated by the shift from a Fordist era (large manufacturing systems) to a post-Fordist information-based society. Information technology now becomes the chief means of producing and sustaining wealth and economic prosperity. These factors also become the chief means of dispensing the reality of suffering from our language. Around-the-clock infotainment, advertisements, and the ever new "reality tv show" seek to manufacture a consumptive disposition. As Budde writes, "Capitalism now needs high, even profligate, levels of consumer spending to function smoothly; were people to cease consuming once their basic needs were met, the system would collapse."[18]

Drawing on his experience in Slovenia, Slavoj Žižek maintains that the Balkans remind Europe of a past it wishes to forget. This sentiment manifests itself in racist and sexist expressions. The consequences of racism and ethnic violence, says Žižek, must be challenged with a more intense indignation toward the common political enemy, which Žižek views as capitalistic in nature. Here, the relationship between capitalist dynamics of surplus-value and the libidinal dynamics of surplus-enjoyment is employed to discern the forces at work in the functions of capitalism. Coca-Cola, of course, is the chief example of "surplus-value" with its alluring and destructive tendencies. It points

to what Žižek describes as the "superego-paradox."[19] The empty promises of capitalism are seen in the market-driven exploitation of the poor. Žižek seeks to explain the pervasive and violent tendencies displayed within the dynamics of capitalism. Put more succinctly, *why do we continually desire that which we do not need, yet can never get enough of?* The legitimacy and integrity of what constitutes beauty, or the aesthetically pleasing, is undermined by the capitalist inclination to assign value. Notions of the good, beauty, the goodness, and truth become subjective within a rugged individualized framework. We see this also in Žižek's observations that in the postmodern, conceptions of beauty, truth, and artistry are determined by economics.

To show the grip of capitalist functions on everyday life and even the quest for liberation among the oppressed, Žižek points to the South African experience as an example. Indeed, the struggle for liberation in South Africa was achieved, and ultimately triumphant, through the sacrifice of many unnamed freedom fighters. However, even in such an environment, concessions had to be made with regard to the capitalist.[20] Žižek offers a "Third Way" over and above a nonexistent second way. The Third Way, he observes, is "a global capitalism with a human face," or a capitalism that both acknowledges and seeks to reduce the suffering of humanity. Žižek echoes the call of Daniel Bell who claims that the new struggle for liberation must be a process of taming the "technologies of desire." Powerful marketing strategies and the insidious lure of capitalist desire complete the quest for justice, according to Bell. He surmises that one must look to radical Christian practices, as seen in the early church and medieval monastic orders (such as the Benedictine monks), as a way of taming capitalistic desires. Taming capitalistic desires means replacing them with new technologies, of the spirit, of faith, of hope.[21] Bell, like Žižek, presents attractive proposals for thinking about social justice in postmodernity. Though arriving at different conclusions as to the way forward, they nevertheless share the view of the problem of capitalism and fragmentation at the center of the program. Hence, any pursuits of justice, liberation, and community must give some attention to these stark realities.

Search for Community and Justice in a Fragmented World

King saw emerging on the horizon what Tutu witnessed firsthand—the birth of a technocratic and materialistic world that reduces

communities and groups to individual agents of consumption. One of the most interesting observations King and Tutu lend to thought about community and justice in today's framework is that one does not exist without the other. They surmised, quite imaginatively, that community and justice go hand in hand. The quest for community was ostensibly linked to the presence of justice. The relational focus of King and Tutu's work is worth considering, not simply as an idealized prospect, but a functional reality for doing theology and ethics. Hence, bringing King and Tutu into conversation with the challenges of today's global, yet fragmented world, is essential for moving forward with courage and faithfulness.

Ward has also pointed to the ways in which technology has changed how persons are being formed personally and socially. Ward demonstrates this logic in terms of cyberspace. For instance, cyberspace creates a context where reality is soft, permeable, and autonomous. Unlike the worship experience where individuals are called together in celebration and adoration of God together, a new technological religious experience has developed. Cyberspace and other technological forms of communication and interaction operate out of the continual exchange of electronic energy and signals. Described by Bell as "technologies of desire," these forces demand thinking differently about what constitutes justice and liberation. The situation King and Tutu faced was ostensibly a lack of equal access to democratic social, economic, and political arenas. One of the basic presupposition behind King and Tutu's theology was that there were clear distinctions between the oppressed and oppressor. Indeed, the system of Jim Crow segregation in the South and apartheid in South Africa made these distinctions painfully apparent. However, the problem of individual consumptive practices that are exploited by many MNCs and free-market capitalism now complicate and blur these lines. For instance, as Žižek indicated, through individual retirement accounts, mutual funds, investment accounts, or even shopping at the local market, individuals or groups may knowingly or unknowingly participate in their own oppression.

As Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton argued in *American Apartheid*, often discriminatory and exploitative practices by large MNCs perpetuate cycles of poverty and exacerbate the ghettoization of the poor.[22] Consequently, it has led to a failure of public policy. Programs such as the Fair Housing Act (1968), Civil Rights Act (1964), and initiatives by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, though important, have been unable to respond to the incessant reality of urban poverty.[23] William Julius Wilson has

provided us with extensive evidence that within a postmodern context, economics plays a far greater role in the perpetuation of poverty among blacks than race.[24] That does not mean race is not a factor. In fact, as Wilson argues, African American and Hispanic American communities still absorb the brunt of economic disparities. But the economic activities within the market forces now play a more significant role in sustaining and intensifying desperate conditions for the poor.

The interrelationship between globalization and economics has also heightened racial, ethnic, and religious conflicts. Amid the fragmentation of theological and ideological differences there is a clarion call for recasting what is meant by liberation and reconciliation in postmodernity. King, in particular, forecast this mounting concern when he observed:

> All inhabitants of the globe are now neighbors. This world-wide neighborhood has been brought into being largely as a result of the modern scientific and technological revolutions. The world of today is vastly different from the world of just one hundred years ago.[25]

King recognized that because of immeasurable economic and technological advances, the ways in which the world was being ordered would forever be changed. He observed the freedom movements sweeping across Latin America, Africa, and Asia. According to King, the world was shifting its basic outlook by calling into question many of the fundamental presuppositions about human nature and social ordering coming from Western Europe. As a response, he admonished that human survival "depends on our ability to stay awake, to adjust to new ideas, to remain vigilant to face the challenge of change."[26] He passionately summarizes this view when he writes:

> The large house in which we live demands that we transform this world-wide neighborhood into a world-wide brotherhood. Together we must learn to live as brothers or together we will be forced to perish as fools . . . We must work passionately and indefatigably to bridge the gulf between our scientific progress and our moral progress. One of the great problems of mankind is that we suffer from a poverty of spirit which stands in glaring contrast to our scientific and technological abundance. The richer we have become materially, the poorer we have become morally and spiritually.[27]

King sets the precedent for an approach to liberation and reconciliation that begins with a serious reflection on the relationship between

theology and difference. While keeping the welfare of the poor and economically disenfranchised clearly in view, King's perspective paves the way for thinking about the quest for liberation and reconciliation in postmodernity.

Contemporary Perspectives on Social and Political Ordering

Behind any push for justice, community, or change in policy is some notion about how society and political structures should be ordered. Understanding the social and political contexts that shaped King and Tutu's vision of community now enables us to critically examine their thought in light of contemporary Christian social ethics. Certain contemporary thinkers have constructed theories as to the most viable form of social and political ordering in light of historical insight. King and Tutu's conception of reconciliation and their visions for social and political ordering is informative as we think about what it means to move toward a more just, humane, and hopeful society. Bringing Tutu and King into conversation with some of the leading contemporary voices on social and political ordering is essential. Too often, there are discussions about which way society should be going without representation from the voiceless, marginalized, and oppressed persons who have unquestionably borne the brunt of ill representation. As James Cone has pointed out, racism and white supremacist ideals are still very much part of theological discourse in the academy and church today. King and Tutu, as persons who demonstrated with the heads, heart, and feet, offer a vision of authentic Christian witness. Furthermore, their historical legacies shine light on what it means for the church to be a gift to the world and how to direct social and political life. Although there are a number of outstanding persons who are engaging the question of social and political ordering today, Oliver O'Donovan, Jean Bethke-Elstain, and Stanley Hauerwas tend to represent the pathways of understandings around the subject.

O'Donovan's perspective on social and political ordering centers around the Resurrection of Christ. He looks to the Resurrection as a hopeful and meaningful approach to current affairs. The gist of his position is that Christians and wider society, for that matter, should take a "patient" stance when it comes to questions of poverty, war, racism, and the like. O'Donovan attempts to relate the Resurrection of Christ to the renewal of all creation.[28] The Resurrection of Christ, says O'Donovan, is intrinsically linked to the Resurrection of all humanity.

That is to say in the Resurrection event, God made possible the continuation and the nourishment of that which God has created.[29] For King, the Resurrection event pointed to God's ultimate revelation in the world. As Walter Fluker maintains in *They Looked for a City*, in King's account, "Christ is the source and norm of the beloved community and the Cross is the symbol of God's redemptive love for humanity."[30] King locates the person of Christ is God's creation as making possible a harmonious order in the universe. On the other hand, O'Donovan argues that language about the world as "created" means to speak of an order within that creation. There is "a vertical ordering related to God as creator and also a horizontal ordering among that which has been so created."[31] O'Donovan proposes that the teleological relation between the creature and its Creator is unqualified by generic equivalence. In the created order, however, are many networks of teleological and generic relations. King would share O'Donovan's idea of certain universal or generic moral orderings that may not be particularistic to the church. That is, there are specific moral truths that guide human behavior intelligible through God's act of creation. For King, Christ is the quintessential example for social and political ordering in human creation. This perspective, for King, translated into his nonviolent witness toward institutional structures as well.

There are significant differences as to how King and O'Donovan viewed the authority and power of the state. King held that the state was subject to the higher power of God. Eternal laws must guide the authority of the state. For King, whenever natural law was out of harmony with eternal law, one has a responsibility to seek to resist such a law. On the other hand, O'Donovan seems to suggest that God sanctions the power of the state. In being ordered by God in creation, one is obliged to adhere to such structures while relying and trusting in the wisdom of God to work in the midst of leaders of the state. O'Donovan's idea is grounded in an Aristotelian teleology. According to O'Donovan, "the virtue of the Aristotelian conception is that it allows us to think of teleological order as a purely natural ordering, an ordering within the created world which does not beg questions about what lies outside it."[32]

O'Donovan's approach to ordering society basically amounts to a "waiting" orientation when it comes in terms of human suffering. O'Donovan's perspective, though grounded in the Resurrection, resembles that of the eight white clergymen in their open letter to King while he sat in Birmingham Jail. The idea of "waiting" has been a

dominant theme in white culture to justify and even support the status quo. It has said in effect that oppressed and victimized people should not seek to actively change and transform social systems. Rather, they should wait patiently on the wisdom of God to direct the power structure. This position appears today in more egregious forms among many white conservative groups, yet present in liberal circles as well. According to Jim Wallis, although conservatives have done well to emphasize personal responsibility, they lack a definitive social ethic and have abandoned the poor to fend for themselves.[33] Liberalism in the public arena does not fare much better in Wallis's appraisal. According to Wallis, liberalism has succumbed to the interest of MNCs and have translated social concern into social control and dependency over and above empowerment.[34] Both conservative and liberal spectrums have been very slow to respond to black suffering, either in America or on the African continent.

This attitude could not have been more apparent than in the blotched Hurricane Katrina recovery efforts in August 2005. For nearly four days, African American citizens were left abandoned in a chaotic, storm-beaten New Orleans. Americans and the world watched in horror as the events unfolded, while public apathy remained. On the international front, the genocide in the Darfur region of Sudan continues to be one of greatest humanitarian issues of our time. The waiting and patient approach has become a popular stance in many mainline Protestant denominations. Here, King's word, penned in the Birmingham Jail, is as poignant today as it was in 1963 when he reflected:

> We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct-action campaign that was "well timed" in the view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never." We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that "justice too long delayed is justice denied."

For the oppressed, waiting has meant increased suffering and hopelessness. Though a generation removed, King's words still hold meaning for contemporary responses to injustice. O'Donovan's thought speaks from the position of privilege with regard to social, political, and economic structures. For those affected by the prison industrial

complex, infected and affected by HIV/AIDS, homeless, without healthcare, and stagnantly unemployed, waiting is not an option. The reality of human suffering makes waiting and patience a matter of convenience, not of necessity.

In terms of human suffering, the Christian community is described as a "suffering community," for O'Donovan.[35] According to O'Donovan, the church's suffering is vicariously similar to the suffering of Christ. He contends that "a chain of suffering is established: each suffers for the welfare of others; each benefits from others' suffering. But the chain originates in the sufferings of Christ."[36] O'Donovan links this notion of suffering to slavery and determines that Christ had abolished such notions. The slave has been liberated by the call of Christ, he concludes. A different "standing" as a member of the suffering community is acknowledged. For O'Donovan, it would seem that the social action King sought might be unnecessary since Christ has achieved the final triumph. What is left is the eschatological fulfillment and affirmation of the Lordship of Christ in the present age.

In King's analysis, the most appropriate response to suffering is to confront social ills with a sense of urgency. A person yields to God's will to become a "coworker" with God in the fulfillment of God's divine purposes in Creation. King posits:

> This is the meaning of faith. If we want to solve the race problem, this is it. We can't do it alone. God will not do it alone. But let's go out and protest a little bit and he will change this thing and make America a better nation. Do you want peace in this world? Man cannot do it by himself. And God is not going to do it by himself. But let us cooperate with him and we will be able to build a world where men will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks and nations will not study war anymore.[37]

King's thought seems to be in agreement with O'Donovan's idea of a dualism in the Christian faith. As such, this dualism applies to all aspects of Christian faith, especially as it relates to social change. Indeed, King and O'Donovan appear to share the same vision of a wider social and political ordering, although King suggests that this social and political ordering is ostensibly symbolized in the person of Christ. In contrast, O'Donovan locates the Christ event in the act of Creation and therefore the "wider ordering" may not necessarily have particular expression in the person of Christ. Rather it is intrinsic to Creation itself.

Somewhat different from King's view, Tutu's *ubuntu* theology appears to emphasize human effort through community regarding social ordering. This is similar to O'Donovan's survey of "humanism as a kind of social ordering," but not necessarily the only kind. Humanism, says O'Donovan, is a "kind" of ordering and must be understood in relation to it ends and the ends of other beings. The eighth Psalm reflects mankind as located in an order "which he did not make, joyfully accepting his privileged place within it."[38] God is praised as Creator, not a human being. The human beings' ordering-to-flourish becomes tied to the ordering of all creation. In concern for all of creation, humanity's ordering is brought to fruition. Humanity's ordering, therefore, becomes an ordering of liberation that liberates other beings to be in them, for themselves, and to be for God. According to Battle, Tutu distinguishes between Western humanism and how he understands humanism in the African context.

That King and Tutu both appealed to Augustine on numerous occasions as support for resisting the collective evils racism and economic injustice requires us to examine Jean Bethke-Elshtain's reading of Augustine as it relates to social ordering.[39] King speaks to social ordering primarily in racial and economic terms in the quest for freedom and justice. In contrast, Elshtain delves into the mechanics and specifics of social relations, roots of development, and broader implications toward social and political ordering. She writes in *Augustine and the Limits of Politics* that a deterioration of family life and the influx of crime are merely signs of dissipating associations of social life.[40] Elshtain contends that Augustine offers a critical analysis of language. He also gives thoughtful insights on the self and its relationship to the polis (public sphere) and *domus* (home) that have enormous implications toward how we understand social relations. This is a very isolationist approach that does attempt to deal with those forces that harm family life, such as unemployment, lack of decent housing, and adequate food and clothing. King determined the idea of self is a function of the human personality. Reflecting personalism thought, led by DeWolf and Brightman, King understood the self as having sacred worth and dignity. The human personality has eternal value and worth precisely because of the Person of God as Creator.

Like Augustine, the centrality of friendship in social ordering was essential for King as he sought ways to overcome forces that opposed it. If friendship is foundational to social relations, then what are the fundamental obstacles to attaining such an end? King's response to the question of evil is particularly related to the Augustinian view. King

viewed evil and human sin as the root cause of racial oppression and disharmony between human beings.[41] Unlike Augustine, King does not offer a definitive account of evil. He does suppose that evil is a force in the world that "works against wholeness and harmony in creation. Evil is real and is characterized by disorder, disruptiveness, intrusion, recalcitrance, and destruction."[42] The struggle within the divided human will is where evil lurks. In a similar manner, King recognized human sin as manifesting evil forces. King understood sin to be grounded in notions of human freedom and human limitation.[43] King emphasized the social ills caused by sin, reflected in selfishness, pride, and ignorance. In a sermon entitled "The Death of Evil upon the Seashore," he believed that evil would eventually be overcome with a justice and powerful God.[44] Ultimately, King observed, "evil in the form of injustice and exploitation shall not survive forever."[45]

In King's "Letter from Birmingham Jail," he responded to the reluctance to change in the system of segregation from white clergymen.[46] King appealed to the Christian conscience and the urgency of human suffering caused by segregation. King posited the idea of agape as the ultimate means for confronting social and political injustice. The love ethic, for King, was also a foundation for establishing a wider social order and the basis for confronting collective evils of racism and economic oppression as well.

King enlisted Augustine's position in *De libero arbitrio* that "an unjust law is no law at all."[47] However, according to Ansbro, Augustine would not have supported civil disobedience. For Augustine because the authority of the ruler comes from God one is summoned to obedience and reverence regardless of how evil a regime may be.[48] In contrast, King held that one has a moral obligation to disobey any law that does not conform to God's eternal law.[49] While King believed social change is brought about through challenging unjust laws, Elshtain suggests that changes in social ordering occur through strengthening the household and aiding in its ongoing development. The *domus* holds a central place in Elshtain's conception of social ordering and holds the key to subsequent social change.

Elshtain seems to be more in agreement with Tutu in her emphasis of interpersonal relations and its functionality in social ordering. Through Augustine, Elshtain discovers what she calls "the language of Christianity." This language was directed at women of late antiquity centers around Christological language of forgiveness, succor, and devotion. It was a language intelligible to the people, a language of liberation encompassing communities once isolated from the classical

polis—"women and the poor." As said earlier, for Tutu power and the idea of authority is grounded in the liturgy and language of the church. Tutu, an Anglican priest, maintained that Christian concepts such as forgiveness and reconciliation are applicable not only to the church but all human relations.

Like Elshtain, Tutu maintains this language is intelligible to all humanity and essential to overcoming injustice and division. For Tutu one can only have true knowledge of self, the world, and God through the knowledge of others.[50] *Ubuntu* declares "persons are ends in themselves only through the discovery of who they are in others."[51] Though King and Tutu would not disregard the importance of strengthening the household, they were conscious of the social forces impacting black family life. But it could also be tremendously problematic to treat only the social structural realities within some attention to personal and interpersonal responsibility.

Forming Communities of Resistance, Peace, and Reconciliation

We turn now to our discussion of King and Tutu, in relation to Hauerwas on the question of nonviolence, community, and justice in today's framework.[52] Hauerwas' vision of the church is receiving a great deal of attention at the moment. This is in part owing to the fact that Hauerwas offers an alternative vision of the church that counters the overly "secularized" church. At stake is the recovery of the "independence of the church" from its subservience to liberal culture and subsequently the state as well. Countering the criticism of being a "sectarian," Hauerwas does not advocate a total withdrawal from political involvement. He denies many assumptions and characterizations attached to the pacifist view. Building on the pacifist tradition of Yoder, Hauerwas argues that the Anabaptists have been able to preserve practices such as pacifism.[53] In so doing, they contribute invaluable resources for "resistance against the loss of Christian presence in modernity."[54] Also underlying the sectarian characterization is the idea that all politics are but a cover for violence. What Hauerwas calls sectarian are liberal values explicated by the Enlightenment that attempt to place national loyalties above Christian convictions.

What is most problematic about Hauerwas' understanding of the church is a lack of concern for changing social systems and structures. He virtually ignores altogether the deep religious roots of America's racist past and the church's duplicitous role in the process. Critical

current problems like incarceration, global poverty, education and healthcare, racial and ethnic conflict are for him left to sinful realities of the world. The task of the church as it relates to human suffering is, for Hauerwas, a matter of living out Christian practices in the context of Christian community. Christian practices, he says, are not intelligible to persons who have not been baptized into the community of faith. Although God's grace is at work in all people, cultures, and religious traditions, the particularity of the Christian faith narrates the nature of God's grace throughout.

To the dismay of those who stand within the prophetic tradition of King and Tutu, some churches have reflected Hauerwas' understanding of the church. Characterized by Robert Franklin, these churches pursue a pseudo-Pentecostal perspective. They attempt to incorporate the religious fervor and particularity of the early church while acclimating to American mainstream materialism. T. D. Jakes, Creflo Dollar, Eddie Long, Paul Morton, and Noel Jones are merely some of those representing this religious outlook. King and Tutu's thought offer a scathing critique to this interpretation of the Gospel. King, in particular, demonstrated an overwhelming concern for Christianity as a source of liberation and prophetic witness. He recognized that the Gospel message was about radical transformation of society. For King, the church is called to reflect the love ethic of Christ and personify important elements to those universal truths, such as agape, fellowship, nonviolence, and the like.[55] He summarizes his vision of the church in the following:

> In spite of the noble affirmations of Christianity, the church has often lagged in its concern for social justice and too often has been content to mouth pious irrelevances and sanctimonious trivialities. It has often been so absorbed in a future good "over yonder" that it forgets the present evils "down here." Yet the church is challenged to make the gospel of Jesus Christ relevant within the social situation. We must come to see that the Christian gospel is a two-way road. On the one side, it seeks to change the souls of men [and women] and thereby unite them with God; on the other, it seeks to change the environmental conditions of men [and women] so that the soul will have a chance after it is changed. Any religion that professes to be concerned with the souls of men [and women] and yet is not concerned with the economic and social conditions that strangle them and the social conditions that cripple them is the kind the Marxist describes as "an opiate of the people."[56]

Although King preached direct action to promote social change, Hauerwas holds that Christians are challenged to be a "light" to the

world. The church as a "disciplined community" has the fundamental task of teaching what it means to live in a "different community with a different set of practices"[57]—practices that bear witness to the whole world. Hauerwas and Tutu differ in their understanding of community. However, they both seem to affirm the role of community in the formation of moral ordering. For Hauerwas, knowing the essence of Christian ethics is understood within the context of tradition and community passed on through time. This community, for Hauerwas, is the "church." The church provides the sustenance and theological resources for moral convictions. It is within the context of this community that Christian ethical language beliefs about God, Christ, sin, the nature of human existence, and salvation becomes intelligible. Therefore, the primary task is to draw from the resources of Christian convictions to be a faithful community. In being that faithful community, it will have broader ethical implications to others. Tutu, in contrast, does not limit the possibility for moral convictions to the Christian faith community alone. According to Tutu, there must be a diversity of theologies and moral convictions because of our diverse backgrounds and contexts.[58] Recognizing and appreciating the differences of others is a fundamental principal for Tutu's conception of community. For Tutu, our differences allow us to explore our pasts and be hopeful about the future.[59]

I have attempted to show here that King and Tutu, in their social witness, articulated a particular kind of social and political ordering. This ordering is seen in their vision of differing conceptions of reconciliation. For King, reconciliation is made possible in terms of the beloved community. Tutu views reconciliation in the form of an eclectic community guided by *ubuntu* theology. Elements of their conceptions of community are seen in some contemporary moral theologians, as discussed herein. O'Donovan's conception of the church is similar to King and Tutu's insofar as the church is a "suffering community" that stands in solidarity with the suffering of all humanity. On the other hand, Elshtain's conception of the self is consistent with King's notion of the dignity and intrinsic value of the human personality.

Moral ordering in King and Tutu's conception of community most closely resembles Yoder's vision of the church. This is especially the case with regard to the beloved community and nonviolence. Although Yoder and King are different in many regards, they both shared a passion for faithful witness in the world. A significant part of that faithful witness is nonviolence—not in a passive sense, but active. Yoder seems to argue that "nonviolent resistance" is good as long as it

is working. King was concerned about not only the liberation of those who are oppressed, but also the brotherhood and sisterhood of all humanity. For King, the motivation behind confronting social and political oppression was that they hindered the embodiment of a beloved community. Hence, seeking to abolish segregation laws was purposed to breakdown the barriers that hindered a community motivated by love. Differing from King, Yoder was profoundly passionate about having a new vision of the church, where different questions are asked in a different way. The relevance of faithfulness that makes confessing Christ has substance and meaning was central to Yoder.

Toward a Postmodern Theology of Justice and Reconciliation

In light of the varied philosophical perspectives, an important question remains as to how to interpret the nature of oppression and injustice today. Specifically, how do we bring to bear theological language in today's context concerning social, political, and economic disparities? How do we begin to examine questions of public policy in an age driven by capitalistic forces and nihilism? Attempts have been made by several theologians to somehow bring together the Christian theological language of hope with the philosophical discourse of postmodernity. Among them are Graham Ward, John Milbank, John Cobb, and Cornel West. The diverse perspectives of these key thinkers may offer insight into the persistent question of human suffering in postmodernity.

As a theologian, Ward uses as his point of departure the Christian traditions of Augustine, Anselm, Aquinas, and Barth. In his book, *Theology and Contemporary Critical Theory*, Ward rigorously examines key figures in philosophy and literature who have shaped postmodern discourse.[60] It would be helpful to direct our attention to Ward's critique of some of the aforementioned philosophical perspectives. He draws on the work of Jacques Derrida in his account of the Resurrection in the essay "The Displaced Body of Jesus Christ."[61] Here, Ward explains:

> The body of Christ crucified and risen, giving birth to the ecclesial corpus, the history and transformations of that ecclesial body—each of these bodies can materialize only in, through and with language. The continual displacement of their bodies, the continual displacement of their identities, is not only produced through economies of signification, it is a reflection (a mimesis or repetition) of an aporetics intrinsic to

> textuality itself. To adopt a Derridean term, the logic of Christ as Logos is the logic of *différance*—deferral of identity, non-identical repetition which institutes and perpetuates alterity: this is not that, or, more accurately, this is not only that.[62]

Implications for such an analysis in terms of "displacement" would affirm the messages exposed by many liberation theologians, namely that the crucified body of Christ identifies with the oppressed and disposed. Ward's interpretation still remains problematic for such feminist theologians as Rosemary Radford Ruether because the gender of Christ as a male (which Ward recognizes) establishes basis for male dominance. For Ward, however, the body of Christ, though gendered, extends in a processional manner in and for the world. That is, "the body of the gendered Jew expands to embrace the whole of creation."[63] Nevertheless, Ward is intentional in advocating the primacy of Christ as incorporating all other bodies as meaningful and significant.

Milbank argues for a similar treatise in his essay, "Postmodern Critical Augustinianism: A Short *Summa* in Forty-Two Responses to Unasked Questions."[64] In this essay, Milbank gives a poignant theological response to postmodern discourse. He takes to task the postmodern assumption of enumerable versions of truth linked to particular narratives. Postmodernism suggests a nihilistic perspective that locates Christianity as merely "on the level" among other points of view. I do not accept Milbank's overall claim that Christianity is a construction of an alternative world altogether, akin to a new Christendom of some kind. But his emphasis on the ways Christianity confronts nihilism and is marked by Christian practice is promising. For instance, postmodern theology, says Milbank, must respond to nihilism by affirming Christian practice. In the seventh response, he writes:

> Whatever its response may be to nihilism, postmodern theology can only proceed by explicating Christian practice. The Christian God can no longer be thought of as a God first seen, but rather as a God first prayed to, first imagined, first inspiring certain actions, first put into words, and always already thought about, objectified, even if this objectification is recognized as inevitably inadequate. This practice which includes images of, talk about, addresses to, actions toward God can in no way be justified, nor be shown to be more rational, nor yet, outside its own discourse, as more desirable, than nihilism.[65]

The centrality of Christian theological language translates to Milbank's explication of Christian practice and community as well.

For Milbank, the task of theology is the promulgation of distinctiveness and uniqueness of Christian practice within the context of community. The theme of community, in Milbank's illumination of Christian practice, offers profound insight into questions of human suffering in postmodernity. There is a sense in which Christian practice becomes more meaningful the more it becomes "stranger." Christian practices of charity, forgiveness, and reconciliation become ostensible means of responding to the plight of the disinherited. Of course some inescapable questions arise in reading Milbank as to interpreting the nature of Christian practice in a contemporary context. That is, what is the essence of this Christian practice? And how does this community of practitioners relate to the social and political order? There are signs, however, in Milbank that are reminiscent of the love ethic understood by King in his conception of the beloved community. The Christian claim, Milbank remarks, "is that the narratives about Christ show what love—a difficult and demanding practice requiring more subtlety, style, and correct idiom than mere 'well-meaning'—is."[66] In short, he wishes to reassert the centrality of Christian practice, chief of which is love, as a way forward.

Kathryn Tanner offers an alternative perspective to Milbank, which in my estimation, is more thoroughly aligned with King and Tutu's work. For Tanner, a focus on Christian practices is indeed critical to approaches to social justice in postmodernity. But Christians must also move beyond practices and introduce a more just, humane, and compassionate economic system for the sake of the poor who are often overlooked in the economic process. As she rightly observes, "From a theological point of view financial markets are suspect because they are almost completely competitive."[67] Financial markets, she argues, thrive on the free flow of capital on the global scene. If one is to participate in the economic process, they must have capital. Individuals who do not have capital have no authentic means of participating in the market place, the very system responsible by and large for their daily sustenance. As King moved progressively toward economic criticism and a radical vision of a just economy, he brought the same critique to bear as Tanner. King recognized there was something fundamentally wrong with the capitalistic system in America in its current state. His proposal to establish a Bill of Rights for the Poor, in the backdrop of the Poor People's Campaign, was a strategic initiative put in place to accomplish this goal. King's broader economic vision included concerns for housing, employment, education, and increased participation in the market place. King's critique of the economic

situation in America flowed out of his experiences with the Northern ghettos in cities like Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, and New York. After the Watts riots in 1965, King joined Bayard Rustin and Andrew Young in a tour of the city. He recalls encountering a group of young people who said in the wake of the riots, "we won!" A puzzled King asked the group of youth how they could say such a thing when his neighborhood was in ruins. The youths responded, "We won because we made them pay attention to us."[68] This brief encounter was a vivid reminder for King that violence would be an inevitable alternative if the cries of the voiceless were not heard. He understood that the cries of the urban poor were cries of disappointment over years of neglect, racial persecution, exploitation, and segregation.

Nevertheless, the recognition and affirmation of difference is a reoccurring theme in Milbank's thought. Milbank's emphasis on Christian practice reflects profound sensibilities concerning social and political ordering, which is very similar to West's "prophetic pragmatism" (as will be shown). In particular, Milbank does address ecological matters in his essay "Out of the Greenhouse."[69] In this essay, Milbank illustrates both the limitations and promise of addressing Christian practices and language in the face of unavoidable social and political concerns. But one would have to look to Tanner's conception of the market place for concrete approaches to thinking about justice, especially in the economic arena, in the postmodern era.

Cornel West and Justice in Postmodernity

We are still left with the question of what justice and community looks like within a postmodern framework. Cornel West, as a major proponent of King and Tutu, has more than any other attempted to engage the African and African American religious experience to contemporary cultural issues. West traces the roots of modern racial problems and situates the work of King and Tutu firmly within a philosophical and theological tradition of protest and constructive Christian witness. I employ West at this point as a way of thinking about what it means to seek community and justice today. West draws on the narrative force of King's witness against segregation and poverty in America as well as Tutu's leadership in apartheid.

Steeped in the American pragmatism school of William James and John Dewey, West in particular has described himself as "a Chekhovian Christian with deep democratic commitments."[70] Chekhov, the noted German poet and playwright, contributed to West the aesthetic

insights into the human condition which he associated with his Christian religious sensibilities. West is essentially a philosopher of religion and social critic. In this manner, the Western philosophical tradition is laced throughout West's work. However, some of West's strongest influences are taken from American pragmatism. In particular, the works of John Dewey, Charles Pierce, and William James have left an enduring imprint on West's philosophic outlook. West finds Dewey the most favored of the three insofar as Dewey emphasized a sense of historical consciousness and a concern for social and political matters.[71] From this perspective, West builds his intellectual arsenal to confront the critical question of how blacks have responded to the oppressive structures of the modern era. Although focusing on the particularities of the American situation, West attempts to address those expressions of "self-making" and "self-creating" demonstrated by those often overlooked in Enlightenment discourse. West determines to reconfigure modern philosophical claims about reason, human creativity, and consciousness from the perspective of those most severely victimized by the oppressive structures produced.

In his book *Prophesy Deliverance!: An Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity*, West argues that the Afro-American religious experience serves as a viable model of prophetic Christianity, exemplified in the best of Black Church tradition.[72] With Afro-American religious experience as the point of departure, West treats the political and moral dimensions of American pragmatism. His overall aim is to articulate an Afro-American philosophy as an expression of American philosophy, strongly considering the Afro-American experience of suffering, oppression, and resistance.

The social and political context of African descendants throughout the diaspora is West's primary concern as he attempts to establish a distinctive religious philosophy, as praxis for liberation. In his "genealogy of modern racism," West traces the origins of notions of white supremacy and the idea of racial categories. He argues that the modern conception of racism developed in its present form over several historical and intellectual periods. Behind this development is the very structure of modern discourse. The terms, metaphors, notions, and categories in modern discourse are assigned and regulated conceptions of truth and knowledge. Many ideas were declared incomprehensible and unintelligible because of these very structures of discourse, says West. His major premise, simply stated, is that the authority of science, supported by a modern philosophical discourse guided by Greek ocular metaphors and Cartesian notions, promotes and encourages

the activities of observing, comparing, measuring, and ordering the physical characteristics of human bodies.[73] For instance, according to West, the idea of black equality in terms of beauty, culture, and intellectual capacity was excluded from the epistemological field of modern discourse. Here is where West's thought illuminates the significance of King and Tutu's work, both at the epistemological and social structural levels. Not only did King and Tutu challenge political and economic systems, they also confronted the very foundations of Cartesian philosophy that supports much of Western intellectualism and culture. King and Tutu both revealed that to be in relationship with the other is what it means to be human. that human thinking, living, loving, and being are all bounded together in the human capacity for fellowship and mutuality.

I would agree with West that the legitimacy of theological language is deeply woven in its expressed concern for human suffering and the quest for community. Drawing from the witness of King and Tutu, he gives insight to who God is for those who suffer in a postmodern context. In short, West helps us to understand that Christianity, and language about God for that matter, must speak to the realities of human suffering or else it will fall into the abyss of nothingness. In his book *Prophetic Thought in Postmodern Times*, West addresses some of the pressing concerns facing American society and how it relates to postmodern discourse.[74] In an attempt to historicize the postmodernism debate, West deals with questions surrounding the vocation of the intellectual and technical intelligentsia, more broadly the role of intellectualism in an advanced capitalist society. For West, postmodernism is primarily viewed as a set of responses related to "the de-centering of Europe—of living in a world that no longer rests upon European hegemony and domination in the political and economic, military and cultural dimensions which began in 1492."[75] American pragmatism, for West, is significant because of its attention to the American democracy and constitutionalism. American pragmatism provides the framework of West's critique of postmodernism, which he expresses in the following manner:

> The very term "postmodernism" reflects fear of the future; it is a backward-looking term. We witness the nuclear and ideological stand-off between capitalist (not necessarily free) United States and the communist (definitely unfree) Soviet Union, both imperialist powers suffering immense internal decay. The dominated classes in industrial and postindustrial nations have accelerated the speed of their inclusion within the

> liberal capitalist regimes, accompanied by widespread tranquilizing and depoliticizing by mass culture.
>
> . . . postmodernism is an accentuation and acceleration of the major developments and processes in European modernism. It is a deepening of the decline of modernity, with little sense of what is to follow, if anything at all. It bears the birth pains of slow epoch transition, the ironic excesses of prolonged historical suspension, and the ecstatic anticipations of a new though not necessarily better, era.[76]

Any critique of modern discourse and needed responses must take seriously the experiences of those most victimized at the hands of the modern intellectual and social experimentation. From the orientation of an "Afro-American philosophy," West explicates his conception of prophetic pragmatism—a philosophical perspective demonstrating radical social responsibility and emphasizing the centrality of community.[77] Exactly how West's conception of prophetic pragmatism is demonstrated in contemporary religious or political debates is uncertain. However, he did submit an opinion in George E. Curry's *The Affirmative Action Debate*.[78] In this essay, West treats the historical and moral context out of which the debate emerges, rather than dwelling on for/against polarities dominating mainstream media. For West, the question of affirmative action must address the underlying and broader issues concerning the legacy of white supremacy seen in numerous disparities regarding housing, education, health care, employment, and the like. West's prophetic pragmatism falls short of providing specific policy recommendations affecting the poor and underprivileged. Nonetheless, he does argue for certain social and political sensibilities that speak to the reality of human suffering. In so doing, he initiates a firm foundation for social and political transformation.

Community was a central and abiding theme in both King and Tutu's life and thought. In fact, the call for community and fellowship, with God and neighbor, informed their theology, view of society, and overall strategic interests. The quest for community, for King and Tutu, was both an end goal and strategy of liberation. They recognized that the core meaning of the Gospel was reconciliation and establishing God's community on earth. At the same time, they both agreed that in order for people to live in community, justice and human dignity must be personified. With the complexities of fragmentation and brokenness now intensified within a postmodern and postcolonial world, significant challenges remain to the pursuit of community. Reflecting on West's notions about community may open the door for new conversations in exploring King and Tutu's legacy today.

West's conception of community carries several dimensions: (1) Afro-American religious expression; (2) a form of American pragmatism where truth is evaluated based on its efficacy to enact social change; and (3) prophetic social and political criticism. It is assumed in West that there is an agreed upon understanding of what is meant by community. In one sense, West's community responds to the persistent social and political strivings of African descendents in general and American blacks in particular. In his *Race Matters*, West discusses the problem of nihilism facing, as he describes, "black America." He attributes this sense of nihilism to the disintegration of important black institutions that once served as buffers between black life and nihilistic vulnerabilities.[79] Here, West points to a *politics of conversion* forming the founding principles for addressing the problem. If black Americans hope to overcome this nagging disease of modernity, West declares there must be a deep sense of self-love and love for others. West illustrates such practices when manifested on the national level:

> The politics of conversion proceeds principally on the local level—in those institutions in civil society still vital enough to promote self-worth and self-affirmation. It surfaces on the state and national levels only when grassroots democratic organizations put forward a collective leadership that has earned the love and respect of and, most important, has proved itself accountable to these organizations. This collective leadership must exemplify moral integrity, character, and democratic statesmanship within itself and within its organizations.[80]

Implicit in West's thought on community is the presence of the Black Church. In an interview with Paul Ruffins, West highlights the issue of leadership as the fundamental matter that must be addressed in confronting racial oppression in postmodernity. The Black Church, for West, does not encompass the totality of community. Rather, he considers it an important aspect that holds tremendous promise for enacting radical transformation in black communities. Leadership, in the Black Church, then becomes a critical peace in developing communities that are transformative and prophetic, recognizing that underneath the social problems of poverty, joblessness, and the disintegration of civil institutions, the Black Church plays a critical role in the shaping of transformative democratic perspective.

Ultimately, West articulates a vision of community that is grounded in the African and African American religious experience with God in the trenches of human suffering. West is deeply troubled not only by

the particular social condition of blacks but also the broader contradiction of American democratic principles and the exploitation operative in American society through monopoly capitalistic structures. In order to critique American civil society, he draws heavily on pragmatism where philosophical ideas are explored and critiqued based on efficacy or meaningfulness to persons exposing such ideas. West supposes that the African and African American religious experience serves as a viable model of prophetic Christianity, and subsequently black radicalism as well.[81]

Conclusion

Throughout the course of this study, and particularly in this final chapter, I have sought to establish King and Tutu as major theologians of reconciliation. I have asserted that King and Tutu not only changed social and political realities in America and South Africa, but also introduced important insights to the Christian idea of reconciliation. In Tutu's theology, the role of community is indispensable to knowledge of self and of God. Tutu boldly challenges Western Cartesian precepts about the individual autonomous self. Of course, there is an inherent danger in negating personal autonomy and Tutu certainly did not support that idea. On the contrary, Tutu celebrated both personal autonomy and the centrality of community. Tutu's core commitment around this idea never changed. Although Tutu culminated his career as chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), he became a symbol of reconciliation across the world.

Similarly, Milbank argues that Christian community affirms and explicates Christian practice as its chief orientation. Milbank, West, and Ward do not necessarily develop a theological praxis for addressing the needs of the economically and politically disinherited. Nevertheless, there are strong implications as to the centrality of some formulations of Christian community. A community with recognition of difference, and perhaps a sense of social responsibility, is required to meet nihilism with hope and possibility. West's insistence upon the black religious experience as a viable resource for philosophical discourse in the postmodern world is significant. The black religious tradition, though modern in its social and historic orientation, has rendered a radical Christian response to many postmodern structures. However, West in his insistence on racial and religious categories seems to repeat many of the problems he critiques in modern discourse. That West pushes for social and political sensibilities, situated

in the prophetic stream of Christian thought, poses a central challenge to both philosophical and theological postmodern discourse, namely, that the disquieted voices of the oppressed be heard and understood in interpreting the postmodern condition, further, that any attempt to overcome the language of modernity must take seriously the dramatic recollection of human suffering so deeply scarred by these structures.

Finally, Martin Luther King, Jr. embraced a Judeo-Christian conceptualization of the "beloved community." The idea of the beloved community reflects an expanding understanding of community that embraces difference. King described his theological vision of the beloved community as a "world house." It was the realization of God's intention for human community. The Christian church was simply given the gift to share and reflect to all humanity God's work of justice, healing, and reconciliation. This is reflected in his critique of the Vietnam War and the Poor People's Campaign. For King, the task of the church and the individual believer was to make the reality of the Kingdom of God in the world meaningful through lived experience.

In his emphasis on Christian liturgical practices, Tutu also provides meaningful perspectives on approaches to justice and community in postmodernity. Tutu stands alongside figures such as Oscar Arnulfo Romero who responded to the reality of human suffering and quest for justice and community through the practice and celebration of Christian liturgy. Both recognized the Eucharist as the central intersection where the reality of human suffering and brokenness (personally and collectively) meet a God who redeems, heals, and transforms. Through liturgical practices such as the Eucharist, forgiveness, giving, and fellowship, Tutu insisted that human suffering is addressed and belief in God is made meaningful. Of course, Tutu would also continue this theme in the South African experience.

Tutu's concept of *ubuntu* theology declares that persons are not ends of themselves alone. They are formed by their relationships with others. In other words, according to Tutu, we only become who we are through others. This view celebrates the difference of others. For Tutu, understanding that God is, and what God is doing in the world, is revealed in difference and otherness. In particular, Tutu's work with the TRC unveils how God is active in the painful process of forging community. Further, that through community and reconciliation the activity and presence of God is brought into clear view. In the TRC, victimized persons were given the forum to share their stories of suffering and persecution. Forgiveness stands at the center of Tutu's ideas about community. Tutu argues that forgiveness is the window that

makes reconciliation possible. Ultimately, the path toward liberation and reconciliation in a postmodern world must embrace the radicality of forgiveness. The quest for liberation and reconciliation means adopting a vision of justice and community that flows from a loving, caring, and merciful God—the God who revealed God's self in the ministry of the broken, yet risen body of Christ.

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Notes

Introduction

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2. T. R. H. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History*, 5th edition (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 254.
3. Alasdair MacInytre, *After Virture* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press), 109.
4. D. M. Baillie, *God Was in Christ: An Essay on Incarnation and Atonement* (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons, 1948).
5. Cornel West, *Prophesy Deliverance!: An Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1982), 65.
6. Paul L. Lehmann, *Ethics in a Christian Context* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 45.
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11. Michael Battle, *Reconciliation: The Ubuntu Theology of Desmond Tutu* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 2000).

1 Exploring the Meaning of Reconciliation and Community

1. 2 Corinthians 5:17–20.
2. George A. Buttrick, ed., *The Interpreter's Bible* (New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1953), 340. See also A. Plummer, A *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, ICC 47 (Edinburgh, UK: T. & T. Clark, 1915).
3. H. Windisch, *Der zweite Korintherbrief*, MeyerK 6 (Gottingern: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1924); D. von Allmen, "Reconciliation du monde et christologie cosmique," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* (RHPhR), vol. 1, no. 2 (1968): 32–45; Ralph P. Martin, Word *Biblical Commentary*, vol. 40, no. 2 Corinthians (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1986), 134–158.
4. Stephen D. Gish, *Desmond Tutu: A Biography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 71.
5. Norman P. Madsen, *First and Second Corinthians*, vol. 23 (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1988), 121.
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8. Vincent Taylor, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation: A Study in New Testament Theology* (London: Macmillan Co, 1948).
9. Acts 2:38, NRSV.
10. E. B. Redlich, *The Forgiveness of Sins* (1937). 104.
11. Taylor asserts that forgiveness that is made possible through the work of Christ on the Cross brings about reconciliation with God and subsequently among human beings. Taylor highlights several passages. Among the most significant are Luke 24:47; Acts 2:38, 5:31, 10:43, 13:38, 26:18; Ephesians 1:7; Colossians 1:14; James 5:15; 1 John 1:9, 2:12. In these passages, there is an insistence upon repentance and remission of sins as the primary focus. As with Luke 24:47, before Jesus makes His ascension, He gives the instructions to His disciples of the message that is to be proclaimed: "and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name to all nations, beginning at Jerusalem" (NRSV).
12. Anton C. Pegis, ed., *Basic Writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, volume 1, *God and the Order of Creation* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Co.), *Summa Theologica*, Q.20.
13. *Summa Theologica*, Q.21, a.1.
14. D. Stephen Long, *The Goodness of God: Theology, Church, and the Social Order* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazo Press, 2001), 292–299.
15. Ibid., 295.
16. Ibid.
17. John J. Ansbro, *Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Making of a Mind* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1982), 117. See also St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*

Theologica, Q. 96, a.4, quoted in Frederick Copleston, *Aquinas* (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1957), 220; Will Herberg, says Ansbro, was not familiar with Aquinas' doctrine when he expressed that King's doctrine of civil disobedience was "not Christian at all but seriously deviant and heretical" because it was not founded in Christian tradition ("A Religious Right to Violate the Law?" *National Review*, vol. 16, no. 28 [July 14, 1964]: 579); Aquinas, *De Regimine Principum*, 1, 15; *Quodlibetum*, 3, 27.

18. Etienne Gilson, *The Christian Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas*, trans. L. K. Shook, C. S. B. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1956), 264–270.
19. Ibid., 265.
20. Ibid., 263.
21. *Summa Theologica*, Q. 21, a.4.
22. Joseph P. Wawrykow, *God's Grace and Human Action: "Merit" in the Theology of Thomas Aquinas* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 149–155.
23. Ibid., 149. Note: Wawrykow indicates that this account is based on the opening forty-five questions of the *Summa Theologiae*, drawing especially from Part I, 19–26, Part I 44–45, and I 5–6. See also W. J. Hankey, *God in Himself: Aquinas' Doctrine of God as Expounded in the Summa Theologiae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); John H. Wright, *The Order of the Universe in the Theology of St. Thomas Aquina*s (Rome: Pontificate Universtas Gregoriana, 1957); Scott MacDonald, ed., *Being and Goodness: The Concept of the Good in Metaphysics and Philosophical Theology* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991); David Burrell, *Faith and Philosophy* 9 (1992): 538–543; *Aquinas, God and Action* (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1979); and *Knowing the Unknowable God: Ibn-Sina, Maimonides, Aquinas* (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1986).
24. Warykow, *God's Grace and Human Action*, 160–161.
25. Ritschl, *Justification and Reconciliation*; See also A. E. Garvie, *The Ritschlian Theology* (New York: Imported by Charles Schribner and Co., 1899), 371. Taylor adds J. M. Creed has aptly described Ritschl as "an anti-clerical High Churchman," *The Divinity of Jesus Christ*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1938), 86.
26. Karl Barth, *Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century: Its Background and History* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1959).

    Tillich, 1967. See also Basil Willey, *Nineteenth Century Studies*; Ninian Smart, John Clayton, Patrick Sherry, Steven T. Katz, *Nineteenth Century Religious Thought in the West*, Vol. 1–3; Claude Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 1 and 2 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press).
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28. Ritschl, *Justification and Reconciliation*.28.
29. Gish, *Desmond Tutu*, 57.
30. Ritschl, *Critical History of Justification and Reconciliation*, 387.

31. Tillich, *Perspectives on Protestant Theology*, 218.
32. Barth, *Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, 641.
33. Ritschl, *Critical History of Justification and Reconciliation*, 394.
34. Ibid., 11.
35. Ibid., 4. New Testament themes such as "Sanctification, Bringing to God, Purchasing for God, Purification, Redemption" all provide foundational elements of conceptions of Justification and Reconciliation. Ritschl also draws on the work of Baur, in his *The Christian Doctrine of Reconciliation in its Historical Development from the Earliest to the Latest Times* (1838).
36. Ritschl, *Critical History of Justification and Reconciliation*, 28.
37. Ibid., 39. See also *Commentariorum super S. Pauli Epistolam ad Romanos libri* V. (Petri Abaelardi et Heloisae opera, Paris, 1616).
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    > But all things are of God, who reconciled us to God's self through Christ, and gave unto us the ministry of reconciliation; to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto God's self, not reckoning unto them their trespasses, and having committed unto us the word of reconciliation.
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42. Farmer, *Reconciliation and Religion*.
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44. Ibid., 326.
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49. J. Deotis Roberts, *Black Theology in Dialogue* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1987), 43–60.
50. Howard Thurman, *Jesus and the Disinherited* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1949), rept. 1981. First published by Abingdon Press.
51. John D. Godsey, *The Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1960), 27–55.

    John W. DeGruchy, *Bonhoeffer and South Africa: Theology in Dialogue* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984). It is commonly understood that Bonhoeffer was greatly influenced by black spirituals and the Black Church

tradition during his first visit to Union Theological Seminary in New York—cf. Godsey, *The Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 24.

52. Roberts, *Black Theology in Dialogue*, 51.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., 67.
55. Rudolf Bultmann, *Jesus and the Word* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1958), 118.
56. Roberts, *Black Theology in Dialogue*, 68.
57. Joseph A. Bracken and Marjorie Hewitt Suchochi, ed., *Trinity in Process: A Relational Theology of God* (New York: New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1997), 2.
58. Ibid., 2.
59. Cf. D. Ritschl, *The Logic of Theology*: *A Brief Account of the Relationship between Basic Concepts in Theology* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1986), 146. Since the two positions are not directly comparable, Reid asserts the need for offering descriptive names for the Eastern and Western positions that point to their distinctiveness. The Western position, "principle," is from the identity principle, while the Eastern position, "doctrine," is from the doctrine of energies.
60. Duncan Reid, *Energies of the Spirit: Trinitarian Models in Eastern Orthodox and Western Theology* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997).
61. D. Ritschl, "Historical Development and Implications of the Filioque Controversy," in *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ: Ecumenical Reflections on the Filioque Controversy, ed.* L. Vischer (London/Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1981); "*Warum wir Konzilien feier Konstantinopel* 381," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 38 (1982): 213–225; D. Ritschl, *The Logic of Theology*, (London, 1981). M. Aagaard, "*Christus wurde Mensch, um alles Menschliche zu uberwinden*," *StTH*, vol. 21 (1967): 164–181; *Helliganden sendt til Verden* (Aarhus, 1973); "*Der Heilige Geist in der Welt*," in [delete]

    G. A. Maloney, *Inscape: God at the Heart of Matter* (Denville, NJ: Dimension Books, 1978); G. A. Maloney, A Theology of "Uncreated Energies," (Milwaukee, 1978).
62. Cf. E. V. Ivanka, *Plato Christianus: Ubernahme und Umgestaltung des Platonismus durch die Vater* (Einsiedeln: Johannes Verlag, 1964); A. H. Armstrong, "Plotinus," GMP, 193–225.; A. Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).
63. M. Schmaus: *Die Psychologische Trinitatslehre des Heiligen Augustinus* (Munster: Westfalen, Aschendorff, 1969), 86: "It is the hallmark of the Augustinian notion of God that God is absolutely simple being. He allows no real distinction between substance and accidence, between accidence and accidence, between being and being-active, between activity and activity. Augustine never tires of emphasizing this simplicity."
64. Reid, *Energies of the Spirit*, 11.
65. Ibid.
66. R. D. Williams, *The Theology of Vladimir Nikolaievich Lossky: An Exposition and Critique* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

    R. A. Markus, "Marius Victorinus and Augustine," GMP, esp. 339–340.

J. P. Mackey, *The Christian Experience of God as Trinity* (London: S.C.M., 1983), 121. Reid contends that in Tertullian we find the roots of the later Western psychological trinity: *Schmaus, Psychol. Trinitatslehre*, 417.

67. Reid, *Energies of the Spirit*, 16.
68. Ibid., 21.
69. John DeGruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans), 118. Cf. John DeGruchy and W. B. De Villiers, eds., *The Message in Perspective* (Transvaal: South African Council of Churches, 1969).
70. Richard Bauckham, *The Theology of Jürgen Moltmann* (Edinburgh, UK: T. & T. Clark Ltd., 1995).
71. Ibid., 174.
72. Ibid.
73. Warren McWilliams, "Trinitarian Doxology: Jürgen Moltmann on the Relation of the Economic and Immanent Trinity," *Perspectives in Religious Studies*, vol. 23 (1996): 25–38.
74. Ibid., 26.
75. Jürgen Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom*, trans. Margaret Kohl (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1981).
76. Roger E. Olson, "Trinity and Eschatology: The Historical Being of God in Jürgen Moltmann and Wolfhart Pannenberg," *Scottish Journal of Theology*, vol. 36 (1983): 219–220.
77. McWilliams, *Trinitarian Doxology*, 26.
78. Jürgen Moltmann, *The Crucified God*, trans. R. A. Wilson and John Bowden (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 153.
79. Eberhard Jungel, *God as the Mystery of the Universe*, trans. Darrell L. Guder (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1983), 368–373.
80. Paul S. Fiddes, *The Creative Suffering of God* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 151.
81. Moltmann, *The Crucified God*, 252–255, *The Trinity and the Kingdom of God*, 74–75, 94–96.
82. For extended discussions on Moltmann, see Fiddes, *The Creative Suffering of God* and Warren McWilliams, *The Passion of God* (Mercer, GA: Mercer University Press, 1985).
83. McWilliams, *The Passion of God*, 28. See also Jürgen Moltmann, *The Future of Creation*, trans. Margaret Kohl (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1979), 81.
84. Moltmann, *The Crucified God*, 241; *Future of Creation*, 74; and *The Experiment Hope*, trans. M. Douglas Meeks (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1975), 81.
85. Jürgen Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom: The Doctrine of God* (San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1981).
86. Ibid., 199.
87. Moltmann, *God in Creation*, 216, 217–226.
88. Paul L. Lehmann, *The Decalogue and a Human Future* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 2–10.
89. Paul L. Lehmann, *Ethics in a Christian Context* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 47.

2 From Every Mountainside: Reconciliation and the Beloved Community

1. Negro Spiritual.
2. James W. McClendon, Jr., *Biography as Theology: How Life Stories Can Remake Today's Theology* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1974). The theological method employed by McClendon, which he describes as "biography as theology," is a useful tool for our purposes here since King's thought encompassed more than the theological insights he received at Crozer Seminary and Boston University as a student. His theology was also deeply rooted in his experience with family, community, and the radical dimensions of the Black Church tradition.
3. Aldon Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: Free Press, 1984).
4. Henry J. Young, *Major Black Religious Leaders, 1755–1940* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1977).
5. Herbert Aptheker, *David Walker's Appeal: Its Setting and Its Meaning* (New York: Humanities Press, 1965); See also his "*Our Continual Cry," David Walker's Appeal* (New York: Humanities Press, 1965), 45–62. See also Charles M. Wiltse, ed., *David Walker's Appeal* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1965).
6. Herbert Aptheker, *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* (New York: Citadel Press, 1951), 9–39. Robert Alexander Young presented his Ethiopian Manifesto in 1829, proclaiming that a black Messiah would redeem the "degraded of the earth."
7. Young, *Major Black Religious Leaders*, 85.
8. Henry Highland Garnet, *The Past and The Present Condition, and the Destiny of the Colored Race: A Discourse*, delivered at the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Female Benevolent Society, Troy, NY, February 14, 1848 (Miami, FA: Mnemosyne Publishing Inc., 1969).
9. Eddie S. Glaude, Jr., *Exodus! Religion, Race and Nation in the Early Nineteenth Century Black America* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
10. Ibid., 146.
11. Gayraud S. Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism: An Interpretation of the Religious History of African Americans* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2000), 105–125.
12. Eddie S Glaude, "Race, Nation and Ideology of Chooseness," in *Exodus! Religion, Race and Nation in the Nineteenth Century Black America*, 2nd edition (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
13. Young, *Major Black Religious Leaders*, 116–120.
14. Alexander Crummell, *Africa and America* (Springfield, MA: Willey and Company, 1891), 278.
15. James H. Cone, *Martin & Malcolm & America: A Dream or a Nightmare* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2000), 58–75.
16. Ibid., 59.

17. Cone, *Martin & Malcolm & America: A Dream or a Nightmare*, 39.
18. *Amsterdam News* (New York), September 7, 1963, 6.
19. Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, with Alex Haley (rpt., New York: Ballantine Books, 1973), 3; see also Ted Vincent, "The Garveyite Parents of Malcolm X," Black Scholar (March/April 1989): 10–13; Yael Lotan, " 'No Peaceful Solution to Racism': An Exclusive Interview with Malcolm X," *Sunday Gleaner Magazine*, July 12, 1964, 5–6; Kenneth B. Clark, *King, Malcolm, Baldwin: Three Interviews*, rev. ed. (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1985), 33–48.
20. Cone, *Malcolm & Martin & America: A Dream or A Nightmare*, 45.
21. Ibid., 49.
22. Ibid., 51.
23. "Ballot or the Bullet," in George Breitman, ed., *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1965), 41.
24. C. Eric Lincoln, *The Black Muslims in America*, 3rd edition (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994), 32–43.
25. Ibid., 33.
26. Malcolm X, 1964,*Autobiography of Malcolm X*, (New York: Ballantine), 275.
27. Michael Eric Dyson, *Making Malcolm: The Myth and Meaning of Malcolm X* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 79–106.
28. From an interview with Harry Ring, Station WBAI-FM, January 28, 1965.
29. The conception and definition of black nationalism, particularly as it relates to the Nation of Islam, will be discussed in further detail in part IV of this study.
30. J. Deotis Roberts, *Bonhoeffer and King: Speaking Truth to Power* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 111.
31. Cf. Esther M. Smith, *A History of Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia* (Atlanta, GA: Ebenezer Baptist Church, 1956), 3;
    Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years*, 1954–1963 (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988), 30–40; Lerone Bennett, Jr., *What Manner of Man: A Memorial Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: Pocket Books, 1968), 7; Lewis V. Baldwin, "Understanding Martin Luther King, Jr. within the Context of Southern Black Religious History," *Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 13, no. 2, (Fall 1987): 8.
32. Clayborne Carson, ed., *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: Warner Books, 1998), 5.
33. Martin Luther King, Sr., with Clayton Riley, *Daddy King: An Autobiography* 1st edition (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1980), 25; see also Coleman B. Brown, "Grounds for American Loyalty in a Prophetic Christian Social Ethic—With Special Attention to Martin Luther King, Jr." (Ph.D. dissertation, Union Theological Seminary in New York City, April 1979), 66; Walter E. Fluker's *They Looked for a City: A Comparative Analysis of the Ideal of Community in the Thought of Howard Thurman and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989), 81–107; Read Martin Luther King, Jr., 1950. "An Autobiography of Religious Development" (Unpublished document, the King Papers, Mugar Memorial Library, Boston University, Boston, MA, c. 1950), 8.

34. Lewis Baldwin, *There Is a Balm in Gilead: The Cultural Roots of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991). See also King, "An Autobiography of Religious Development," 1–15; and Martin Luther King, Jr., "The Early Days," excerpts of a sermon delivered at the Mt. Pisgah Missionary Baptist Church, Chicago, IL (The King Center Archives, August 27, 1967), 9–12.
35. Lawrence Edward Carter, ed., *Walking Integrity: Benjamin Elijah Mays, Mentor to Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998).
36. Ibid., 1.
37. Ibid., 6.
38. Mays' dissertation, "The Idea of God in Contemporary Negro Literature" (for his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago) would be later published as *The Negro's God: As Reflected in His Literature* (New York: Atheneum, 1938).
39. Cf. Walter Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), and *A Theology for the Social Gospel*. Both texts critically examine the nature and mission of the Christian church as it corresponds to dire social issues as poverty, economic and political exploitation and violence. Rauchenbusch was profoundly influenced by Protestant Liberalism of nineteenth-century British scholarship, which attempted to articulate Christian theology in an Hegelian historical philosophical framework.
40. See Henry J. Young, *Major Black Religious Leaders: 1755–1940* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1977).
41. Sylvia F. Cook, "Memories of Dr. Benjamin Mays," 494. Cf., Benjamin E. Mays, 1983, *Quotable Quotes of Benjamin E. Mays* (Atlanta, GA: Vintage Press). See also Otis Moss, Jr., "Dr. Benjamin Elijah Mays: A Voice for the 20th Century and Beyond," 497.
42. Lerone Bennett, Jr., *What Manner of Man: A Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Chicago, IL: Johnson Publishing Co., 1968), 26; "Benjamin E. Mays: A Great Georgian."
43. Carter, *Walking Integrity*, 203.
44. Garrow, Smith, Zepp, and Ansbro have been among the chief scholars who have attributed King's intellectual development primarily to white scholars. They have essentially dismissed the intellectual and sociological contributions of Thurman (and Daddy King and Ben Mays as well) on how King thought, the actions he took and what resources guided many of his ideas. These scholars have failed to demonstrate that King was first and foremost an African American preacher among other outstanding African American preachers.
45. Fluker, *They Looked for a City*; see also Carlyle Fielding Stewart III, *God, Being and Liberation: A Comparative Analysis of the Theologies and Ethics of James H. Cone and Howard Thurman* (New York: University Press of America, 1989); and George K. Makechnie, *Howard Thurman: His Enduring Dream* (Boston, MA: The Howard Thurman Center, Boston University, 1988).
46. Howard Thurman, *With Head and Heart: The Autobiography of Howard Thurman* (San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1979).
47. See David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: Vintage Books, 1986), 60;

John J. Ansbro, *Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Making of a Mind* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1982); Kenneth L. Smith and Ira G. Zepp, Jr., *Search for the Beloved Community: The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press).

48. Howard Thurman, *The Creative Encounter: An Interpretation of Religion and the Social Witness* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1954).
49. Ibid., 20.
50. Howard Thurman, *Jesus and the Disinherited* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1949), Forward by Vincent Harding.
51. Ibid.
52. Howard Thurman, *Disciplines of the Spirit* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1963), 104–105.
53. Luther E. Smith, Jr., *Howard Thurman: The Mystic as Prophet* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1991), 53. See also Howard Thurman, "Mysticism and Social Action," in *Lawrence Lecture on Religion and Society* (First Unitarian Church of Berkeley), October 13, 1978; "Mysticism and Social Change," *Eden Theological Seminary Bulletin*, IV (Spring Quarter, 1939), 27.
54. Smith, *Howard Thurman: The Mystic as Prophet*, 50.
55. Fluker, *They Looked for a City*, 35.
56. Thurman, *The Creative Encounter*, 31.
57. Ibid., 63.
58. Ansbro, *Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Making of a Mind*.
59. See Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Geneology of Morals in the Birth of Tragedy and The Genealogy of Morals*, trans. Francis Golffing (New York: Doubleday, 1956); *The Antichrist in the Portable Nietzsche*, ed. Walter Kaufmann (New York: The Viking Press, 1954), 570–573; *The Will to Power*, trans. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollindale (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), 129.

    For the essence of spiritual love, see also Miguel de Unamuno, *Tragic Sense of Life*, trans. J. E. Crawford Flitch (New York: Dover Publications, 1954), 135–155; Paul Tillich, *Love, Power, and Justice* (New York: Oxford University Press, Galaxy Book, 1960), 11, 49–50. First published in 1954; *Systematic Theology* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1951), vol. 2, no. 1: 280.
60. Noel L. Erskine, *King among the Theologians* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 1994), 47.
61. Martin Luther King, Jr., "A Comparison of the Conceptions of God in the Thinking of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman" (Dissertation from Boston University Graduate School, submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1948).
62. Erskine, *King among the Theologians*, 47.
63. DeWolf, *A Theology of the Living Church*, rev. ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), 46. First published in 1953.
64. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference*, 60.
65. Edgar S. Brightman, *The Problem of God* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1930), 191.
66. Ibid., 192.

67. Ibid., 182.
68. St. Aquinas, *Summa Theologia*, 12, 6.
69. Brightman, *The Problem of God*, 173.
70. Ibid., 175.
71. Ibid., 183.
72. Aquinas, *Summa Theologia*, 4, 2.
73. Brightman, *The Problem of God*, 185.
74. Mozella G. Mitchell, *Spiritual Dynamics of Howard Thurman's Theology* (Bristol, IN: Wyndham Hall Press, 1985), 6.
75. Watson, Melvin, "Concerning Theology Today," in *Common Ground: Essays in Honor of Howard Thurman*, ed. Samuel L. Handy (Washington, DC: Hoffman Press, 1976), 64–72.
76. Ibid., 64.
77. Anders Nygren, *Agape and Eros*, trans. Philip Watson (New York: Harper & Row, 1969). Part I was first published in England in 1932; Part II, Vol. 1 in 1938; Part II, Vol. 2 in 1939; and it was revised, in part retranslated, and published one volume in 1953 by the Westminster Press.
78. Ibid., 92.
79. Ibid., 115.
80. Fluker, *They Looked for a City*, 57.
81. Howard Thurman, *Mysticism and the Experience of Love*, Pendle Hill Pamplet, No. 115 (Wallington, PA: Pendle Hill, 1961), 13.
82. Thurman, *Disciplines of the Spirit*, 127.
83. Immanuel Kant, *Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals*, trans. Lewis Beck (New York: The Library of Liberal Arts Press, 1959), 52; See also *Critique of Practical Reason*, trans. Lewis Beck (New York: The Library of Liberal Arts Press, 1956), 90; Kant, "On the Common Saying 'This May Be True in Theory But It Does Not Apply in Practice,'" *Kant's Political Writings*, ed. Hans Reiss, trans. H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 74.

    In *The Metaphysics of Morals* (1797) Kant emphasized a particular principle of freedom in his proclamation of "The Universal Principle of Right," "Every action which by itself or by its maxim enables the freedom of each individual's will to co-exist with the freedom of everyone else in accordance with a universal law is right" (*Kant's Political Writings*, 133).
84. Henry Thoreau, "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience," in *Social and Political Philosophy*, ed. John Somervill and Ronald Santoni (New York: Doubleday, 1963), 287.
85. Ibid., 289.

    See also *Civil Disobedience, Walden and Other Writings of Henry David Thoreau* (New York: The Modern Library, 1937), 669. Hannah Arendt maintained that Thoreau did not believe that an individual has any obligation to improve, and she quoted from his essay on civil disobedience. "I came into this world not chiefly to make this a good place to live in, but to live in it, be it good or bad" (*Crises of the Republic* [New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1969], 60, 290). While Thoreau did not regard the reform of society as his primary concern, he did support the notion of individual responsibility in moral

reform and argued that if individuals withdrew their support, the system of slavery would be abolished.

86. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 87; See also "Memo to Martin Luther King," editorial, *National Review* 19 (December 12, 1967): 1368; *Crito* 50b, *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns, 35; *Apology* 29b, *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, 15. S. M. Tewari noted that Gandhi admired Socrates' sacrifice for the sake of truth using nonviolence.
87. King, "Letter from Birmingham Jail," 84. See Augustine, *De libero arbitrio*, I, 5, *Patrologia Latina*, 32: 1227. Aquinas referred to this doctrine of Augustine in the *Summa Theologica*, Ia, Iiae, Q. 95, a. 2.
88. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (New York: Harper & Row, 1958), 99.
89. Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study of Ethics and Politics*, rpt. 2001 (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1932).
90. Ibid., xvi.
91. Ibid., 257.
92. Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man: A Christian Interpretation*, Vols. 1 and 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941). This following study was presented at the Gifford Lectures in a two part series on Human Nature and Human Destiny.
93. Ibid., 186. As Niebuhr illustrates here, Augustine defines sin as:

    > What could begin this evil will but pride, that is the beginning of all sin? And what is pride but a perverse desire of height, in forsaking Him to whom the soul ought solely to cleave, as the beginning thereof, to make the self seem the beginning. This is when it likes itself too well *De civ. Dei*, Book XII, Chap. 13.

    Again, "What is pride but undue exaltation? And this is undue exaltation, when the soul abandons Him to whom it ought to cleave as its end and becomes a kind of end in itself." *De civ. Dei*, Book XIV, Chap. 13.

    Pascal describes sin in this way:

    > This I is hateful . . . In one word it has two qualities: It is essentially unjust in that it makes self the centre of everything and it is troublesome to others in that it seeks to make them subservient; for each I is the enemy and would be the tyrant of all others. Faugere, Vol. 1, 197.

    Luther views pride as synonymous with self-love (*Superbia et amor sui*). Original sin is sometimes defined as the lust of the soul in general (*Universa concupiscentia*) (Weimer edition III, 215), which expresses itself in the turning of the soul from God to the creature. Luther's definition of concupiscence is not in opposition to or sharp distinction from sin as pride. Both have their source in *caro* . . . it is not the "body" as symbol of man's finiteness but "flesh" as symbol of his sinfulness. See also M. A. H. Stomph, *Die Anthropologie Martin Luther*, 73.
94. Russell also contends "every man [human] would like to be God, if it were possible; some few find it difficult to admit the impossibility." Bertrand Russell, *Power, a New Social Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 1938), 11.

95. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference*, 97–127.
96. Smith and Zepp, *Search for the Beloved Community: The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 129.
97. Martin Luther King, Jr, "Facing the Challenge of a New Age," *Phylon*, vol. 18 (April, 1957): 30.
98. Francis L. Broderick and August Meier, eds., *Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1965), 272.
99. Ansbro, *Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Making of a Mind*: 187–203.
100. Martin Luther King, Jr., "The Ethical Demands of Integration," *Religion and Labor* (May, 1963): 4. See also King, *Negro History Bulletin*, vol. 31, no. 5, (May, 1968): 22.
101. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), 181.
102. John Howard Yoder, *For the Nations: Essays Evangelical and Public* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 125–137. See also Herbert Warren Richardson, "Martin Luther King—Unsung Theologian," *Commonweal*, March 3, 1998; reprinted in *New Theology* No. 6, ed. Martin Marty and Dean Peerman (New York: Macmillan Co., 1969), 178–181.
    Yoder describes the vision of the American dream as a "deep optimism about the course of history, but also (more precisely) about the adequacy of the American social system and its ideals to become an effective vehicle of that historical process." Other factors in the conception of this idea are found in philosophical evolutionism of the style of Hegel or Spencer, biological evolutionism from Darwin, cando pragmatism from the American frontier experience, pedagogical humanism by Dewey, and hopes of new immigrants at the turn of the century.
103. Martin Luther King, Jr., "The Rising Tide of Racial Consciousness," *The YMCA Magazine* (December, 1960): 3. Cf. *Negro History Bulletin*, vol. 31 (May, 1968), or Bradford Chambers, ed., *Chronicles of Black Protest* (New York: Mentor Books, 1968), 185–186. These materials offer full text of the "I Have a Dream" speech. See also, "A Testament of Hope," *Playboy* (January, 1969): 234; John Dixon Elder, "Martin Luther King and American Civil Religion," *Harvard Divinity School Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Spring, 1968): 17; Waldo Beach, *Christian Community and American Society* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1969), 149–159; Harvey Cox, *On Not Leaving It to the Snake* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 133–137.
104. Harold L. DeWolf, *Crime and Justice in America: A Paradox of Conscience* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 144; *A Theology of the Living Church*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), first published in 1953.
    See also Niebuhr, *An Interpretation of Christian Ethics* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1935), 140; Edgar S. Brightman, "A Personalistic View of Human Nature," *Religion in Life*, vol. 14: 216–227.
105. King, address at Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, May 17, 1957, Washington, DC, 4.
106. King, *Where Do We Go From Here*: 200.

107. Of course there were other major figures representing the schools of Boston personalism and Protestant liberalism. However, Bertocci, Brightman, and DeWolf were among the chief contributors to King's thought. DeWolf and Brightman are noted as being close friends and mentors to King. See also Peter Anthony Bertocci, *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1951); L. Harold DeWolf, *The Case for Theology in Liberal Perspective* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1959); Edgar S. Brightman, *Person and Reality: An Introduction to Metaphysics* (New York: Ronald Press, 1958).

3 The Rainbow People of God: Reconciliation and Apartheid

1. Alan Paton, *Cry the Beloved Country* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1948), 259.
2. Stephen D. Gish, *Desmond Tutu: A Biography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 2.
3. V. Y. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1988), 149. See also Michael Battle, *Reconciliation: The Ubuntu Theology of Desmond Tutu* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 1997), 39.
4. Dwight N. Hopkins, *Being Human: Race, Culture, and Religion* (Nashville, TN: Augsburg Fortress, 2005).
5. Charles Horton Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York: Charles Scribners Son, 1906).
6. Randall Collins and Michael Makowshy, *The Discovery of Society*, 5th edition (New York: McGraw-Hill Inc., 1993), 173–188.
7. Ibid., 174. Cooley developed the concept of "primary group" in his book, *Social Organization* (1909). The "feeling" of unity and togetherness, as well as experiences with love, justice, and freedom, take shape and become intelligible in this dimension of human life.
8. John Milbank, *Theology and Social Theory: Beyond Secular Reason* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990), 105–106.
9. Lewis Baldwin, *Toward the Beloved Community: Martin Luther King Jr. and South Africa* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 1995).
10. Mokgethi Motlhabi, *Challenge to Apartheid: Toward a Moral National Resistance* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988), 144–146.
11. Please see the list of Acronyms in the index.
12. Tristan Anne Borer, *Challenging the State: Churches as Political Actors in South Africa, 1980–1994* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 44.
13. Baldwin, *Toward the Beloved Community*, 106.
14. Ibid., 82.
15. Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Between Christ and Caesar: Classic and Contemporary Texts on Church and State* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986), 245.

16. Denis E. Hurley (Archbishop), *Ecunews* 2 (1982): 9 (SACC Archives); see also "The Catholic Church and Apartheid," *Africa Report*, vol. 28 (July/August 1983): 19.
17. Jim Leatt, "*The Church in Resistance Post 1976*," revised research paper for a Conference on South Africa beyond apartheid (Boston, MA: OPD, 1987), 7.
18. Borer, *Challenging the State*, 79.
19. Denis E. Hurley, address given on August 22, 1984, quoted in Trocaire, South Africa Information Pack (Dublin: Trocaire, n.d.) (SACBC, Pretoria).
20. Borer, *Challenging the State*, 82.
21. Ibid., 52.
22. Also referred to as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).
23. Alex Boraine, *A Country Unmasked: Inside South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 11.
24. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report, Volumes 1–5, (Printed and bound by CTP Books Printers [Pvt.] Ltd., Caxton Street, Parow 7500, Cape Town, Republic of South Africa).
25. Priscilla B. Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Facing the Challenge of the Truth Commissions* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 40–48. See also, Luis Roniger and Mario Sznajder, *The Legacy of Human-Rights Violations in the Southern Cone: Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).
26. Patti Waldmeir, *Anatomy of a Miracle: The End of Apartheid and the Birth of the New South Africa* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997).
27. Ibid., 263.
28. Ibid.
29. Antjie Krog, *Country of My Skull: Guilt, Sorrow, and the Limits of Forgiveness in the New South Africa* (South Africa: Random House, 1999).
30. Ibid., 23.
31. The limits of this study will not permit an in-depth study of the hearings and logistics of the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions themselves. For further study, see Alex Boraine and Janet Levy, eds., *The Healing of a Nation?* (Cape Town, South Africa: Justice in Transition, 1994); Alex Boraine, Janet Levy, and Ronel Scheffer, eds., *Dealing with the Past* (Cape Town, South Africa: IDASA, 1994); Kader Asmal, Louise Asmal, and Robert Suresh Roberts, *Reconciliation Through Truth: A Reckoning of Apartheid's Criminal Governance* (Cape Town, South Africa: David Philip, 1996); Gert Johannes Gerwel, "Reconciliation: Holy Grail or Secular Pact?" in Charles Villa-Vicencio and Wilhelm Verwoerd, eds., *Looking Back/Reaching Forward: Reflections on the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Cape Town, South Africa: Juta and University of Cape Town Press, 1999); Cherry Annette Hill, *Transitional Justice in South Africa: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission Is the Most Appropriate Policy to Deal with Human Rights Violations in South Africa* (Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1997); Piet Meiring, *Chronicle of the Truth Commission* (Vanderbijlpark, South Africa: Carpe Diem Books,

1999); David Ottaway, *Chained Together: Mandela, de Klerk, and the Struggle to Remake South Africa* (New York: Times Books, 1993); Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Vol. 1–5 (Cape Town, South Africa: Juta, 1998).

32. Desmond Tutu, *God Has a Dream: A Vision of Hope for Our Time* (New York: Doubleday, 2004).
33. Tutu, *God Has a Dream*, 27.
34. Desmond Tutu, *The Rainbow People of God: The Making of a Peaceful Revolution*, ed. John Allen (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 27–33.
35. Ibid., 37–38.
36. Tutu, *God Has a Dream*, 108–109. See also Battle, *Reconciliation*, 123. and Battle, *Blessed Are the Peacemakers: A Christian Spirituality of Nonviolence* (Macon, GA: Mercy University Press, 2003).
37. By "communitarian ontology," I am referring to what makes humans what they are; or how they are to be in the world. For Tutu, humans are made for community and the other. The usage of "ontology" here is drawn from T. R. Gruber. See his *Knowledge Acquisition*, vol. 5, no. 2: 199–220, (1993); and his "Toward Principles for the Design of Ontologies Used for Knowledge Sharing," Presented at the Padua workshop on Formal Ontology, March 1993, to appear in an edited collection by Nicola Guarino.
38. Tutu, *God Has a Dream*, 14.
39. Battle, *Reconciliation*, 43.
40. Denise M. Ackermann, "Becoming Fully Human: An Ethic of Relationship in Difference and Otherness," *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, vol. 102, (November 1998): 3.
41. "*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu.*"
42. Ibid., 35.
43. Desmond Tutu, "*Jesus Christ Life of the World*," keynote address for 48-Hour Women's Colloquium, June 17, 1982.
44. Tutu, *God Has a Dream*, 18.
45. Tutu, *The Rainbow People of God*, 7.
46. Desmond Tutu, *Crying in the Wilderness: The Struggle for Justice in South Africa* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1982), 36.
47. Desmond Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness* (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 265.
48. Anton C. Pegis, ed., *Basic Writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, Volume 1, including the *Summa Theologica*, Part I, Question XXI (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Co., 1997), 223–230.
49. John De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002).
50. Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness*, 265.
51. Ibid., 267, Cf. Mary McAleese's *Reconciled Being: Love in Chaos* (New York: Continuum Publishing Group, 1999).
52. Tutu, *God Has a Dream*, 128.
53. Ibid., 3.
54. Tutu, *Crying in the Wilderness*, 36.
55. Battle, *Reconciliation*, 124.

4 Ambassadors of Reconciliation: Comparing Martin Luther King, Jr. and Desmond Mpilo Tutu

1. *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika.*
2. James Weldon Johnson, *Lift Every Voice and Sing* also known as The Negro National Anthem, originally performed in 1900 by children in Jacksonville, Florida by school children celebrating the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.
3. Stephen D. Gish, *Desmond Tutu: A Biography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 50.
4. John W. De Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986), 118.
5. Gish, *Desmond Tutu: A Biography*, 114.
6. Ibid., 114–115.
7. Rufus Burrow, "Personalism, the Objective Moral Order and Moral Law in the Work of Martin Luther King, Jr.," in *The Legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Boundaries of Law, Politics, and Religion*, ed. Lewis V. Baldwin, Rufus Burrow Jr., Barbara Holmes, and Susan Holmes Winfield (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), 227. See also J. Deotis Roberts, *Bonhoeffer and King: Speaking Truth to Power* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 39–50.
8. Martin Luther King, Jr., "Answer to a Perplexing Question," *King Archives*, Atlanta, GA, 12.
9. Desmond Tutu, *The Rainbow People of God: The Making of a Peaceful Revolution*, (New York: Image Books, 1996), xvii. See also Nelson Mandela, *The Long Walk to Freedom* (New York: Back Bay Books, 1994); and Charles Villa-Vicencio, *A Theology of Reconstruction: Nation-Building and Human Rights* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
10. Alex Boraine, *A Country Unmasked: Inside South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 372; See also Desmond Tutu, Media Statement issued on May 8, 1997.
11. Martin Luther King Jr., *Stride toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (New York: Harper & Row, 1958), 99.
12. Ibid., 84. See also Martin Luther King Jr., "An Experiment in Love," in *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. James M. Washington (San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1986).
13. Martin Luther King Jr., *Strength to Love* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 76–78, 127.
14. Walter Fluker, *They Looked for a City: A Comparative Analysis of the Ideal Community in the Thought of Howard Thurman and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, (Lantham, MD: University Press of America, 1989), 129.
15. Ibid., 131.
16. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Penguin Books, 1963), 64–84.

    "Letter from Birmingham Jail" was a response to a published statement by eight fellow clergymen from Alabama (Bishop C. C. J. Carpenter, Bishop

Joseph A. Durick, Rabbi Hilton L. Grafman, Bishop Paul Hardin, Bishop Holan B. Harmon, the Reverend George M. Murray, the Reverend Edward V. Ramage, and the Reverend Earl Stallings).

17. King, "Letter from Birmingham Jail," p. 84; See Augustine, *De libero arbitrio*, I, 5, *Patrologia Latina*, 32: 1227. John Ansbro holds that Aquinas referred to this doctrine of Augustine in the *Summa Theologia*, Ia, IIae, Q. 95, a.2.; Augustine, Sermo CCCII, 21, *Patrologia Latina*, 38: 1392–1393.
    See also Herbert Deane, *The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 143; John Figgis, *The Political Aspects of St. Augustine's City of God* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1963), 9.
18. Ansbro, *Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Making of a Mind*, 115–116.
19. King drew heavily from Harold DeWolf and David Thoreau for ideas about civil disobedience. See Harold DeWolf, *A Theology for the Living Church* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968); *The Religious Revolt against Reason* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968); Henry David Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience," in *Thoreau: Walden and Other Writings*, ed. Joseph Wood Krutch (New York: Bantam Books, 1962), 13th printing.
20. Michael Battle, *Reconciliation: The Ubuntu Theology of Desmond Tutu* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 1997, 36). See also Desmond Tutu, "Grace upon Grace," *Journal for Preachers*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Advent 1991): 20. Also, Augustine Shutte, "Philosophy for Africa" (paper presented at the University of Cape Town, South Africa), 31.

    Battle contends that some European historians rejects this claim by pointing to the South Africa prior to arrival of missionaries as inundated with famine and tribal wars. Gabriel Setiloane, with other African scholars dismiss such accounts as lacking information about forces that contributed to the wars and famine for 150 years (1652) before the missionaries arrived, (namely, "White man, the horse and the gun, and ammunition"); See Gabriel Setiloane, *The Image of God among the Sotho-Tswana* (Rotterdam, Netherlands: A. A. Balkema, 1976), 123.
21. Battle, *Reconciliation*, 37.
22. Desmond Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness* (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 257–282.
23. Jane Elyse Russell, "Love Your Enemies: The Church as Community of Nonviolence," in *Wisdom of the Cross: Essays in Honor of John Howard Yoder*, ed. Stanley Hauerwas (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999).
24. John Dear, *The God of Peace: Toward a Theology of Nonviolence* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994).
25. King, Martin Luther Jr., "The Ethical Demands of Integration," *Religion and Labor* (May, 1963): 4.
26. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Negro History Bulletin*, vol. 31, no. 5 (May, 1968), 22.
27. Desmond Tutu, sermon, Birmingham Cathedral, April 21, 1988, 3. See also Julius K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968); *Freedom and Development* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973); "The Rational Choice," in *African Socialism in Practice: The Tanzanian Experience*, ed. A. Coulson (Nottingham, UK: Spokesman Publishers, 1979), 19–26; Masolo, D. A., *African Philosophy in Search of Identity* (Bloomington,

IN: Indiana University Press, 1994); *Some Aspects and Prospectives of African Philosophy Today* (Rome: Institutio Italo-Africano, 1981).
28. Battle, *Reconciliation*, 43. See Desmond Tutu, "Apartheid and Christianity," (September 24, 1982).
29. Villa-Vicencio, *A Theology of Reconstruction*, 201.
30. *John Paul II in Mexico*, 96. See also Paul VI, *On the Development of Peoples*, para 23.
31. M. Douglas Meeks, *God the Economist: The Doctrine of God and Political Economy* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1973), 3, 36, 40. See *also Economic Justice for All, Pastoral Letter on Catholic Social Teaching and the US Economy* (Washington, DC: National Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1986), Pastoral Message, para. 6. The unequal distribution in America is also extremely disturbing. As Villa-Vicencio indicates, a recent U.S. Congressional Budget Office study showed the following statistics for 1988: The top 5 percent of American families receive almost as much income as the bottom 60 percent of American society—about 150 million people. The top 10 percent receive roughly the same income as the bottom 70 percent—about 175 million people. A mere 1 percent of American families at the very top had more income than the bottom 40 percent—about roughly 100 million people. This is primarily due to racism and sexism. Black and Hispanic populations absorb the brunt of these statistics. Of the poorest 70 percent, over 50 percent are black and Hispanic.
32. Villa-Vicencio, *A Theology of Reconstruction*, 204.
33. Boraine, *A Country Unmasked*, 431.

5 The Power of Nonviolence: Mohandas K. Gandhi's Influence on King and Tutu

1. Isaiah 2:4, NIV.
2. Quote by Mohandas K. "Mahatma" Gandhi.
3. David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: Vintage Books, 1986), 113.
4. Ignatius Jesudasan, *A Gandhian Theology of Liberation* (Dissertation, Ann Arbor, MI: Marquette University, 1980, University Microfilms International).
5. Ibid., 16.
6. Ibid.
7. Gandhi, An Autobiography or *The Story of My Experiences with Truth*, Translated from the Gujarati by Mahadev Desai (Bombay, India: Navajivan Publishing House, 1927), Part II, Chapter 1, 73.
8. Lewis V. Baldwin, *Toward the Beloved Community: Martin Luther King, Jr. and South Africa* (Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press), 94.
9. Ibid.
10. Satyagraha—truth or soul force (saty [truth or soul]—agraha [force]); ahimsa (nonviolence, or life source).
11. See Fredrick Schleiermacher, *Schleiermacher: On Religion: Letters to Its Cultured Despisers*, new edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

1996). Of course, Schleiermacher is thoroughly modern is his attempt to construct a universal system of thought to incorporate Enlightenment epistemological yearnings regarding rationalism.

12. M. K. Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa* (Madras, India: S. Ganesan, 1928), Chapter 6, 69.
13. Fischer, *The Essential Gandhi: An Anthology of His Writings on His Life, Work, and Ideas* (New York: Vintage Books, 2002), 37.
14. M. K. Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, 73–76.
15. Margaret Chatterjee, *Gandhi's Religious Thought* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983).
16. Ibid., 41.
17. Ibid., 49.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. See Mahadev Desai's *Day to Day with Gandhi*. The talk was given on May 22, 1918.
21. Gandhi, *Experiments*, Chapter 15, 113–114.
22. Fischer, *The Essential Gandhi*, 44.
23. Gandhi, *Experiments*, Part II, Chapter 28, 149.
24. Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Chapter 11, 155.
25. Gandhi, *From Yeravda Mandir* (Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan Publishing Company, 1937), Chapter 6, 25.
26. Fischer, *The Essential Gandhi*, 65.
27. Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Chapter 11, 156–157.
28. Ibid., Chapter 13, 179.
29. Ibid.
30. Peter D. Bishop, "Ahimsa and Satyagraha: The Interaction of Hindu and Christian Religious Ideas, and Their Contribution to a Political Campaign," *Indian Journal of Theology*, vol. 27, (1978): 53–66. See also D. Bhargava, *Jaina Ethics* (Delhi, India: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968), 100.
31. Bishop, "Ahimsa and Satygraha," 60.
32. Desmond Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness* (New York: Doubleday, 1999).
33. Ibid., 270. For a more in-depth understanding of Tutu's theology, see Michael Battle, *Reconciliation: The Ubuntu Theology of Desmond Tutu* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press).
34. Baldwin, *Toward the Beloved Community*, 94. See also Beyers Naude, "Where Is South Africa Going?" *Monthly Review* (July-August 1985): 4.
35. James H. Cone, "The Theology of Martin Luther King, Jr.," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review*, vol. 40, no. 4 (1986): 24.
36. James H. Cone, "King's Intellectual Development," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review*, vol. 40, no. 4 (1986): 9.
37. M. K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule* (Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan Publishing House, 1938), Chapter 8, 57–58. See also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Chapter 2, 32.
38. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride towards Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (New York: HarperCollins Press, reprint 1987), 217.

39. Preston N. Williams, "An Analysis of the Conception of Love and Its Influences on Justice in the Thought of Martin Luther King, Jr. [bibliog]," *Journal of Religious Ethics*, vol. 18 (1990): 15–31.
40. J. Deotis Roberts, "Gandhi and King: On Conflict Resolution," class lecture, Spring 1999, Duke Divinity School.
41. John Howard Yoder, *The Original Revolution: Essays on Christian Pacifism* (Scottdale, PA: Wipf and Stock, 1998), 48–60. The labels "nonviolence" and "nonresistance" are distinguished in Yoder's thought; yet he uses both descriptions to label his position. This language is used interchangeably in King's writings.
42. Rodney J. Sawatsky, "John Howard Yoder," in *Nonviolence—Central to Christian Spirituality: Perspectives from Scripture to the Present*, ed. Joseph T. Culliton, C. S. B. Vol. 8 (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1982).
43. John Howard Yoder, *Karl Barth and the Problem of War* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1970).
44. Stanley Hauerwas, "Remembering John Howard Yoder: December 29, 1927–December 30, 1997 [Eulogy]," *First Things*, vol. 82, April 15, 1998.
45. John Howard Yoder, "The Burden and the Discipline of Evangelical Revisionism," In *Nonviolent America: History Through the Eyes of Peace*, ed. Louise Hawkley and James C. Juhnke (Newton, KS: Mennonite Press, 1993), 21–26. For a history of the Anabaptists, read "The Radical Reformers: The Anabaptists," in *A History of Christianity*, ed. Kenneth Scott Latourette (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953); E. B. Bax, *Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1903), 407; J. C. Wenger, *Glimpses of Mennonite History and Doctrine* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1947), 258.
46. "The Burden and the Discipline of Evangelical Revisionism," 27.
47. Ibid., 29. Cf. John Mumaw, *Nonresistance and Pacifism* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1984); Donovan E. Smucker, "A Mennonite Critique of the Pacifist Movement," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, vol. 20 (January 1946): 81–88; Reinhold Niebuhr, "Why the Christian Church Is not Pacifist," in *Christianity and Power Politics* (New York: Scribner's Press, 1940); Guy F. Hershberger, *War, Peace, and Nonresistance* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1944).
48. John Howard Yoder, *Christian Attitudes to War, Peace, and Revolution: Companion to Bainton* (available at cost of photocopying from Cokesbury Bookstore, Divinity School, Duke University, Durham, NC 27706, 1983), 409–420, 487–507.
49. During this time, Hershberger was executive secretary of the Peace and Social Concerns Committee of the "Old" Mennonite General Conference. On page 195 in his *War, Peace, and Nonresistance*, Hershberger writes:

    > Nonresistants cannot take part in pressure campaigns, in strikes, in picketing, or in devices designed to compel others to do justice to the Negro. . . . The nonresistant Christian cannot follow the methods of the nonviolent coercionists in demanding justice for . . . the Negro. . . neither can he share the common prejudices and attitudes towards these people.

50. Ibid., 32.
51. King initially wanted to study law or medicine and rejected his heritage of coming from a long line of ministers due to the "emotionalism" of the church, and the "shackles of fundamentalism" that he found in church culture. Cf. Lewis Baldwin's *There Is a Balm in Gilead: The Cultural Roots of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress).
52. M. K. Gandhi, *Nonviolence in Peace and War*, Vol. 1 (Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan Publishing House, 1942), 124.
53. Michael G. Cartwright, ed., *The Royal Priesthood: Essays Ecclesiological and Ecumenical* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1998). See his essay, "Radical Reform, Radical Catholicity: John Howard Yoder's Vision of the Faithful Church."
54. Ibid., 2.
55. Kenneth L. Smith and Ira G. Zepp, *Search for the Beloved Community* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1998), 129.
56. Cartwright, "Radical Reform, Radical Catholicity," 49.
57. John Howard Yoder, "To Serve Our God and to Rule the World," in *The Annual for the Society of Christian Ethics* (Georgetown University Press, 1988), 3–14. This essay is also printed in *The Royal Priesthood*, 137.
58. Jane Elyse Russell, "*Love Your Enemies: The Church as Community of Nonviolence*" *in The Wisdom of the Cross: Essays in Honor of John Howard Yoder*, ed. Stanley Hauerwas (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999).
59. John Dear, *The God of Peace: Toward a Theology of Nonviolence* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994).
60. John Howard Yoder, "The Racial Revolution in Theological Perspective," in *For the Nations: Essays Public and Evangelical* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans), Chapter 5.
61. Says Yoder:

    > Reinhold Niebuhr made much of the argument that Gandhi was not pacifist, because nonviolent action is "coercive." For that criterion to be both clear and decisive it would have to be assumed that the loving alternative is to have no concrete influence upon others.

62. John H. Ansbro, *Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Making of a Mind* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1982); Kenneth Smith and Ira Zepp, *Search for the Beloved Community: The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.*(Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1998).
63. Cone, "King's Intellectual Development," 9.
64. Bhagavad Gita (The Blessed Lord's Song), Chapter 1, pp. 35, 46, *The Wisdom of China and India*, ed. Lin Yutang (New York: Random House, The Modern Library, 1942), pp. 59–60; See also "Gandhi and the Hindu Concept of Ahimsa," *Gandhi Marg*, vol. 11, no. 1 (January 1967): 65–66; "Gandhi's Political Significance Today," in *Gandhi: His Relevance for Our Times*, G. Ramachandran and T. K. Mahadevan (Berkeley, CA: World Without War Council, 1971), 143; "Gandhi, The Gita according to Gandhi" (Ahmedabad, 1951), 127, quoted in George Hendrick, "The Influence of Thoreau's 'Civil Disobedience' on Gandhi's Satyagraha," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 4 (December 1956): 468; Gandhi, *All Religions Are True*, ed. Anand Hingorani (Bombay, India: Pearl Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1962),

196, quoted in S. M. Tewari, *Four Questions on Gandhi's Philosophy: An Attempt at Their Answers* (New Delhi: Quest for Gandhi, 1970), 217.
65. Cf. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship* (New York: Macmillan, 1963).
66. Baldwin, *Toward the Beloved Community*, 102–108.
67. Quoted in Logan, *The Kairos Document*, 91.
68. Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Theology and Violence: The South Africa Debate*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988), 72–73, 76.

6 In Dialogue with Liberation Theology

1. Desmond Tutu, "God Intervening in Human Affairs," *Missionala*, vol. 5, no. 2: 115.
2. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* Originally published in 1963 (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2002), 204.
3. David Batstone, ed., *Liberation Theologies, Postmodernity, and the Americas* (New York: Routledge), 15.
4. Ibid., 29–30.
5. Ibid., 30.
6. Allan Boesak, *Farewell to Innocence: A Socio-Ethical Study of Black Theology and Black Power* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1977), 1.
7. Tutu, "God Intervening in Human Affairs."
8. John Milbank, *Theology and Social Theory: Beyond Secular Reason*, 2nd edition (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006); According to Milbank, liberation theologians have allowed social scientist (i.e., sociologist, political scientist, anthropologist, etc.) to "police" and therefore manipulate theological discourse. They have in effect, "policed the sublime" and contributed to an individualistic and relativistic understanding of religion and theology.
9. Hans Van Balthasar, *Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics* (Ft. Collins, CO: Ignatius Press, 1990); I do not mean to suggest that Van Balthasar offers a theology of community. He merely offers a creative way of doing theology in the midst of difference. Gustavo Gutierrez's notion of the "eschatological horizon" is also helpful since it seeks a theology of hope based on what is to come while remaining restless in what now is.
10. See Cornel West, "Genealogy of Race," in *Prophecy Deliverance: An Afro-American Religious Philosophy*, anniversary edition (Louisville, KY: Westminister John Knox Press, 2002). In this essay, West treats the manner in which modern linguistic structures, in its attempts to compartmentalize terms and the physical world, developed racial categories; through an appropriation of Aristotelian notions of hierarchies of creatures, and with assistance from Weberian logic and Darwinism, conceptualized notions of white supremacy projected onto "nonwestern" humanity.
11. James Cone, *Black Theology, Black Power* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1968). Many of Cones' views were revised and advanced in God of the Oppressed. Most of his ideas remained the same, however, he does offer a rebuttal to criticism of being extremist and not supportive of community and reconciliation.

12. J. Deotis Roberts, *Liberation and Reconciliation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1971); See also A *Black Political Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), *Black Theology in Dialogue* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1987), and The *Prophethood of Black Believers: An African American Political Theology for Ministry* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994).
13. T. H. Green, *Lectures in the Principles of Political Obligation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)*. Green emerges out of the British school of political theology during the late nineteenth century. His work was in reaction to the increasing hostile environment of political economics with its "free market" yearnings. He sought to challenge the prevailing sentiments of figures such as Adam Smith, John Malthus, Adam Ferguson, and John Stuart Mill.
14. See Desmond Tutu's *Crying in the Wilderness: The Struggle for Justice in South Africa* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1982); *Hope and Suffering, No Future Without Forgiveness* (New York: Doubleday, 1999); *God Has a Dream a Vision of Hope for Our Time* (New York: Doubleday, 2004); *The Rainbow People of God: The Making of a Peaceful Revolution*, ed. John Allen (New York: Doubleday, 1994).
15. Tom Barry, *Roots of Rebellion: Land and Hunger in Central America* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1987), xi.
16. Guillermo Melendez, *Seeds of Promise: The Prophetic Church in Central America* (New York: Friendship Press, 1990), 91–101.
17. Barry, *Roots of Rebellion*, 43.
18. Jon Sobrino, Archbishop Romero: Memories and Reflections (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1990), 17.
19. Jürgen Moltmann, *The Way of Jesus Christ: Christologies in Messianic Dimensions* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993), 202–203.
20. King, *Where Do We Go from Here?: Chaos or Community*, 195.
21. Stephen D. Gish, *Desmond Tutu: A Biography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 91.
22. Juan Luis Segundo, "The Shift within Latin American Theology," *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, vol. 52, (1985): 17–29. Segundo first presented this lecture at Regins College, Toronto. It has been published with permission of Regis College, Toronto.
23. Segundo suggest that *Gaudium et Spes* was "used afterwards as an official support for the main views of this liberation theology" (ibid., 18).
24. James Cone, *For My People: Black Theology and the Black Church, Where Have We Been and Where Are We Going?* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1984), 146–147.
25. Garth Baker-Fletcher, *Somebodyness: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Theory of Dignity* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993); Rufus Burrow, Jr., *God and Human Dignity: The Personalism, Theology, and Ethics of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006).
26. Erhueh, *Vatican II: Image of God in Man* (Roma: Urbaniana University Press, 1986), 190.
27. Gaudium et Spes., Article 29, Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World, promulgated by Pope John Paul II. See also Pope Paul VI,

Allocuzione del Sommo Pontefice Paolo VI per l'apertura del quarto periodo del Concilio (*VI Sessione, 14 settembre 1965*); cf. Garofalo, 1312–1324, esp. 1315–1320. Cf. also, *Omelia* del Sommo Pontefice Paolo VI *nella* IX *Sessione del Concilio* (7 dicembre 1965); 1357–1366, esp. 1365.

28. "The Council's doctrine of human dignity is directed against totalitarianism, and against individualism. The individual must sometimes sacrifice himself for the common good (G. S., article 24: '[man] cannot fully find himself except through the gift of himself,' " says Erhueh).

    Also, Vatican II documents influenced by human dignity include *Gaudium et Spes*; *Dignitatis humanae*; *Nostra Aetate*; and *Unitatis Redintegratio*.
29. David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference*, 1st Quill edition reprint (New York: Harper Perennial, 1999), 524. See also Vincent Harding, *Martin Luther King: The Inconvenient Hero* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996). 61.
30. G. C. Berkouwer, *Man: The Image of God* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1962). Cf. H. Redeker, "Existentialisme" (1949): 319–321; on Sartre as the philosopher of freedom, who however, opposes both determinism and indeterminism. Even unconditional freedom, says Sartre, is saturated with necessity and facticity, so that Redeker concludes that the ontologic basis is not free, and the dialectic fails at the final point. Cf. S. U. Zuidema, "Sartre," Denkers van deze Tijd, I, 279–283; R. Mehl, "*Het Vraagstuk der Ethiek in het Franse Existentialisme*," Wending (1959), and the final chapter (on liberty) of M. Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenologie de la perception* (1945), on the dilemma of total freedom and no freedom, and his comment that we are inextricably involved with the world and with others: man's "situation" excludes absolute liberty even at the outset of our actions (518).
31. Berkouwer, *Man: The Image of God*, 313.
32. Ibid., 90.
33. Erhueh, *Vatican II: Image of God in Man*, 206.
34. Pedro Morande, "The Relevance of the Message of Gaudium et Spes Today: The Church's Mission in the Mist of Epochal Changes and New Challenges," *Communio: International Catholic Review*, vol. 23 (1996): 141–155.
35. Erhueh, *Vatican II: Image of God in Man*, 227.
36. See John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra*, AAS 53 (1961): 401–464; *Pacem in Terris*, AAS L5 (1963): 257–304. See also Paul VI, *Ecclesiam Suam*, AAS 56 (1964): 609–659. *Humanae Personae Dignitatem*, published by the Secretariat for Unbelievers on August 28, 1968, AAS 60 (1968): 692–704; English translation in Flannery, 1002–1014.
37. Yves Congar, "*Les biens temporels de l'Eglise d' apres sa tradition theologique et canonique*," In *Eglise et pauvrete*, 247–249.
38. Gish, *Desmond Tutu: A Biography*, 150.
39. Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness*, 114.
40. Leonardo Boff, *The Path to Hope: Fragments from a Theologian's Journey*, trans. Phillip Berryman (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993), 116–120.
41. Ibid., 117.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.

44. Tutu, *The Rainbow People of God*, 36.
45. Gish, *Desmond Tutu: A Biography*, 82.
46. Ibid., 83.
47. Tutu, *The Rainbow People of God*, 173.

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1. Genesis 37: 19–20 (K J V).
2. Desmond Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness* (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 279.
3. David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: Vintage Books, 1986), 575.
4. Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness*, 268.
5. Ibid.
6. James Williams, "The Last Refuge from Nihilism," *International Journal of Philosophical Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (March 1, 2000): 115–124. See also Jean-Francois Lyotard, *Signe Malraux* (Paris: Grasset, 1996) and *Chambre soured* (Paris: Galilee, 1998).
7. Williams, "The Last Refuge from Nihilism," 3.
8. Ibid., 75.
9. Ibid., 81.
10. Ibid., 3.
11. Ibid., 81.
12. Gary K. Browning, *Lyotard and the End of Grand Narratives* (Cardiff, UK: University of Wales Press, 2000), 7.
13. Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness*, 257.
14. Ibid., 264.
15. Established in 1975 by President Giscard d'Estaing of France, the G-8 summit is a gathering of the eight wealthiest nations (which include United Kingdom, France, Germany, United States, Japan, Canada, Italy, and Russia).
16. Max L. Stackhouse and Don S. Browning, *The Spirit and the Modern Authorities*, Vol. 2 (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001), 2.
17. Ibid., 3.
18. Michael Budde, *The (Magic) Kingdom of God: Christianity and Global Culture Industries* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), 37.
19. Ibid., 24.
20. Ibid., 54.
21. Daniel Bell, *Liberation Theology after the End of History: The Refusal to Cease Suffering* (New York: Routledge, 2001).
22. Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 83–91.

23. Ibid., 186.
24. See William Julius Wilson, *The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions*, 2nd edition (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1978); *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996); *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1987). Acknowledging that Wilson, as a sociologist, embraces many of the rationalistic presuppositions of modernity and that his findings are subject to limitless scrutiny and potentially problematic variables, his observations are nonetheless useful in understanding the complexities of the quest for liberation and justice in postmodernity. Although it may seem to contradict my earlier thesis that calls into question many of the assumptions regarding human rationality and individualism of modernity, Wilson's analysis supports an understanding of the poor that has been advanced in the work of liberation theologians like J. Deotis Roberts, Gustavo Gutierrez, Jon Sobrino, Bonino Boff, and James Cone.
25. King, Martin Luther, Jr., *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 1963), 196.
26. Ibid., 200.
27. Ibid.
28. Oliver O'Donovan, *Resurrection and Moral Order: An Outline for Evangelical Ethics* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001).
29. Ibid., 31.
30. Walter Fluker, *They Looked for a City: A Comparative Analysis of the Ideal of Community in the Thought of Howard Thurman and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: University Press of America, 1989), 125.
    See also Martin Luther King, Jr., *Strength to Love* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1963), 39–48.
31. Fluker, *They Looked for a City*, 32.
32. Ibid., 34.
33. Jim Wallis, *The Soul of Politics: Beyond "Religious Right" and "Secular Left"* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1995), 26.
34. Ibid., 26.
35. Oliver O'Donovan, *The Desire of the Nations: Rediscovering the Roots of Political Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 178–181.
36. Ibid., 179.
37. Martin Luther King, Jr., "Answer to a Perplexing Question," *King Archives*, Atlanta, GA, 12.
38. Ibid., 38.
39. Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Augustine and the Limits of Politics* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995); See also Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981).
40. Elshtain, *Augustine and the Limits of Politics*, 2.
41. King, *Strength to Love*, New Edition (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress Press, 1981), 76–78, 127.
42. Fluker, *They Looked for a City*, 129.

43. Ibid., 131.
44. King, *Strength to Love*, 63.
45. Ibid.
46. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Penguin Books, 1963), 64–84. See also King, *Strength to Love*, 63.

    "Letter from Birmingham Jail" was a response to a published statement by eight fellow clergymen from Alabama (Bishop C. C. J. Carpenter, Bishop Joseph A. Durick, Rabbi Hilton L. Grafman, Bishop Paul Hardin, Bishop Holan B. Harmon, the Reverend George M. Murray, the Reverend Edward V. Ramage and the Reverend Earl Stallings).
47. King, "Letter from Birmingham Jail," 84; See Augustine, De *libero arbitrio*, I, 5, *Patrologia Latina*, 32: 1227. John Ansbro holds that Aquinas referred to this doctrine of Augustine in the *Summa Theologia*, Ia, IIae, Q. 95, a.2.; Augustine, *Sermo* CCCII, 21, *Patrologia Latina*, 38: 1392–1393. See also Herbert Deane, *The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 143; John Figgis, *The Political Aspects of St. Augustine's City of God* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1963), 9.
48. John J. Ansbro, *Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Making of a Mind* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1982), 115–116.
49. King drew heavily from Harold DeWolf and David Thoreau for ideas about civil disobedience. See Harold DeWolf, *A Theology for the Living Church* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), *The Religious Revolt against Reason* (New York: Greenwood Press); Thoreau, Henry David, "Civil Disobedience," in *Thoreau: Walden and Other Writings*, ed. Joseph Wood Krutch, 13th edition (New York: Bantam Books, 1962).
50. Desmond Tutu, sermon, Birmingham Cathedral, April 21, 1988, 3. See also Julius K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968); *Freedom and Development* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973); "The Rational Choice," in *African Socialism in Practice: The Tanzanian Experience*, ed. A. Coulson (Nottingham, UK: Spokesman Publishers, 1979), 19–26; Masolo, D. A., *African Philosophy in Search of Identity* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994); *Some Aspects and Prospectives of African Philosophy Today* (Rome: Institutio Italo-Africano, 1981).
51. Battle, *Reconciliation*, 43. See Desmond Tutu, "Apartheid and Christianity," (September 24, 1982).
52. Stanley Hauerwas, *Against the Nations: War and Survival in a Liberal Society* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992).
53. Stanley Hauerwas, *In Good Company: The Church as Polis* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995).
54. Ibid., 67.
55. King, *Why We Can't Wait*, 13–15.
56. King, *Strength to Love*, 97.
57. Stanley Hauerwas, *After Christendom* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1991), 107.
58. Desmond Tutu, "Bible Study," sermon, Cathedral of Holy Nativity, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, November 23, 1983. See also Louise

Kretzschmar, *The Voice of Black Theology in South Africa* (Johannesburg, South Africa: Raven Press, 1983).
59. Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness*, 257–282.
60. Graham Ward, *Theology and Contemporary Critical Theory* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996).
61. Catherine Pickstock, John Milbank and Graham Ward, ed., *Radical Orthodoxy: A New Theology* (London/New York: Routledge, 1999), 174.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid., 177.
64. John Milbank, "Postmodern Critical Augustinianism: A Short *Summa* in Forty-Two Responses to Unasked Questions," in *The Postmodern God: A Theological Reader*, ed. Graham Ward (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1997).
65. Ibid., 267.
66. Ibid., 273.
67. Kathryn Tanner, *Economy of Grace* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005), 123.
68. King, *Where Do We Go from Here*, 133.
69. John Milbank, "Out of the Greenhouse," in *The Word Made Strange: Theology, Language, and Culture* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Limited, 1997), 258–267.
70. Cornel West, *The Cornel West Reader* (New York: Basic Civilitas Books, 1999), xv.
71. Ibid., 146.
72. Cornel West, *Prophesy Deliverance!: An Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1982).
73. Ibid., 48.
74. Cornel West, *Beyond Eurocentrism and Multiculturalism: Vol. I, Prophetic Thought in Postmodern Times* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1993), 119–123. This work was published as a collection of essays and lectures in a two-volume project. Vol. 2 of the same series is *Prophetic Reflections: Notes on Race and Power in America*.
75. Ibid., 124–125.
76. Ibid.
77. Cornel West, "Introduction: The Crisis in Contemporary American Religion," in *Prophetic Fragments* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988), ix–xi.
78. George E. Curry, ed., *The Affirmative Action Debate* (New York: Perseus Books Publishers, 1996), 31–35.
79. Cornel West, *Race Matters* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1993).
80. Ibid., 19.
81. Cornel West, *Prophesy Deliverance!* (Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1982).

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