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DEDICATION

- To my dear wife Marie-Céline Nininahazwe and our children Trésor M Rukundwa, Julie-Cadeau M Rukundwa, Shammah G Rukundwa, Shalom I Rukundwa, Elishah M Rukundwa, Alem I Rukundwa and Gila K Rukundwa for your perseverance, patience and support during my absence at home;

- To my parents Simon Sebitereko and Julia Naruragira; to my brothers Emmanuel Muhoza, Antoine Muhizi, Alexis Kiray, Toto Iragaba and sisters Napeya Narukundo, Evelyne Namahoro, Ada Namitavu and Jolie Kinyana; to my uncles and aunts, cousins and to my family-in-law for your family care and support;

- To local chiefs, community and church leaders, and all fallen heroes for your sacrifices in defending the community against injustice;

- To all widows, orphans and refugees whose cry for justice and righteousness is yet to be heard;

- To my ancestors who taught the community about *Imana* (God); to elders and pioneers of Christian faith in the Banyamulenge community from whom I learned faith and hope;

- To colleagues and companions in the work of God;

    I dedicate this work.

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this dissertation is my original work. It has not been previously submitted for any examination or any degree in any other university.

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Lazare Sebitereko Rukundwa

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Summary

JUSTICE AND RIGHTEOUSNESS IN MATTHEAN THEOLOGY AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE BANYAMULENGE COMMUNITY: A POSTCOLONIAL READING

by

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This study makes a contribution towards a postcolonial reading in Matthean scholarship by looking at the concept of justice and righteousness and its application within the Gospel of Matthew and beyond. Argumentation is based on a construct of the socio-political setting of the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5-7). These findings are applied to the reading of the story of the Canaanite woman (Mt 15:21-28), while a contemporary parallel reading is made in respect of the Banyamulenge community, whose socio-political identity has been the subject of political contention since the colonial period in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

The struggle for justice and righteousness is an ongoing one that plays itself out within the social, political and religious contexts of power influence and competition. Postcolonial theory, which emerges from the discourse of marginality within geopolitical spheres, on the other hand, challenges any measures of oppression and exploitation in any given setting. It claims fair judgment to all and seeks to empower the weak for their own representation·

From a postcolonial theory point of view, marginality is expressed through various cultural forms of identification, such as hybridity, subalternity, Negritude, Diaspora,

abacu or brotherhood. These concepts are tools which serve as a derivative discourse that challenges the powerful, the racist and the tribalist to recognize otherness in the *Other*.

In a postwar context, social and political identity becomes the most important value to surviving communities, such as the Matthean community. The Sermon on the Mount, for that matter, is not a speech of resignation, but rather a revolutionary speech against the oppression and exploitation carried out by Roman imperialism and its local agents in Palestine and its environs. The justice and righteousness which people are denied of because of their social, political and religious status, is to be administered, not by Roman imperialists, nor by their Judean collaborators, but by agents of the kingdom of God, who are called to do the will of God.

The Matthean context is a context of power and oppression, hunger and death, war and insecurity, poverty, land reform and economic hardship, exploitation and dispossession. Given such a context, Matthew's understanding of the Sermon on the Mount is that it gives new directions with regard to the structure of the community in which all members are equals under the fatherhood of God in heaven and in the brotherhood of humanity on earth. God's kingdom virtues equal redistribution of basic resources to the poor, the landless regaining their shares and mourners being comforted.

Drawing a parallel example to the Banyamulenge community, the issue of their citizenship being contested by successive governments of the DRC, constitutes a threat to justice and righteousness. The dispute surrounding the Banyamulenge identity has its roots in the colonial regime. The Banyamulenge community have been victims of the colonial regime, tribalism practiced by the Congolese government and regional politics and the stigmatisation of ethnicity in the Great Lakes Region.

The Sermon on the Mount, therefore, challenges the existing power structures on behalf of the marginalized whose justice and righteousness is denied. For the Congo to survive as a united nation under the concept of brotherhood (or nationhood), the political system of good governance must be installed and all marginalized groups need to be treated equally.

KEY WORDS

Banyamulenge community

Brotherhood

Formative Judaism

Justice and righteousness

Marginality

Matthean community

Postcolonial theory

Sermon on the Mount

ABBREVIATIONS

1*QM*	*Milhamah* – The War Rule from Qumran. Bibliography I, *The Scroll of the War*
1QS	*Manual of Discipline* from Qumran Cave 1
ABAKO	*Association de Bakongo*
AFDL	*Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaire*
AJIA	*African Journal of International Affairs*
ANC	*Armée Nationale Congolaise*
Antiq	Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*
ARN	*Abot Rabbi Nathan/ Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan*
AU	African Union
BALUBAKAT	*Baluba du Katanga*
BTB	*Biblical Theological Bulletin*
CADAF	*Communauté des Assemblées de Dieu en Afrique*
CADEZA	*Communauté des Assemblées de Dieu à l'Est du Zaire*
CADC/Z	*Communauté des Assemblées de Dieu du Congo/Zaire*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CD	*Cairo Gezinah* text of the Damascus Document
CELPA/MLN	*Communauté des Eglises Libre de Pentecôte en Afrique/ Mission Libre Norvégienne*
CEP	*Communauté des Eglises de Pentecôte*
CEPAC/CEM	*Communauté des Eglises de Pentecôte en Afrique Centrale/Congo Evangelical Mission*
CFS/EIC	Congo Free State/ *Etat Indépendant du Congo*
CEMLC/MLM	*Communauté des Eglises Libres Méthodiste au Congo/ Mission Libre Méthodiste*
CONAKAT	*Confédération Nationale des Tribus du Katanga*
CNS	*Conférence Nationale Souveraine*
Con Ap	Josephus' *Contra Apion*
CRA	Congo Reform Association
CTJ	*Calvin Theological Journal*

DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECC/ECZ	*Eglise du Christ au Congo/Zaïre*
EMI	Eben-Ezer Ministry International
EU	European Union
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*
FAZ	*Forces Armées Zaïroises*
FDD	*Forces de Défense de la Démocratie*
FNL	*Front National de Libération*
FRELIMO	Mozambican Liberation Front
FRF	*Forces Républicaines et Fédéralistes*
GM/PAHU	*Groupe Milima/Projet Agro-pastoral des Hauts-Plateaux d'Uvira*
HCR-PT	*Haut Conseil de la République- Parlement de Transition*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HTS	*Hervormde Theologiese Studie*s
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
HRW	Human Wright Watch
ICG	International Crisis Group
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Network
ISS	Institute of Security Studies
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JRH	*Journal of Religious History*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JW	Josephus' *Jewish War*
LRA	Lord Resistance Army
MNC	*Mouvement National Congolais*
MONUC	*Mission de l'Organisation de Nations Unies en République Démcoratique du Congo*
MPLA	Popular Movement of the Liberation of Angola
MPR	*Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution*
Neot	*Neotestamentica*
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OTSSA	Old Testament Society of South Africa
PAIGC	African Independent Party of Guinea and Cap Verde

PMU/UPMGBI	Pentecostal Missionary Union/ Union Pentecostal Missionary of Great Britain and Ireland
PNP	*Parti National du Progrès*
PPRD	*Parti du Peuple pour la Reconstruction et la Démocratie*
RCD	*Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie*
RCD/ML	*Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie/ Mouvement de Libération*
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
JSOT	*Journal for Study of the Old Testament*
UGEAFI	*Union de Groupe d'Etude et d'Action de Fizi-Itombwe*
UN/ONU	United Nations/Organisation des Nations Unies
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNIMO	*Union nationale des Mongo*
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

CHAPTER I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1   Research gap and problem statement

With the continuing cycle of conflict in the Eastern Congo, a 5 year old, after few days in a refugee transit camp in Gatumba, Burundi in June 2004, asked his mother: "Mom, when will we reach Burundi? Listen to the gunshots … It is not safe here!" The mother fought her tears back as she answered her son: "We are in Burundi!" One month later, the Gatumba refugee camp was attacked on 13 August 2004 and more than 160 refugees, including the boy's family, died in the massacre.[1] Humanity is at stake!

The concept of justice and righteousness[2], a challenging paradox under Roman imperialism, is a dominant theme in the Gospel of Matthew. The contention between the Matthean community and Formative Judaism amid the religious, social and political crises that followed the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple has to do with the future of their society. From the perspective of postcolonial theory (cf Ashcroft, Griffins & Tiffin 1989; Guha 1994; Sugirtharajah 1999, 2001; Segovia 1999; Young, 2001, 2003; Van Aarde 2004a), the obvious question of most survivors of anti-colonial struggles is how justice can be redressed in war-torn societies.

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[1] Two of United Nations reports, one in August 2004 under S/2004/682 and another in October 2004 under S/2004/821, are contradictory as to who is responsible for the massacre at the Gatumba refugee camp. This is also the case with the Human Rights Watch (HRW) report of September 2004. The October report of the UN and that of the HRW are contested by the Banyamulenge community's representatives and refugees who accuse them of ambiguity and complicity and thus jeopardizing justice (see reaction of Enock Niyontezeho, President of the Gatumba refugees, 2 November 2004). Allegations by political analysts in the region are that the International Community is protecting the already fragile "peace processes" and political institutions in DRC and Burundi whose members would eventually be directly or indirectly in the massacre.

[2] In this research, justice and righteousness is used as one concept that means the same thing. "Righteous" or "just" means straight or right. According to the *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* (1968), justice comprises related "principles of impartiality and probity in rendering judgement, reciprocity in interpersonal transactions and equality of elementary rights not only between members of diverse economic classes but also between nations and races." Justice imposes obligations or duties to fulfil as social welfare or reparation. Using Plato's teaching, justice can be defined as distributive and corrective or commutative justice. At the same time righteousness can mean "the fulfilment of the demands of a relationship" between persons, and between persons and God (*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* 1962).

However, it is believed that, despite the struggles for freedom in Africa, and the DRC[3] in particular, freedom is yet to come. After forty-five years of political independence inhabitants of the DRC, still long for justice and the provision of necessities. Likewise, reorganization of the Judean society during and after the first revolt of 66-70 CE against the Romans (cf Saldarini 1988; Overman 1990; Sim 1998), poses a fundamental question: How does society experience justice and righteousness not as personal piety, but as a social responsibility, in the fulfillment of the law and the prophets? It is at this bifurcation that the Matthean community and Formative Judaism depart in their understanding of the law.

Theological research and exegeses that have taken a thematic route with regard to the social context of Matthew have made a significant contribution to understanding the Matthean community. However, researchers do encounter certain challenges because Matthew does not present a clear and systematic theme and purpose for writing his story. From an African viewpoint, and in the Banyamulenge[4] tradition in particular, Matthew is seen as a storyteller trying to touch on different snippets of events, which in the end lead to his audience being convinced that Jesus is the Messiah, whose mission it is to do justice and righteousness. According to Van Aarde (1994:xv), Matthew is not a "theologian" in the sense of portraying a systematic and "reasoned theology". However, Matthew is "a theologian" in the sense that he reveals to his readers something about God's dealing with Jesus Christ in a human setting (cf Luz 1990:44; see Menninger 1994:1-2).

Unlike Luke (Lk 1:1-4) or John (Jn 20:30-31), Matthew does not explicitly formulate the purpose of his writing. As Van Aarde (1994:xv) argues, this constitutes "a considerable obstacle" in the search for a dominant theme in Matthean theology. Garland (1993:4-10) finds a similar challenge in the search for a comprehensive theme. From Kingsbury's (1977:14-21) viewpoint, one is left with the impression that Matthew emerges from the urgent need to provide a desperate community with teaching material. This is especially evident in the synoptic debate on the composition of the gospels (see Davies and Allison 1988:127-138; Sabourin 1982:37-40; Grundy 1982:599-609; Luz 1990:93; Sim 1988:33-40).

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[3] The Democratic Republic of Congo.

[4] The Banyamulenge community is of Congolese origin. It is a community whose members are mainly Tutsis of Rwandan and Burundian origins (Mutambo 1997:41; see Johnstone & Mandryk 2001:197). But also integrated in the community are other Congolese tribes, not necessarily of Tutsi origin.

According to Kingsbury (1977:15), Matthew is supplying new teaching material because Mark was not adequate in meeting the needs of the church in the areas of christology, ecclesiology and the history of salvation. The Gospel of Matthew emerges after the debacle of the Judean revolt against Roman colonialism[5] (Horsley 1988, 1989, 1993, Carter 2001, 2000; Overman 1996) when the Judean community as a whole was living in subjugation, suffering injustice and oppression. The Gospel of Matthew emerges from a war torn context in which the political independence of a people is shattered. In Judean society, justice and righteousness are jeopardized by the ruling colonial structures.

What is at stake in the structure of Matthean theology is the administration of justice and righteousness in the light of a postcolonial reading thereof, which emanates from its socio-political context. This is clear right from the outset of the narrative. A son is born and is introduced as Yeshua, the savior (see Van Aarde 2005:7-31) who will take away the shame (sins) of his people (Mt 1:21) in contrast to the Roman empire that inflicted humiliation on God's people (Carter 2001:75-90). The saviour is their prince in the form of God-with-us (Mt 1:23), who has come to rule with them in God's kingdom (Mt 3:2; 4:23; 5:3, 18:1; 25:31-46).

This stands in contrast to the Roman temporal occupation and exploitation of Palestine. Matthew's aim is to introduce a Messiah (Mt 1:21; 2:4), a servant (Mt 12:18-21), who will proclaim God's will in a corrupt, destitute and desperate society. Carter (2001:1-3) is convinced that, from a political point of view, the Gospel of Matthew resists Roman imperialism. Matthew presents social and theological challenges to the existing foreign political structures by introducing Jesus as representative of God's justice and righteousness to a wretched humanity.

According to Crossan (1998:182-208; cf Weinfeld 1995), justice, righteousness and purity are intertwined with Israelite as well as with other ancient Near East traditions.[6] From a religious point of view, these terms define the character of God which is both protecting and liberating.

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[5] See chapter four below.

[6] Moshe Weinfeld (1995) deals with the concept of justice and righteousness in ancient Near Eastern countries: Israel, Mesopotamia and Egypt.

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Abraham was called to reflect God's image of justice and righteousness (Gn 18:19).[7] The concept of justice and righteousness (Weinfeld 1995:7) is associated with God's power and mercy in ameliorating the situation of the destitute (cf Is 6:9; Jr 7:5-6; Zch 7:9-10). It is important to note that in the ancient Near East tradition of justice and righteousness, explicit mention was made of justice to the weak and the poor, such as widows, orphans and aliens (see Dupont 1969b:54-90). These vulnerable members of the community needed God's special divine royal protection (Crossan 1998:158; cf Hamilton 1992:130) for they lacked paternal linkage into kinship safety nets.

In such a context, amelioration of the situation of the destitute, elimination of exploitation and oppression, liberation of slaves and the establishment of equity were key elements in returning justice and righteousness to the community. The precarious situation of the voiceless and the weak whose rights are abused by the powerful, the rich and kings, touches the heart of God and forces God to act on their behalf (Ex 22:21-27; 23:6, 9; Dt 24:12-15). Crossan (1998:185) also explains how in Mesopotamia, the gods and goddesses "called the king to be prosecutors of justice".[8] Hammurabi (see Stewart 1966; Dupont 1969:54-59; Weinfeld 1995; Richardson 2000; Nardoni 2004:8-18) of Babylon enacted justice in the land and destroyed the wicked and the evil so that the strong might not oppress the weak. This also applied to the Egypt,[9] Ugarit (Canaan)[10] and the Israel[11] as Dupont's (1969b:59-60; see Weinfeld 1995) observations indicate.

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[7] "For I have chosen him, so that he will direct his children and his household after him to keep the way of the Lord by doing what is right and just" (NIV).

[8] In Banyamulenge culture, spirits of the ancestors warned the people to do good and be just especially to widows and orphans. Failing to do so, the spirits would punish either the whole community or those who have failed to honor god by doing what is right. An example is the story of a family whose widow and orphans had no milk for the young ones. Normally, during the dry season, all cows are taken for *transhumance*. One or two cows are kept close to the village to provide milk for the children, the old people and the sick. But on one occasion a widow and her children did not receive any milk. The spirits went to the grazing field some 40 km from the village and brought one milking cow with her calf back to the village. They (the spirits) took possession of one person in the family and spoke through her asking the elders of the community why the widow and her children were being mistreated? The elders asked for forgiveness, gave the widow and her children milk and further took care of them. In this way ancestors are part of the community.

[9] For instance, Dupont (1969b:60) notes that the swearing in of Rames IV around 12th century BCE was celebrated as "good news", which is similar to that of Matthew (4:12-17, 23-25), or what he would call the Beatitudes (5:3-11): "*Heureux jour! Le ciel et la terre sont dans l'allégresse, car tu es le grand du seigneur de l'Egypte. Ceux qui étaient en fuite rentrent dans leur villes, ceux qui s'étaient cachés reparaissent. Ceux qui étaient affamés se rassasient gaîment, ceux qui étaient assoiffés s'enivrent. Ceux qui étaient nus sont revêtus de lin fin, ceux qui étaient en guenilles portent des habits blancs. Ceux qui étaient en prison son mis en liberté, ceux*

God's justice and righteousness is a liberating power that manifests itself within the world of the living. Weinfeld (1995:20-22; cf Crossan 1998:188-187) points out three ways in which God's justice and righteousness manifests: in Creation; in the Exodus and in future redemption. Justice and righteousness are executed by God. During the creation of the world, God imposed "equality, order, and harmony upon the cosmos and elimination of the forces of the destruction and chaos" (Weinfeld 1995:20). The Psalms refer to the just rule of God as a redemptive mission to all creatures (Ps 33:5-6; 96:10-13; cf Gn 1).

God's redemptive mission in the Exodus stories, whereby God administers equity and political salvation, has been widely adopted by liberation and black theologians (Loader 1987:147-171; Gutierrez 1974:155-160; Lochhead 1983:74-94; Fierro 1983:473-481; Croatto 1984; Boff 1987; Mosala 1989). The theme constructed from phrases such as "I have … seen the misery of my people … I have heard them crying out … I am concerned about their suffering. So I have come down to rescue them…"(Ex 3:7; 15:8; 20:2; Dt 33:4-5; cf Js 5:13-14; 1Sm12:7; Mc 6:5),[12] is rather decisive.

Fretheim (1991:18-20) and Weinfeld (1995:17) regard the Exodus story as symbol of a holistic mission, connecting socio-economic-political liberation to the enactment of God's presence, which takes place when giving the Law at Sinai (Ex 19-24). This represents a

qui étaient affligés se trouvent en joie; ceux qui fomentaient des troubles dans le pays sont devenus tranquilles." (Blessed is day! Heaven and earth are in joy, because you are the great lord of Egypt. Those who were in refuge are back in their towns, those who were in hiding, resurface. The hungry are filled, the thirsty are drunk. The naked are clothed with fine linen, those who were in rags, wear white gowns. Prisoners are set free, the afflicted have found joy; troublemakers in the land are quiet.)

[10] The Canaanite Prince Yasib challenged his father Keret for not doing justice to the poor (Dupont 1969b:59-60) "*Tu n'a pas jugé le jugement de la veuve, tu n'as pas fait droit au droit du malheureux, tu n'as pas chassé ceux qui dépouillent le pauvre, tu n'as pas nourri l'orphelin devant toi, la veuve derrière ton dos, te montrant un frère pour le malade, compagnon de son lit de souffrance.*" (You did not pass the judgment on behalf of the widow, you did not do justice to the poor, you did not prevent those who exploited the poor , you did not feed the orphan before you, the widow at your back, [you did not] show as a brother to the sick and a companion at his bed of suffering.)

[11] Yahweh of Israel is a just God who takes care of the poor and is described in Psalms (68:5-6) as "A father to the fatherless, a defender of widows …. God sets the lonely in families". God also "upholds the cause of the oppressed and gives food to the hungry. The Lord sets prisoners free, the Lord gives sight to the blind, the Lord lifts up those who are bowed down, the Lord loves the righteous" (Ps 146:7-8).

[12] The New International Version (NIV) is used for all Bible quotations in this research.

continuity of God's involvement in social liberation on behalf of the oppressed. The divine concern of social justice, as Fretheim (1991:246) explains, is mainly to protect the weak, the fatherless and the homeless (aliens, widows and orphans) from socio-economic exploitation and political exclusion. Suffice to say that the presence of God among his people represents the fullness of life – shalom, freedom from the bondage of oppressive politics, poverty and sin. The Gospel of Matthew portrays the continuing image of Emmanuel – God with us – God of salvation among the afflicted (Mt 1:1:21-22; 6:10-14; cf Lk 4:18-19; 11:2-4).

Furthermore, justice and righteousness is the responsibility of the individual (Weinfeld 1995:17-19) in ameliorating the situation of the destitute (Lev 25; Dt 15). Elimination of the exploitation of other people (such as slaves) was to come from the exploiter (the owner of slave) himself. As Weinfeld (1995:17) notes, justice and righteousness "in individual realm incorporates the duties between man and his neighbor over which the monarch and the state generally have no control."

According to Weinfeld (1995:45-56), justice and righteousness are the responsibility of the ruler. "The establishment of a just society is the responsibility of the king" (Weinfeld 1995:45) who is the agent of God in the land. The ruler acts on behalf of the poor and the weak and delivers them from oppression, and as a result, the land becomes prosperous (Ps 72: 2-4, 12-14). Matthew refers to righteous and just kings in his parables (Mt 18:21-35; 22:1-13; 25:31-46). Moreover, the king's responsibility to the poor is "to abolish evil and suppress the oppressors and tyrants" (Weinfeld 1995:49); to establish justice and judgment of the poor and the weak (Is 22:15-16) and the slaves. The command for the manumission of slaves is part of the theocratic inauguration in Israel (Lv 25; Dt 15). Weinfeld (1995:152-178; cf Amit 1992: 47-59; Levine 1989:168-180) sees the meaning of jubilee[13] as the proclamation of liberty. In their work on jubilee in the New Testament, Volschenk & Van Aarde (2002:811-837) argue that jubilee "was a symbol of transformation and emancipation."

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[13] According to Levine's explanation (1989:172), jubilee *yovel* means both "ram" and "ram's horn". This is because the advent of jubilee "is proclaimed by sounding the ram's horn".

Hartley (1992:442-443) explains that jubilee, as proclamation of justice and righteousness in the land, maintained "the solidarity" of the people "by keeping alive the ideal of the equality of all Israelite citizens under the covenant." For Amit (1992:50-55; cf Chaney 1991:127-146) the introduction of jubilee law and its "appendices – the subjects of loans and slavery" has a new economic perception, which is intended "to moderate and blunt the sharpness of economic extremes." This is because God wants to prevent material temptations that encourage discrimination against the weaker classes. In other words, the law has the aim to create a different society which, once every fifty years, offers the opportunity to reduce the ever-increasing gaps.

Raiser (1992:160-161) argues that the link of jubilee to social justice entails the defense of human dignity, liberation from oppression, and building a just, righteous and participatory social "system of government and of the economy". This law, which embodied equity and fair judgment in the community, provided the opportunity for people and the land to experience freedom as a God-given gift – the year of the Lord.

During the post-70 period (Overman 1996:10), the interpretation of the law and the administration of justice and righteousness in Palestine became problematic. Firstly, the region was subjected to Roman colonialism. Secondly, war had ravaged the country, killing its inhabitants. Survivors were orphaned, widowed, homeless, displaced and refugees, whose lives were at risk. Thirdly, the war destroyed Jerusalem and the temple that had provided social, religious and political identity of Matthean Israelites. In the absence of land, Jerusalem and the temple, the Matthean community and Formative Judaism found themselves in a difficult situation.

Consequently, internal misunderstandings on how to ensure the community's survival after the war arose (Overman 1990, 1996:8-12; Saldarini 1991:38; Menninger 1994:25; Sim 1998:116). It is for this reason that Neusner (1991:2) refers to "two sectors of the same people". Each group claimed to have the right interpretation of the law and the prophets (cf Saldarini 1988; Overman 1990; Neusner 1991; Stanton 1992; Sim 1998; see Crosby 1988:199-203).

Different interpretations then have focused their attention on community differences that separated the Matthean community from the main parent body of Judaism. The theological argument of *intra* and *extra muros* (Carson 1982:161; Stanton 1992:114-145; Saldarini 1991:56-60; Vledder 1997:141) came about as a result of this argument. Those who argued in favor of this view, made Judean community the primary audience of the Gospel and excluded the Gentiles until the post-paschal missionary work (see Van Aarde 1989:1-12; 1994:248-260; 1999b:671-692; Menninger 1994:48). The inclusive and exclusive debate that dominated and divided Matthean scholarship (Sim 2001:268-280; 2002:767-783) is, however, not the main concern of this study.

The main question that has divided theologians, centers around the social identity of the Matthean Gospel.[14] This theological polemic of "chosen-ness" and exclusion has come under criticism from postcolonial theologian-theorists. Postcolonial theory challenges these traditional views on the ground that the impact of social political consequences of Roman colonization has been neglected.

A serious critique of the traditional view, however, is that, consciously or unconsciously, it has confined people to cultural enclaves, where they have been devoid of the good news (Mt 4:23-25; 11:28-30; 21:14) of justice and righteousness. This approach deliberately ignores two important aspects of Matthean structure, which constitute the backbone of the narrative. In the introduction, Matthew presents (Mt 1-2) his main characters in the *biblos geneseos* (Sabourin 1982:185); and in his concluding remarks (Mt 28:16-20) Jesus commissions with no ambiguity his followers to all *ethne*. Clearly the proclamation of the good news is universal, but more importantly, is aimed at those who are destitute and oppressed by existing socio-political and economic structures.

The people who want to hear the good news, are the destitute and the mourners whose loved ones are victims of colonial force (Mt 2). The outcasts find themselves excluded on account of their social status imposed on them by the ruling class, religious leaders (Mt 12:1-14; 21:12-

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[14] The group of scholars who support the thesis that the conflict between the Matthean community and Formative Judaism has led to separation of the community are, among others, Stendahl (1968); Stanton (1992); Hare (1967); Luz (1989:79-89) and Hagner (1990). Another group supports the view that despite the conflict within Judaism, the Matthean community remained within the parent body. The view is supported by among others Bornkamm (1963); Overman (1990); Saldarini (1988, 1991, 1994); Sim (1995, 1998, 2001).

16) and the rich (Mt 19:16-30), and on account of tribal differences (Mt 15:21-28). People from the Third World have a similar problem. They are marginalized because of their social status; they are dispossessed of their dignity and excluded from decision making; their cultures are suppressed or have been dismantled by colonialism (see Said 1987; Young 2001; Ashcroft at al 1989). These people hunger for justice. The Matthean experience is one of the preferences of *Self* over *Other*. This is what concerns the Matthean community whose Jesus proclaims the will of God.

By way of example, the Canaanite woman (Mt 15:21-28) finds herself at the heart of such criticism. Those who favor an anti-colonial reading find that the story portrays cultural, ethnic/tribal, economic, political and gender discrimination, as well as imperial ideology (cf Dube 1996, 2000; Guardiola-Saenz 1997:69-80; Donaldson 1997:1-12; Wainwright 1998). Hare's (1993:176-179) interpretation of the story of the Canaanite woman is well argued. He presents three possible theses for the reading of the anecdote. (i) The story is to be read as "inauthentic". It was credited to Jesus by Jewish Christians who were opposed to Gentile mission; (ii) the story is to be treated as "authentic" but argues that "Jesus' behavior is not harsh as modern readers think". It is used as an expression of "the charity begins a home", as a way of testing her faith and "if she passes the test, he will accede to her request"; (iii) the narrative is to be accepted the way it stands in all its "harshness". It presents Jesus as a "Jewish man of his days, chauvinistic toward women and non-Jews."

The problems with this last reading is its exclusivity and its failure to disassociate a Matthean christology of Jesus whose healing mission (Van Aarde 2005:19-20) is to do justice and righteousness beyond social political and religious boundaries. Thirdly it may be argued that the socio-political influence shaping the Matthean context, is underestimated. The harsh language Matthew uses (e.g. Mt 23) against his own compatriots (see Overman 1996:324-326), and the resentment shown towards foreigners (e.g. Mt 15:21-28) is to be understood in light of the general overview of the consequences of war. It could have been influenced by cultural conflict that existed between communities (see Guardiola-Saenz 1997) on account of their history of being conquered (cf Gn 12:4-6; Ex 3:7-10; Js 13-22), now exacerbated by the Roman occupation (Carter 2001).

Those reading the story of the Canaanite woman through the lens of postcolonial theory, can also overreact, as is the case with Guardiola-Saenz (1997:69-80) and Wainwright (1998:84-92). Both authors argue from a feminist perspective. They draw attention to the cultural, gender and ethnic discrimination in the text. Guardiola-Saenz (1997:70) argues that the Canaanite woman is a victim of the author and the reader who "mistreated and incarcerated [her] in the oppressive boundaries of the text … for their own benefit, maintaining the status quo." Moreover, Wainwright (1998:91-92) argues that the structure and legitimacy of the healing power of Jesus is highly "genderized" and "oppressive of women and others designated as outsiders." The power of healing and doing justice and righteousness attributed to Jesus in this story, "veil the violence that can be inherent in such power".

Wainwright believes that the power predicated of Jesus and the household metaphors that proclaimed it as such "may well have been – and hence can continue to be – deconstructed". More critically, Guardiola-Saenz, says that the recognition of Jesus as the son of David by the Canaanite woman is not "a statement of faith" on her lips but "it is an asseveration of protest and a demand of her rights from the 'invader' and 'oppressor'" (Guardiola-Saenz 1997:76-77).

Such feminist reading of the story creates another polemic, which fails to understand the contours and circumstances from which Matthew's Gospel emerges. In other words, their theological argument seems to be as reactionary as Matthew was to religious leaders and Roman imperialism. Secondly, Jesus is not exclusively motivated by cultural and traditional rites, which at the end will dictate to him what to say and do. He has come to do the will of God, which is universal in scope (Mt 1-2; 28:16-20). His divine mission is neither limited, nor can it be confined within the coloration framework of cultural boundaries, which is to be found on the surface of incidents. Rather, his divine mission is to be seen and defined within the borderless framework of justice and righteousness.

The important issue is not only to recognize what has been denied of a person by existing power structures, but also to determine how the situation can be reconstructed and remedied, so that justice and righteousness can take its course. From this political reading, Jesus' mission is to abolish the work of evil and colonialism that have turned people into captives. It is to proclaim liberty to the world and to create a hybrid family of brotherhood in God's kingdom.

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Notwithstanding these debates, Matthean teaching in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5-7) gives a profound significance to the earthly ministry of Jesus, and at the same time, it provides the basis for rebuilding a new community in the aftermath of war. Arguing from Jesus' teaching, this study looks at the interpretation and application of justice and righteousness amidst human confusion caused by war and colonialism.

This study wants to contribute to Matthean scholarship by reading the gospel from a postcolonial perspective.[15] The main concern is to investigate the concept of justice and righteousness in the Matthean context, which was severely affected by Roman imperialism (see Horsley 1989; 1993; Carter 1999, 2001, 2000; Stark 1991). Another concern is to unearth how such a reading can bring a voice of those on the margins and oppressed by any form of domination and colonization (see Nkrumah 1968, 1973; Gandhi 1954; Said 1987; Fanon 1965, 1967; Young 2001) or a dictatorial regime.

1.2   Relevance of the study

From the viewpoint of postcolonial theory,[16] the study of justice and righteousness is appropriate to the context of Matthew and beyond. Over the years, contextual theologies have been developed. Their intention was the liberation of the oppressed. Victims of oppression can be found throughout history: from slavery in Egypt (Pixley 1991:229-240; Ela 1995:244-254) to the South African struggle against apartheid (Mandela 1994; Mandela and Castro 1991; Mosala 1991:267-274); from African-Americans against slavery and racism (Warrior 1991; Connor 1996) to Latin America (Guitierrez 1974; Segundo, 1976; Sobrino 1987). Black African (Mosala 1989) and feminist theologies are examples of such liberation theologies (Fiorenza 1999; Wainwright 1998; Schroer & Bietenhard 2003).

The politics of exclusion and division, tribalism and ethnicity, exploitation and injustice in the Great Lakes Region have thus far killed millions of innocent people, leaving in its wake a deeply wounded and vulnerable region, which experienced genocide at the end of 20th century

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[15] See chapter two below.

[16] See chapter two.

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in Rwanda. Among those affected is the Banyamulenge community whose socio-political identity in the DRC was interfered with by colonialists; its citizenship has been contested by Congolese governments ever since independence,[17] and their call for justice has not yet been heeded.

The ongoing political crisis in the Congo, particularly since the early 1990s, has drawn particular interest to the plight of the Banyamulenge [18] on account of the conflict. What is clear, however, is that this community always seems to be on the periphery of its own country. It has been excluded and dispossessed, as various studies such as Weis (1958), Muzuri (1983), Kidogi (1985), Gatimbirizo (1988), Mutambo (1997), Mamdani (1999), Ruhimbika (2001), Sarkin (2001), Koen (2002), Mangu (2003) have indicated. Even when one of her sons was elected as one of the four vice-presidents of the country in 2003, the question of Banyamulenge citizenship was still raised in the transitional parliament!

The afore-mentioned studies comment on the situation in the Great Lakes region from a socio-political perspective and point to a number of political injustices, as well as external and internal conflicts to which the Banyamulenge have been subjected. From a theological perspective, different monographs (mainly at a church denomination level) have been written by, amongst others Rukema (1985), Ruseruka (1986), Mudakikwa (1988) and Buhungu (1992). These studies focus on the development of church activities within the Banyamulenge community.

What is still lacking, however, is a link between the socio-political context of the Banyamulenge community and an application of biblical teaching. This study contends that

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[17] The nationality of Banyamulenge and other Congolese of Rwandan and Burundian origins is one of the most controversial and highly politicised issues in the Democratic Republic of Congo (see Muzuri 1983, Kidogi 1985; Gatimbirizo 1988; Mbonyinkebe 1994; *Resolution du HCR-PT sur la nationalité* 1995; Mutambo 1997; Ruhimbika 2001).

[18] The researcher wants to show how the media or researches have also contributed to bring confusion and amalgam to the issue of Banyamulenge. Consciously or unconsciously, some of those who have taken the courage to research (write or report) on the community have often misapprehended the case. Some of them do not know that the Banyamulenge is an ethnic group. For others, the term Banyamulenge is mistaken with that of political parties, rebel movements. Some times, they are presented as victims, other times as aggressors. This is done either by ignorance; the use of inaccurate information about the community; or the research is influenced by extremist tendencies that want to falsify the history. This may include the famous *Rapport Vangu* in 1995, an investigation lead by Zairean parliament in 1995.

such a link can be established with the help of a postcolonial hermeneutical approach. The reconstructive approach of the Matthean context as it pertains to the concept of justice and righteousness finds its parallel in a contemporary reading of the Banyamulenge community. It should be borne in mind that, because of the limited scope of this study, the Banyamulenge community will be taken as a case study and not treated as though it were the only existing case which deserves attention in the DRC.[19] On the other hand it should also be stressed that, as a matter of political exclusion and contestation of social and political identity, the case of the Banyamulenge and that of other Congolese of Rwandan and Burundian origins, is unique in the DRC.

Furthermore the Banyamulenge community has also become victim of researchers whose findings as to the amalgamation are misleading. Examples are the work of highly acknowledged academics in political studies of the Great Lakes Region, Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002:229-230) and Lemarchand (1999:1-21).

In his book, *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: A people's history*, Nzongola-Ntalaja's information about Banyamulenge politicians is inaccurate. The scholar either lacked sufficient information, or was misinformed by his sources and did not counter-check his sources. Thus, his contribution misrepresents information pertaining to members of the Banyamulenge community. On the other hand, Lemarchand (1999:1-21) deals with the issue of ethnicity in which he qualifies the term Banyamulenge in terms of "myth-making." He also adds that it is absent in "colonial records." However, existence and evolution of a people do not necessarily depend on their recognition by the colonial world. Secondly, his globalization of the Banyamulenge, especially during the conflict of 1990s, is also misleading.[20] This is the view that Fanon (1967:226-229) challenges by pointing out that the natives are obliged to accept the European definition of their race/identity.

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[19] Within a situation of anarchy, war and tribal conflict in DRC, acts of injustice and impunity that lead to continued atrocities are countless. The selection of Banyamulenge is a case among others. However, for reasons stressed above, it demands careful scrutiny.

[20] For more discussion, see chapter three.

1.3   Methodology

With the help of traditional exegetical methods such as redaction criticism, literary criticism and narrative criticism, theologians have dealt with biblical texts. They were able to point out theological concerns, identify sources and primary audiences of the text (Briggs 1971; Collins 1983; Gillingham 1998). In recent years social scientific approach was introduced and large contributions were made by, among others, Elliott(1981:1-13; 1986:1-27; 1990, 1993), Malina (1983, 1988), McKnight's edited work (1989), Malina and Rohrbaugh (1992), Esler (1994, 1995[21]), Van Staden (1991:26-64), Horrell's edited work (1999) and Van Aarde (2002a). This new approach helped many scholars to focus on the Matthean social location. The introduction of postcolonial theory (Sugirtharajah 1999:3-5) to biblical hermeneutics is also gaining ground. However, the question remains: Is postcolonial theory relevant to biblical reading?

Initially, a postcolonial reading and the Bible form a strange association, especially when seen from conservative background. Firstly, politics is associated with bad governance, ruthlessness and malice.[22] Secondly, traditional European and American missionaries' teaching warned Christians not to become involved in politics, because it is a "dirty game", it is "worldly" and holds no gain for Christian life.[23]

Embarking on such sensitive issues causes a dilemma. The question is how such a method will help to make a difference in a dying world? Would such a study contribute towards finding solutions in a world of inequalities and injustices? Can it bring consolation and hope to innocent people dying in refugee camps across the African continent? Can a voice challenging the powerful, make them realize that every person has the right to citizenship?

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[21] This is an edited work with various contributions to social scientific work in New Testament scholarship.

[22] One old Babembe tribesman in the DRC said *"politike ili michingo*." Literally it means that politics is cheating. This conception is influenced by the kind of socio-political life they lead. Some politicians do take advantage of the populace for either votes or any other selfish interests with little or no benefit to the common people.

[23] This is an ongoing debate in many Pentecostal churches in Africa. In Burundi for instance, some local churches threaten to excommunicate its members who want to form political parties. Although this is not the case with churches in the DRC. Church leaders in the DRC have taken up important and high positions in the current transitional government. However, the motives of such ventures are queried. Some support church leaders who, as citizens, should play their civic role by serving their nation in every capacity, as best one can. Others criticize such a move and fear that politics may compromise the testimony and the prophetic stand of the church. They say that, whoever would like to help politicians, should be outside of the political ring (see also the argument of Van Reken 1999:198-202; Meulen 1999:202-206).

Conversely, if such an endeavor is not undertaken, is there any another hermeneutical approach that would not only "speak the truth to the powerful", but would also "speak to the poor about the powerful" (Sugirtharajah 1999:5). For this reason I believe that postcolonial theory is a worthwhile undertaking.

From the history of politics and literature, postcolonial theory (Young (2001:15) is defined as a "product of resistance to colonialism and imperialism." It is an ongoing struggle against socio-political and economic injustices within a decolonized setting. Ashcroft, Griffins & Tiffin (1989:2) add that postcolonial theory takes into account "all the culture affected by the imperial process" from the period of colonization to the present day, because "there is a continuity of preoccupations" throughout the history of European aggression. But at the same time, Spivak (1999:1) warns that postcolonial studies, "unwittingly commemorating a lost object, can become an alibi unless it is placed within a general frame." Her fear is that, if the emphasis is focused only on the colonized or on the issues of the colonies, it can serve "the production of current knowledge by placing colonialism/imperialism securely in the past, and/or by suggesting a continuous line from that past to the present."

A similar warning, namely that it would be erroneous to think that the colonized are innocent, whereas the colonizer is "all innately culpable, greedy and responsible for all social evils", also comes from Sugirtharajah (1999:3). Such a deliberate conclusion is only an "inverted colonialism" and "absolves the Third World elite of their patriarchal and vassalizing tendencies." Sugirtharajah (1999:3) therefore suggests that, in looking at the postcolonial paradigm, the researcher should take cognizance of the "complexity of the invader and the invaded", because it is about "critical exchanges and mutual transformation between the two."

Having said that, what should not be neglected here are the effects or consequences of colonialism. Ashcroft et al (1989:9) talk of the damage of *self* by *dislocation* from which an identity crisis emerges. This results from migration and other enslavement experiences or the "self" may have been "destroyed by *cultural denigration*." For Van Aarde (2004a:9) this dislocation is even more acute. He refers to it as "permanent dislocation." In other words, natives do not regain their original cultural values nor can they be fully assimilated into the new context. They seem to be included, but yet are excluded from the new society.

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According to Spivak (1999:309), natives live in slow but constant mutation, which unfortunately does not allow them to be equal. They cannot return to their previous position, nor can they be fully integrated into the new situation. This is the part which most challenges postcolonial criticism. The issue of how to remedy the "torn-halves" (Young 1996) and "hybrids" (Young 2001:69) among "us", is the most challenging aspect of postcolonial criticism. Postcolonial theory calls on mutual responsibility and accountability in re-establishing justice, which is an obstacle to former colonizers and the colonized elites alike.

According to Young (2003:1-16), postcolonial theory concerns itself with the following areas: (i) nations seeking independence from sovereign states; (ii) indigenous peoples in border territories seeking independence; (iii) those suffering from the decision of decolonization who seek union with an adjacent decolonized state; (iv) tribal peoples who seek nothing more than their own survival, or those who were forcibly transported under colonial occupation; (v) "fourth-world" nations who seek the basic rights of legal and social equality (e.g. native Americans, the Aboriginal peoples, etc.); (vi) those suffering from social stigma of caste exclusion; (vii) disadvantaged ethnic minorities and impoverished classes in most countries of the world. This study poses the question of how the reading of Matthew could respond to these needs by challenging the powers to enact justice in the lives of the marginalized.

1.4   Reading Matthew from a postcolonial perspective

For the last decade, theologian scholars cautiously began exploring a political hermeneutical venue by using postcolonial theory particularly in the third-world countries (see Donaldson 1996; Dube 1996, 1997, 1999, 2000; Guardiola-Saenz 1997, Segovia 1998, 2001, Sugirtharajah 1995, 1996; 1999, 2001; Punt 2000, 2001; Van Aarde 2004a). A postcolonial approach to biblical studies is gaining ground as a new attempt to challenge existing power structures in human societies in order to heed the voice of the margins reclaiming justice. R S Sugirtharajah is one of the main campaigners of this theory in biblical scholarship.

Following Sugirtharajah's (1999:3-5) argument, postcolonial criticism as a biblical hermeneutics can help (i) "revalue the colonial ideology, stigmatization and negative portrays embedded in the content, the plot and characterization." It consists of looking for colonial intentions (be they political, cultural or economic), which informed and influenced the writer's context. (ii) It helps in "reconstructive reading" which enables the reader to see the concerns of liberation struggles against colonialism and imperialism and their local agents both in the past and present context. It is concerned and interacts with circumstances that have been produced hereto, such as hybridity, fragmentation, land dispossession, statelessness, double or multiple identities. (iii) Postcolonial criticism interrogates colonial interpretation and draws attention to "the inescapable effects of colonization and colonial ideals." It investigates interpretations that challenge colonial interests. Such a view of postcolonial theory helps the researcher to look into both colonizer and the colonized situations in order to produce a remedy, and reconstructive argumentation based on justice and righteousness for all.

The call for active participation in this reading also comes from Donaldson (1996:1-14). Criticism has been leveled at the church and other religious institutions for having facilitated colonial conquests all over the world. Donaldson (1996:2) is of the opinion that postcolonial criticism helps to fill the "intellectual and ethical void" and requires not only "a systematic accounting of Christianity's participation in imperialism", but also that of individual congregations to actively engage in the work of decolonization. Carter's (1999, 2000, 2001) works are relevant to this study, particularly with regard to how he treats Roman imperialism, contrasting it with the kingdom of God in a Matthean context. Although he does not draw any contemporary parallels, the situation of the Banyamulenge community would certainly be one of such example.

Carter (2001:1) demonstrates how Matthew resisted the powers of his day and how he, through his teaching, contended "that the world belongs to God and not to Rome" and that justice and righteousness should prevail. This study aims to challenge every social and political institution of influence, particularly the church, to become involved with and to engage with stakeholders in order to restore justice and righteousness for all, but specifically for the poor and others marginalized on the basis of their social, religious, gender and ethnic appurtenance.

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1.5   Hypotheses

The hypotheses of this study are:

- that the theme of justice and righteousness is an important one in Matthew's theology;
- that all people, poor and rich, Judeans and aliens, the powerful and the powerless are equal before the law and thus are entitled to fair judgment, regardless of their social, economic and political status;
- that the act of contesting Banyamulenge citizenship by successive governments of the DRC constitutes a threat to justice and righteousness and should be challenged because it is a political result of colonial and postcolonial devices;
- that postcolonial theory is the appropriate method in terms of which not only Matthew can be read constructively from context to text, but which also gives it a more contemporary significance as it is applied to a contemporary neo-colonial context.

1.6   Aims of the Study

This study seeks to contribute towards a postcolonial reading in Matthean scholarship, specifically by examining the concept of justice and righteousness. It deals with the question of how justice and righteousness is applied in the Matthean community and beyond. The argument is based on the social and political setting of the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5-7). This approach is further applied to the most controversial reading of the story of the Canaanite woman (Mt 15:21-28). The aim of the study is to draw a contemporary parallel to the case of the Banyamulenge community, whose social and political identities have been opposed by the government of Congo since early 1960s.

Due to the nature of this study, some available data were collected in their original languages rather than in English. For the purpose of this research, the original language is maintained and a literal translation is provided by the researcher.

1.7   The plan of the study

This study comprises six chapters. Chapter one covers the general introduction, research gap and the aims of the study. In chapter two, the researcher deals with the formation of theory and

method. Postcolonial theory is developed from secular and biblical perspectives, and towards the end of the chapter, principles which are helpful for the reading of Matthew's Gospel, are identified. The concept of justice and righteousness will be defined and developed from social scientific and biblical usages thereof.

Chapter three explores the social location, namely the Banyamulenge community. This analysis is based on the community's cultural, political and religious formation. Chapter four concerns itself with the social location of Matthew. This chapter comprises a general overview of the social, economic and political realities of the Matthean community under Roman occupation.

Chapter five deals with a postcolonial exegesis of the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5-7); the Sermon's teaching on justice and righteousness as background for understanding the story of the Canaanite woman (Mt 15:21-28) and its present-day meaning for the Banyamulenge context. Finally, the conclusion and recommendations are contained in chapter six which is followed by an appendix and a bibliography**.**

CHAPTER II

POSTCOLONIALISM: FROM THEORY TO
MODEL AND METHOD

2.1   Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline certain hermeneutical principles, which will guide the reading of Matthew as it pertains to the concept of justice and righteousness. These principles will be drawn from postcolonial theory applied within a social scientific critical paradigm. The use of postcolonial theory in biblical criticism as one reads the Bible from a contemporary African perspective, and particularly from a Democratic Republic of Congo's (DRC) perspective, (a country at the crossroads of political turmoil and internal conflict), is not a matter of choice, but is an urgent appeal. This call draws its message and meaning from the Matthean voice of justice and righteousness, which was heard during Jesus ministry within the Roman colonization.

This call to justice and righteousness will investigate the politics, which has turned thousands of the DRC's[24] sons and daughters into the prey of wild beasts (oppressive politics) at home and beyond. It is a politics that has dehumanized people and denied them their rights to live a full life. It is a politics of both internal and external complicity.

This chapter deals with the various stages in the development of postcolonial theory, from where it started as anti-slavery and anti-colonial movements. It shows how colonized people joined various struggles for liberation. It also focuses on different approaches of anti-slavery and anti-colonial activists. Following a hermeneutical approach, this chapter deals with a

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[24] According to Kassa (2004:85-86), the Democratic Republic of Congo is affected by "a complex humanitarian crisis, the multiple facets of which revolve around patterns of dilution of any sense of responsibility on the part of the many would-be authorities". Kassa records some painful facts about the humanitarian situation in the DRC and particularly in the East: (i) At least 213 children out of 1,000 children of the same age, die before reaching the age of one year in the eastern DRC (quoted from UNICEF, 2002); (ii) About 3,3 million people died as a result of war, disease and hunger since 1998 (quoted from International Rescue Committee – IRC); (iii) Around 1,289 women out of 100,000 die as a result of childbirth or related problems; (iv) About 50,000 child soldiers are recruited by the various armed factions in the country; (v) HIV/AIDS has spread rapidly in the country through military conquests and defeats.

theory of postcolonialism as a biblical critical model. Various works, particularly that of Robert J C Young,[25] are used as references in the development of postcolonial formation. After having studied different postcolonial hermeneutical studies of the New Testament writings, I realized that Young is one of the most influential theorists in this field thus far. His current works in particular offer a comprehensive overview of the formation of postcolonial theory.

2.2   Definition of terms and their relatedness

2.2.1   Pessimistic approach to postcolonial theory

For the past two decades, both the term and the field of postcolonialism have been subjected to thorough and extensive criticism from the perspectives of literary, political and religious studies. To some theorists, the term is fairly simple, yet fascinating, while it is rather intimidating and intriguing to others, especially when dealing with the cruelty, both past and present, of human beings against their neighbors. At this stage theorists take different views with regard to this study field. Those who hold an optimistic view, regard postcolonial theory as a means of defiance by which any exploitive and discriminative practices, regardless of time and space, can be challenged. On the other hand, the pessimistic view regards postcolonial theory as ambiguous, ironic, and superstitious. These views create an interest which has to be dealt with before the theory is applied to next sections of this study.

Slemon (1995:100) uses the argument of Russell Jacoby to demonstrate how postcolonial theory is problematic for researchers because of its "lack of consensus and clarity." Young (2001:67) poses the simple question: "Why does the language of postcolonial criticism often seem so impenetrable?" But for others, according to Slemon (1995:100), this lack of clarity in postcolonial theory together with its fluidity and ambivalence, is "what is genuinely enabling about the field." Therefore, the term not only lacks clarity, but it also keeps

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[25] Robert J C Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in theory, culture and race*, London: Routledge, 1995; *Torn halves: political conflict in literary and cultural theory*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996; *Postcolonialism: An historical introduction, London :* Blackwell, 2001; *Postcolonialism: A very short introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

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changing through "new forms of social collectivity" as they emerge in time and space in a postcolonial world. Thus, these "new forms require new ways describing them". In other words, it is difficult to keep up with the pace of the rapid changing world while at the same time keeping the definition (if any), the object and motive of postcolonial theory intact.

For this reason, it is equally difficult to formulate a single theory to deal with all forms of social, political, academic, military and economic changing winds, creating new histories in societies across the globe (cf Slemon 1995:100-105). Subsequently, postcolonial theory becomes a constant and continuing struggle in the company of humanity (see Bhabha 2001:39). Theorists maintain that postcolonial theory is concerned with all those complexities of the many cultural and historical experiences. Ashcroft, et al (2001:2) argue that postcolonial theory is based on the "historical fact" of European colonialism, and on "the diverse material effects" to which this experience gave rise. Young (2001:4) correctly states that postcolonial critique is concerned with a "reconstruction and reconsideration" of history, particularly from the perspectives of the victims of colonialism and imperialism, not only in the past but also in the present. This mixture of histories is the interest of postcolonial theory.

The critical part of a definition of "postcolonial" has to do with the prefix "post-" which signifies two different meanings in one compound word. Theorists (Ashcroft et al 1989:1-4; Slemon 1995:45-52; 2001:100-114; Young 1996:67-68; 2001:1-10; Moore 2001:182-188) tried to address this issue. Slemon (1995:100) admits that one of the most "vexed areas of debate within the field of postcolonial theory has to do with the term 'postcolonial' itself." According to Moore (2001:182), such a conception of "post (-) colonial" can be viewed as "naïve, inadequate, or utopian".

According to Young (1996:67-68; see Donaldson 1996:5), "'post' is a symptomatic of the increasingly insistent institutional compulsion always to put oneself on the outside, the beyond … substituting a relation of time, of postness, of newness, for the lost relation of space". This tendency of wanting to get outside one's object is crucial to postcolonial theory. It defines patterns of contemporary theory, which help it "get outside itself, to step outside

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its own skin". Slemon (1995:1001), on the other hand, argues that colonialism comes into existence within the concept of imperialism, "a concept that is itself predicated within large theories of global politics and which changes radically according to the specifics of those larger theories."

Gallagher (1996:230-231, see Isasi-Diaz 2004:341) interprets "post" as in being "opposed to a certain practice called colonialism." Such opposition is directed at an examination, "unveiling or deconstruction, and revision of the discourse that produces and reinforces oppression." Imperialism (Young (2001:26-27) operates as a policy of state, driven by the ostentatious projects of power within and beyond state boundaries. Again, imperialism is susceptible to analysis as a concept grounded in exploitation, partnership and assimilation (Nkrumah 1973:1). On the other hand, colonialism is analyzed primarily as a practice by which colonial rule binds her colonies to herself, with a "primary object of promoting her economic advantages" (Nkrumah 1973:2). It is characterized by mechanisms involving power through direct conquest or through political and economic influence that effectively creates a form of domination over another.

If the two words are compounded to form one meaning "postcolonial", then it is important to understand what "post" brings as new to colonialism, already defined as a "practice" of economic, political and cultural domination (Young 2001:17). Does it mean that these practices which marked colonialism are a thing of the past? Young (2001:15) insists that the "post" in postcolonialism is not simply a historical event in which one can move from "post"-colonialism to "post"-imperialism. The concern of postcolonial theory (Ashcroft, et al 1989:2) takes into account cultures affected by the imperialism from the period of colonization to the present day. This is because "there is a continuity of preoccupations" throughout the history of colonizers' aggression. However, this political, cultural and economic aggression is not over yet!

According to Moore (2001:182), the term "postcolonial" without hyphen is preferred by many critics because it is less "suggestive of (imagined) chronological or ideological supersession." What is evident here is that, despite the past of colonialism in the exchange

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for "flag independence" (Slemon 1995:102) that brought no economic independence, nor reparation for that past, imperialism as a concept and colonialism as a practice are still active in a new form. This new form is neo-colonialism.

Nkrumah (1965:xi) defines neo-colonialism as "the worst form of imperialism. For those who practise it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress." For Cabral neo-colonialism is "an outgrowth of classical colonialism" (McCulloch 1983:120-121). Young (2001:44-52) refers to neo-colonialism as "the last stage of imperialism" in which a postcolonial country is unable to deal with economic domination that continues after the national independence. Altbach (1995:452-46) regards neo-colonialism as "partly planned policy" and a "continuation of the old practices". Young (2001:45) is however cautious in defining his understanding of "post" in relation to imperialism. He says that "the postcolonial is *post*, that is coming after, colonialism and imperialism in the sense of domination by direct rule." But "post" is not "*post* to imperialism" in its second sense in relation to indirect rule within economic and political domination.

Ashcroft et al (1989:11-13) argue that postcolonial theory emerges "from the inability of European theory" to effectively deal with the challenges and varied cultural provenance of postcolonial writing. The question that needs to be asked is whether that "inability" is caused by lack of means or lack of will to get rid of imperialism. Christian (1995:457-460) states her challenge to such theorization in what she refers to as "the race for theory." Her argument is that even "the literary critical theory [in postcolonial theories] is as hegemonic as the world which it attacks."

According to Christian (1995:457-460), the language employed mystifies rather than clarifies the condition of the marginalized, "making it possible for a few people who know that particular language to control the critical scene – that language surfaced, interestingly enough, just when the literature of the people of color, of black women, of Latin Americans, of Africans began to move to the 'centre'. Words such as centre and periphery are themselves instructive."

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In this argument, Christian implicitly draws closer to the issue of neo-colonialism in the area of academics. Her deception lies in the fact that literature, the voice of people who are not in power are ever "in danger of extinction or of cooptation", not because the weak cannot theorize, but because, she/he is "constantly limited by societal structures" which are the product of imperialism in colonial as well as in postcolonial settings.

The second challenge of postcolonial theory's definition is the contextual frame of colonialism and imperialism as it is linked to race, culture and gender, settler and native. Pertinent questions that theorists need to ask are: When does a settler become colonizer, colonized and postcolonial? In other words, when does a race cease to be an oppressive agent and become a wealth of cultural diversities of a postcolonial nation? Or within human history of migrations, when does the settler become native, indigenous, a primary citizen? And lastly, when does the native become truly postcolonial? Answers to these questions make postcolonial theory ambiguous and problematic, if not ironic.

Young (2001:19-24) deals with these questions, but does so in a narrow way. Young is convinced that all colonial powers wanted to have "two distinct kinds of colonies within their empires, the settled and the exploited, white and black", which were treated differently. Settlement was not merely a matter of getting a geographical space, but to develop a system of exploitation and domination.

This was the case in North America, South Africa, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. During independence, settlers became colonies that have freed themselves from colonialism (see Nkrumah 1973:31) and became postcolonial. On the other hand, in the process of their postcolonial rule, they became oppressors of the natives. This is also true with native elites who turn into dictators and oppressors of their own people in post-independent countries.

The danger of this duality is expressed in a spiral of victimization, when the oppressed becomes the oppressor. While it becomes difficult to draw a stabilizing line, the settler never becomes indigenous, not because of geographical distance of his/her origin, nor the time of

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his/her settlement, but because of color, tribal and ethnic differences. If the land issue in Zimbabwe and other countries in Southern Africa is used as a case study, it would confirm the forgoing statement that the settler never becomes indigenous.[26] The same applies to the so-called *Zairianisation*[27] in the early 1970s in the DRC (Young & Turner 1985:326-362, Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002:148-151, Dunn 2003:109, 127) and was also the case in many other African countries during and after their independence. How South Africa maintains the balance in its land reform politics will be an interesting case to follow.

The issue with postcolonial theory is that it is very fluid, unstable and unreliable, in that its equality becomes difficult to maintain. In other words, the liberation of one is the fate of the other, and triumphalism which fails to heed the warning that God gave to the oppressed-liberated Israelites (Ex 22:21-24; 23:9; Dt 24:19-22), is a deadly temptation, if not a sin in socio-economic and political liberation theories. The issue is how to build a new nation in which both the former colonized and the former colonizer can live together, complementarily in the brotherhood of humanity.

Another pertinent example in defining postcolonial theory is when the term becomes a tool for political bargain on the ground of autochthonism[28] in a postcolonial state. In this regard Slemon (1995:102-103) mentions the case of Melanesian and Indian Fijian citizens. Indians brought from their own country to work in British colonial plantations in Fiji, found themselves settling in the country. Both groups legitimately claim to be postcolonial citizens of Fiji. The question, however, is "whether both groups have an equal constitutional claim to the category of Fijian citizenship which was the subject of a political coup in 1989, and it remains unresolved."

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[26] Lee & Colvard (2003) deal specifically with the politics of land and settlement in the entire Southern Africa region (see also Daneel 1998).

[27] During the early years of Mobutu's regime, he acquired all the properties of white people in the country and nationalized them.

[28] According to *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* 1970, autochthonism means "birth from the soil of a country, or aboriginal occupation of it."

The difficulty with such postcolonial behavior arises from the fact that social constituencies are ignored. This example is to some extent also applicable to the case of the Banyamulenge community in South Kivu and other Congolese of Rwandan origin in North Kivu provinces in the DRC. Although the Banyamulenge settled in a territory which later, with the coming of the colonizer was called the Congo, the postcolonial constitution found them being excluded on the ground of the community's Tutsi origin. In other words the same torture of colonialism is once again espoused in the postcolonial state. As Slemon (1995:103) proceeds to state, his analysis with regard to categorization is crucial:

> categories such as "native", "settler"…, "white", [indigenous, autochthon, tribal]… - as is always the case with the homogenizing nomenclature of race, class, gender, nation, sexual orientation, and the like – themselves conceal forms of division within groups, they conceal intersection lines and cross-over points within groups, they say nothing about the social process that construct these groups in specific places at specific times.

Those who criticize postcolonial theory such as McClintock (1995:10-11), Hulme (2001:295-308) base their arguments on those sociological concepts that have been ignored. Based upon the above quoted examples it appears that the road from pre-colonial to colonial and to postcolonial never ends with "post" in postcolonial, instead it becomes a new form of direct or indirect influence through local agents. This vicious circle does not allow the world to be postcolonial in its true sense. For McClintock (1995:10-11), postcolonial is "haunted by the very figure of linear development that it sets out to dismantle." It is found reorienting the world once more "around a single binary opposition: colonial – postcolonial." This results from its failure to distinguish between the beneficiaries and the causalities of colonialism. For this reason the postcolonial theory is rather fluid and unstable which should alert theorists to be mindful of both conceptual and contextual gaps which may be encountered along research processes.

2.2.2   Critical approach with optimistic view to postcolonial theory

Having discussed some of complexities of postcolonial theory, it is also appropriate to examine a position of those who hold a positive view. According to Bhabha (1994:171), postcolonial criticism, "bears witness to the unequal and universal forces of cultural representation" that are involved in a constant competition for political, economic and social authority within the contemporary world. Moreover, Bhabha (1994:171) sees postcolonial critique emerging from colonial experiences. He argues:

> Postcolonial perspectives emerge from the colonial testimony of Third World countries and the discourses of 'minorities' within the geopolitical divisions of East and West, North and South. They intervene in those ideological discourses of modernity that attempt to give a hegemonic 'normality' to the uneven development and the differential, often disadvantaged, histories of nations, race, communities, peoples.

Postcolonial theory formulates its critique around social histories, cultural difference and political discrimination that are practiced and normalized by colonial and imperial machineries. According to Young (2001:1-11; 57-69), postcolonial critique is concerned with the history of colonialism "only to the extent that history has determined the configurations and power structures of the present." Postcolonial critique also recognizes anti-colonial movements as the source and inspiration of its politics. Postcolonial critique can be defined as a dialectical discourse that broadly marks the historical facts of decolonization. It allows people emerging from socio-political and economic domination to achieve their own sovereignty.

By contrast, postcoloniality, as Young continues to argue, emphasizes economic, cultural and material conditions "that determine the global system in which the postcolonial nation is required to operate." This view of postcolonial emphasis is shared by a number of theorists, among others: Bhabha (1994), Spivak (1988:197-221), Ashcroft et al (1989; 1995), Sugirtharajah (1996:1-5; 2001), Dube (1996, 2000); Segovia (2000:11-34) and Punt (2001, 2003).

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It must, however, be understood that anti-colonial movements are not uniform, as many of them are contextually confined, although drawn together, their heterogeneous principles form a postcolonial theory. Young (2003:1-8) provides clear pointers with regard to what postcolonial theory is and what it is not. Postcolonial theory "is not in fact a theory in the scientific sense, that is a coherently elaborated set of principles that predict the outcome of a given set of phenomena." Rather, postcolonial theory encompasses a set of viewpoints, which are against one another.

It is also obvious that disciplines do overlap and contradictions cannot be escaped. This is particularly so when postcolonial theory draws more of its material from other disciplines and activities within a given context and its environment (see Segovia 1999:111-113; Sugirtharajah 1999:3-5). As it has been noted above, imperialism penetrates post-colonialism and posit in new form. But Young (2003:7) is convinced that the language of postcolonial theory is uncompromising. "It threatens privileges and power" by refusing and challenging the superiority of the cultures over others. Its priority is to administer equality and justice to people.

According to Young (2001:383-426), postcolonial theory as a "political discourse" emerged mainly from experiences of oppression and struggles for freedom from the "tricontinental"[29] awakening in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the continents associated with poverty and conflict, once referred to as the "continents of the South", or the "Third World." Postcolonial criticism focuses on oppression and coercive domination that operate in the contemporary world (cf Young 2001:11). The philosophy behind this theory is not one of declaring war on the past, but against the present realities which, implicitly or explicitly, are consequences of that past. In so doing, the attention of the struggle is concentrated on neo-colonialism and its agents (international and local) that are still enforced through political, economic and social discrimination in postcolonial nations.

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[29] Young (2003:16-29; cf 2001:57-58) defines the origin of the tricontinental concept.

Interest in the oppression of the past will always be guided by the relation between the history of that past and the present as a new direction and a warning system[30] for a better future. For example, in Exodus (12:14-28; 22:21-22; 23:9) God instructed the Israelites to regularly celebrate the Passover as a reminder of their liberation from Egypt. God warned them not to neglect the poor and the aliens amongst them because they themselves had once been slaves. In that sense, postcolonial theory will always seek to develop new forms of engaged theoretical work that contributes to the creation of dynamic ideological and social transformation.

2.3   Development of postcolonial theory

2.3.1   Humanitarian justification

Postcolonial theory has a long history[31] but most theorists in this field take it for granted as if the origin of the theory is well known to all readers. Among postcolonial theorists, Young (2001, 2003) managed to trace origin of postcolonial theory through history. He introduces a historical beginning by showing how postcolonial theory is a product of anti-slavery activists and anti-colonialists in the eyes of the West. Young (2001:74-112) draws three perspectives in which postcolonial theory emerges, namely humanitarian (moral), liberal (political) and economic. The contradiction of this early development was that imperialism was never emphasized in the same way. While humanitarians and economists staged anti-colonial campaign, politicians (liberals) supported colonization as a means of civilization of the heathens by all means, including force.

According to Young (2001:75-82), the first example of anti-colonial campaign is attributed to Bishop Bartolomé Las Casas (1484-1566) of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain in

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[30] Reconciliation week (14-20 March) is celebrated annually in South Africa and is an example of national transformation, whereby issues of apartheid are raised, not for the sake of vengeance, but as a lasting call for unity, forgiveness and collective participation in building a new future together.

[31] This is a very wide and complex field, which cannot be exhausted in this brief section. The intention of this section is only to give an overview of how the postcolonial theory came into being. Young (2001) deals with this development at length. However, for the sake of this study, Young has also two shortcomings. One is that he does not deeply discuss the role of religious movements in support or against colonialism. Second, he does not include struggles of local peoples (particularly from African continent) against slavery and colonialism before 19th century, although, he does acknowledge it (see Young 2001:163, 217).

1542. Driven by pastoral obligation, the Bishop drafted his contribution, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies,* in which he informed the world about "the genocide that had been practised" under the blessing of the Spanish king and through him, the pope had initially permitted missionaries from Spain and Portugal to undertake expeditions to America. Las Casas questioned the moral and legal grounds of Spanish occupation of America. This was fifty years after the expedition of Christopher Columbus in 1492 to the "new world" and his argument was that the "papal authorization of the expeditions was concerned only with conversion rather than conquest."

 In his protest against colonization and killing of Indians, Bishop Las Casas made three propositions (which are but somewhat contradictory to modern anti-colonialism campaign): (i) Indians had become subjects of Spanish king, must benefit the "rights and forms of protection as Spanish subjects at home." (ii) Politics of assimilation in which the colony is "simply made into a part of the home country" with all legal benefits accruing to it (this mode of colonization was later adopted by France). (iii) The legal basis of European rule was questioned and in doing so he "endorsed the legitimate basis of resistance to it". This anti-colonialism campaign of Bishop Las Casas, was taken up by Simon Bolivar (1783-1830) at the beginning of nineteenth century in South America.

Young (2001:75) argues that "Las Casas's affirmation of the full humanity of the Indians and his denunciation of the 'social sins' of the conquistador rule, has led Gustavo Guitierrez (1993) to identify him as the originator of twentieth-century Latin American liberation theology." Bishop Las Casas's campaign was eventually, joined by other European anti-colonialism activists and by the eighteenth century, his sermon had been "developed into a fully-fledged political discourse of theories" of equal rights that formed the basis for anti-colonial sentiment within Europe.

French philosophers such as Jean Jacques Rousseau, Voltaire (Hoffman & Filder 1991; Voltaire 1994), among others built upon the writings of Bishop Las Casas and engaged in the campaign of anti-slavery. As Young (2001:76-77) explains, at this time, the belief in equality of human beings "became a more powerful argument." In Britain, the church also played a

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prominent role in the anti-slavery movement. The anti-slavery campaign developed on accounts of humanitarian and economic objections, where Protestant missionaries (Quakers, Methodists, Anglicans and Baptists) played a role in the West Indies (Nöthling 1989:312-315) and became actively involved in a resistance campaign against plantation owners.

It is important to note that there was a difference between anti-slavery and anti-colonial campaigns, especially in Britain. Slavery, and not colonialism, according to Young (2001:77), constituted the object of the moral critique and provided "an analogy that was then subsequently applied to liberal arguments regarding the position of women, factory workers and child labor." It is as if, the British people, although they were becoming anti-slavery, they did not want to break the flow of trade either.

Nonetheless, colonization could be transformed into requirement of a moral duty towards native peoples (Young 2001:77) or in the French politics of *mission civilisatrice* (civilizing mission) (see Young 2001:29-31). This view of socialist colonization was supported by many socialist liberals from Germany, Holland and Britain. This was the case of protection of the people of Fiji from settlers (see Porter 1968:18-25). Or the transfer of Congo from being the Belgian king private property to the Belgian government, after the horrible abuse and genocide were disclosed (see Schuyler 1962; Porter 1968:239; Hochschild 1998; Nzongola 2002:13-60; Dunn 2003:50-59).

In contemporary situation in which international humanitarian intervention is expressed can include Somalia, Kosovo, Burundi, Ivory Coast, the DRC, Sudan. However, the other side of it, is that these intervention have been criticized due to other political and economic interests and abuses that jeopardize the moral and goodwill of interventions. Rwanda, Somalia, DRC and Iraq are cases in focus. Nevertheless, this is a long trodden road of postcolonial theory that comes from a long tradition of moral and political anti-slavery and anti-colonial campaigns which began with Bishop Las Casas.

2.3.2   Economic justification

Young (2001:82-87) has indicated how economic objection to colonialism has developed. Karl Marx argued that the motive behind colonization was economic. Adam Smith (1723-1790) (see Smith 1952), a church minister, was among the first to challenge British imperialism on the ground of economic interest and became sympathetic to colonies. Smith's argument in his book *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) is that colonies were not a product of good planning "wisdom and policy" of European colonialists, "but rather as effects of their [greed] 'disorder and injustice'" (Young 2001:82). Smith's intervention was not against colonization as such, but the way colonies were governed, despite benefits that the colonizing countries were getting and the increase of European industries and expansion of markets. According to Smith (quoted by Young 2001:82-83), the monopoly of trade by colonizers made "the increase of production smaller and less abundant". Smith's concern is applied to economics of slavery as well.

Smith opposed slavery, not necessarily on moral grounds, but particularly because slaves were becoming expensive to maintain and were thus less efficient. Smith proposed to his government to "voluntarily give all authority over to her colonies" so that they can develop and manage the expenses of "their defense and local administration." By this, Smith hoped for the day when colonies will economically be stronger and that "'inhabitants of all the different quarters of the world may arrive at the equality of courage and force which, by inspiring mutual fear, can alone overawe the injustice of independent nations into some sort of respect for the right of one another.'" Even if the primary motive of economic objections was to safeguard the economic interests of the metropolitans, the anti-colonialism campaign was nevertheless boosted. Karl Marx also contributed greatly to the economic objection, although, he was not anti-colonialist *per se*, only when colonialism touched or interfered with economics.

Marx's anti-imperialist theory was developed around capitalism. As Young (2001:101-112) notes, Marx discussed colonial expansion in relation to the economic effects of capitalism, but with no "emancipatory programme" for colonial revolution. In other words, Marx's preoccupation with the anti-colonial struggle was not so much seen from the plight of the

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colonized, but from economic consequences at home which interfered with the feudal system.

2.3.3   Political justification

Liberal anti-slavery and campaign developed along side moral and economic objections. By the end of eighteenth century, anti-colonialism campaign had focused its expression in legal matters challenging imperial rules at home. Edmund Burke (1729-1797) is one of the famous campaigners of equal rights in colonies and was viewed not as "a defender but a reformist of liberty". He also addressed his critiques towards "abuses of power and intolerance towards the norms, social practices and institutions of other cultures" within British colonies. This received support from French Revolution when "principles of liberty, equality and fraternity were theoretically extended by its proponents to all races" (Young 2001:79-80).

In 1793, Bentham (Harrison 1983) challenged European countries to liberate their colonies. According to Young (2001:85-87), Bentham supported Smith's argument that "profits from colonies were at best illusory, given the expense of protecting them and the cost of the international conflict that they provoked". Bentham combined both economic and political arguments to challenge colonialism. He called on France to give the colonial countries "the rights of liberty and equality that they had achieved for themselves."

The courage and determination of Bentham to challenge the interests of his own country for the sake of the colonized were highly valued. His commitment was later converted into a "credo for colonial liberation" by the Americans and the French who adopted it as a "discourse of universal rights." Equality, liberty, the rights of man, and national self-determination, eventually enhanced "the justification and very foundation" of the anti-colonialism struggle. It was later endorsed by Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 shortly after the Word War II.

The applicability of this human equality still faced, throughout the struggles of independence, a psychological barrier based on racial superiority and capability, which is

still haunting the world today. It is also believed that no matter how good theories can be the will to change must prevail if any concrete and positive action is to take place. Despite declarations on equal rights, in practice/in everyday life inequality, oppression and economic exploitation still prevail in today's world.

2.3.4   Religious justification

Throughout the history of slavery, colonialism and even conventional wars, Religious institutions and individuals have been accused of complicity,[32] especially that religion went hand in hand with colonization. Nevertheless, religious institutions and individuals often made untold sacrifices for the sake of justice and righteousness as part of campaigns against slavery and colonialism (cf Oliver and Fage 1972:137). In this section, I want to focus on few examples of tricontinental religious figures whose contribution can be regarded as a stepping stone in formative postcolonial theory.

As was previously mentioned, Bishop Las Casas' legacy, inspired many Latin American church leaders and theologians to revolutionize the course of their time. The emergence of liberation theology in Latin America, Asia and Africa made enormous contributions in the struggle against all forms of oppression, from slavery and colonialism to postcolonial dictatorial regimes. Along with Las Casas the name of Antonio de Valdivieso, Bishop of Nicaragua should be mentioned. In the 1540s he refused to keep silent over the brutality of the Spanish colonialists against the Amerindians (cf Ferm 1987:4). He died for his efforts and courage which posed a challenge to the dehumanization inflicted on natives by colonialists.

In the 1550's, Ferm (1987:4) notes, Juan del Valle, Bishop of Popayan in Colombia dedicated himself to preaching equality and challenged the oppressive regime forced upon the people of Latin America. The Bishops, thus mentioned, are amongst many examples of those who did not have a regard for their own lives but rather stood up for others. Las Casas' preaching of "evangelism without arms" was later emphasized by the liberation theology as

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[32] See section 2.6.1 below.

the struggle for humanism in favor of the oppressed, the poor, the victims of gender and racial discrimination, the displaced and the homeless (cf Comblin 1981:51).

After five hundred years of suffering (Kiogora 1998:338-340), Latin America gave birth to a number of sons and daughters who pursued the task of preaching equality and justice. According to Boff (1989:9-10), Latin America witnessed a colonial Christendom from 1492 to 1808, followed by a time of new Christendom from 1808 to 1960. While the period between 1960 and the 1980's represents "the new Christendom in crisis and the emergence of a church of the people." In his motivation for this classification, Boff states that during first two periods, the church "had concern *for* the people, but it never produced activity *with* the people *as* the people would desire." In other words, the planting of churches was only one of the objectives of religious colonial enterprise, the essence of which was to propagate "the faith and the Empire."

According to Ferm (1987:6-7), despite outstanding figures in the Catholic Church, the institution's official position was compromised and judged by what it owned in terms of properties, land and estates, which also belonged to bourgeoisie. Second problem was insufficiency of trained and ordained priests in rural areas. Consequently, the lay people assumed positions of leadership in local churches and sought to apply biblical teaching to social reality. However, from 1930s to 1960s, the Catholic Church experienced a revolution on behalf of the poor.

Two important elements are of great importance as far as Latin America Roman Catholic Church is concerned: Vatican II and the conference of Medellin (cf Flannery 1975:971-972; Fern 1987:7; Boff 1989:10-28). *Gaudium et Spes* in the Vatican Council (Flannery 1975:971-972) emphasized the Christian responsibility towards those who are poor or in any way afflicted. The Vatican supported the engagement of the church in demanding justice and fair treatment of the poor. As Ferm (1987:10-11) observes, tricontinental Conference of Bishops (from Latin America, Africa and Asia) in 1967 issued a message to the people of the three continents, in which they stressed that "revolution can be an appropriate means to overcome injustice".

Subsequently, in Latin America, church leaders and lay persons alike, became convinced that to remedy the desperate poverty and injustice suffered by the masses, meant "to eliminate political and economic domination" by US imperialism and its local agents. This view was supported by the Medellin Conference (General Conference of Latin American Episcopacy - CELAM) held in Colombia in 1968 (Boff 1989:13-17). This conference focused mainly on "pervasive human injustice and oppression" (Ferm 1987:10-11) and resolved to follow the route of liberation, whatever sacrifice it meant.

According to Boff (1989:13-14), CELAM confirmed three options: the church for the poor, the church for their integral liberation and the church as a base church community. The conference became known as a revolution within the church. It challenged the old paternalistic view, in that, with all "its mercy and generosity", this view "failed to respect the poor". It failed "to acknowledge that [the poor] were historical agents capable of making their voices heard". Moreover, the old church perspective refused "to acknowledge the justice of their claims and struggles." The new revolutionary reading of the church was made "from a locus in the base of the society." The poor were given a preference in reading the Bible in their own context.

Ferm (1987:12) is convinced that liberation theology emerged from the lives of the poor and oppressed, in particular from "the lives of Christian communities of the dispossessed"; those minorities who sought to relate their Christian faith to the plight of their daily lives. José Miguez Bonino (2004:16-43), exposes important moments of their struggle from colonization to post-independence in Latin American history. The strategy to work with the peasants, the poor was also to some extent motivated by the politics of Che Guevara.

Church leaders and figures such as Gistavo Gutierrez (1974), Camilo Torres (Gerassi 1971), Dom Helder Câmara (1974), Oscar Romero (Sobrino &Martin-Baro 1988), Juan Luis Segundo (1976), Leonard Boff (1989), José Miguez Bonino (2004:16-43), Elsa Tamez (1982), to name but a few, can be regarded as the militants of a theology that liberates. According to Radu & Tismaneanu (1990:16-19), these church leaders became involved in

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active revolution which gave rise to "social qualifying classes". In this instance, liberation means deliverance from economic, political and social oppression; it also means self-determination whereby people take control of and participate in their own destiny; it is deliverance from sin and finding new life in Christ Jesus.

In Africa, even before the emergence of liberation and black theology, prophet Simon Kimbangu [33] (1889-1952) led the way against Belgian colonialism in the DRC. A former local Baptist church evangelist, he had a revelation in which God was going to liberate the Congo and black people from colonialism. His ministry started early in 1921 in his home town of Banza Ngungu. His ministry was all about preaching and healing the sick. Within a short time, Kimbangu had a huge following and became a popular "Black Messiah". By June 1921, workers in colonial companies deserted their jobs and joined the movement.

However, Kimbangu's popularity and teaching drew him into conflict with both white missionary churches (Protestant and especially Catholic churches) and the colonial administration. Kimbangu was accused of preaching heresy and inciting people against the colonial power.[34] Kimbangu was arrested in November 1921 and sentenced to death. His followers compared his trial before colonial judges to that of Jesus before Pilate (Mt 27:11-26). As for his sentence, King Albert of Belgium commuted his death sentence to life imprisonment. Kimbangu was found dead in his cell in Lubumbashi in 1951 (see Martin 1975:61-64).

During the trial (Kalu 2005:338), when Kimbangu was asked by the judge to explain why he thought of himself as a prophet, he replied by quoting Matthew 11:25. When asked to substantiate "these things" in his citation, Kimbangu quoted the Decalogue. His movement became a big Kimbanguist church which attracted many people from around the continent

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[33] See M-L Martin, *Kimbangu, An African prophet and his church*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975; E Anderson, *Messianic popular movements in the Lower Congo*. Uppsala: Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensa, 1958.

[34] According to Martin (1975:62 n30), Kimbangu was falsely accused and convicted on three accounts: (i) *Rébellion contre l'ordre établi*; (ii) *atteinte à la sûreté de l'Etat*; (iii) *outrage à un fonctionnaire dans l'exercice de ses fonctions:* (i) Rebellion against the established order; (ii) threat to the security of the state; (iii) contempt against an officer in his official duties.

and beyond. The Kimbanguist movement was an apocalyptic movement which believed that the world was coming to an end and that the present order and oppression inflicted on the people by Belgian colonialism would be destroyed and replaced by God's kingdom. One of their songs affirms this "*Nous serons les vainqueurs envoyés par Toi. Le Royaume est à nous. Nous l'avons. Eux, les Blancs, ne l'ont plus*."[35]

Kimbangu was not a politicians, but "posed as an undeclared opponent" (Kalu 2005:338). From the movement's resistance to colonialism through songs and preaching, Belgians charged him with treason. After his death, his sons inherited the ministry. It should also be noted that the campaign against anti-colonialism and atrocities in the DRC was started by E D Morel, a British young man, alongside white missionaries (Slade 1962:178-192; cf Nzongola 2002:6; Dunn 2003:51-59). They protested against taxes, torture and killings of millions of Congolese in the rubber industry (Hochschild 1998) in the interest of the Belgian kingdom.

In Southern Africa, African Independent churches and other religious movements also played a great role in fighting colonialism (see Banana 1996:69-76; Daneel 1998:27-72). Liberation theology and Black theology (see Maimela 1998:111-119) were characterized by the struggle against class domination, oppression and apartheid. The experiences of Latin Americans and African-Americans against social injustice and racism, in which Martin Luther King and Malcolm X stood on the side of poor (see Cone 1993:1-11), encouraged South African and other African Christians across the continent to engage and challenge apartheid and other dictatorial regimes (see Stinton 2004:105-136). Although Blacks, Whites, Asians and coloreds were all once colonized by the British, the independence of South Africa soon created the apartheid regime in which Blacks had no rights.

The Dutch Reformed Church was accused of supporting the ruling party, thus compromising the redeeming mission of Christ through the Church. At the same time, other churches in South Africa and across Africa aligned themselves on the side of the oppressed (cf *The*

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[35] We shall be conquerors sent by You. The kingdom is ours. We have it. They, the Whites will not have it anymore (literal translation, mine).

Bishops Speak 1981-1985); the *Kairos Document* produced in 1985 enhanced the spirit of freedom (Phiri 2004:137-162). Figures like Steve Biko (Moore 1973); Archbishop Desmond Tutu (1982), Allan Boesak (1977), Beyers Naudé (Ryan 1990) among others, deserve mentioning. Similarly, Steve Biko's "Black Consciousness" (Hopkins 1991:194-200; cf Ryan 1990:124:148) cannot be ignored.

It developed within biblical perspectives and noted that the Christian gospel will find God of the Blacks through Jesus Christ siding with the racially oppressed. The National Council of Churches, the All Africa Conference of Churches and the World Council of Churches too played a big role, lobbying at local, national and international levels (see Balia 1989; Banana 1996; Denis 2000).

2.3.5 Feminism and anti-colonial movements

Women's involvement in anti-colonial movements, in the West and particularly in the three continents context, is somewhat overlooked. What has often been said is that feminism has never been anti-imperialism, because through it, feminism is able to fight its own battle against masculinity at home (cf Young 2001:360-382). In the case of Western feminism, anti-slavery (cf Young 2001:77) was supported by women in as much as they identified slavery with domestic affairs where they also fought for equal treatment from patriarchal societies.

Although women in Third World countries played a significant role in anti-colonial campaigns (Jayawardena1986), their contribution has never been regarded as equal to that of men. They always remained on the periphery as "helpers" and not as full participants. Once victory is achieved, victory and leadership become patriarchal. However, Jayawardena (1986) presents a comprehensive account of Asian women's involvement in freedom struggles. Using the example of Vietnam, Jayawardena (1986:196-212) demonstrates the long tradition of women leading local and national revolutionary movements against foreign occupations.

Among the most outstanding are the "famous Trung sisters" who in 43 BCE led an army with women generals against the Chinese invasion. The same spirit is also seen in a nineteen year-old girl in 248 CE who led a successful revolution against the Chinese. Throughout centuries that followed, Vietnamese women were always at frontline defending their nation. For instance, during the French occupation in 1880's, many women participated in resistance movements against the French war.

Young (2001:140-157) gives an account on how women increasingly made inroads into international and communism movements. Since 1905, women staged their struggle against social inequality, and it was from socialist women that this campaign evolved. Supported by Bolshevik revolution and following women demonstration on 8 March 1917, the question of equality for women was made a priority both at national and international levels. Young (2001:361-382) analyses different levels of female involvement in anti-colonial movements. He also explains the low-profile of women's interventions in terms of limited access they had to education, their limited international contact; limited or no access to political institutions and limited involvement in public spheres.

Although women were less visible in terms of their public profile, they played an important role in anti-colonial campaigns and in various revolutionary movements in Asia (see Jayawardena 1986:94-105). In Africa for example, Kenyan women were involved in the Mau-Mau guerrilla war against the British (see Furedi 1989:103-125). As Nkrumah (1957:89-90) confessed, women despite being involved in freedom struggles never reached the level of revolutionary leadership, but acted as local activists. However, the unmistakable contribution of women in liberation struggles, which indeed constituted the backbone of those struggles, cannot be overlooked. The weapons they used ranged from strikes, street demonstrations and singing, petitions, all of which functioned as empowering statements of solidarity with the cause of freedom.

In Kenya where the use of forced labor and hut taxes affected women more than men, women organized strikes and work stoppages, and became the target of indiscriminate British brutality (Kenyatta 1968:32; Furedi 1989:102-125; cf Waruru 2005:23). During the Mau-Mau military

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campaign, women were involved in spying missions and distribution of food, medicine and ammunition supplies to the fronts (cf Maina 1987:123). South African women (Mandela 1994:257-260) played a very important role in the anti-apartheid campaign. The first visible manifestation started with the women's protest led by Mrs. Molisapoli in Bloemfontein in 1913. By 1920, the ANC[36] had recognized the importance of women and an integrated women's league in its ranks. Strategies of women campaigns worked "from below rather than from above" which drew popular support from ordinary women, and proved to be effective even when the ANC and the Women's Federation were banned in 1960, as resistance of women continued (cf Young 2001:369).

As Young (2001:369-370) points out, feminism is among the most international political discourses, but as a political movement, feminism is not "intrinsically anti-imperialist". Whereas communism was initially conceived as a political ideology, feminism's objective was mainly focused on achieving gender equality, whatever the form of political system might have been. For feminism, both colonial and patriarchal systems were oppressive. However, for many women regarded anti-colonial campaign and national liberation as a priority which they were all to engage along side other activists, hoping like other freedom fighters, to gain their equal rights from patriarch domination. After independence that is when they realized that they have been duped, and that national liberation is a betrayal not only to women but also to the fact that most postcolonial governments have failed to fulfill the "promise of freedom."

2.4   Tricontinental approach

2.4.1 Introduction
The term "third world" has been widely used to differentiate developed and the undeveloped continents. For some anti-colonial and post-colonial theorists the term itself is colonial, and

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[36] African National Congress.

thus inappropriate to be used, and tricontinental is preferred instead. Young (2001:57-58; 2003:16-20) discusses origins and usage of these two terms.[37]

The Havana Conference of 1966 used the momentum of a growing consciousness against colonialism and imperialism, which found early expression at the Bandung Conference. It was at this conference that Latin America had joined forces with Africa and Asia to form a tricontinental bloc. The Havana Conference established a journal which was called *Tricontinental* and brought together anti-colonial and postcolonial writings of people like Frantz Fanon, Amircal Cabral, Ernesto Che Guevara and so on (cf Young 2003:17). With reference to this event Young (2001:57-58) says that postcolonialism "combines the epistemological cultural innovation of the postcolonial moments with a reading critique of the conditions influenced by postcoloniality."

The Afro-Asia Latin American People's Solidarity Organization (OSPAAAL) made a substantial contribution, putting together thoughts, strategies and writings that formed a political and cultural unity, and which subsequently provided "the theoretical and political foundations of postcolonialism" (Young 2001:213). This section will give an account of how anti-colonialism movements developed within the three continents and how they interlinked in their efforts that gave rise to postcolonial theory. When necessary/warranted the focus will fall on individual contributions.

2.4.2   A Latin American perspective

Despite bishop Las Casas having drawn attention to the anti-colonial campaign, Latin America remained one of the places where foreign politics and religion effectively collaborated to oppress natives for about five hundred years. Wickham-Crowley (1992) and Young (2001:193-203) provide an overview of the situation in terms of which Latin America

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[37] The term "Third World" came from the "model of the Third Estate of French Revolution" when the world was divided into two political and economic systems: capitalism and socialism. It was at the Bandung Conference in 1955, the non-aligned countries (largely the newly independent nations) of Asia, Africa found themselves in an independent power bloc, which could eventually form a new world system, a "third world" perspective. Unfortunately, this third way, rather grouping, was "slow to define and to develop itself" into a competitive system in political and economic priorities. Thus, the term created instead a "gap" between developing and developed worlds. Despite the creation of economic and political inequalities, tricontinental cultural power and knowledge have greatly influenced the world.

achieved its independence. Although Latin America got its independence from Spain and Portugal remained subject to economic, military and political dependency of the United States of America (USA) since 1823.

South America experienced colonial bourgeois revolutions in some parts which were carried out by European settlers, but these were not in the name of nationalism, as Young (2001:194) notes. Eventual political independence, however, did not change the lives of indigenous people and for the past two centuries, peasant revolutions have become a constant feature of Latin American history and to this day it continues to be the case throughout the continent. The success of the Cuban revolution relied heavily on peasantry organized support in *foco* theory[38] (Wickham-Crowley 1992:215, 313-314).

At this point, it is also important to mention that though the USA was busy infiltrating South American territories, anti-slavery movements and struggles for equality of black people were taking its course. Although Marxism was introduced in Latin America after the Russian revolution in 1917, Latin America was not regarded as a "prospect of major significance." As Young (2001:195-197) observes, this could be attributed to internal division, factionalism and opportunistic changes of policy. Amidst controversies and lack of national vision of many activists of socialist parties in Latin America, the rise of the Peruvian José Carlos Mariategui in 1930 is significant.

Mariategui's strategy of developing Marxism in conjunction with particular conditions of different cultures, learned from Lennin, Mao Tse-tung of China, and Italian Marxist group of Gramci and Palmiro, was later followed by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. This innovative form of Marxist theory was primarily "focused on the role of peasantry" in revolutionary struggles. Young (2001:197) describes Mariategui as one of the most nuanced and revolutionary "Marxist political and cultural theorists of his time" who formulated and addressed the issue of cultural and economic dependency in Latin America. The strategy was

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[38] The *foco* strategy is a small rebel guerrilla group which would operate in the mountains among the peasantry who would slowly join them. During Che Guevara's (2000) intervention in DRC, villagers of Nganja used to call Cuban soldiers *Abafoko.*

to develop a "strong, revolutionary consciousness as the basis for class struggle" (Mariategui 1971:51-81).

President Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevera, undoubtedly followed the footsteps of Mariategui. Their determination grew from self-consciousness to actions which revolutionalized their continent and beyond. Young (2001:205-216), mentions two political approaches that these men used, in fighting against imperialism and cultural dependency. One was the contextualization of Marxist theory of socialism to specific cultural conditions on "dialogistic and popular forms." Second approach was importance and establishment of economic and institutional transformation. Che Guevara was the strongest activist of his own theories as Waters (Guevara 1994:15) notes, in her introductory remarks: "Che Guevara was one of the most authoritative representatives of the socialist revolution in Cuba… His understanding of the world and his capacities as a working-class leader were forged through the Cuban revolution."

Moreover, Che Guevara (1994:17) repeatedly taught that the socialist revolution in Latin America must expand through workers' participation in order "to advance the economic organization of the society". The Cuban Revolution is largely seen as a break with orthodox communism controlled by the Soviet Union, and which was criticized as being bureaucratic. By contrast, the revolution in Cuba achieved "a new form of socialism" founded on the participatory agency of peasants rather than the urban elites. Young (2001:207-11) describes Che Guevara as a man of the people. His belief in moral values and compassion for ordinary people provided human equality and justice in his revolution.

The economic justification of Che Guevara's (1996:156) struggle against imperialism was based on humanity. The concept of economic underdevelopment was explained through "an image of a human being whose growth had been deformed by deprivation and distorted diet." Che Guevara's understanding of revolution and struggle against imperialism was through people and a society built on human values. Che Guevara's policy was to restore human consciousness and self determination in their struggles, for which they had to appropriate themselves to the revolution.

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This self-consciousness gave rise to "a new man" philosophy which in the Cuban revolution not only campaigned for the rights of the poor, but also for gender equality. According to Che Guevara (1987:252)**,** the essence of socialism was to be found in the solidarity within the community and by engaging active participation in social creativity. This revolution brought man to the center of action in order to participate in the making of his/her own destiny. Guevara's (1987:252) conviction from his revolution was to create a "new man" agency, in which a person had to express himself/herself and become a part of social organism.

Che Guevara's (1995:20) revolutionary motto was that "the world must not only be interpreted, it must be transformed" and that a man ceases to be "the slave and tool of his environment and converts himself into the architect of his own destiny." For Castro (Mandela & Castro 1991:64), the solidarity in revolution was to be extended to all suffering people at home and beyond borders. He justly said "[w]e live in the world that was given to us and we are fighting for a better world… where men act as brothers to each other rather than preying on each other like wolves."

One of the difficult situations that Latin American politicians and theorists of Marxism encountered was that of tribal integration in Bolivia, Mexico and Peru. For instance, the status Indians enjoyed was always that of the marginalized. Mariategui, unlike Che Guevara, was very sensitive to the issue and made an effort to solve it. Mariategui said that it was a mistaken revolution which left the Indians on the periphery of the revolution itself. "The existing Peruvian economy, the existing Peruvian society, maintains the original sin of the conquest, the sin of having been brought forth and formed without and against the Indian" (Mariategui 1971:59).

His criticism was directed at the class division that existed between the aristocracy and the peasantry. Mariategui rejected this state of matters on the ground of socialism convictions and characterized the Indian exclusion as purely socio-economic, rather than cultural, racial

or moral. He then argued that the "problem of the Indians is rooted in the land tenure system of our economy" (Mariategui 1971:22).

As Young (2001:199) observes, Mariategui was convinced that Latin American socialism would be a combination of a "common colonial culture with radical, moral and indigenous tradition" that would fuel a "spontaneous revolutionary consciousness." This tradition would not be a "native" option, but a continuing culture that was "absorbing socialist ideas" (Mariategui 1971:81). One the other hand, Che Guevara, in his anti-racial campaign and struggles against imperialism, underestimated the problem of ethnic identity and its power of resistance to any other form of identification (cf Guevara 1994:295). In his tribute speech to Guevara, Castro (Guevara 1994:58) said "Che did not outlive his ideas; rather he fertilized them with his blood."

2.4.3   An Asian perspective

Indian legacy[39] in liberation struggles is well known through the icon it has given the world in the person of Mahatma Gandhi. Political writers and historians have argued that Indian liberation was unique (cf Guha 1997; Young 2001:308-309). Liberation movements were individual, but the cause of freedom "remained unique in its operation as well as in the ideological range of its participants." The creation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 after the uprising of 1857 provided a firm ground for their non-violent campaign.

Young (2001:308) singles out two factors which distinguish the Indian liberation campaign from others. (i) The properly structured Congress Party provided organizational structures, political skills and the ability to control its members which "deprived the Communist Party of an advantage which elsewhere it used to maximum effect"; (ii) The profound leadership provided by Gandhi and the role he played within and outside the Congress Party could not be easily challenged by new emerging parties. Within the philosophy of a non-violent movement, the National Congress Party was not completely opposed to British rule, until it was challenged by its radical members who combined religion with militant activism. This

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[39] For the purpose of this study, Asian perspective will only take into consideration Indian experience as a case for anti-colonialism movement.

radical approach sought "to turn the Congress into a genuinely anti-imperialist instrument". Subsequently, in 1907, the Congress adopted the "self-government" rule (*swaraj*) within the British Empire.

The turning point in Gandhi's politics came from his long sojourn in South Africa during the Afrikaners' war against colonialism (Pretorius 1985). Gandhi was a diasporic product and learnt about and understood his own culture through the lenses of foreign realities both in Britain and in South Africa, which developed in him a national consciousness (Burton 1998:73). While in South Africa, Gandhi had launched the National Indian Congress in 1894 in order to fight for the rights of Indians (Gandhi 1950). Gandhi's unique attitude to racial discrimination is remarkable. He did not want to be called a colonial subject but wanted to be known as an equal British national. This self-consciousness is culturally revolutionizing and for this reason he demanded equal rights for Indians as well as for other citizens in South Africa (cf Guha 1997:43-47).

Gandhi was fighting alongside British colonialists against the Afrikaans. But at the same time he built a philosophy of resistance against racism and western capitalism (Young 2001:318). Gandhi was also inspired by Irish anti-colonial struggle combining both a "campaign for Home Rule with a cultural revival" in which he subsequently "foregrounded the operation of cultural nationalism as a major strategy of anti-colonial resistance." In the knowledge about anti-colonialism combined with Hindu values and morality, Gandhi built his anti-colonialism theory.

Alongside the adoption of national self-rule and cultural consciousness, Gandhi developed and introduced the idea of "self-reliance, known as "*swadeshi*", for the Indian economy. According to Young (2001:320-321), Gandhi did not invent these concepts, but found them operational in the "nationalist politics of the freedom struggles." Gandhi's difficult task, however, was to maintain unity in India with its multi religious and political factions. In order to be more inclusive, his argument almost diverged from nationalism and he argued that "India was not so much a nation as a civilization, and to that degree, he was able to

incorporate diversity and multiplicity", even though this did not help him much to win support of all groups.

Gandhi's approach to violence and non-violence deserves mentioning. Young (2001:323-325) sees Gandhi as a non-violent political theorist and activist who combined both "non-violent non-cooperation with a more widespread psychological resistance" which were to be implemented as civil disobedience. He argued that they were more effective and more ethical than any kind of resistance and violence.

2.4.4   An African perspective

African struggle against slavery and colonialism would require a whole research itself. But as an overview of how Africans went along with these struggles is the concern of this section. Thompson (1987:107-130) gives an account on African resistance against slavery in western Africa in 1560s. This according to him was during the "second slave-trading voyage" of John Hawkins in Sierra Leone.

Young (2001:253, 274) makes a distinction between roles played by the anti-colonial activists within African regions. The Anglophone anti-colonial activists focused their activities mainly on "the objective realm, the realm of history, economic history, sociality and materiality", while the Francophone activists were devoted to the subjective realm, to aspects of "history of oppression and exploitation with a concern for human attitudes towards them." The aim of this approach was to articulate "the cultural and psychological effects of colonialism as they were experienced by them" (Du Bois 1989:1).

African anti-colonial movements were both local and diasporic, which involved Africans in Africa, the Caribbean Islands and in North America. The establishment of the Pan-African Association in 1920s provided a platform which developed African nationalism, theories and strategies for their struggles. From a general point of view, three main factors, namely African solidarity across the world, African socialism and an African consciousness about the pain inflicted on them, all contributed to the African anti-colonialism movements.

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Regarding African solidarity across the world, the first conference of the Pan-African Congress, held in London in 1900, laid its claims of equal rights for Africans both inside and outside of Africa. The conference of Versailles in 1919 demanded rights of education and equal treatment and political participation in the state. By 1945, the Pan-African Congress had grown and was influenced by many anti-colonialism activists. As a result, the Pan-African Congress held in 1945 clearly formulated a demand for independence and self-determination for Africa (cf Nkrumah 1957:44).

As Young (2001:217-219; cf Nkrumah 1957:47-49; 1968:i) observes, African nationalism and consciousness were distinguished by their internationalism outlook. Those living outside Africa, "whether diasporic or in exile" managed to remain in touch with black political organizations in Africa. Thus African liberation took on a form of an international movement and never operated in isolation from United States of America and Caribbean involvement. The creation of African solidarity was tested and found to be amazingly effective during the invasion of Ethiopia by the Italians in 1935 (cf Mazrui & Tidy 1984:9).

After World War II, the liberation of Africa and activities of anti-colonialism movements worldwide increasingly became key issues in African-American politics. The freedom struggle of "Negroes" in North America no longer was isolated, but became an integral part of anti-colonialism, be it in Africa or in Asia. Young (2001:223) emphasizes Walter White's declaration that this was a turning point which "gave African-Americans a sense of kinship with the oppressed, colonized peoples of the world."

The second factor in anti-colonialism movements in Africa is African Socialism. Young (2001:239-242) makes the point that African socialism developed a "common commitment" to anti-colonialism and self-determination. It was also committed to retrieve and to revalidate the African cultural inheritance through which African cultural unity was to develop. Pursuance of this goal, however, became somewhat disjointed, with the rise of African balkanization which was the result of political independence, left Africa as a "collection of separate states." African nationalism and Pan-African unity that were

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developed during the colonial time found themselves operating within the confines of the Berlin decision of 1885.

The third factor is a consciousness that combined the African culture and the pain of oppression. The involvement of political and religious movements, indigenous women and youth associations at grassroots level all found themselves rising to the revolutionary call as the only alternative to rescue Africa from the bondage of colonialism.

From George Padmore to Nelson Mandela, a list of exceptional heroes is endless. But only few cases will briefly cited here. Nkrumah of Ghana was influenced and helped a lot by Africans of Diaspora such as Padmore, Du Bois and others from Black Atlantic affiliations, including economists and politicians (Young 2001:219). Nkrumah's conviction was that socialism was a solution to African situation, in that, socialism was not to be imported as it was conceived in European societies but to be reworked in the African context.

Nkrumah once said "our philosophy must find its weapon in the environment and living conditions of the African people" and that "the restitution of Africa's humanist and egalitarian principles of society requires socialism" (Nkrumah 1970:77-78). He was joined among others by Léopold Sedar Senghor (1961), Julius Nyerere (1968), Jomo Kenyatta (1968), Kenneth Kaunda (1967), Patrice Lumumba (1962) who all emphasized the contextualization of socialism and political equity in Africa. Nyerere's (1968:1) *Ujamaa* (communalism) philosophy was pragmatic in Tanzania. His definition of socialism,[40] which

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[40] Listening to various African politicians, it would appear as if European Marxism or socialism was not necessarily espoused as a political alternative. When during his trial in 1964, Mandela was accused of being a communist; he refuted the accusation by stating "I am not a communist". He emphasized the objective of the ANC as wanting "to win unity and full political rights" for African people (quoted in De Brangança and Wallerstein 1982:91-92). In Angola, speaking on behalf of the Popular Movement of the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in 1972, Agostinho Neto said that the party was not Marxist, although it "follows the socialist line with justice for everyone," because "[n]ot all our people are communists" (quoted in De Brangança and Wallerstein 1982:100). Jonas Savimbi of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) had a more rigorous reply in 1970 and questioned the sincerity of European Marxists who wanted to see African political, economic and social views "through the perspective of their own countries" (quoted in De Brangança and Wallerstein 1982:102). According to Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, speaking on behalf of the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) in 1971, had this to say "Some people think that since we receive help from socialist countries, we will necessarily have to follow the policy of one or another socialist countries. But this is not correct, because since we fight for our independence, we fight for the free choice of our way of life, of our relations, and of our actions" (quoted in De Brangança and Wallerstein 1982:103). The above political expression is indicative of the reality of African politics, which has constantly failed to define itself. Therefore,

he described as being similar to an "extended family", was focused on creating a new nation, based on African values of mutual support and that of a caring environment. Nyerere argued that African communities were communist before the advent of European communism.

Nyerere was convinced that it was only through education and re-education that African socialism could regain "an attitude of mind lost under the deprivation of colonialism" (Young 2001:247). According to Nyerere, economic reforms were to be nurtured through small-scale projects which would give peasants self-reliance, certain abilities and the motivation to improve their social and economic situations. This contextual approach was espoused by Kaunda (1967:5-6) who defined African society as "a mutual aid society", which was an accepting and inclusive community. For his part Kenyatta (1968:36), defined his understanding of political equity by emphasizing political representation of Africans by Africans. "We have demanded not representation by white men, but the right to be represented … by Africans. Until this representation of Africans by Africans is justly settled, there can be no peace or prosperity in Africa."

Figures in Francophone and Lusophone Africa (see Young 2001:253-292) who have dominated anti-colonialism movements and who are honored for their remarkable contribution to these movements are among others, Léopold S. Senghor of Senegal, Tovalou Houénou of Benin and Tiemoho Kouyaté from Mali, Amircal Cabral from Guinea-Bissau and Frantz Fanon from Martinique (Mazrui 1993:60). The colonial approaches of France and Britain slightly differed.

According to Young (2001:254), the British system was "loosely based on a notion of empire moving towards a federation of independent domination", while the French system was based on the politics of "assimilation", which meant that the whole empire was seen as "an intrinsic part of mainland France." In terms of the French system the people of its colonies were, from a constitutional point of view, considered to be citizens of France, and

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African politics finds itself in a state of "permanent of dislocation" (Van Aarde 2004:11). It is neither purely European nor purely African. This also applies to the so-called multi-party politics (democracy), which has reached the peak of tribalism inasmuch as it applies to political ideologies and development.

some of colonies (such as Senegal, Martinique) were eligible to be represented in Parliament. Consequently, the French colonies produced a different style and approach to the anti-colonial campaign.

The paradox in anti-colonial campaigns is about concepts of nationalism and political and cultural self-determination developed within Francophone culture. To an extent this development brought about the recruitment of colonial soldiers to fight alongside France in World War I under the pretext that they were her subjects. Cultural interface and exchange that took place between a colony and the imperial power, unwittingly "created a positive attitude towards modernity", which remained as their norms (Young 2001:254). As Miller (1998:3) observes, one could with a fair degree of certainty state that the African political and intellectual figures who emerged from Francophone colonies, are at best the authors of cultural hybridism (*métissage* and *créolité*), which suggests a cultural, intellectual and political continuity.

Léopold Senghor and Aimé Césaire articulated humanity to the oppressed and oppressors through literature and poetry as a means to express a collective subjectivity. On the other hand, Frantz Fanon chose psychology as his means of investigating the impact of colonialism on the colonized people. At the same time, psychology is used as a means through which they could resist and turn "the inculcation of inferiority into self-empowerment" (Young 2001:275).

Influenced by the experience of the Algerian revolution and his studies in Psychology in a metropolitan country (France), Fanon, unlike many anti-colonial non-violent campaigners from Gandhi to Mandela, developed the idea of active intervention (violence) as a response to colonialism. According to Presbey (1996:283-283), both Gandhi and Fanon agreed on one thing, namely the liberation of the colonized. But they differed in approach which to a large extent was the result of their different contexts. Mandela on the other hand took the middle way between the two approaches "stressing the importance of nonviolence while eventually turning to limited use of violence."

Fanon's psychological and moral support to FLN[41] military campaigns in Algeria testifies his position. Even when he was deported and relocated in Tunis, he continued being partisan of Algerian anti-colonial struggle. This also found expression in his newspaper's editorial policy which formulated and enhanced a socialist ideology that fuelled anti-colonial violence within the FNL. In this regard, Fanon was not a Pan-Africanist as was Senghor, because he was skeptical of Pan-Africanism and its guiding ideology of non-violent positive action (Fanon 1965:127-128). According to Fanon (1965:9, 13), "decolonization itself is always a violent phenomenon" and the origin of violence is colonization itself.

The creation of the *Ligue Universelle de Défense de la Race Noire*[42] in early 1924, the *Négritude* movement in the 1930s and the *Présence Africaine* (African Presence) in the 1940s, the cultural consciousness of Senghor and his company became a concrete manifestation which later on developed into anti-colonial tools. *Négritude* did not develop merely as a cultural movement, but was conceived in a political context of the Black people around the world. Acknowledging the origin of Negritude, Senghor (1988:136-140), gives credit to Alain Locke and William Edward Burghard Du Bois' innovative efforts of the "New-Negro."[43]

According to Senghor, in New-Negro's perspective, Negritude is a way to be human: "*c'est une certaine manière d'être homme, surtout de vivre en homme*."[44] Gradually, Negritude expanded in both political and social spheres to provide necessary cultural component, which would develop African socialist political philosophies, which subsequently challenged colonialism and racism. Sartre (1976:59) espoused the definition of Negritude as a cultural weapon against colonialism and racism,

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[41] *Front de Libération Nationale* (National Liberation Front).

[42] Universal League for the Defense of the Black Race.

[43] Senghor refers to it as *Négro Renaissance*.

[44] [I]t is a certain way of being a human being, especially to live like human being.

> The Negro … creates anti-racist racism. He does not at all
> wish to dominate the world; he wishes the abolition of racial
> privileges whenever they are found; he affirms his solidarity
> with the oppressed of all colours. At a blow of the subjective,
> existential ethnic notion of *Négritude* 'passes' as Hegel would
> say, into the objective, positive, exact notion of the proletariat
> …. It is not by hazard that the most ardent of the apostles of
> *Négritude* are at the same time militant Marxists.

Senghor (1993:96), as well as his Anglophone African counterparts, defined Negritude in the light of African socialism and communal life, rather than in the light of class differences and exploitation: "*La Négritude c'est … l'ensemble des valeurs de la civilisation noire*,"[45] which includes his reactions to the material, psychological, natural and social environment. From a theological point of view, Maimela (1998:113) defines blackness as a legitimate form and value of human existence. The common belief of all Pan-Africanists, be they Anglophone or Francophone Africans, was that African socialism was as old as African societies. It was only its form that had been marred and destroyed by colonialism (cf Senghor 1964a:49; Césaire 1972:23; 56; Nyerere 1968:12).

Senghor emphasized humanism in "Negro Africans" (Senghor 1961:33) and coalitions of African continent amongst its various populations (see Senghor 1988:81). Senghor like Fanon was influenced by Sartre's Marxist and Hegelian thoughts (Kruks 1996:123) which emphasized the alienation of being. From the Hegelian point of view to be fully human and to attain full consciousness of the self, can only be achieved by recognizing the other. It is through such approach that Marxist social, cultural and political desalienation would emerge.

In his cultural explanation, Senghor goes further by giving a constructive critique of socialism in pursuit of "anxiety for human dignity and needs for freedom" (Senghor 1964a:75-78). Senghor rejected what he found to be European abstraction, including Marxist

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[45] Negritude is… the sum of values of the Black civilization.

reasoning as a base for African socialism, but would still solicit the use of European reason as a metaphor in affirming the basis of African socialism. At the same time though, being influenced by politics of French assimilation, Senghor developed a culture from a dislocated reality by saying: "We must build our own development plan, based on European, socialist contributions and also on the best of Negro-African civilization" (Senghor 1964a:48, 67). Senghor's firm position with regard to a return to African realities was the most appropriate way of incorporating his two world-views into one through a process of assimilation, which is thought to be an effective method.

For Senghor (1964a:83), socialism is "a method to be tested in contact with African realities. It is basically a question, after choosing lucidly, of assimilating our choices. To assimilate is to transform foods that are foreign to us, to make of them our flesh and blood – in a word, to *Negrofy* and *Berberize* them." Senghor perceived African society as a mixed, hybrid society, which embodies European and African socio-economic and political substances. This mixture is to be valued positively as African socialism engages in the process of developing and producing its own mechanism to solve problems within African societies. That is why for Senghor (1988:157-165) Negritude on one hand, and *francité* (being French) and *francophonie* (being Francophone) on the other hand, were like two worlds in one. His assimilation theory was, however, challenged by Cabral (1969), while Nkrumah (1973:3) saw assimilation as a doctrine of imperialism.

From Lusophone[46] Africa, Amircal Cabral (1969; see McCulloch 1983; Chilcote 1972, 1991) was one of the most outstanding contributors in anti-colonial movement. Cabral together with Maria de Andrade and Antonio Neto of Angola formed the *Conferência das Organizaçoes Nacionais das Colonias Portuguesas* (CONCP)[47] in 1961. The objective of this organization was to facilitate a co-coordinated approach in strategies, plans, and analysis of activities in their struggle for liberation. As was the case with France, Portugal too practiced a policy of assimilation, but with some differences. Young (2001:284) notes that

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[46] Portuguese speaking people.

[47] Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies.

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one of the major preoccupations of the CONCP was the fact that the Portuguese had divided the Angolan people into "natives" and "*assimilados*."

The other problem was that Portugal was beginning to struggle economically at home and had to keep its colonies to survive. Cabral led his country, Guinea-Bissau, in the armed liberation struggle against Portuguese colonialism. Cabral's theoretical formulation was based of cultural self-confidence. He argued that the military struggle (weapon theory) was part of the political struggle which involved social and psychological reconstruction. At the same time, he maintained that the struggle must be of the people, by the people and for the people (Cabral 1980:75).

For Cabral psychological and cultural assertion formed part of the national liberation struggle which enabled the marginal human beings who are the product of colonialism to recover their personalities as Africans (Chilcote 1972:375), was more than a mere local issue. Instead, it challenged foreign theories based on Marxism and eurocentrism. He eloquently, defined his revolutionary theory by saying "national liberation and social revolution are not exportable commodities." Rather, they are the outcomes of local and national fabrics, determined and formed by the historical reality of each people (Cabral 1969:74-75; 1973:5).

Furthermore, for Cabral, liberation was to be defined in terms of political exercise and through the effects of imperialist domination on social structures (Cabral 1969:75). Cabral's theory was mostly influenced by Latin American and Asian political theorists such as Castro, Che Guevara and Mao. He then reformulated his understanding of socialism to national liberation dialect. Cabral's definition of national liberation was not in terms of "political independence, not just as the end of colonial rule, but as freedom from foreign domination" which included cultural, political and economic aspects in the past and in the present. Thus, the main aspect of a "national liberation struggle is the struggle against neo-colonialism" (Cabral 1969:83).

Various authors (Chilcote 1991:14; see McCulloch 1983:7) rank Cabral amongst other African revolutionaries of his time, whose respective roles are described as follows: Kwame Nkrumah: a visionary; Patrice Lumumba: a martyr and Amircal Cabral: a revolutionary. Similar to Fanon and *Umkhonto we Sizwe*[48] of the ANC in South Africa (see Preseby 1998:289-290), Cabral opted for a theory of the weapon. Liberation in Cabral's theory (Young 2001:286-288) involves two stages: firstly, a united struggle in which the nation forms a single class and secondly, the working class destroys the social and cultural creation of imperialism, in order to "create equality and true liberation from oppression."

Cabral takes an interesting and dynamic view according to which liberation is achieved. The struggle against foreign domination is led by middle class (petty bourgeoisie) people who more or less understand the need to fight against it. The middle class, in turn shares the vanguard role with working class, in this situation, though, the middle class is tempted to work in its own interest so that it can retain power that it has achieved, thus it betrays the *raison d'être* of national liberation.

For this trap to be avoided, the middle class has one choice and that is "to strengthen its revolutionary consciousness" by resisting the temptation of "becoming more bourgeois and identifying itself with the working class" (Cabral 1969:89). Cabral's (1969:89) remarks are of importance. In order to truly fulfill the role in the national liberation struggle, "the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie must be capable of committing suicide as a class". That is one needs be reborn as revolutionary worker, "completely identified with the deepest aspirations of the people to which they belong."

Cabral's revolutionary thinking and practice make him a prophet in the true sense of the word and he has a wide following. Suicidal determination has a long history, but to recent example would be Nelson Mandela along with a number of revolutionaries who sacrificed their own interest for the sake of justice for all South Africans and Patrice Lumumba of the Congo, amongst others. On the other hand, Cabral's prophecy predicted the outcome in

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[48] A Zulu word, meaning "spear of the nation".

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many African states since the 1960s – an experience of neo-colonialism – with the local agents who indeed betrayed and sacrificed revolutionary struggles for selfish ends.

Another important aspect raised by Cabral is the role culture played in the liberation struggle. Moral and political objection to colonialism involved not only the "concrete conditions of life", but also the fact that colonialism took from Africans their history. "Colonialists usually say that it was they who brought us into history: today we show that this is not so. They made us leave history, our history" (Cabral 1969:63). This return to this owns history is the reason for anti-colonial struggles. National liberation was made possible by "the endurance of culture" which is "the fruit of people's history and a determinant of history". Consequently, it was "the survival, and the reaffirmation of culture that provided the germ of the liberation struggle (Cabral 1969:41-43). Having come to this conclusion, Cabral's (1973:55) definition of liberation is about ending imperial domination and building a cultural renaissance, a "new fabric" through which the people will regain identity and dignity.

2.5   A psychoanalytic approach and liberation struggles

2.5.1   Self-consciousness

Development of colonialism and imperialism starts as an ideology that is developed into human attitudes before it can be translated into destructive actions. Fanon (1986:84) rightly said that the problem of colonialism "includes not only the interrelations of objective historical conditions but also the human attitudes towards these conditions." According to Nandy (1983:63), colonialism is first of all "a matter of consciousness and needs to be defined ultimately in the minds of men". The war against colonialism and any other forms of oppression must not be material only, but must equally engage the mental as well. For Fanon the use of psychology in anti-colonial struggle has a twofold mission: It investigates the inner effects of colonialism on the colonized, and it provides the tools of resistance "turning the inculcation of inferiority into self-empowerment" (Young 2001:275). Sartre's emphasis of the alienation of being as Young (2001:275) observes, does not start with the material, but

with the mind. Consequently, the process of decolonization begins with a positive change of mind, a self-consciousness.

Tolbert (1995: 347-361) grapples with the issue of "Christianity, imperialism and decentering of privilege". Her attempt raises important points that deal with the mind of both colonizer and colonized in the process of decolonization. She highlights three discrete ways in which appropriate reciprocal participation can be achieved, namely listening, reflecting/analyzing and acting. Listening as Tolbert (1995:350) argues is a crucial step in "constructing appropriate forms of cooperation" that creates an opportunity of inclusive participation in the process. Although, this step may be difficult, but it is through the need to listen to others that one discovers his/her ignorance, and the "denial of that ignorance is an essential part of the ideology of dominance." By recognizing one's mistake does not necessarily disqualify him/her from pointing out the evil, rather, it makes culpable person more humble and leads him/her in the process of removing the "plank" from one's own eye before criticizing the "speck of sawdust" mote in the neighbors' eye (Mt 7:3).

Listening in postcolonial theory has to work at the conscious level of those engaged in and affected by imperialism and bring them to the level of responsibility and accountability. The next step involves reflection and analysis (Tolbert 1995:354-358). The common failure in dialogue between unequal parties is that the strongest dominates and it thus, results in a state of oppression and domination. In order to avoid this, contexts of both the colonized and colonizer need to be equally analyzed in light of those political, economic and social realities that have created privileges and marginality. These steps lead to empowerment. The more people work together in harmony and justice, the more they find comfort in their equality, and can abolish peripheries and centers that are exploitive. Therefore, the power is used not to suppress, marginalize, or to colonize but to decolonize and to "empower another" (Tolbert 1995:361) in order to construct a just world.

Self-consciousness can refer to a cultural revolution that refuses to remain in a state of subjugation. Consciousness informs about "desire", a spirit of longing, a spirit of want, or satisfaction (Isasi-Diaz 2004:340-354). Cabral's (1969:41-43; cf Bhabha 1994:171-197) "the

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survival of culture" would refer to self-consciousness that is engaged in resistance to gain freedom. According to Bhabha (1994:172), culture does create a "symbolic textuality, to give the alienating everyday an aura of selfhood, a promise of pleasure."

For Fanon (1995:154), this inner built consciousness is nurtured not by the pain of oppression but by discovery beyond the "misery of today, beyond self-contempt, resignation, and abjuration." Self-consciousness goes beyond and contemplates a "splendid era whose existence rehabilitates us both in regard to ourselves and in regard to others." Self-consciousness as a means of cultural and personal rebirth, is not ashamed of the past, but defies the oppressor's consciousness to see sameness and equality in the other, which henceforth acquires dignity.

According to Fanon (1995:154), in the sphere of "psycho-effective equilibrium", self-consciousness brings about change in "the native" and in the oppressor alike. Nandy (1983:63; cf Young 2001:340) emphasizes the psychological effects of colonialism in both colonial and colonized cultures. Gandhi's (1924) nationalist manifesto *Hind* S*waraj* (self-rule) is firmly rooted in his political strategies. Self-consciousness is a reciprocal revolution that goes from colonized to colonizer and vice versa (Nandy 1980:99-111). Inspired by Gandhi's work, Nandy (1983: xvi) has outlined some features that are important in the field of postcolonialism: (i) psychology of resistance, (ii) the problem of resisting through ideas and strategies drawn from the very culture that is being resisted, (iii) the gendering of the ideology and praxis of imperialism and of resistance to it, (iv) the possibility of hybridization as a central intellectual and political strategy drawn from the anti-colonial and postcolonial experience.

2.5.2   Self-determination: Violence and non-violent approach

From Du Bois' (1989:3), Fanon (1956),[49] to Steve Biko (1970) emphasis on self-determination and consciousness is important. Both Cabral (1969:89) and Guevara (1998:172) stressed the importance of self-sacrifice in liberation struggles. In a

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[49] See also S O Gaines, "Perspectives of Du Bois and Fanon on the psychology of oppression" in R L Gordon, D T Sharpely-Whiting & T R White (eds), *Fanon: A critical reader*. London: Blackwell, 1996, pp 24-34.

psychoanalytical approach, two dimensions can be discerned based upon the way in which they have been used by theorists and political practitioners. These two approaches, non-violent (passive resistance) and violent (active resistance) are usually regarded as opposites that rarely occur concomitantly. Nevertheless, over the years, they have been interchangeably used in conflicting situations, that is when one approach does not work, the other is switched on, a dilemma that Wink (1992b:133-136) and Horsley (1993) deal with. Mariategui (1996:49) said "the renunciation of violence is more romantic than violence itself…. Unfortunately, a revolution is not made by fasting."

Anti-colonial struggle is about violence and it is hard to find any other dialectical discourse to define it. Derrida (1978:30) argued that colonial violence was carried out in the name of pacification, while postcolonial violence is carried out in the name of degradation. This infinite passage through violence is what is called history. Fanon argues that colonial violence is a reciprocal dialect that works at the level of history and the individual. That is, the agent of violence becomes subjected to it as much as the violated recipient and no one can escape its impact. In other words, violence (Gordon 1996:304) is "broader than bullets, knives, and stones". Fanon was thus convinced that it is through decolonization that a new humanity comes into being (Presbey 1996:292).

In 1961, the African National Congress' manifesto (Mandela 1994:325-328) enacted the use of force as an alternative in the freedom struggle. In this instance *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (the Spear of the Nation) was to carry on the armed struggle. Mandela**,** on that occasion said "we have been conditioned to our attitudes by the history which is not of our making … Government violence can do only one thing and that is to breed counter-violence." None of the heroes of liberation movements was pro-violence, but contexts forced them to resort to violence. Nkrumah (1957:92) who followed in Gandhi's footsteps of a non-violent approach, eventually had to lament that freedom had never been "handed over to any colonial country on a silver platter, it could only be owned after bitter and vigorous struggles."

Self-determination is determined by the language best understood by those involved in the conflict. Gandhi (De Brangança and Wallerstein 1982:42) had to renounce his position,

when the ANC chose to embark on the violent means of a freedom struggle. Gandhi said "'[w]here the choice is set between cowardice and violence', I would advise violence … I would a thousand times prefer violence than the emasculation of a whole race". While Mandela defended the action of ANC during the Rivonia trial in 1963-1964, saying that it would be "unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the Government met our peaceful demands with force," Kaunda's (1982:75) position against colonialism in Zimbabwe was that "If questions of justice, legality and morality can be swept aside, it seemed clear that if it was right to use violence to defend such a state, it could not be wrong to use violence to destroy it."

All these statements are but confirming Fanon's position on violence (Presbey 1996:292-294). According to Fanon, violence functions as a means "creating self-respect and hope" or as psychotherapy for the oppressed. Revolution sets a ground of freedom for those who cannot get it otherwise. Although the option in favor of violence is understandable, Jesus' philosophy for the church is non-violent (see Wink 1992:102-125).

Forms of non-violent resistance to colonialism and other forms of oppression are numerous. Allen and Barbara Isaacman (1976:97-125; Vail and White 1991:41) analyze various forms of local resistance and their *modus operandi* before the advent of independence movements: (i) day-to-day insubordination, including cultural practices; (ii) resistance through withdrawal and migration; (iii) social banditry; (iv) peasant revolt. As Young (2001:358) points out other forms of resistance and protest are to be found in the songs, song-dramas, women's protest songs used in many parts of Africa. Song was an important weapon, not only by stimulating the consciousness of the oppressed, but also by sending out a clear message of resistance to the oppressor. Amongst many examples of songs from Kenya,[50] South Africa,[51] Zimbabwe,[52] and Rwanda[53] can be cited. Connor

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[50] One of the Mau Mau song goes "God makes his covenant shine until it is brighter than sun, so that neither hill nor darkness can prevent him coming to fulfil it, for God is known as the Conqueror…. When the European came from Europe they said they came to give us learning and we accepted them gladly, but woe upon us, they really came to oppress us" (Finnegan 1970:286-287).

[51] In one of the South African songs said "Africa rise! And seek the Saviour. Today our sons and daughters are slaves" (quoted from Sundkler 1961 by Finnegan 1970:283).

(1996:107-128) provides a good example of African-American songs that in a Christianized manner have been used in the struggle against slavery and racism. According to Connor, the songs "reveal features foundational to the form as it functions to advance a postcolonial discourse."

Whereas Fanon was to move from an analysis of the disabling effects of the "psychological violence" of colonialism to advocating the use of military intervention against colonial regimes, Gandhi combined non-violence and non-cooperation with a more widespread "psychological resistance" (Young 2001:323). Young (2001:323-334) analyses Gandhi's psychological force as follows: Gandhi was opposed to violence and gradually developed the practice of *satyagraha* (truth force) as an accompaniment to his moral critique. He developed means of political protest such as fasting or hunger strikes, which were adapted from Irish nationalists and British suffragettes. Like the refusal of communication through silence, fasting exerts a form of pressure and even power. As a strategy it "discomfited and embarrassed the colonial authorities," taking the form of a private protest that "they were unable to control or repress," which nevertheless also worked very effectively as public demonstration (Sunder 1993:87).

Self-determination stimulates moral regeneration of the oppressor and the oppressed. As Young (2001:325-331) observes, Gandhi's defiance method sets the moral high ground in his

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[52] An example of Zimbabwean songs of liberation is:
Mbuya nehanda kufa vachitaura sure kuti tichatora nyika ino.
Shoko rimwe ravakatiudza tora gidi uzuitonge.
Sekuru kaguvi kufa vachitaura sure, kuti tichatora nyika ino .
Shoko rimwe ravakatiudza tora gidi uzuitonge.
(The spirit is speaking that surely that we will take this land [Zimbabwe].
The word that she left for us is to take the gun and fight for our land.)
The song is taken from a discussion with Zimbabwean students at the University of Pretoria led by D Muchawaya on 1st of May, 2005, explaining the Chimurenga, the Zimbabwean struggle against colonialism.

[53] Ben Rutabana is a Rwandan singer, and in one of his songs in early 1990s criticised colonizers who came hiding behind religion and divided Rwandans.
Baje bambaye amakanzu agera kubirenge... (The came wearing long robes….)
Badupfukamisha imbere ya rutare ngo dusenge tubamenere ibanga tubabarirwe ibyaha... (The instructed us to kneel down and tell them the secret that our sins may be forgiven….)
Baje bihinduye intama, tutazi ko ari amasega...(They came in sheep clothing while they were wolves)
Bafata bamwe mu Rwanda, babatoza ironda koko, urwango ruragwira... (They manipulated some in Rwanda and taught them about ethnic difference, hatred was multiplied….)
Afrika warakubititse (Africa you suffered).

objective of "achieving the moral regeneration of his British opponents." Fanon also argues that the damaging psychological effects on subjectivity, identity and sexuality that colonialism produced in the colonizer and colonized, it was the colonizer "who was degraded in moral and ethical terms by the precepts and practices of colonial rule." Resistance through gender equality (feminization – "soul power" against masculinity), manner of dress, the media and the introduction of psychology as a weapon of the weak, clearly demonstrate Gandhi's self-determination in his struggle against colonialism and modernity. The alternative language (Nandy 1983: xvii) which needs to be developed in this instance is not an easy task. Ghandi's non-violent theory and practice in a multi religious and multi cultural diversity is an example of this translation process.

Taking Gandhi's example further, hybridization or alliance starts at home as various cultural and religious beliefs (Hinduism, Christianity and Islam) through psychoanalysis and spiritual energy are molded to form a resistance theory. At the stage of engaging colonial rule, Gandhi uses the local alliance of the east to face colonialism and modernity of the west, but in the east. Hence, it is interesting to note Nandy's argument of "non-complicit innocence". The "Innocence of non-violence" subsequently, produces its own effective means of resistance.

On the other hand, Fanon (1965:49) was against non-violent approach because it was in itself a colonial concept and only favored colonialists and the bourgeois elite. Nandy concedes that the problem of conventional forms of resistance is that they are built from structures and rules of colonial rule. As a consequence, the deconstructive mode is the best option in such circumstances. "The most cunning and effective move can be to adopt different rules, outwitting the colonizer, disorienting him by playing his own game differently", by changing the norms, by appealing to or challenging other parts of his own ideology (Young 2001:343-344). This leads to the inescapable issue of hybridization which is the making of the history.

2.5.3   Hybrid identities

Postcolonial theory is developed from anti-colonial philosophy, which in itself is a hybrid[54] construct (Bhabha 1994:112-116; Young 2001:69; 2003:69-90). The mixture of concepts from the past and the present has set forth a new foundation for socio-political identities and objectives, from emerging voices of historical struggles against colonialism and imperialism. As a result, postcolonial theory unfortunately does not reproduce the old native culture, nor does it bring a totally new culture, but it produces a dislocated culture, a mixture of worlds – a "fragmented and hybrid theoretical language" – the Creole, within a "conflictual cultural interaction" (Young 2001:69; cf Loomba 1998:15).

Postcolonial culture is an "inevitably a hybridized" phenomenon (Ashcroft et al 1989:195) that involves a dialectal relationship of the "grafted" Western cultural systems and a native ontology, which (re)creates a new local identity. Since it is difficult, if not impossible to rediscover the original pre-colonial indigenous culture, the construction of a new identity is based on this bitter reality of interaction between the colonialist hegemonic system and the colonized perverted peripheries.

Young (1996:8; see 1995:1-28) defines hybridity as a mere product of "disruptions and dislocations" of any system. The term hybridity or *métissage* in Francophone African literature is invoked alongside the *Négritude* philosophy (Senghor 1964a:45-83; Sartre 1976:11). Moreover, the term has been expanded and popularized in many fields (cf Young 2001:337-359; 2003:69-92; see Young 1996:78-82). Discussing *Négritude* as a turn in culture within Francophone Africa, Young (2001:265-274) demonstrates how the issue of *métissage* could not be escaped. Instead, Negritude is seen from the hybridized eyes of its author and the reader as well.

Indeed, the tools used to construct Negritude were provided by the metropolitan culture. Negritude thus, became a derivative discourse, which Sartre (1976:59) calls a "dialectic" to

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[54] Homi K Bhabha (1994:112), defines hybridity as "the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities; it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal (that is, the production of discriminatory identities that secure the 'pure' and original identity of authority)". It is "the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects".

enable both Negroes and Whites to read equality and sameness in races. In the minds of Senghor and his colleagues, as Young (2001:266) analyses it, Negritude was to forge a third option, a new way, a new society in which "the antithetical values of racism and anti-racism [would] produce a society without racism and a new humanism" in which human black, white, red and yellow would be at last universally defined.

Hybridity emerges within a context of compositions of "fluid and shifting mixtures" that undergo their own initiation of reciprocal translation. According to Young (2003:138-147; Van Aarde 2004a:11-12), translation means to "carry or to bear across". Translation can be applied to any form of material from social, political, economic or academic. The original material is carried across to another place where its copy is established. However, the reproduction will "differ from the original" because of the mixture of new local material with the original.

This mixture of two original, yet different materials becomes a new material in itself, failing to identify fully with either though. This form of production is known as *akamecerane*,[55] *métis*, *mestiza* or *colored*. A colony begins as a "translation" in which the original is carried across from one place to another to reproduce a copy of the original. In this case, colony is seen as a metaphor. Furthermore, translation can be regarded as a form of "metaphorical displacement of a text" from one language to another. To translate a text from one language to another is "to transform its material identity" which is the case with colonialism.

Following Young's discussion (2003:139-146), colonialism like translation, invades other territories, other cultures and imposes its meaning to dominate new landscape, thereby "changing things into things which they are not." The indigenous person and his whole environment are forced into a subordinated culture of colonial rule in which aspects of the original culture have to be "reconstructed, operate as process of translational dematerialization." The colonial language becomes culturally more important and powerful, "devaluing the native language as it is brought into its domain." Nevertheless, the process of

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[55] The word for hybrid in Kinyamulenge.

colonial translation is always reciprocal and most of the time, the damage caused through the translation process is mutually shared.

Young's (2003:141) example of travelers and local interpreters is very important in understanding this phenomenon. According to Young, false translation is considered under the framework of "Orientalism", where it involves a "representation of another culture without reference to the original." According to Bhabha (1994:66, 93-103), stereotyping[56] can easily force one (the traveler) into creating an image of what to expect on the other. These are often carried out "as subtle everyday forms of resistance" by the "lying native", who translates him/herself into "the dominant culture by means of a mimicry[57] that undoes the original."

If as Young (2003:141-142) argues, translation involves "the power structure of acts of appropriation", it can also "invoke power through acts of resistance". When a native culture, territory or basic rights are being invaded and appropriated by another cultural domination, "the necessary, traditionally lamented failure of translation becomes a positive force of resistance, resisting the intruder."

Another type of intruder in the translation process highlighted by Young, is the migrant (Young 2001:142; cf Bhabha 1994:139-145), which is also called the diasporic (Segovia 1995b: 303-330; 2001) or the dislocated (Ashroft et al 1989:9), the displaced and refugees (Young 2003:9-16)**,** creolized (Young 2003:142) and expatriates. These migrants can be migrants of choice or could be exiles due to political or socio-economic circumstances. Whichever the case may be, they found themselves disconnected from their habitual setting. They come from the periphery to the centre where "translation becomes central". Having been translated, migrants meet other dislocated people whom they share their stories,

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[56] Stereotype is defined by Homi K Bhabha (1994:66) as a "discursive strategy" in a form of "knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated.…"

[57] According to Bhabha (1994:86), mimicry is "constructed around an *ambivalence*, and it emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal." It is therefore, "the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which 'appropriates' the Other as it visualizes power."

nostalgia and experiences of anguish and agony to form a new language of desire and affirmation.

According to Young (2001:266), with Senghor and his company being diasporic, the search for affirmation created Negritude. Negritude was actually initiated by "fluid and shifting mixtures of African-American nationalism and anti-colonial" socialism as they looked for a new third space free of racism. "Creolization" (1995:25) in Caribbean, is also another example of translation. Young's (2001:266) analysis is that "creole" implies displacement, "the carrying over and transformation of the dominant culture into new identities that take on material elements from the culture of their new location". Both sides of the exchange become "creolized", get translated and become transformed. In postcolonial theory, this process is very important as it is "the one-way process by which translation is customarily conceived, can be rethought in terms of cultural interaction" and, a space of empowerment.

Subaltern is another area which needs to be considered in this section. According to Young (2001:352; cf Loomba 1998:231-245), subaltern studies owe much to the contribution of Ranajit Guha's work in the early 1980s in the company of other "Bengali Marxist intellectuals" in India (Guha 1982a; 1982b; Spivak 1988:197-221). The study of subaltern as Young (2001:352-359) analyses it, is but another form of raising the consciousness of the marginal, to bring him/her to the attention of the centre. In terms of this definition, subaltern is presenting the overall position of peasantry, the underclass people, people whose voice is silenced.

According to Spivak (1988:215:221), and many other feminists, it is appropriate to extend "subalternity" to women. According to Young (2001:354), the great strength from a tricontinental perspective of the concept of subaltern, is that "it provides a social category and power structure a good deal less restrictive than that of class and enables attention to be given to groups whose forms of resistance and struggle had been ignored by other forms of anti-colonial movements such as nationalist and Marxists."

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The significance of subaltern studies, especially for Indian historians such as Guha (1983) according to Young (2001:354), is that it has revolutionized the revolution itself by bringing to the surface the "spontaneous resistance" of the people. Guha, as Young remarks, used the concept of subaltern "to rewrite [the history] of the Indian freedom movement so that the primary history of resistance to colonial power" is to be found in the movements of "peasant insurgency" which was at work long before the political elites took over. Using India as an example, it is noted that most of the successful anti-colonial movements were those in which the subaltern or peasantry had full participation, and where it was not a case of their voices being exploited.

This highlights one of the critiques feminists have with regard to subaltern studies, namely the sincerity of anti-colonial strategies vis-à-vis gender issues. It is in this regard that Spivak's (1999:307-310) argument that the subaltern cannot speak (see Loomba 1998:199, 231-245) should be seen. The history of women's activism in anti-colonial movements can in many ways be compared to the history of the resistance of peasants, natives, tribes and nomads. These small-scale forms of resistance were intended to deal with local forms of oppression, but eventually joined the larger movements.

From Lenski's (1966:243-282) social stratification study, the subaltern can be considered in the same way as the peasants, the unclean and degraded and the expendables of the first century, who found themselves in a state of marginality. Duling's (2003:14) definition of marginality fits the context of subaltern, if not in the same words. Duling defines structural marginality as "structural inequalities in the social system that puts some persons in the center and some on the periphery." From this perspective, "those on the periphery are mainly, although not exclusively, the socially and economically disadvantaged or oppressed."

The importance of such understanding of stories involving peasants in freedom struggles is, as Young (2001:357-359) points out, that they do challenge "the conventional, large-scale accounts of the liberation struggles." They also have implications for "the forms of

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historiography itself" and thus, setting up possibilities that consider the writing of such peasant history in the history of anti-colonialism itself.

Subaltern studies, by claiming equal treatment in society, pose a challenge to any measures of exploitation in a postcolonial setting. In the case of women, it contests the gendered values built surrounding the history of masculinity. Through this process postcolonial theory can retrieve the silenced voice of the subaltern. In the process, social classes are translated into a new mixture of high and low classes, or in the case of gender translation, into a mixture of masculinity and femininity.

The other interesting literary development Young (2001:383-426) deals with, concerns colonial discourse,[58] which is also a part of hybridity. As he concludes his introduction to postcolonial theory, Young discusses the works of Said, Derrida and Foucault. This illustrates that colonialism did not only operate as a form of military and economic domination, but "simultaneously as a discourse of domination" which is Said's (1978) contribution to the literary world, *Orientalism* (Young 2001:383-384). Young finds this achievement both "enabling and theoretically problematic." But the concern of this study is not to become involved in the debate between Said and Young, but to see how colonial discourse can boost the formation of postcolonial theory. Said (1978:3) defines Orientalism in the following manner:

> Orientalism is something more historical and materially defined …,[it] can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.

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[58] According to Castle (2001:502), colonial discourse refers to "aggregates of texts, documents, art works, and other means of expression that relate directly and indirectly to colonial territories, colonial rule, or colonized peoples." It includes every colonial material such as legal documents, memoranda, newspapers, novels, telegraphs and poetry.

According to Said, it is not possible to understand how European culture was able to manage and produce the Orient in all spheres of life during colonial period without examining Orientalism as a "discourse". Dealing with issues of power and knowledge, Said (1978:20) introduces the methodological devices of "*strategic location*" (the way of describing the author's position in a text with regard to the material he writes about) and "*strategic formation*" (the latter being a way of analyzing the relationship between texts and the way in which group texts acquire power among themselves and thereafter in the culture at large).

The Orient can thus be represented and its emphasis is placed on "evidence" which is invisible for such representation as *representation*. Young (2001:389-392) raises a number of objections to Said's Orientalism, the issue of representation being one such objection. According to Young, colonial discourse that examines linguistic evidence concerns itself with analyzing "the forms of representation, how they are structured." The discourse does not ask questions pertaining to accuracy, because representation is not investigation. According to Bhabha (1994:66), political discourse is dependent on the concept of "'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness" that is found in the "representation" of cultural, historical and racial difference.

The concept of political discourse analysis is derived from Foucault's (1978) definition of discourse itself. Young (2001:399) analyses it as follows: Primarily, discourse is "the way in which the knowledge is constituted as part of a specific practice whose knowledge is formed at the interface language and the material world". But generally, this knowledge "is not contained discursively, but exists at the edge between language and the rest of material reality."

Furthermore, Young continues to say that discourse is seen as a border concept, "a transcultural practice that crosses intellectual and physical boundaries". Because, in practical terms "knowledge in discourse will be part of everyday practices" and "material conditions will also operate on the conceptual formation of knowledge." Thus, since knowledge operates in the intersection of the contact milieu between concept and materiality, "the

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difficulty – and but also the value" of Foucault's analysis is bound up with the desire "to characterize discourse as a material, historical entity". Thus discourse "works in the realm materiality and the body, in the domain of objects and specific historical practices".

At the same time, Foucault uses other terms to substantiate what discourse is and what it is not, which Young (2001:400-403) analyses as follow: The terms are "discursive formation, statements and enunciations, discursive practices, the archive, and archaeology." Whereas Foucault defines discursive formation as "the 'principle of dispersion and redistribution' of a group of statements 'that belong to a single system of discourse'" but not homogeneous; statement (énoncé) is not simply a "text or a piece of language." It constitutes "a specific material event, a performative act or a function, a historical eruption that impinges on and makes an incision into circumstance." Consequently, a discourse is made of "statements that are both events and things, as well as pieces of languages".

The question then is, when does a discourse become colonial and how is it treated? For Foucault (1978:100), "we must not imagine a world of discourse divided between accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one, but a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies." As Young (2001:406) argues, discourse to Foucault does not represent "'other voices.'" Discourse is not about "the direct representation, or misrepresentation, of experience." Rather it represents a directly "antithetical strain to the assumption and endeavors of postcolonial writing that posits a subjective voice of the colonized against the objectified discourse of the colonizer."

At this point, as Young (2001:407) explains, the notion of power is involved and, according to Foucault, power has no compromise, "neither intentional nor fully realized", never stable but "'a field of force relations'". It is suggested that power is repressive, rather than restrictive and that it breeds a proliferation of discourse and therefore, colonial domination does not silence anyone, but produces "a proliferation of subaltern discourse." Again, the sites of "enunciation and forms of discourse" would be different from that of colonizers and in anti-colonial case; it would work as "a counter-discourse." Therefore, "the subaltern

cannot but speak" either within the terms of a discursive system where certain subalterns can speak, or within discourses that may be operating elsewhere.

However, there are some difficulties of interpretation with regard to Young's (2001:407-408) understanding of colonial discourse[59] The problem is that an analysis of colonial discourse takes the discourse itself as "its primary object of analysis", instead of using the discourse as a means of analyzing "a particular practice – in this case colonialism." Colonial discourse should therefore not involve colonialism "predominantly as a structure of knowledge and representations." Nevertheless, colonialism should be analyzed according to its "discursive formations" within its "historical practice" such as political activities of domination and exploitation.

It is with this conjectural analysis that Derrida's (1976; 1978 cf Young 2001:411-426) deconstruction[60] approach emerged from French colonial violence and acts of injustice towards the Algerians as a procedure of intellectual and cultural decolonization. As Young explains, Derrida's (1978:282) deconstruction was based on the "problem of status of a discourse which borrows from heritage the resources necessary for the deconstruction of that heritage itself."

The final hybrid identity that needs to be mentioned is the notion of nationalism.[61] Nationalism as Young (2001:172) observes is "a kind of language", a form or a strategy, rather than "a substance." The ideology often connected to this strategy, especially during anti-colonial struggles, is for example the issue of land rights which directly involves not

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[59] According to Castle (2001:502), colonial discourse refers to "aggregates of texts, documents, art works, and other means of expression that relate directly and indirectly to colonial territories, colonial rule, or colonized peoples." It includes every colonial material such as legal documents, memoranda, newspapers, novels, telegraphs and poetry.

[60] Deconstruction has been widely used, not only in literature but also in many fields of humanities. Derived from Jacques Derrida's work *Of Grammatology* [1967], trans by G C Spivak, Baltimore, VI: John Hopkins University Press, 1976, it refers to a mode of analysis by which one seeks out the 'blind spots' in a text, the moments in which the text seems to say something contrary to its manifest content (see also Castle 2001:504).

[61] Furedi (1994:21) defines nationalism as "an independent variable, but rather a form through which a variety of responses, aspirations and interests are expressed. Its force is not internal but depends on the intensity of sentiment of various social groups."

only political activists, but also peasants and workers. The urgent issue that brought different tribes, ethnic groupings and cultures together was the issue of securing the land from grabbing settlers. If nationalism could incorporate a diversity and multiplicity of cultures and tribes for a cause, then it could build a sense of nationhood after independence.

However, two major problems are associated with nationalism (Furedi 1994:21-22). The first problem is that the geographic boundaries of nations and their legal and political structures are the product of colonialism. These boundaries are continually contested, either by political institutions, indigenous groups or by what Young (2001:59) calls "fourth-world groups."[62] Examples of contests pertaining to border disputes are manifold: that of the Ethiopian-Eritrea, Cameroon-Nigeria, DRC-Rwanda, India-Pakistan borders, the border between Israel and Palestine and that between Poland and Germany at the end of World War II. Secondly, nationalism lacks charismatic leadership. Most of those who fought for independence did not live long enough to see the fruit of their toils. Thus, political powers are often transferred to native bourgeois elites, produced by neocolonialism. Many a times, they mistake tribalism for nationalism; private enterprise for national heritage.

2.6   Postcolonial theory and biblical reading

2.6.1   Postcolonialism and biblical criticism

Over the past decades, theologians and exegetes have cautiously started to explore a political hermeneutical avenue by using post-structural theory (Moore 1994), postmodern theory (Adam 1995, 2001; Van Aarde 2004a) and feminism reading (Wire 1991:87-121; Fiorenza 1993, 1995, 1998; Wainwright 1994, 1995, 1998; Levine 1996:379-397; Ackermann 1998:349-371; Kaene 1998:121-135; Levine & Blickenstaff 2001; Jackson 2002, Schroer and Bietenhard 2003). As postcolonial theory is used, essays ranging from theoretical to practical case studies from biblical texts, as well as contemporary cases are on the increase.

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[62] These are people who are still colonized within decolonized countries, such as the Ainu in Japan, or the gypsies in Spain.

Sugirtharajah's edited work on *Voices from the Margin*[63] is widely recognized as a platform for postcolonial theory in biblical criticism.

Researches and essays that appear in the edited work of Segovia and Tolbert (1995)[64] and in two volumes in *Semeia* 75/76, (1996), 78 (1997) as well as in issues of the *Journal for the Study of the New Statement* (*JSNT*) 73 & 75, (1999), Segovia (2000), Sugirtharajah (2001), Moore (2001), are some examples of the growing interest in this field. From a Southern African perspective, Dube (1996:111-129; 1997:11-25; 1999:33-53; 2000), Mosala (1996:43-57), Jeremy Punt (2001:129-145; 2002:259-274; 2003:59-85) and Van Aarde (2004a) are among those who have shown an interest in and who have contributed to the study. In learning and academic institutions, the study field is increasingly attracting more interest from feminist and tricontinental readings.

Segovia's (1999:103-114; cf 1995a:1-17) initial difficulty was to identify with the "postcolonial studies" in biblical criticism. He rather opted for "cultural studies" and preferred diasporic studies (Segovia 2001:11-34) within a postcolonial framework. Punt (2001:130-131) sees postcolonial biblical criticism as having "a different focus and purpose, rather than a different hermeneutical method". In other words, postcolonial biblical criticism is a "form of ideology criticism, which considers the socio-political context" and goes even further to address "the silencing of the voice of the Other through the colonial strategy" (Punt 2003:63) in a postcolonial setting. It focuses on national issues such as race, gender, class, tribe, citizenship and the construction of political powers within sociological and geographical settings.

Sugirtharajah (1999:3-5; 2001:250-259; cf Punt 2003: 65-66; see Segovia 1995:1-17) as one of the main campaigners of this theory in biblical scholarship, states that postcolonial criticism as a biblical hermeneutics, can help (i) to "revalue the colonial ideology, stigmatization and

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[63] Sugirtharajah, R S (ed), *Voices from the margin: Interpreting the Bible in the Third World*, London: SPCK, 1995.

[64] Segovia, F F & Tolbert, A M, *Reading from this place: Social location and biblical interpretation in global perspective*, vol.2, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995. This is a compiled work of many views and practices of postcolonial readings, although the term as such is not implicitly used. Contributors prefer to use cultural studies and biblical criticism (see also Segovia 1999:103-114).

negative portrays embedded in the content, the plot and characterization." It entails looking for colonial intentions (be they political, cultural or economic), which informed and influenced the writer's context. (ii) It helps in "reconstructive reading" which enables the reader to see the concerns of liberation struggles of the past and the present. Postcolonial critique therefore is concerned with and interacts with circumstances such as hybridity (*mestiza*, *akamecerane)*, new identities, fragmentation and deterritorization. (iii) Postcolonial criticism interrogates colonial interpretation "to draw attention to the inescapable effects of colonization and colonial ideals." It investigates interpretations that "contested colonial interests". Such a view of postcolonial theory helps the researcher to look into both colonizer and colonized situations in order to produce a remedy, and a reconstructive approach based on justice for all.

There are, however, some moral concerns regarding who should be leading the way in postcolonial reading. Should it be the church and other religious institutions, or individuals? The other concern deals with the theoretical applicability of postcolonial theory itself. Segovia (1995a:1-17; 1999:111-113; 2000:30-31), Sugirtharajah (1999:5; 2001:271-275) and Punt (2001, 2002, 2003), all have reservations about the diverse nature of postcolonial theory. It is an amalgam of different methods, an interdisciplinary and a pluralistic approach in nature. Segovia (1995a:16) argues that cultural studies (postcolonial theory) in biblical criticism, allow "diversity of reading strategies"; it does not favor any strategy over another or a particular theory as the sole and appropriate "entry into the text to the exclusion of the others".

Sugirtharajah (2001:258) suggests that postcolonial theory stands for inclusiveness and is "attracted to all kinds of tools and disciplinary fields" as long as they investigate injustice, "produce new knowledge which problematizes well-entrenched positions and enhance the lives of the marginalized." Postcolonial theory as a heuristic tool in biblical criticism, confronts with a problem of consistency and focus. This argument is discussed in the next section.

Criticism has been leveled at the church and other religious institutions, such as Islam, for having consciously or unconsciously facilitated the colonial conquests and imperial establishment all over the world (see Mazrui 1980:84-112; Mosala 1996:43-57;

Sugirtharajah 1996:8-19; Donaldson 1996:1-4). Missionaries used mission schools, church pulpits and other public services they had access to, to propagate imperialism. In the case of the Great Lakes region: Burundi, the DRC and Rwanda, Longman (1998:54-57) is of the opinion that Belgian colonial administrators regarded the Catholic missionaries, many of whom were Belgian themselves, as "allies in the struggle to establish and maintain control" over the indigenous people. Colonial administration relied on and collaborated with missionaries to provide public services, such as modern education and health care.

In return for their support, colonial administration gave missionaries free access to the populations and cooperated with evangelical efforts. This tradition of church collaboration with imperial politics, the Catholic Church in particular, has been blamed for its failure or its complicity in the genocide in Rwanda (see Gatwa 2001) or in the red rubber carnage in the Congo under the Belgian King Leopold (Schuyler 1962:47-63).

In Guinea-Bissau, Cabral (Chilcote 1991:53) criticized both Catholic and Protestant churches and some Muslims for their complicit attitude shown towards colonialism. Only the African Independent churches were more committed to the struggle against colonialism. In an open letter[65] to the African Episcopal Conference from CONCP[66] leadership, signed by Uria Simango of FRELIMO,[67] Agostinho Neto of the MPLA[68] and Amircal Cabral of the PAIGC,[69] who criticized the position of the Catholic Church of Portugal, which explicitly supported colonialism in Africa. Cardinal Goncalvez Cerejeira, the head of the Catholic Church in Portugal, had said in 1967, that the day of peace declared by Pope Paul VI "should in no way be interpreted as being an invitation to pacifism in Africa, since that would mean an abject abdication of Portugal's sacred rights" (Simango, et al 1969). Yet,

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[65] The letter was written on 5 July 1969 and addressed to the meeting of the Episcopal Conference held in Kampala, Uganda.

[66] Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies.

[67] *Frente de Libertaçao de Moçambique*/ Mozambican Liberation Front.

[68] *Movimento Popular de Libertaçao de Angola/*Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

[69] The African Independent Party of Guinea and Cap Verde.

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thousands of men, women and children, innocent people, were becoming victims of the war waged by Portugal.

During World War II, while Hitler led the campaign and the holocaust against the Jews, the church in the Germany was divided (see Bonhoeffer 1973; Ericksen 1985) between those who supported Hitler and those who condemned his war policy. However, in dealing with the impact of the African Independent Churches in South Africa, Mosala (1996:43-50) describes a political reaction or resistance to colonialism, which over the years has been condoned by Western missionary based churches, which presented the "religious ideology of the Western capitalist society".

The same challenge comes from Sugirtharajah (1996:7-10) who regards the work of Bible translation in India as "textual cleansing". He includes missionaries amongst the groups of people who distorted cultural values of the natives. "Missionaries promulgated descriptions of Hindus as barbaric, submissive, ignorant …Valorization of these differences allowed the imperialists to subjugate Indians and also to perceive themselves as beneficent agents of God's will." Gallagher (1994:3-33), acknowledges both the negative and positive effects of missionaries as they worked along with colonial structures of oppression. Her argument is that missionary institutions such as health centers and schools had a positive impact. "Despite its chauvinistic cultural limits, such education eventually provided the means by which significant indigenous leaders were formed." In contrast to this view is that of Donaldson (1996:3-4), who joins the above authors by saying that missionaries had indeed contributed to the dismantling of cultural values of the natives.

In reacting to Gallagher's argument, Donaldson maintains that even colonial schools contributed to the destruction of native values. "For example, one of the most effective strategies of colonization was the suppression of indigenous languages and the imposition of imperial ones – and the best means of implanting translation existed in the mission schools." Indeed, in these schools, pupils were punished for either speaking their native languages or failing to speak the colonial language properly. Donaldson (1996:1-2; see Connor 1996:107-128) refers to the passive position or complicity of the church in North America, Canada and

the Pacific Northwest region toward the treatment of natives and slaves. Donaldson (1996:2) is convinced that postcolonial criticism helps to fill the "intellectual and ethical void" and that requires not only "a systematic accounting of Christianity's participation in imperialism, but also that individual congregations actively become involved in the work of decolonization."

Dube (1997:11-25) expands on the question of what I would call "a question of legitimacy." She recalls memories of when all Whites (Westerners) were called "believers" or missionaries, while "pagans" referred to all non-Christian Africans. In images Jesus, his mother, his disciples and angels were all portrayed as Whites, while Satan, demons and evildoers were portrayed as Blacks. "The Western imperial readers of the nineteenth centuries wrote themselves into the text and characterized non-Christians as their pagan counterparts in order to validate the latter's subjugation" (Dube 1997:12).

This subjugation and alienation is a result of weak evangelism in Africa which was not a cultural exchange and a changing of belief, but that of cultural domination and assimilation (see Dube 1997:20). Dube (1997:15; cf Sugirtharajah 1998:19) is also disturbed by the imperial role that Christian biblical religion played "in the ancient and current times and over different people and different places." Thus, she sees the Bible as "a colonizing text: it has repeatedly authorized the subjugation of foreign nations and lands."

Talking from African perspective, Dube (2000:15-21) draws her critique against the misuse of the Bible by the Whites as they grabbed African land. She is convinced that "by implicating the Bible in the taking of the African black lands, biblical texts are marked as powerful rhetorical instruments of imperialism." Pui-lan (1996:213) adds that since biblical texts are products of colonial experiences, a postcolonial reading must "examine the cultural and historical processes that call them into being." Nevertheless, the fact that the Biblical texts are born "in an imperialist setting, they are postcolonial" (Dube 1997:15; cf Horsley 2000:153; Punt 2003:61-64); they contain a voice of justice and a call for liberation.

It should be noted that failures of the church as a human institution should not overshadow the anti-slavery and anti-colonial movements, mounted throughout the world by churches as institutions and also by individual churchmen. Yet, the attention must be drawn to how the church should focus more on and represent more and more the divine and universal mission of justice and righteousness, according to its calling in Jesus Christ.

The work of liberation theology, staging campaigns against poverty and social and political injustices in Latin America (such as the campaigns of Guitierrez, Bonino and Segundo and in Africa, particularly in South Africa (through the work of Tutu, Boesak and others), is indeed a noble achievement. Postcolonial theory is building onto these very campaigns to enlarge the scope of justice and freedom. A postcolonial reading of the Bible is a war against sin: neocolonialism, corruption and social injustices in every aspect of society, regardless of its agent. In this case postcolonialism "is not a discourse of historical accusations, but a committed search and struggle for decolonization and liberation of the oppressed" (Dube 1997:14).

However, what is challenging is that the Bible, as a text, was produced and circulated under imperial rule, to the extent of it being at the service of colonial expansion, as Punt and many others have argued (Punt 2003:71; cf Pui-lan 1996:212; Tamez 1996:203-205). For Pui-lan (1996:212-213), the introduction of postcolonial hermeneutics provides new avenues of interrogating the Bible as "a cultural product, the formation of canon, and the politics of biblical interpretation." Two issues are raised here.

The first one has to do with the question of biblical interpretation. Pui-lan challenges those who dominated biblical hermeneutics, as if the Bible was "a frozen artifact," whose meaning can only be activated or given by "the experts in the metropolitan centres … under the rubric of 'objectivity' and 'scientific inquiry.'" With this traditional and colonial thinking (see Tamez 1996:204), tricontinental biblical scholars cannot from their own cultural and contextual understanding have direct access to the biblical text.

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This triangular hermeneutics (the Bible provides the text – the Western theologian produces the hermeneutics – the rest of the world reads) – needs to be reviewed in a postcolonial process. The idea is not to destroy the hermeneutical tools produced by Western theologians, but to recognize, to make use of and to expand hermeneutical principles that are being produced from tricontinental perspectives. Ukpong (2001:147-167) strongly emphasizes the need for "decolonizing our readings". Arguing from an African perspective, Ukpong (2001:158) says that if exegesis is to be truly contextual and African, "an ideological break with the western centrist ideology" is necessary. African perspectives and contexts must stimulate exegetes to formulate questions that are relevant to their own situations. "We must engage in serious and innovative research that will open up new vistas in biblical scholarship."

However, it is not sufficient to produce only that which is relevant to one's own context. My argument is that tricontinental hermeneutics must be relevant to tricontinental contexts, but also to the rest of biblical interpretation. The criticism of Schroer (2003:1-17) and Dube (2003:60-78) with regard to feminist hermeneutics is very compelling. Schroer (2003:13) directs her criticism on feminist exegesis at a defensive-type of theology or the "de-constructive" type of orientation which is not a competitive hermeneutical tool. Her challenge is that "constructiveness is an urgent appeal to feminist exegetes to transform creatively their important critical analysis so as not to remain merely de-constructive but to introduce orientation and constructiveness of their work."

Dube (2003:63) takes this argument further by saying that most of the time feminist reading highlights "the gender constructions" in a text and how they serve as "ideological tools" that challenge the subordination of women or even empower them. But highlighting a problem without advancing an alternative will hardly change the situation. This poses a valid challenge to postcolonial reading as well.

In Pobee's edited work (1992), the various contributors in their journey searching for an "Afro-Christology" grapple with meaning of Christianity. Pobee (1992:13-15) is convinced that Africa, having been invaded by foreign cultural influence and colonization, the "*homo*

africanus is now in a state of flux, if not confusion" and that articulation of "African anthropology as of now is a must." The tricontinental biblical reading development must be grounded in their own worldviews and contexts. Tricontinental biblical christology (cf Pobee 1992:6) must find its meaning in the Word – Life that became flesh and dwelt among the people (John 1:12;). Mofokeng (1992:85-94; see Kalilombe 1995:421-422) objects to a "cheap delivery" of hermeneutics "developed elsewhere in response to social and religious challenges of other social settings." Sugirtharajah (1995:459) refers to Western hermeneutics as "colonial tools".

These hermeneutics are inadequate and incapable of explaining the harsh realities of our world of inequality, oppression and exploitation. As long as the Christology of Jesus remains foreign, Jesus will remain unknown. As Mbiti (1992:28) puts it "His many faces are blurred till they find a focus on the Jesus of history and geography," not from a theoretical foreign interpretation, but from local context. So that the Word is understood, digested and becomes "flesh and blood" as Senghor (1964a:83) would refer to it, so as Segovia (1995a: 3-7) at a later stage. Tamez (1996:203-205) widens the spectrum of hermeneutics. From Latin American experiences, she indicates a "hermeneutical leap" which must be the focus of a postcolonial reading.

Moreover, Sugirtharajah (1995:1) is convinced that although there was a lack of interest to recognize the importance of "Third-World biblical discourse" in the past, today, it no longer is the case. Tricontinental biblical scholars must seize the momentum and use their common experiences of anti-colonialism and preach justice for all. These experiences of pain and long walk to freedom, and rich cultural diversity in songs, dances, dreams, and religious practices (compatible with the Word of God), must also be engaged in rebuilding a society based on justice and righteousness. This is the work of the deconstructive process through which a postcolonial reading lets the voiceless speak and lets the oppressed participate fully in the struggle for their deliverance (see Kalilombe 1995:421-435).

Tamez (2002:48-49) correctly emphasizes the point of hermeneutics that a "reading of the Scripture that truly liberates responds to the situation that has motivated the reading" and

that is how the Bible as the Word of God, that which liberates and revolutionizes, is constantly rediscovered. The meaning and the relevance of that Word – Life must be found in tricontinental anthropology, in the community of the poor, the marginalized, among the voiceless and the hybrids whose identity is constantly being contested. At the same time, this very Life is to change the lives of the colonizers by making them accept (in humility) their failures.

What is more challenging here, is to let the image of otherness in the other be recognized and fellowshipped, while those powers which had been used to dominate and to destroy are used instead to empower the other for God's sake and for the sake of a just world. It should be clear that the colonizer in this case can also refer to any oppressive powers in any society. Sugirtharajah (2001:250) argues that postcolonial theory must go beyond the binary notion of colonized and colonizer, and places the "emphasis on critical exchange and mutual transformation between the two."

The second issue in Pui-lan's critique (1996:213; cf 1995:289-294) is that of the Bible as a cultural product in space and time: both the truth and the authority of the Bible are questionable. Kunukawa (1996:123-125; see Sugirtharajah 1995:4-5; 2001:257-258) questions "religionism and absolutism" as opposed to "relativization." Her argument is that with relativization of the biblical texts they are turned into "one of the historical treasures in the world" and are acknowledged as a "human product with distinctive perspectives in one's own distinct contexts."

Banana (1995:69-82) calls for a rewriting of a new Bible in order to liberate it from "culture-specific world views"; from constantly being used as "an oppressive instrument"; and from being "a property of an ethnic syndicate". This "multiscripturality" as Punt (2003:72) refers to it, does not only require the discovery and creation of new texts, but also to come to terms with other "religious texts." Tamez (1996:205) is convinced that "hermeneutical leap" within biblical reading, demands acknowledging that colonial elements were already present during the production of the text and transcending the canon. Thus, postcolonial or "grassroots"

hermeneutics must assume the task of "re-appropriating the biblical texts and re-reading them from a liberating perspective."

Sugirtharajah (2001:257-258) thinks that in the age of questioning traditional sources such as sacred text, the Bible among them, may not be the only avenues for answers. For this reason, he sees the aim of postcolonial reading not "to invest text with properties which no longer have relevance to our context"; not to rediscover the Bible as an alternative for a better world; nor to approach it for its "intrinsic authoritativeness"; but because of "thematic presuppositions of postcolonialism" that are influenced by cultural and psychological effects of hybridity and alienation caused by colonialism. The "truth of the text" is questionable here and Punt (2003:72) has right to be concerned.

> [I]f in the framing of the postcolonial hermeneutics it is in the final instance not concerned with the 'truth of text' but rather with the central issue of the text's promotion of colonial ideology… its usefulness on the African continent where the Bible is still highly valued for many reasons, become a concern. If the Bible is studied only for identifying 'those intrinsic textual features which embody colonial codes', and when the value of studying these texts for their own sake or for theological and spiritual inspiration are secondary at best, it remains a question whether postcolonial hermeneutics are not short-circuiting itself, in Africa, but also elsewhere.

Reading the Bible for the sake of hermeneutical rehearsal cheapens the *raison d'être* of the postcolonial endeavor. Okure (1995:52-66; cf Mesters 1995:407-420) highlights some of the difficulties associated with cultural criticism (postcolonial approach) as it deals with biblical texts. One of the problems centers on "the nature of the text itself as the life of a given people and as the inspired word of God." Another problem is "the right of an author to his or her meaning". Although the text is influenced by its context, the author, the interpreters and the readers of different audiences it encounters, in Christian communities, the Bible is the

inspired word of God and has canonical status. Okure's (1995:55) question, "how does one safeguard the authenticity of the meaning of the text and guard against subjectivism?" is fundamental.

Mesters (1995:415-416) has reason to argue that tools one adopts in reading the Bible are much more than a set of techniques. They must be able to express, actualize and transmit "a particular vision of the Bible and revelation." Segovia (1995b:327-330) outlines some of the reasons why the Bible must remain as an "effective weapon" and a "faithful ally" in the struggle for liberation, in this case postcolonial theory. Any method used to interpret biblical text must have real life and a community's faith as point of departure and must respect the text.

Whatever hermeneutical tool the reader is using, he/she is looking for only two important things in scriptures: to discover life and faith. Taking the example of Latin America in light of liberation theology, Sugirtharajah (2001:218) observes an important point. Ordinary people are looking for two important meanings in a text, namely "historical-explicit and implicit-prophetic" meaning. If postcolonial theory fails to channel its focus towards those spiritual and physical needs, it can easily end up re-colonizing the subject that it wants to decolonize.

Tamez's (1996:205) proposition is both interesting and challenging. Appreciation for other liberating forms of aura/oral religious traditions and even from other religious texts, songs and political discourses, not resulting in biblical texts, need not to be pushed aside or replaced. It is rather a case of interpreters and readers finding a common ground for dialogue in "a world where many worlds fit"[70] as long as it imparts life and generates faith and hope to challenge oppression, domination, exploitation and injustice committed against the weak and the poor in the community.

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[70] Tamez quotes the Mexican revolutionary movement's creed of the Zapatista with a perspective of a "house in which there is room for everybody."

2.6.2   Limitations of postcolonial theory

Postcolonial theory is a paradox exercise, especially when it deals with locations and specifics, in a world of generalization and globalization, by seeking recognition of an identity within a world of cultural diversities. Ivison (1997:154) laments that it is "extremely difficult to establish a general sense of postcolonialism", since it means different things to different people with different histories in different contexts. This is because of the continuity within the discontinuity of colonialism and imperialism in the postcolonial era.

As part of the social scientific method, postcolonial theory encounters some crucial translation problems as many theorists have warned (Riley 1963:704-716; Judge 1980:201-217; cf Van Staden 1991:166-117; Elliott 1993: 38, Craffert 1992:217-239; Esler 1994:4; Robbins 1994:277-279; Vledder 1997:22-23; Van Aarde 2004a:14-15). According to Riley (1963:704-707; cf Van Staden 1994:166-167), fallacies arise in research, either because "methods fail to fit model"[71] or "methods fail to fit facts."[72] Subsequently, postcolonial theory becomes vulnerable of ethnocentrism and an anachronism.

Using Judge's arguments, Craffert (1992:217) says that social theories cannot easily and safely be transported across cultures and centuries without verification. Social models that are defined in terms of other cultures are "imported into the world of the New Testament". The importation of cultures molded in terms of other cultures can easily cause frustration.

Van Aarde (2004a:14-15; cf 2002a:419-422) is wary of ethnocentrism. Since postcolonial biblical reading is concerned with cross-cultural dynamics of the culture of people in the biblical times and the cultures of the tricontinental world in a postcolonial era, "the hermeneutical 'fallacy of ethnocentrism'" is a real danger. Cultures are indeed not necessarily

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[71] The explanation given by Riley (1963:704) and Van Staden (1994:166) shows that this type of fallacy occurs when a researcher chooses a research case from a social system level that does not fit his conceptual model. If for instance, the model refers to individuals in roles, while the researcher bases his/her analysis on the group. This is called aggregative fallacy, while atomistic fallacy occurs when the researcher's model refers to the group, but the analysis of the researcher is based on individuals.

[72] From the same explanation as above, two other fallacies, namely psychological and sociological occur. In this instance, the method may fit the model, but fails to discover the relevant facts. Consequently, the group data alone may not adequately prevent a sociolinguistic fallacy even when the focus is on the group; nor can individual data alone prevent a psychologistic fallacy, even when the focus is on the individual.

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the same, even if there are some similarities, they remain different. This cultural difference and distinction "function on a synchronic as well as a diachronic level." The first problem postcolonial theory faces, lies within its formation. Even cultures within a "contemporaneous time-span", e.g. Asian and African cultures, or to be more precise, the Banyamulenge and Babembe cultures within the same South-Kivu province in the DRC, are not similarly constituted.

Furthermore, postcolonial theory takes shape from modern industrialization and globalization influence after colonization. Consciously or unconsciously, this influence has left marks on native cultures from which postcolonialism emerge. Cultural distance is even more complicated in the case of ancient and biblical societies that are separated by so many centuries. As Rohrbaugh (1996:2-6) explains the use of cultural reading in the New Testament, a cross-cultural understanding can cause a culture shock, because the reader is cut off from those things that are familiar to him/her.

At the same time, using postcolonial theory to investigate both text and context of the ancient period, can result in an "anachronistic and historical" exercise, Gallagher (1996:230; cf Condran 1997:54) warns. Or it can lead to "a chronological mislocation of a historical happening". According to Moore (2000:185), postcolonial studies do pose a formidable "translation" problem for students of ancient literature (cf Gallagher 1996:230-233; Van Aarde 2004a:14). Harmony in construction of cultures between time and space is indeed a difficult undertaking.

A blending of natives' experiences of oppression with the colonial culture of excessive force within a postcolonial setting can never achieve equality. It can only be, however, a matter of desire. As has been seen on a political level, such amalgamation has produced neocolonialism (see Nkrumah 1965: xi; 1968:15) in the name of civilization (see Loomba 1998:184). Within this new breed, independent states have no control, but accept and "nativize" neocolonialism and in turn, it creates a culture of dependency (see Mazrui 1980: 84-112; Yansané 1980:3). Moreover, the use of power and dominance is not only between the colonizer and the colonized, but also between the postcolonial elite and the postcolonial subaltern. The

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reconciliation process of these "classes" in an egalitarian status is a process that never reaches its end. In other words the "post" in postcolonialism never reaches its end. Into the word of the Apostle Paul, it would be "Not that I have already obtained all this… but I press on …" (Phil 3:12).

For Gallagher (1996:235-239), this "social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, on-going negotiation" which results in syncretism and hybridity. Postcolonial theory is not a ready-made theory; it constructs itself along generations, hoping for a historical, but slow transformation in order to impart life. Hybrid identities are, however, fragile and complicit. To some extent, this hybridization is seen as "raceless chaos" or a "radical heterogeneity, discontinuity, the permanent revolution of forms" (Young 1995:25). This becomes clear from examples of ethnic intermarriage between Hutu-Tutsi (in Burundi and Rwanda) or Hema-Lendu tribes (in Ituri, DRC) in Central Africa. Whenever there is a competition of power (conflict) or of any given interest, these half identities are constantly being victimized.

Often these people are included, yet excluded; they find themselves belonging, yet not belonging; they find themselves being the subject of constant suspicion. This also applies to African countries within the politics of economic globalization. During a church consultation on NEPAD[73] that was held in Johannesburg,[74] Mushana said "NEPAD faces two global realities: an asymmetrical global economy in which trade and finance practices favor rich nations and the quest for a just world in which all countries can benefit equally from trade and finance."[75]

The above examples raise a critical issue regarding the accountability and responsibility of national elites. In this regard, it is important to take note of Fanon's observation on national

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[73] New Partnership for Africa's Development.

[74] The conference was organized by the All Africa Conference of Churches, the South African Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches and was held from 23-26 March 2003 under the theme "Behold I create a new Africa".

[75] See summary report, p 6.

consciousness. Although neocolonialism will be blamed as a continuity of imperialism, little effort has been made by the elites to retain the spirit of nationalism. Therefore, both political and economic structures are strengthened through the participation of people from the top to the grassroots. Instead, nationalism was soon replaced by regionalism, tribalism and ethnicity (See Hameso, 1997). In other words, "nation is passed over for the race, and tribe is preferred to the state" (Fanon 1995:156). According to Fanon (1995:156), this is the result of "the incapacity of the national [elite] class to rationalize popular action". The weakness should not only be seen in a "mutilation colonized people by the colonial regime", it is also "the result of intellectual laziness of the national middle class [elite], of its spiritual penury…"

Having referred to fallacies associated with social scientific criticism, exegetes need to exercise caution when using postcolonial theory. It is commendable that they integrate "insights from social-scientific biblical criticism" (Van Aarde 2004a:14-15), that try to avoid these fallacies (see Elliott 1993:36-58); Van Staden 1994:166-168; Rohrbaugh 1996:2-6; Condran 1997:58-60). By avoiding the fallacies, the world of research becomes more meaningful.

2.6.3   Social scientific criticism

The apparent question to start with is: does postcolonial theory fit in models of biblical research? How can these models be drawn? Malina (1983:14; cf Craffert 1992:224-226; Elliott 1993:41), defines a model as an "abstracted simplified representation of some real world object, event, or interaction constructed for the purpose of understanding, control, or prediction." Models can be viewed as part of human processes which facilitate an understanding of a given context being investigated (see Elliott 1993:42). In addition, Carney (1975:7-9; cf Esler 1995:4-8; Vledder 1997:25; Horrell 1999:19-20; see Van Aarde 2002b:419-439) makes the point that a model works as a "tool or speculative instrument" to used to transform theories into research actions. Malina and Rohrbaugh (1992:4-5) add that "people think with models in order to understand, control, and/or predict" and that they are "cognitive devices" to help "to unearth dimensions of a setting not at once apparent" and to develop "the ramification of such dimensions."

According to Elliott (1993:44), models "are used explicitly to articulate … theories and test their validity." According to Carney (1975:8), theory is defined as "a basic proposition through which a variety of observations or alternatively statements become explicable. A model, by way of contrast, acts as a link between theories and observation." In this case, a theory serves as a foundation on which models are built in order to produce a working methodology in a particular study.

Elliott (1993:34-59) emphasizes two types of models that are of interest to this study, namely sectarian and conceptual models. Sectarian models (see Esler 1994: 13-17) are applied in features such as communal identity, cohesion and ideological commitment. They are useful in explaining tension based on a binary concept or on cultural or identity differences such as insiders/outsiders, Jew/Gentile, colonizer/colonized, male/female, rich/poor, master/slave, etc. Conceptual models (Elliott 1993:44; cf Van Staden 1991:158) serve as "vehicles for discovery, trying out new points of view, asking new questions" but also provide explanations and information required "to articulate a working model."

From social and anthropological studies, Elliott (1993:38; cf Van Staden 1991:152-155) mentions two concepts by which information is conveyed: *emic* and *etic*. *Emic* identifies "information provided by 'natives'", as perceived and narrated or explained from natives' experience. It "describes *what* and *how* the native thought." *Etic* on the other hand, deals with "the perspective of the external investigator" as determined by the knowledge available to him/her. It employs cross-cultural comparison "by taking into account a full range of factors not mentioned or considered in native reports … They seek to explain *why* the native thought and behaved so and not otherwise."

Therefore, as Elliott (1993:37-38) says, a method of analysis can include both *emic* and *etic* concepts as "means for *distinguishing and clarifying the differences between the social location of the interpreter and the social location of the authors and the objects to be interpreted.*" This social location encompasses all aspects of social life such as social classes, gender, ethnicity, roles and status, nationality, occupation, education, group membership, political and religious affiliation, language and cultural traditions, location in time and space.

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At the same time, Elliott (1993:61-62), explains that social environment can be directed to either "features of social system… [institutions] or features of the cultural system…[values]." Research can range from the macro-level to the micro-level of "social relations." In this case, *"systemic* analyses" deal with structures of the social system "as a whole and the interrelation of its constituent sectors." This ranges from the natural environment, resources, knowledge, and technology, economic and social systems and processes of organization and socialization; the political-military-legal system; personality structures, cultural systems, the relation of the social system to external factors and forces.

Consequently, these cross-cultural and social systems are relevant in applying postcolonial theory to reading the gospel of Matthew and in investigating practices of political occupation, oppression, discrimination based on gender, class, ethnicity or religious and political differences. This research argues that the Matthean community is a post-war community, thereby falling in a postcolonial context. This particular study engages the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5-7), in light of the core value of justice and righteousness in order to understand the teachings and acts of Jesus, with specific reference to the story of the Canaanite woman (Mt 15:21-28). Finally, the findings are also used in a cross-cultural test of relevance within the Banyamulenge community.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL LOCATION OF THE BANYAMULENGE COMMUNITY

3.1   Introduction

Contemporary researches, that give attention to the Banyamulenge like Weis (1958), Muzuri (1983), Kidogi (1985), Gatimbirizo (1988), Mbonyinkebe (1994), Dupont et al (1996), Mutambo (1997), Nzongola-Ntalaja (1999), McNulty (1999:53-82), Mamdani (1999:53-62), Ruhimbika (2001), Sarkin (2001), African Rights (2001), Koen (2002), Mangu (2002), ICG[76] (2003), Hans (2004) just to name a few, have mainly referred to the community only from a political and historical perspectives[77] in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and in the Great Lakes Region's context.

Some of these researches and writings are somehow a reaction to political issues, which have not been given enough space and genuine attention. Ever since, the Banyamulenge issue has been orchestrated by tensions and struggles that became entirely part of their history. One of the reasons of their conflict is based on their national identity and exclusion in the ex-Zaire (DRC). Banyamulenge community came more on an international scene during the recent war of 1996, when the late President Kabila led a rebellion movement against the late President Mobutu's regime.

However, what is often forgotten is that Banyamulenge is a people with cultural heritage and values that need to set a background for any venture in or about their community. A second reality is that as any cultures that experience change does create a cultural gap that needs to be bridged. Young generations no longer have opportunity to learn about their own history, due to "half-baked" colonial or modern civilization and Christianization of the community. Thus,

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[76] International Crisis Group.

[77] Except Nyakabwa, M & Gapusi, R, *Plantes médicinales utilisées chez les Banyamulenge de Fizi au Sud-Kivu (Zaïre)*, African Study Monographs, 1990, pp 101-113. This is the only research available (to the knowledge of this current study) that looks at traditional health care in Banyamulenge society. Despite that some members of the community have a rich and diverse knowledge in traditional medicine for both human and livestock, this "*connaissance phytopharmacologue*" (phytopharmacological knowledge) and practice has been, over the years, discouraged, despised and even treated as sin by both the colonizer and church traditions.

they are treated as grafted or translated people (see Young 2003:138-144) with no cultural values nor history, in their own land. The present generation seems to have lost touch with their cultural roots. Many young people do not have enough information on their cultural traditions. Although, no one would like to go backward, there is a need of being informed of what is one's past. Therefore, revisiting the old culture is not a matter of leisure but a matter of preserving history, which constitutes the human identity and dignity. Since most of cultural practices and information are still an oral tradition, interactions with Banyamulenge elders and old women from 1999-2004 had been done at length.

The aim of this chapter is to look at the context in which the Banyamulenge people emerge. This takes on board a general overview of their cultural, religious and political realities. The task of Patrice Lumumba in defining the Congolese national identity (Dunn 2003) within the context of colonial paternalism and tribal groupings is also highlighted.

3.2   Historical setting

3.2.1 Banyamulenge origins

Banyamulenge people are mainly Congolese Tutsis whose origin can be traced back in pre-colonial Rwanda and Burundi. For many years, they were identified as Banyarwanda or Tutsi of Congo. This however, took a sharp turn due to political and social realities in early 70's and the name Banyarwanda was changed to Banyamulenge as the sole identity for them. The name (Banyamulenge), according to Kidogi (1985:7), has a long history, which dates back to 16th century during the first Rwandan migrations and was used by those who remained in Rwanda to identify those who left for this part of the region, which was now called Congo by colonialist. "*L'ethnonyme Munyamulenge n'est pas une appellation récente comme certains l'osent croire. Elle date de longtemps. Elle a été donnée pendant la première migration du 16ème siècle par ceux là qui étaient restés sur place au Rwanda pré-colonial.*"[78]

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[78] The *ethnonyme* 'Munyamulenge' is not a recent name. It dates back to earlier times. It was given during the first migration of the 16th century by those who stayed behind in pre-colonial Rwanda.

The name Banyamulenge comes from the word *akarenge* and *uturenge* (in its plural form), which means small mountain(s) between forests. In Kinyarwanda, *Umurenge* means a village (Mutambo 1997:17). People living on those small mountains (*collines*) in the form of hamlets were called *bene-turenge* or *abanya-turenge* (owners of *uturenge*). These villages constituted an area or a location called *imurenge*. Those living in that location were called *abanyamurenge*.[79] Another historical fact is that the establishment of Banyamulenge in Lemera plateaus, coincided with the name of the one of the locations called Mulenge, which eventually would become "*un centre célèbre d'organisation de ce groupe*" (Gatimbirizo 1988:17; Kidogi 1985:9).[80]

According to some historical speculations,[81] Banyamulenge migrated to the plain of Ruzizi and its environs between the 17th and early 19th centuries (Weis 1958:16). For other authors, the migration period of Banyarwanda to Ruzizi valley varies from 16th to 19th centuries (Kidogi 1985:9; Dupont et al 1996:9). For the Rwandan historian Kagame (1972), quoted by Mutambo, this migration was around 1576 and 1609 (Mutambo 1997:21). Hertefelt (1966:17) puts the migration of "*lignages tuutsi du Rwanda*" (Tutsi lineage of Rwanda – [Banyamulenge]) in 19th century.

Depelchin (1974:50-70; cf Mutambo 1997:18-23) explains that there are some reasons linked to these different migrations: search of green pastures for their livestock; kingdom conflicts during the reign of Ruganzu II Ndoli between 1510-1543 and famine under the reign of Yuhi IV Gahindiro around 1746-1802. It must be understood that those periods are just speculations. To put it in short, all migrations were before the arrival (in the region) of western exploration (1857-1858) and well before the partition of African continent in 1885 (Maquet 1955:3).

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[79] Due to different migrations and contacts with other tribal groups of people, Banyamulenge community became an integration of Tutsi families from Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, and from other Congolese tribes (see Mutambo 1997:41).

[80] A recognized centre for this group's organization.

[81] This time of migration, people lived completely in oral traditions.

A sin that many politicians and historians commit with regard to the Banyamulenge is the image of foreignness they paint of the community, as if they were comers and settlers in a supposed politically and geographically defined country. Secondly, it is as if only the Banyamulenge migrated, despite African historical migration movements having taken place from one corner of the continent to the other. Vansina (1966:105-114, 201-221; cf Gatimbirizo 1988:12-15), gives a simplified ethnography account on migration and formation of different groups in Eastern Congo, in which he situates migration activities of most people – such as Barega, Bashi, Bafuliru, Babembe, Banyindu, Bavira, Banyanga, Bahunde, Banande, Bahema, etc – between 16th and 19th centuries. It becomes clear that settlement of the Banyamulenge in the Eastern Congo is neither a cultural nor a political conquest, but is the result of a normal migration process, like that of any other tribe in the area or in Africa for that matter.

Based on the above few scientific data available, it is wrong to discriminate one group of people that shares the same migration procedures with the rest of other communities. To use political and constitutional mechanisms to exclude one community on the ground of racial or ethnic differences is jeopardy of justice. It exposes the victimizer's sense of lack stewardship and accountability towards his/her neighbor.

3.2.2 Geographical setting

Banyamulenge people live in South Kivu Province, eastern DRC. Among other tribes that inhabit the province are Babembe, Bafuliru, Banyindu, Bavira, Barega, Batembo, Bahavu, Bashi, Babuyu, Banyindu, Barundi, and the Babwari. The Banyamulenge live mainly in the Minembwe, Fizi and Uvira Territories in the southwest of the Province. The Kakamba locality in the Ruzizi Plain (Muzuri 1983, Kidogi 1985: 9; Gatimbirizo 1988:16), became the first settlement of the Banyamulenge, and from there, they dispersed to many other places particularly towards the high mountains northwest of the Ruzizi Plain. The high altitude of about 3.000 feet above sea level (Gatimbirizo 1988:10) was conducive to their health and that of their livestock. They eventually populated the area from Rurambo to Milimba locations, which form of local administrative entity of Minembwe Territory.

3.3 Cultural heritage

3.3.1 Definition

From an anthropological point of view, culture and religion are two distinct terms which, however, complement each other in giving meaning to a given society. From an African experience, there is no culture without religion and there is no religion without a culture. "Historically, religion is one of the institutions every society has perpetuated in an attempt to work out the meaning of existence" (Henderson 1989:50). According to Mbiti (1990:1), Africans "are notoriously religious, and each people has its own religious system with a set of beliefs and practices." Malina (1993:9) defines culture as "an organized system of symbols by which persons, things, and events are endowed with rather specific and socially shared meanings and values." It is made up of those shared attitudes and values in any given society.

In addition, culture "is a design for life. It is a plan according to which society adapts itself to its physical, social and idealizational environment" (Luzbetak 1963:60-61). Thus, culture encompasses all ways required for survival of a community. Religion is a difficult term to define, especially from an African perspective. Mbiti (1990:1) says "religion can be discerned in terms of beliefs, ceremonies, rituals.…" He continues to argue that religion "is the strongest element in traditional background, and exerts probably the strongest influence upon the thinking and living of the people concerned". Religion can also be defined as beliefs in spiritual and supernatural beings.

3.3.2 Culture (*umuco*)

3.3.2.1 Habitation, economy and taboos

The Banyamulenge lived in hamlets in areas that are suited to their livestock. Until the late 70's, they were semi-nomads whereby their movement depended on the health of the families and their livestock. Death and poverty were linked to a specific place (*ikibanza)*, and every responsible head of a family had to provide protection for the family and for its possessions by changing the place of habitation. Hamlets were generally built according to clans and family affiliation.

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Until the 1960s, being a pastoralist community, Banyamulenge's main source of economy was livestock. Poultry (chicken: *inkoko*) constituted a lesser economic activity used for various transactions such as sale, exchange for a service rendered by neighbors[82] or to build relationship (*ubgira*) with neighbors. It was shameful for the Banyamulenge to eat chicken. To this day, pigs (*ingurube*) are regarded as unclean animals, which should not be kept by any member of the community. Goats (*ihene*) could be sold or exchanged for whatever was needed by the family but was only to be eaten by men and it was a taboo for women. Sheep (*intama*) was regarded as a peaceful and sacred animal which was not supposed to be eaten.

A cow (*inka*) was considered next to man. Besides its milk (*amata*) and meat (*inyama*) being staple food, and butter (*amavuta*); its horns (*amahembe*) were used as water containers; its skin (*uruhu*) served as clothing and mat; its urine (*amaganga*) was a real disinfectant; the cow-dung (*amase*) were used to roughcast houses (*guhoma*) and fertilizer (*igitebo*). The cow served as dowry (*inkwano*) and the source of economy for the family. Finally the cow was and still is not just an animal but called *imbyeyi* or *mwimanyi* (benefactor) as Kidogi (1985:24) calls it "*à ce sujet une vache laitière est appelée ' imbyeyi' ou bien on pouvait encore l'appeler ' mwimanyi' c'est-à-dire bienfaitrice.*"[83]

For ages, the community lived on milk (*amata*), cooked blood (*ikiremve*) and cow's meat. As a result of contacts with other cultures, the Banyamulenge started to cultivate and eat other forms of food. Fish, pork, chicken and all game were regarded as unclean which no one in the community was allowed to eat. Their main vessels were: containers made of woods (*inkongoro)* for milk in different categories; and a big calabash (*igisabo)* for making butter (*amavuta*). *Imbehe* (a wooden plate) and *inkono* or *ibumba* (cooking pot), came from their neighbors.

3.3.2.2 Clothing
Adults wore cow hides, while children wore goats' and sheep skins. Women also wore jewels and ornaments around their necks, hips and legs. The bracelets they wore were known as

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[82] Neighbours here mean members of other different tribes/communities mentioned above in section 3.2.2.

[83] In this regard, a milk cow is called '*imbyeyi*' or one could even call it '*mwimanyi*' which means benefactor.

inyerere, ibitare and *inigi*. A bracelet (*urugoro*) was worn on the arms for men. Married and unmarried people could be distinguished by the way, they dressed. Women wore skirts (*inkanda*) made out of cowhides, while young boys and girls wore the softer hides of calves and goats. Men wore cows' hides in a style known as *urubega.*

Each social group had its hair shaven according to a specific custom. Men's hair was shaven, leaving a line from the front to the neck *(isunzu)*; women's hair was shaven bold (*agakumbu*) while for the boys and girls, some hair remained on the crown of the head, and was known also as *isunzu*. The unmarried members of the community could be differentiated from the married ones by their clothing or by their haircut. A lotion made from butter (*amavuta*) that is mixed with special tree leaves for fragrance and left to mature in a container (*icwende*) for a long time, was used as special skin lotion.

3.3.2.3 Poetry, song and dance

The men and women of the community were blessed with talents in songs (*indirimbo*), dance (*imbyino*) and poetry (*ibyivugo* or *ibironda*). Unfortunately these traditions were only passed on by means of oral tradition and are not otherwise recorded. Songs were philosophical and psychological in composition. They were used to praise both men and women of the community whose social achievements were lauded; other songs were in praise of cows or were used on special occasions. On the other hand, poetry was used in defiance of adversaries.

Traditional dances of the Banyamulenge are known as *Gutamba* (a slow dance), *kubyina izinka* (an energetic dance), and *Imbarato*.[84] These dances are performed on special occasions and festivities, such as marriage, sacrifice, and usual dancing occasions known as *ibitaramo*. The *ibisabo* (big calabashes), *imyirongi* (flutes), and *inanga* (harps) were used as music instruments. One of the traditional songs goes like this:

> *Ni Rugerera rwasimbye urugabane itaha yigaza murugamba,*
>
> *Nanje nkumbuye Rumaranzara, inka yandemesheje mu Rugarama.*

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[84] The *Imbarato* or *Cihariza* is another type of dance taken over from their Bafuliru neighbours, and its main song was called *ntamakemwa*.

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In this song, the singer is singing the praises of his cow that had taken away his shame and hunger and had cared for him in Rugarama (the village he lived in).

3.3.2.4 Social and family classifications

Belonging to a reputable and renowned family is regarded as prestigious. Records are traced generations back to establish the status of grandfathers or great-grandfathers. This spirit of genealogy is still strong in maintaining ties with family roots. The society is built on family, clan and community (Mutambo 1997:132-133; cf Bourgeois 1954:112). For example, Rukundwa, the son of Sebitereko, son of Ndangamyi, belongs to the family of Rugayampunzi in the clan of Abitira, which is part of the Banyamulenge community.

Socialization, on the other hand, is determined by age and sex group. Community leaders are classified according to their wealth, for example the head of cattle one possesses and the size of the family (the number of children or family members). The bigger the family, the wealthier the individual was. Consequently, polygamy was generally accepted and was also considered as a sign of wealth.

The first-born boy in a family is the immediate heir to his father's responsibility and if the father dies, he should look after the rest of the household. In this event, the first-born is given a spear by a council of elders as a sign of full replacement of his late father. Family elders would help him (the heir) to achieve higher status and to be more effective, not only in the immediate family, but also in the community. If a girl happens to be the first-born, she would not be regarded as a first-born to the family for she could not inherit her father's responsibility. The culture treats her as a "passenger" who is born for others, that is, she will get married and will leave her father's family. Therefore, even if a boy is the last-born among many girls in the family, he would still be regarded and called the first-born.

Elders of each family, clan, village and location constitute a council of elders, which deals with all matters arising in the society and this council is respected by all. Poor people (where poverty is determined by the lack of children and a small number of cattle) and women generally do not have much of a say in society. The *imfura* (men of integrity and

compassion) is another category in society. The *Imfura* could be from high or middle classes and but would show mercy for the poor. They are known for their generosity in the community. The same title or discernment could also be given to women of integrity (*imfurakazi*). *Imfura* and *imfurakazi* were persons full of (humanity) *ubuntu* in them.

In the past, the community had a tradition of exchanging information (*kwibgirana* and *kubgirana amakuru*).[85] When two strangers met along the way, they would stop and would introduce themselves as a gesture of unity, solidarity and communication. In the process, they would exchange information regarding their identities, and that constituted a system of communication between different places.[86] During the course of a journey, this exchange of information would take place with all members of the community one would encounter along the way. Upon his return (*kuzindukuruka*), villagers would come to greet the journeyman and would ask him about his journey (*kubaz'amakuru*). His account would start with the day of his departure and would describe the journey in every detail. This account is called the *mpuruyaha*.

Education was informal. Tales of old people in villages, rituals, gatherings, ceremonies and festivals all formed part of the learning system. Different procedures are followed for the initiation of boys and girls. Boys are taught the *kuragira inka* (the art of herding cows in the fields), and the *kurinda* (the act of being brave against enemies and wild animals) to be able to protect their families and livestock from predators. Fear is associated with female. Different values are applied to girls. They had to grow up with prejudices that they were inferior to boys. They were taught from an early age how to do domestic work, such as collection of firewood (*gutoragura*), cleaning of the cows and calves sheds (*gukuka* and *kwahira icarire c'inyana*), assisting men when milking the cows (*gukamisha*), fetching water (*kuvoma*) and cooking (*guteka*). Boys and girls were taught songs and dance. Early marriage depended on how highly rated a girl's domestic activities were (*ubukuba*), or by the wealth of her parents. A girl's virginity was central to the honor of the family. Girls were taught how to keep themselves pure so as not to destroy their lives.

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[85] *Kwibgirana* means to introduce one another and *kubgirana amakuru* is information exchange.

[86] The exchange of information includes names, parents, clans and location, purpose of journeys, and any matter arising on point of departures or on the way.

From an economic point of view, the community was quite socialist in nature. Wealth was measured by family – number of children and the head of cattle one owned; poverty was the opposite. People lived in villages according to families. They lived in the same type of house (huts), had the same staple food, namely milk, meat, but also maize, cassava, beans and bananas being gradually introduced to the diet. They wore the same clothes (cows' hides), and grazed their cattle in the same fields. But each individual family had its own cattle. There were ways of solving poverty in the community. For instance, childlessness was dealt with in two ways: Should the wife be infertile, the husband would be encouraged to marry another woman. Should the man be impotent, another man from his family would offer to father offspring for him (*kumubyarira*), for life in the community was about sharing.

In the case of a cattle shortage or in case of calamity, immediate clans would donate cows (*gushumbusha*)[87] to the poor/victim. It was also done on a more personalized basis (*kugaba*). [88] There was a certain obligation to give towards the poor. The one who receives a cow will honor his benefactor (*umuhanyi*),[89] one such example is a poem in which a beneficiary expresses his gratitude to his benefactor "*yankuye mugisaka anshira mugisagara*"[90] (he who removed me from the bush and put me in a town/village). A more lucrative way of helping the poor was when an opportunity was given to the poor man to be a herdsman (*umushumba*) of the rich person's herds for a year in return for a cow.

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[87] *Gushumbusha* is practiced mainly when the beneficiary had been hit by calamity that destroyed all or part of his herds or he had lost his wife and wanted to remarry. However, this can also be an expression of generosity in the family and the community when those who have enough would share their wealth with the poor among them.
[88] Kugaba expresses generosity, but is also a way of strengthening relationships between relatives, friends within and beyond kinship.

[89] The term is commonly used in the region by the Bashi, Bafuliru in South Kivu, but also by Burundians and Rwandans.

[90] The expression means that the benefactor has alleviated the misery and shame of the poor.

3.4 Marriage

3.4.1 Dowry payment procedure

Marriage in the Banyamulenge community is unique and generally keeps the community from tribal inter-marriage.[91] Marriage could be between two families belonging to two different clans. Marriages between cousins were permitted. This also applied to Burundians and Rwandans (Bourgeois 1954:123). Dowry could not be paid in any form other than cows. Other tribes could pay dowry in the form of goats, money, hoes, clothes, et cetera. The number of cows to make up the dowry depended on one's wealth. Social classes played a role: Poor married into poor families and rich into rich families. It is important to note that a groom could not choose bride, as it was the prerogative of parents and families. The marriage ceremony had various stages:

- Introduction (*kubaz'umugeni*) betrothal or engagement;
- Payment of dowry in installments (inka *yo gufat'irembo*). This period could stretch over many months or even years;
- Payment of dowry in full (*gukoshanya*).

The payment of dowry is a whole process. Before the betrothal, a young man does not own cows of his own. Therefore, his family would pay the dowry (*inkwano*) on his behalf. The bigger the dowry, the bigger the share *(indongoranyo)* the groom (and the bride) would get to start their family life with (see Bourgeois 1954:141-143). A part of the dowry paid (*gukura izigitwe*) will remain with the bride's family and the rest would be given to the new family to be. For instance, if the groom's family paid twenty cows, the bride's family would keep between seven and ten,[92] and would give the rest to the groom as the foundation for his

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[91] Inter-marriage practices, especially with assimilated groups within the Banyamulenge community, were common, but not so much with outsiders.

[92] This depends on negotiations. Because there is no exact number of cows required. Between 1978 and 1990, some regulations had been enacted by council of elders, church leaders and local chiefs within the community, on matters of dowry. The council had agreed to put the share of the bride's parents (*gukura izigitwe*) at four cows as a standard. But this procedure was later abolished due to various circumstances.

future family. But poor families could only offer a few cows (sometimes as little as one or two). This dowry is called *inyegeka,*[93] because the groom would not get his *indongoranyo*.

3.4.2 Preparation of the bride to become integrated with the family of the groom

Three options were used in preparing the bride to integrate with the groom's family:

- First of all the groom could go and live with his fiancée's family for 12 to 24 months, (this is known as *gutahira*). During this time the groom familiarized himself with his future family-in-law. The groom was free to stay with his wife to be. After this period, he would return to his home and his family would arrange the wedding ceremony;
- The groom's family could decide that the bride should move in with them without the *gutahira*. A ceremony will be organized and the bride would be brought home*;*
- The groom could be motivated by his peers to simply snatch his bride from her family (*guterura*) and take her home. In this case, a messenger would be sent to the bride's family to inform them of what happened. The message is known as *kwibura* (to ask for forgiveness for the act committed).

Whatever option is exercised, each ceremony was characterized by a particular speech (*gufomora*) and the consumption of local brew (*inzoga*). Marriage ceremonies were held at night and were accompanied by drinking, eating, singing and dancing. The bride and the groom would exchange big calabashes (*ibisabo*) and both would move around a burning fire (*igicaniro*) before entering their house. *Igisabo*[94] and *igicaniro* symbolized blessing and wealth. On the day of the wedding two important rituals took place: One is the use of *amata* (milk). The groom and the bride would hold milk in their mouths and spit it on each other's legs as a sign of a pure marriage and to pledge their commitment to each other. This was called *gucir'an'imbazi.*[95] The second ritual was performed before the couple would sleep together, when two other young persons of their age (a young man and young woman)

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[93] Insufficient payment of a dowry.

[94] *Igisabo* is a singular form of *ibisabo*.

[95] This is equivalent of the modern exchange of wedding rings.

would join them on the same bed for a while before taking their leave. This was called *guter'umwishwa.*

The bride would not appear in public, but would remain in the house in a place called *mugakinga* for one to two weeks, until her father-in-law would come to greet her (*gutinyura*). The greeting would contain words such as "this family is yours, make it your own, organize it, defend it and multiply it. You are no longer a stranger, its people are your people and its wealth is yours as well." This event would be followed by a visit from her family, coming to greet her (*gukoza muziko*). Six or nine months later, the wife would go to greet her parents and stay with them for a month (*kuramutsa*). During this initial phase, she would still be called *umugeni* (bride) and would be in the company of her sisters-in-law (*baramukazi*), the wives of her brothers-in-law (*bakeba*) and occasionally with her mother-in-law and the grandmother of her husband. They would familiarize her with the family's internal affairs (what to do and what not to do in the family). As a way of expressing respect, the bride did not call her parents-in-law and those related by their names (*gutsinda)*. For this period, she depends on her mother-in-law in sharing kitchen and other household activities.

Finally, once she had settled into her own life, she would be allowed to again visit her parents for six or twelve months. Upon her return, she would be escorted by many people and would bring all kitchen utensils and food along and from then on, she would have her own kitchen (*guteka*). By this time, the husband would have changed camps and peer group. From now on, he would be associated with the married ones who would instruct him as far as his family responsibilities were concerned.

Marriage was not a private business between a man and a woman, but a family affair. The wife, who became part of the family, became the wife of the entire family. This to some extend protected wives from abuses of irresponsible husbands, whereby, every matter arising would be treated as a family issue. According to the customs, peers of the same family could exchange wives for sexual intercourse, and children born from such exchange, still belonged to the family. Identity was vested in the extended family rather than in the immediate one. This way of life enabled impotent men and widows to have children born to them. Adultery was an offense if committed outside the family of involved partners, and was a serious

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offense if committed outside tribal boundaries. This resulted in immediate divorce or the woman had to undergo certain cleansing rituals and would be given fines (*iciru*) before she could again have sexual intercourse with her husband.

Separation (*kwahukana*) and divorce (*gutandukana burundu*) did not occur as a rule, but were allowed under certain circumstances:

- Adultery (with men outside the family);
- Laziness;
- Stubbornness of either partner;
- Infertility.[96]

3.5   Religion

3.5.1   God "*Imana*"

For generations, "New events (bad or good), such as conflicts, wars, education, modern civilization, cultural interference, do affect existing cultural norms in any given community. But traditional religion does not know reform, one has to stick with it. "Religion in African societies is written not on paper but in people's hearts, minds, oral history, rituals …" (Mbiti 1990:3). The term *Imana* (God) is used to refer to a Supreme Being, unreachable beyond the other gods. He is the creator of all things (Bourgeois 1956:11). *Imana* is only invoked when all other earthly, spiritual possibilities and alternatives failed in a given situation. In such cases people would resort to declaring that "only God can intervene or only God knows" (*ahasigaye n'ah'Imana*), implying that blessings and prosperity come from God. On the other hand, there was *Nyabihori* (the devil), the creator of the evil who inflicted poverty upon people.

One of the Banyamulenge women songs is about *Imana* and it says:

Icompa nkamenya aho irara nkayipfukamira nkayisenge,

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[96] This being the case, the man was encouraged to marry another woman and be polygamous.

Nkayibaza ico yampoye (yahoye umutindi)[97] (May I know where he lives and I would go to worship him and ask him why he is against me).

Moreover, *Imana* was also mentioned as a way of dealing with impossibilities.[98]

3.5.2   Worship and high priests

The Banyamulenge, like their neighbors, had mediators that acted between God and the community. *Ryangombe*[99] is the Banyamulenge's mediator. *Ryangombe* is also the deity of many communities in Eastern Africa including the Banyarwanda, Barundi, Bashi, Bahavu and Bahaya (see Bourgeois 1956:10-12; Berger 1981:57-66, 149-151; D'Hertefelt, Trouwborst & Scherer 1962). For the Banyamulenge, *Ryangombe* took on the form of a woman.

There was also another agent of god, called *Binego* or *Mushayija,* who took on the form of a man. This agent was tough, had nothing to offer and people feared him. *Binego* called himself "*Ndi Mushaija, ndi rukenya-bugingo rwanjanja, ndabyarwa si mbyara*" (I am Mushaija, the destroyer of life; I am born and cannot give birth). On the other hand, Ryangombe was the god of blessings and procreation. Ryangombe and Binego were worshiped by sitting on chairs holding cooking sticks (*umwoko)* and sticks (*inkoni*) respectively as symbols of family life. Worship was accompanied by offerings which could be in the form of thanksgiving, praise, a pledge or a plea for forgiveness.

Community worshippers would pray and ask for protection: "*kajikera Ryangombe*, *uramp'ibyara n'itunga*" (live long *Ryangombo*, may you give me many children and wealth). Only those who had gone through religious initiation (*kubandwa*) assumed the role

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[97] The song was composed by an infertile woman who did not have the fortune of her own children. The song takes on the form of a prayer.

[98] *Imana* was able to repair the un-repairable, hence the expression *ahasigaye nah' Imana ....* (only God knows…) is still used, even today.

[99] Berger (1981:142-151) shows how legends about Ryangombe slightly differ from one community to the other in Eastern and Central African countries.

of Ryangombe and Binego. It must also be noted that unlike many of their neighboring tribes, Banyamulenge never worshipped objects and nature.

There used to be four ways of offering sacrifice and worship (rituals):

- Worshipping ancestors' spirits (*imuzimu ya basogokuru*): the family would build a small building or used a piece of prepared land to which they would bring fire, milk and/or drinks (local brew). They would pray to the spirits (communication between the living and the dead). They believed that their ancestors never disappeared and still had power and an important role to play in daily lives of the living.

- *Kumurika*. A female lamb (blameless), fire and milk would be brought before a prepared place (altar) and the head of the family would confess all their needs onto the lamb, called *intama y'icogoro.* The lamb was presented to god as an offering of the family and was not supposed to be killed. This process was called *kumurika.*[100] A calf, called *inka ya kagoro*, was also used in place of a lamb.

- *Kubandwa.* This was the initiation of persons into the group of priests (*imandwa*). This group consisted of men and women who held a secret (*ibanga*) of spirits. On the day of initiation, they would paint their faces with white soil (*ingwa*), and would act in a wild manner and would utter shameful things. This ceremony would last one to two days.

- *Guterekera*. In case of a problem or difficulty being experienced in a family, the head of the family would go to a traditional healer (*umupfumu*) or a seer (*umuragu*) to find out why his family or livestock was in trouble. This process was called *kuraguza.* The healer would then advise that his ancestors' spirits were haunting him for one of the following reasons: either he had not been true to his pledges made during previous difficulties or had taken too long to communicate with his

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[100] This process corresponds with the scapegoat offering in Leviticus 16. Although in the case of the Banyamulenge, a lamb and a calf were used instead of a goat, they were not to be sent into the desert, but would not be killed, but be set free.

ancestral spirits and/or giving sacrifice; it could also be that orphans and widows were neglected in the community or in a particular family. The person then would plan a ceremony of sacrifice called *guterekera*.

Guterekera was the most expensive, expansive and sacred of ceremonies. The family concerned would prepare a beautiful and blameless ox, which would be examined to make sure it had no blemish (*agasembga)* before it could be offered. A selected man would be given an axe to kill the ox with; if he cuts twice, or the ox groans, then it was not worthy of sacrifice (*gupfuba*) and another ox would be selected and killed. The ritual was to only cut once without any noise being heard. The family would prepare vast quantities of drinks and milk; others in the village and its surroundings would be invited and would even make contributions towards the ceremony. The ceremony would last two to three days. The family would also invite priests (*imandwa*), relatives and friends to the ceremony.

Come worship time during *guterekera* ceremony, the high priests (Ryangombe and Binego) would sit together on chairs in front of the house. The head of the family would present all his needs, thereafter the gods would accept the sacrifice and "grant his requests". The rest of the congregation was also free to worship and present their needs. As a sign of worship and of their commitment, the congregation went through the procession of *icuhagiro* (cleansing symbol). The high priests would use white soil (*ingwa)* mixed with water into a big pot, and everyone who came to worship here was painted. The painting being called *ikirabo,* while leaves of a special tree called *umuko* were used in the painting exercise. The high priests would drink from either a pot filled with local brew (*inzoga*) or a container (*inkongoro*) filled with milk (*amata*) and spit (*gufuhira*) the contents over all of those present as a sign of blessing and prosperity.

A burning fire called *igicaniro* (altar), considered to be sacred was made on an open patch in front of the house of an initiated family. On the day of a sacrifice, they would take all bones (*amagufwa*), abdomen (*amayezi)*, horns (*amahembe*) and blood (*amaraso*) of the sacrificed ox and burn them on the fire. As the smoke rose and spiraled, it was believed that their prayers were heard.

In conclusion, what is important to know about the Banyamulenge's religious life, is that religion was part of a cultural process. Worship was never practiced individually or secretly: the gods belonged to the community and should only be worshipped through and by the community.

3.6   Political identity

3.6.1 General overview of Congolese politics: From colony to independence

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is one of a few countries in the world that has changed name several times in the course of its existence. This can be attributed to political fluidity and uncertainty that surround its history. Being the third largest country in Africa with 2,345,410 km^2, it has more than 450 tribes within her geo-political borders on nine neighboring countries.[101] It is also the only country in Africa that once was a privately owned colony, and as the African country most envied by western imperialists, because of its natural resources and strategic location at the center of Africa.

It was the imperial wrangles over the control of the Congo basin, that Europe convened the Berlin Conference 1884-1885, which subsequently divided Africa (see Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002:14-29). Despite her natural and manpower resources, DRC is placed among the poorest and bloodiest countries of the world because of bad governance and cruelty imposed by both the colonizer and dictatorial leadership. Often, it has been labeled by western authors as the "Heart of darkness"[102] or the "Noble Savage" (Newbury 1998:76; Dunn 2003:4-6; see Hochschild 1998; Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002).

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[101] The DRC borders on the east Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania; Angola in the south-west; Congo Brazzaville lies to the northwest; it has the Republic of Central Africa and Sudan to its north; and in the south it borders on Zambia.

[102] The term was originally used by Joseph Conrad in his novel published in 1899, describing the Congo under Belgian colony.

The country is divided into ten administrative provinces[103]: Bandundu, Bas-Congo, Equateur, Kasai Occidental, Kasai Oriental, Katanga, North Kivu, South Kivu, Maniema, Province Orientale, and Kinshasa as capital city. To maintain a certain harmony amongst the diversity of its people, the DRC has four national languages: Swahili; Lingala, Kikongo and Kiluba, while French is the official language.

3.6.2 Colonial overview

From 1886 to 1908, the "Congo Free State" (CFS)[104] under king Leopold was ruled by an iron fist of the worst kind, generally referred to as the "red rubber"[105] business or the Belgian king's "rubber regime". The latter reference was used by many authors (Slade 1962:182-192; Schuyler 1962:47-63; Hochschild 1998; Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002:20-33; Dunn 2003:50-59). Several millions of people died in the "red rubber" business for the profit of king Leopold and the Belgian kingdom (cf Schuyler 1962:61; Hochschild 1998:233; Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002:13-60; Dunn 2003:44-45). As the blood of innocent Congolese stained the soil, Leopold's considerable wealth grew even more. According to Schuyler (1962:51), Leopold was regarded as one of the world's wealthiest men during the period of the rubber business. At one stage, according to Schuyler (1962:51), Leopold declared "My rights on the Congo are indivisible – no one possesses any right of intervention."

The carnage that took place in the king's private concession enriched him even more while "nothing was left for the Congolese" (Schuyler 1962:51). Horrible killings and oppression of the Congolese under Belgian rule brought shame upon and was an indictment to the European imperialists when the British shipping agent E. D. Morel exposed the horrors "based on the use of forced labor in the gathering of rubber" (Dunn 2003:50). The young Morel wrote that a "system has been introduced by the king Leopold II in the Congo Basin, imitated in some respect by others, which is turning its servants into brute beasts, disgracing European prestige, befouling civilization, and jeopardizing the whole future of European effort in the Dark Continent" (quoted by Dunn 2003:50).

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[103] According to the new constitutional project, the country will have 25 provinces.

[104] *Etat Indépendant du Congo* (EIC).

[105] The term was coined by anti-colonialist campaigns against atrocities in the Congo, led by Morel and missionaries in the West.

Morel began a campaign against king Leopold and in 1904 launched an international organization called the "Congo Reform Association" (CRA). The campaign joined efforts with Protestant white missionaries who revealed the Belgians atrocities against the people of the Congo (Schuyler 1962:58-61). The king was eventually obliged to hand the Congo to the Belgian government (Slade1962:182-192). At the same time, the Catholic church was only represented by Belgian missionaries who in turn compromised the church's prophetic mission, while human dignity was being violated. According to Dunn (2003:50-51; cf Slade 1962:183), Morel's courage was aroused by the fact that the Belgian ships from the Congo were laden with rubber and ivory, but on the return voyage to the Congo they "returned containing only arms and ammunitions."

French and British imperialism was generally conceived in such a way that it would foster "civilization and European culture" within the colonized states (Young 2001:25-43; Dunn 2003:51). Unfortunately Belgium, being a tribal (Gatimbirizo 1988:24), divided, small and poor nation, had no proper international policy to govern its imperial system in the Congo or in Rwanda-Urundi region. One of the Belgian socialists who were opposed to the Belgian king's brutal regime in the CFS, as quoted by Slade (1962:206) said: "We are incapable of giving to the Negroes that well-being which we have not yet achieved for ourselves."

Eventually, as Dunn (2003:51) points out, Morel and the anti-colonial movement presented the barbarity of the "Belgians as uncivilized or, more specifically, as illegitimate bearers of civilization." The true colors of the Belgians were exposed by anti-colonial campaigners who referred to the Belgian king as being "greed or evil incarnate". The king and his colonial state "were at risk of losing their sovereign claim to the Congo by losing their ability to author the Congolese social identity," thereby endangering Western colonial narratives. As Dunn (2003:52) says "[t]hey threatened to bring to light the violence underpinning all colonial and imperial projects."

However, under pressure, king Leopold proposed an alternate solution "by selling his personal estate [the Congo] to the Belgian government" in 1908 at a cost of "over 100

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million francs" (Dunn 2003:58). The "Congo Free State" changed its name to the "Belgian Congo." It must also be clearly understood that anti-colonial campaigns against the Belgian king were also mounted by Belgian people who were opposed to the brutal treatment of the Congolese (Slade 1962:199-210).

Despite the irony of the king Leopold being willing to sell the Congo to the Belgian government, the plight of the Congolese remained unchanged. "Leopold II's successors continued the process of constructing and imposing a colonial state in the Congo, violently extending Belgian occupation of the Congo's physical space and forcefully suppressing indigenous resistance" (Dunn 2003:58-59).[106] It is from this perspective that the Congolese identity was to be defined.

The colonial definition of a Congolese identity (Dunn 2003:26-27) was concerned "with fixing and policing boundaries of difference." As Dunn continues to argue from a colonial discourse, the Belgian colonizers, as did the other European colonizers, constructed the non-European as the *Other* in contrast to the European *Self*. This became the basis of the Belgian's definition of the Congolese social and political identity. Whites portrayed themselves as "physical embodiments of culture and civilization, while Africans were presented as lack or a negation of these characteristics". This characterization goes back to the Portuguese contact in 1482 with Congolese. From this period onward, "Christian/European" viewed indigenous (nonbelievers) as "savage idolaters, sinners untouched by God's redeeming love", while the "dominant belief was that salvation could only come about through increased, and controlled contact with Europeans."

Moreover, the architect of the Congolese colony, Henry Morton Stanley (Marvel 1948:9-20; cf Dunn 2003:29), who became king Leopold II's agent in the Congo, was an opportunist who wanted to build his social reputation at home. Dunn agrees that Stanley "employed the African Other" in an ongoing invention of his own identity. While "he passed himself off as a middle-class American with an elaborate background, he was really born a poor,

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[106] Although Slade (1962:210-214) argues that, the Congolese situation had improved to some extent. For Nzongola-Ntalaja (1998:6), "the basic features of economic exploitation, political repression and cultural oppression remained essentially the same, albeit less brutal."

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illegitimate Welsh orphan." According to Marvel (1948:9), Stanley's original identity was that of one John Rowlands born in Wales, a poor orphan who never knew his father and "rarely saw his mother." Longing for a place to call his own, Rowlands ended up in a Welsh orphanage, which he later deserted and managed to get on a ship to America, where he was adopted by Henry Morton Stanley.

Undoubtedly, according to Dunn (2003:29), Stanley spent most of his life "(re)inventing his own identity." His writings on the Congo should be seen therefore, to some degree, as "part of his project to align himself with certain Euro-American, civilized, white 'self'". Stanley, as quoted by Dunn (2003:26), once said "On the 14th August, 1879, I arrived before the mouth of this river to ascend it, with the novel mission of sowing along its banks civilised settlements, to peacefully conquer and subdue it, to remold it in harmony with modern ideas…."

For the Belgians, their colonial project in the Belgian Congo and Rwanda-Urundi was fundamental in defining and shaping their national identity in Europe and the world. Being a small nation, it was imperative for them to prove that it too can be part of imperialism. Dunn (2003:29) observes "[a]s a colonial power, [Belgium] had moved beyond its physical and economic limitations to take its place amongst the larger, stronger nations of Europe." Belgium was small, poor and tribal, its population being divided into Walloon and Flemish ethnic antagonism (Gatimbirizo 1988:24; cf Nzongola-Ntalaja 1999b:48-49), which contaminated its colonies during the colonial period. Mamdani (1999:55) and Van Woudenberg (2004:191) further elaborate on the argument that Belgian colonial rule accentuated ethnic divisions in the DRC. Another reality is that, unlike other European imperial systems (Young 2001:25-43), the colonial policy of the Belgians was paternalistic. In terms of such policy Africans were perceived as "children" or "feminized, helpless victims" (Dunn 2003:30).

At one stage Stanley, as quoted by Dunn (2003:30), defined a Congolese as "a barbarian man" who "is pure materialist". He is full of cravings for possessing something that he cannot describe. He is like a child which has not acquired the faculty of articulation". Such

policy never prepared the Congolese to become competitive, responsible and free in a world of business and development. The Belgian colonial policy, if at all a policy, hardly envisioned the future of either the colonizer or the colonized (cf Young 1979:138-144). The Congo ascended to independence from this reality, with no clear political, social and economic vision. Judging the Congo by its failures without looking at its colonial past, would be missing an essential part of its foundation.

3.6.3 The DRC politics: Nationalism or tribalism

As the winds of change and anti-colonial campaigns swept across Africa, the Belgian Congo obtained its independence for which it was not prepared on 30 June 1960. The country under the leadership of President Joseph Kasa-Vubu and Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba changed its name to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. A few months later, Lumumba was assassinated under mysterious circumstances (De Witte 2001). Five years later, on 24 November 1965, General Joseph Mobutu staged a successful coup d'état (Young & Turner 1985:41-60). Since the country's independence its democracy was unstable. As a result of its flaws, it was soon challenged by tribalism, rebellions, secession attempts and economic bankruptcy (see Clarke 1968; Young & Turner 1985; McNulty 1999:53-83; Nzongola-Ntalaja 1999b:50-52; 2002:94-168).

Laurent Desire Kabila, with the support of youths from the eastern regions and among them from the Banyamulenge community, under the AFDL,[107] waged a rebellion which toppled Mobutu in May 1997. On 2 August 1998, the RCD[108] started another rebellion against Kabila, who was assassinated on 16 January 2001. He was replaced by his son Joseph Kabila, while the country was going through its phase of balkanization. After a cease-fire was achieved under the Lusaka Agreement of 1999, a peace agreement, the direct result of Inter-Congolese Dialogue, was finally signed in 2003 in Pretoria, South Africa, between the warring factions and which resulted in the current transitional government.

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[107] *Alliance des Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Congo-Zaïre* (Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire).

[108] *Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie* (Congolese Rally for Democracy).

In dealing with local resistance against Belgian colonialism, it is interesting to note that this campaign was largely a tribal affair. While the Belgians had banned political activities, they encouraged tribal associations instead (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002:76). In the absence of a sense of nationhood from the start, nationalism was expressed in terms of kinship affiliations (Young and Turner 1985:40). Before 1957, the Belgians had adopted the politics of divided and rule in the Congo, and as a result all associations which expressed political feelings were ethnically constructed.

In this regard, the following serve as examples: the ABAKO,[109] BALUBAKAT,[110] CONAKAT,[111] and UNIMO.[112] It is only from 1957 to 1960 in the wake of independence that some of the tribal groupings tried to convert their associations into political parties. Among the stronger political parties that were formed were the PNP[113] and the MNC.[114] The latter later split into Lumumba and Kalondji wings. However, with Mobutu's ascent to power, all political parties were banned and a one party system was adopted under the MPR[115] in the early 1970s.

Protests and demonstrations were organized in urban centers. But as Mangu (2002:318) observes, many of these movements lacked political leadership. Many of them were basically unionists striving for an improvement in their social and economic conditions. In early January 1959, a major demonstration took place in Kinshasa resulting in furious colonial repression under the *Force Publique*[116] in which hundreds of demonstrators were

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[109] *Association de Bakongo* (Association of the Bakongo).

[110] *Baluba du Katanga* (The Baluba of Katanga).

[111] *Confédération Nationale des Tribus du Katanga* (National Confederation of Katanga Tribes).

[112] *Union Nationale des Mongo* (The National Union of Mongo).

[113] *Parti National du progrès* (National Progressive Party).

[114] *Mouvement National Congolais* (National Congolese Movement).

[115] *Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution* (Popular Revolutionary Movement).

[116] The Colonial army was a mixture of Belgians and Congolese nationals.

killed. However, these protests all contributed to mass movement awareness as far as anti-colonial campaigns were concerned.

3.6.4   Emergence and disappearance of Patrice Lumumba

In tribal politics, Patrice Lumumba chaired the Mutualité des Batetela[117] before becoming the leader of the APIC (Lumumba 1962:11),[118] while Kasa-Vubu led the ABAKO. While working at the post office in Kisangani, Lumumba served in the union workers' associations (Lumumba 1962:11). Lumumba, together with a few others were considered among the country's advanced persons (*les évolués*). Lumumba's political formation took place under the influence of Belgian colonial paternalistic trends, which Lumumba naively believed could through development and assimilation (Lumumba 1962:19-22) change the image of Congo. Like all his compatriots, Lumumba never had any contact with other African anti-colonial activists. It was only in late 1958 at the All-African People's Conference in Accra, Ghana that he was introduced to Pan-Africanism and the political struggle for African independence.

The conference proved to be formative for Lumumba and other young Congolese leaders who attended the meeting. Upon his return, Lumumba's language and attitude had changed. He now maintained that independence of the Congo was not a gift, but a right that had been taken from them by the colonizer (Lumumba 1963:20).[119] It is somehow paradoxical for Congolese politicians, who had not yet developed any nationalistic and political strategies of their own, to summarily adopt an anti-colonial discourse and to demand immediate independence notwithstanding the fact that they, unlike the British and French colonies, had never been assisted by metropolitan policies. One thing was however certain. Lumumba (1962:119) knew that much work needed to be done, to educate the Congolese as far as

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[117] The Batetela Mutuality.

[118] *Association du Personnel Indigène de la Colonie* (Association of Indigenous People of the Colony).

[119] Speaking to the crowd that had come to welcome him back from the meeting in Accra, he declared : *L'indépendance que nous réclamons au nom de la paix ne dois pas non plus être considérée par la Belgique comme un cadeau mais au contraire, il s'agit de la jouissance d'un droit que le peuple congolais avait perdu.* (The independence that we are claiming in the name of peace should not be considered by Belgium as a gift, on the contrary, it is about exercising of a right, which the Congolese people had lost).

national values were concerned, to give them a greater sense of responsibility and to cultivate a spirit of self-determination. The following is an indication of Lumumba's initial thoughts with regard to education:

> *L'éducation dispensé jusqu' à présent aux Congolais, semble être trop imprégnée des préceptes abstraits qui sont, non seulement étrangers à la mentalité Bantoues, mais dépassent parfois leur entendement. Cela explique la précarité et l'inefficacité de certaines méthodes adaptées, lesquelles malgré toute bonne volonté des éducateurs, ne donnent que rarement escomptés. Par contre, tout ce qui est 'palpable', capte facilement l'attention des masses, d'où l'empirisme l'emporte sur le dogmatisme.*[120]

Lumumba's surprising criticism leveled at his compatriots was that they tended to copy everything from the Whites, often copying the bad examples: "*En réalité, les Congolais profitent beaucoup plus des formes extérieurs de la civilisation européenne (façon de s'habiller… démarche, parure, etc.)*"[121] His critique was aimed at the fact that true civilization pertained to a way of thinking and living and not to the "*formes extérieures et artificielles du matérialisme.*"[122] There might have been an impression that Lumumba was endorsing European colonial prejudice against Africans. However, what Lumumba had in mind was twofold: His main concern was to build a hybrid society in which Black and White would live together, not as superior/inferior but as equal citizens. Secondly, Lumumba was

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[120] The education that up to now had been available to the Congolese appears to be too prejudiced by abstract rules, which are not only foreign to the Bantu mentality, but are at times also beyond their understanding. This explains the precariousness and ineffectiveness of some of the methods adopted, which, despite the best intentions of the educators, rarely paid dividends. In contrast, that which is 'palpable' easily captures the attention of the masses, from where empiricism converts it to dogmatism.

[121] In reality, the Congolese profit a great deal from the external forms of European civilization (way of dress, their bearing, attire, etc.

[122] The external and artificial forms of materialism.

concerned by lack of vision and interpretation of the signs of the time on part of Congolese who preferred to copy rather than learn.

Lumumba deplored the absence of social and intellectual contact between the colonizer and the colonized. He wished to see a developed interracial contact around social activities, outside the formal contacts in the work place, at meetings and so on. He envisaged social cadres where people of all races would learn from one another and acquire a true sense of development: "*L'objectif principal de ces groupements … devrait être orienté sur l' éducation sociale et civique des Blancs et des Africains ainsi que l'amélioration de leurs relations réciproques sous toutes les formes et dans les secteurs de la vie sociale*" (Lumumba 1962:120-121).[123] Not only would this vision foster interracial contacts, but it would, on the one hand, create a sense of humanity around the relationship between Belgians and Congolese, and on the other hand, it would achieve a sense of solidarity and mutual acceptance between Congolese themselves within their tribal groupings.

Among the other elements that Lumumba associated with equality were justice (Lumumba 1962: 81-98); the land (Lumumba 1962:105-118)[124] and the issue of nationality (Lumumba 1962:78-81). At that stage, the Congo had been annexed to Belgium since 1908 and according to Lumumba the Congolese had ceased to belong to any citizenry as a result of ambiguous formulation of Belgian law with regard to nationality. Lumumba referred specifically to the Belgian law of 1904 which stipulated: "*Tout indigène congolais, tant qu'il réside sur le territoire de l'Etat, conserve sa nationalité congolaise, est soumis aux lois de l'Etat et reste traité comme sujet de l'Etat....*"[125] However, when the annexation of the Congo took place in 1908, Congolese became Belgian citizen of colonial status as Lumumba

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[123] The main objective of such groupings … should be orientated toward the social and civic education of Whites and Africans, as well as the improvement of their reciprocal relations in all forms and in all aspects of social life.

[124] Regarding the issue of land, Lumumba's concerns centred on the fact that more Europeans were coming to the country to occupy the land. All the good and large concessions were being grabbed by colonizers, not leaving much for Congolese remote chances of having any possibility to expand and develop.

[125] Every Congolese native, inasmuch as he resides in the state's territory, retains his Congolese nationality, is subject to the laws of the state and is treated as a subject of the state....

observes: *il n'existe plus de nationalité congolaise, les ressortissants ont acquis la nationalité belge sans être citoyen belges; ils sont Belges de statut colonial.*[126]

In effect the Congolese were neither Congolese nationals insofar as they lost their nationality during the annexation, nor were they fully Belgians, because they were not recognized by the law as such. He therefore came to the conclusion that the indigenous people of the Congo are in a way "*sans nationalité*"[127] (Lumumba 162:80). Therefore, Lumumba suggested that the Belgian government reconsider this law by granting the Congolese people their nationality (Lumumba 1962:81),[128] so that they can be equal to Belgians in dignity and in civil rights. Lumumba (1963:12) knew how vulnerable his country, faced with colonialism, imperialism, tribalism and religious separatism, was. Was he a prophet? Perhaps yes, but then he was a prophet without followers and honor at home.

To this day, Lumumba's vision remains but a dream and it will require a visionary to make it a reality. The speech he made at the occasion of the country's independence created a rift between him and the colonizer and alienated him from fellow tribal Congolese (Lumumba 1963:197-201; De Witte 2001:1-3; Dunn 2003:60-103). Those who particularly wanted to isolate him seized the occasion.[129] Expectations of Congolese and Africans in general were drowned in the currents of political events, both external and internal, that surrounded independence. International community's complicity contributed to Lumumba's fate from

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[126] The Congolese nationality no longer exists, nationals have acquired Belgian citizenship without being Belgian citizens; they are Belgians of colonial status.

[127] Stateless.

[128] Although Lumumba advocated the cause of the Congolese, he actually meant the *évolués* or "African elites" who were not receiving equal treatment in the workplace and in other business.

[129] Dunn (2003:91-97) captured some of improper words with which Lumumba was described in the Western media during the last remaining months of his life in 1960. Capitalists in western governments accused Lumumba of communism (Lumumba 1963:197-201). In reaction, he said from his prison cell: *«Les puissances qui nous combattent ou qui combattent mon gouvernement , sous le prétexte fallacieux d'anti-communisme, cachent en réalité leurs véritables intentions. Ces puissances européennes ne veulent avoir de sympathies que pour des dirigeants africains qui sont à leur remorquent et qui trompent leur peuple»* (Those forces that are against us or against my government under the false pretext of anti-communism, in actual fact hide their real intentions. Those Europeans have sympathies only to African leaders who are their puppets and who cheat their people).

which there was no coming back. To this day his spirit haunts the torn-apart giant country, which has failed to integrate and achieve a sense of nationhood.

After Lumumba's death Che Guevara (1995:24-25) said that the "murder of Patrice Lumumba is an example of what the empire is capable of when the struggle against it is carried on …." However, Che Guevara's disappointment lies therein that there was no solidarity within the country and eventually the struggle was lost. He prophetically predicted that "they lost it not just for a few years, but who knows for how many years!"[130] The theatre[131] in early 1960s of international mobilization, UN and other international NGOs[132] (Nzongola-Ntalaja 1999b:50), African and Western countries' presence in DRC, forty-five years later, the scenario is still the same (Sarkin 2001:67-80; Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002:232-264; Baregu 2002:11-36; Malan & J G Porto 2004).

Jean Paul Sartre summarized the legacy of Lumumba (Lumumba 1963:i-xlv). In his remarks, Sartre (Lumumba 1963:xliv) says that Lumumba became a hero of pan-Africanism through his martyrdom and that "*son histoire a mis en lumière, pour tous, le lien profond de l'indépendance, de l'unité, et de la lutte contre les trusts.*"[133] In conclusion, he had reason to

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[130] During my discussion with an old lady called Kesiya Namusarange in January 2005, she informed me that the Cubans used to tell the Banyamulenge in Nganja location in 1960s, that the battle they were fighting was a long journey of war. Their struggle was named after one of its leaders, Pierre Mulele, but the Cubans' pronounced it as "*milele*" which, in Swahili means an eternity. The implication being, that the children being born by then (in 1964-67), will fight in that war! Most of the current Banyamulenge politicians and soldiers, who fought in the 1996 war to this day, were born in 1960s (see section 3.7.2 below).

[131] The failure of the Congo is a shared responsibility of the Congo and the international community – individual countries and the UN (see Dunn 2003:85-103). When Lumumba was in prison, he noticed the lack of will on the part of the UN to help solve the problem of the Congo. Lumumba (1963:390) said «*le colonialisme belge et ses alliés occidentaux qui ont trouvé des soutiens directs et indirects, délibérés et non délibérés, parmi certains hauts-fonctionnaires des Nations Unies, cet organisme en qui nous avons placé toute notre confiance lorsque nous avons fait appel à son assistance, ne l'ont jamais voulu*» (Belgian colonialism and its Western allies, which has found direct or indirect, deliberate or non-deliberate support from amongst top UN officials, this organization in which we placed all our confidence, when we called upon it, never wanted to [to help]). Forty-two years later Baregu (2002:26-27) notes the "UN is progressively losing credibility and legitimacy particularly among the smaller and weaker member states that feel that the principle of the sovereign equality of states is no longer the fundamental norm." In his speech to the Tricontinental Conference in Havana, Che Guevara (1968:413-424) questioned the will and power of UN to establish peace under "the discredited flag."

[132] Non-governmental organizations.

[133] [H]is history has highlighted for all, the profound link between independence, unity and the struggle against the trusts.

state that the battle for unity amounts to war: *"l'unité c'est la guerre."*[134] Lumumba died, striving for three things (Lumumba 1963:394-398): (i) achieving national unity of the country by fighting and discouraging tribalism and racism; (ii) creation of a national economy which will improve the social conditions of the Congolese people; (iii) struggle against imperialism on the African soil and beyond (Lumumba 1963:9-12).

The Congo's political architect could, however, not succeed in forging a national identity for the country – be that under king Leopold, under the Belgian government, or under the first independent government. What is still striking is the fact that neither Joseph Kasa-Vubu, or Desiré Mobutu, nor Laurent Desiré Kabila, had the charisma to build the nation on democratic principles, which would change the image of the Congo from the "heart of darkness" to the "heart of light". Despite Mobutu's introduction of multi-party democracy early in 1990 and the opening of the CSN[135] in August 1991 (Nzongola-Ntalaja 1998:8), the country's institutions continued to collapse. Would the multi-presidents' project of the transitional government 2003-2005, under the banner of "national unity" have the capacity and the political will to make a difference, that which Congolese have been yearning for centuries? History alone remains the judge of that.

3.7   Banyamulenge national identity

3.7.1   Banyamulenge in the colonial period

In general, the relationship between the Banyamulenge and their neighbors was good. The tribes had developed a system of economic exchange and good neighborliness amongst all of them. The Banyamulenge were cattle keepers, while their neighbors lived on cultivating the land and on hunting. The Banyamulenge were the suppliers of cattle, milk and meat. In turn, their neighbors provided other forms of food: cassava, bananas, maize, beans. This exchange developed into proper economic ties and friendship (*ubgira*) with the person offering the goods being called *umwira* (a friend). The Bafuliru and Bavira would supply their

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[134] That is unity means war.

[135] *Conférence Nationale Souveraine (*National Sovereign Conference)

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Banyamulenge friends with certain goods (food or salt for cows) and in return the Banyamulenge would offer them cows, meat, milk, butter, sheep, goats and chickens. This exchange was called *gushegura* (see Gatimbirizo 1988:22).

Moreover, there were strong ties between members of different tribes, especially in case of the Bavira, Bafuliru and the Banyamulenge. These ties often resulting in blood pacts, known as *kunywana igihango*. Families involved therefore, became one family and one blood. And in this way, one could not harm the other or be in conflict with the other. However, in the event of domestic or local conflicts arising between the Banyamulenge and their immediate neighbors, elders from the opposing communities would sit together and settle issues as they shared a drink (*inzoga*). Fines were charged (*iciru*) according to the weight of the offense. This procedure was also followed when two members of the same community had differences.

The Banyamulenge were known as the Banyarwanda of the Congo or the Congolese Tutsi by their neighbors. This name did not bother the Banyamulenge until it became exploited and abused by politics of exclusion and confusion inherited from colonialism[136] to the post-independence period (Gatimbirizo 1988:25). History has it that the Banyamulenge had been part of local administrative entities before and during the colonial period (Kidogi 1985:16; Gatimbirizo 1988:18-32). In this regard Gatimbirizo states that, "*dans l'administration coloniale, c'est le décret du 6 octobre 1891 qui pour la première fois tenta une réglementation des institutions administratives. Certaines chefferies furent reconnues.*"[137] Two of these in the Uvira territory belonged to Banyamulenge chiefs, Kayira and Gahutu (Gatimbirizo 1988:26).

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[136] According to Young and Turner (1985:233), under Belgian colonial rule, the local administration was categorized into and recognized as three types of native conscription: (i) Chieftaincy, a traditional unit whose chief is chosen according to traditional and customary law; (ii) *Secteur*, an artificial circumscription created by a fusion of several small traditional units; (iii) *Centre extra-coutumier*, it is also an artificial circumscription composed of Africans living outside their traditional units. This category mainly comprised those transplanted and working in the mines and in government administration.

[137] … In the colonial administration, the decree of 6 October 1891 for the first time attempted to regulate the administrative institutions. Certain chieftaincies were thus recognized.

According to Kidogi (1985:22-32), the Banyamulenge strongly resisted the colonialist idea of land occupation, because of its impact on the survival of their livestock. Furthermore, they resisted being treated as colonial subjects. Thirdly, they resisted the exorbitant colonial taxes. Elsewhere, the Belgians imposed taxes on rubber collection (Slade 1962:177-178), while the Banyamulenge were forced to pay personal taxes (*ikori* or *umurambu*) as well as the tax imposed on their livestock. The system created resentment and in many cases the Banyamulenge were forced to provide false information pertaining to the exact size of their livestock, because the tax was based on the number of cattle.

Consequently and as a way of punishment, the Banyamulenge became victims of the colonial politics of divided and rule. Kidogi (1985:32) puts it as follows: "*Compte tenu de manque de soumission des Banyamulenge à l'égard du colonisateur, un processus de déstabilisation de ce peuple pasteur fut amorcé.*"[138] This resulted in the suppression of their traditional administrative entities – *chefferies* (Gatimbirizo 1988:26-27; Mutambo 1997:65-67; Koen 2002:502-503) – which later, in 1933, left the Banyamulenge without the control of any land, they could call their own. This amounted to the loss of traditional identity and subsequently, the loss of social and political identity. To quote Muyengeza,[139] one of few gifted Banyamulenge poets:

> *Baj' amigobomba,* (they came across)
> *Baje bakikiye Tanganika,* (they came around the shores of [the lake] Tanganyika)
> *Bamirwa n'Isata* (they were swallowed by a python)
> *Isanga n' ibitigiri* (it found them too [strong to bite/to crash]).

The poetry of Muyengeza was a form of resistance to and defiance towards the existing unjust, harsh and colonial rule. The most crucial part came when the colonial farmer known as Riga (Rugan) started to forcefully evict the Banyamulenge with their livestock from

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[138] Due to lack of submission of the Banyamulenge towards the colonizer, a process of destabilization of this rural community was initiated.

[139] Muyengeza was one of the sub-chiefs under chief Kayira, and he supervised Kito (Cito) location about 20 km south of the town of Uvira.

Itombwe and Minembwe in the early 1950s, in order to convert the land into private concessions for cattle grazing (Kidogi 1985:27) under the ELIT[140] (Gatimbirizo 1988:54-55). As Young (2001:288) puts it, the "colonialists had taken from African people the history [and cultural values] that had hitherto been theirs." At one point, chef Karojo led Banyamulenge men in what is known "*ichi ry'amabuye*" (a season of stone) to resist colonial land grabbing in Minembwe.[141]

After losing their *chefferies* (traditional leadership) linked to the land, the Banyamulenge were administratively represented by their neighbors (the Bafuliru, Bavira and/or Babembe) depending on locations they lived. They were gradually regarded as mere outsiders from Rwanda and Burundi (Muzuri 1983:140). According to Mbonyinkebe (1994:1-9), the Banyamulenge were victims of Belgian colonization in a number of ways, *inter alia*: they were seen as potential competitors in livestock farming, and they resisted colonial compulsory measures imposed on agriculture.

In 1924 Bigimba, the son of Kayira who succeeded his father as leader after the latter's death, was relegated by the colonizer from Mulenge, in Uvira territory to Lulenge in Fizi territory, while Mukongabwe Mahina, a Bafuliru chief, would also be relegated to North-Kivu in 1930 (Gatimbirizo 1988:25). During Kayira's reign he had sub-chiefs who represented him in different localities: Nyiriminege supervised at Gihanda; Nyirimuhanga at Mihanga; Rumamfura at Galye; Rwiyereka at Kavugwa and Rugarama; Muyengeza at Cito; and Bururu at Munanira. The colonial administration of 1891 (Gatimbirizo 1988:26) recognized several local administrative entities (*chefferies*). In the Luvungi sector, Uvira territory, the following were thus recognized: Lubisha (Barundi); Nyamugira (Bafuliru); Mugabo (Barundi); Gahutu (Banyamulenge); Kabwika (Bafuliru) and Lusaka (Bafuliru).

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[140] *Elevage de l'Itombwe* (Itombwe farm).

[141] The "season of stone" refers to the period when a colonial farmer known by local people as Matunguru, wanted to evict Banyamulenge from villages of Kwibereshi and Kabunga in Lukombe locality. Chef Karojo incited all other men to collect stones and throw them at the Belgian farmer and his men. Eventually the battle was won by Banyamulenge men.

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There were also other Banyamulenge chiefs such as Budurege at Gishembwe, which will eventually expand to Bijombo under Muhasha the nephew of Budurege. This *groupement* Bijombo (local administrative entity) was the most controversial entity from mid 1970s to 1980s.

After misunderstanding rose between Mukongabwe Mahina (Bafuliru chief) and Banyamulenge at the end of 1910s and early 1920s, some Banyamulenge families relocated from Mulenge location to Lulimba in Fizi territory. In 1927, Rutambge became a chief until his death in 1931 (Gatimbirizo 1988:31). *Groupement* Muhire was another local administrative entity under Banyamulenge leadership since 1932 in Tulambo, Itombwe. However, the chief Muhire was evicted by the ELIT, a Belgian farm in 1952. He worked alongside with other Babembe and Banyamulenge local chiefs (Gatimbirizo 1988:53-58).

3.7.2 Banyamulenge and rebellion movements in postcolonial period

3.7.2.1 Uvira territory

Since independence the DRC has experienced many rebellions.[142] The period of 1961-1968 was characterized by the political disintegration of the central government after the assassination of Lumumba; Kasa-Vubu's failure to hold the nation together and the complicity of western countries and the UN (Nzongola-Ntalaja-Ntalaja 2002: 106-118); the *coup d'état* of Mobutu in 1965 (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002:141-152); the secession wars in Katanga (Clarke 1968:79-83; Nzongola-Ntalaja 1999b:50-52; 2002:99-101) and in South Kasai (Clarke 1968:79; Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002:106); insurrection and generalized war (Clarke 1968:79-91); and external political and military involvement of the Belgians, the Americans; and the UN (Dunn 2003:61-103; De Witte 2001:xxii).

Political and social chaos in the DRC resulted in constant killings, bloodshed and untold sorrow and misery of innocent people. Millions of survivors became displaced or were turned into refugees both within and outside the country. Allegation of cannibalism were

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[142] There have been about three major movements of rebellion in the DRC in 1961-1968, 1996-1997, and 1998-2003. All these rebellions had internal and external implications, and they have now left behind severe social-political and economic rift among local communities living in the eastern part more than in any other part of the country.

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no longer a colonial insult, but became a reality in certain parts of the country.[143] Tribal and ethnic hatred, political wrangles and external economic and political involvement (Baregu 2001:11-39) has all contributed to the Congo failure to become a respected, viable and developed nation over the last forty five years.

The rebellion of 1964 in South Kivu turned from a national perspective into banditry, pillage and ethnic animosity. Leaders of the rebellion in South Kivu recruited youths "*jeunesse*,"[144] mainly from the Bafuliru and Babembe communities. The warriors were inspired by the magic and supernatural "powers" of an immortal bath, known as the *Mayi-Mayi* (water-water).[145] During the early stages of the rebellion led by Soumialot, Jean Pierre Mulele and Kabila, some of the Banyamulenge youth briefly enrolled in the movement in the interest of protecting their families and their livestock. Unfortunately, instead of concentrating on the issue of unity, the Banyamulenge's cattle soon became a target of the rebels' envy.

At first, they imposed taxes on the population that were mostly payable in the form of cattle. Later, they started to grab cattle in raids. The Banyamulenge were forced to protect their cattle from the raids and pillaging, resulting in fighting breaking out and the rebellion turned against the Banyamulenge. At the time, the Banyamulenge had no political affiliation with any government or rebellion leadership, be it from within or outside the country. As Clarke (1968:84) explains, the rebellion, notwithstanding the help of mercenaries and support received from different socialist countries and the presence of Che Guevera, lacked political and military organization.

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[143] In Ituri and North Katanga conflicts.

[144] The term the Banyamulenge used to refer to *jeunesse* was *Abajenesi*, which also meant for them "enemies".

[145] The practice and the name of Mayi-Mayi took a popular turn with the war of 1996, especially during the anti-Tutsi campaign (see Hans 2004:223). Youths of different tribes were instrumentalized by Kabila government and other anti-Banyamulenge and anti-Rwanda individuals and institutions in South and North Kivu provinces. The term is borrowed from Tanzanian fighters against colonialism and spread in the Eastern DRC. The fighters would take a ritual bath allegedly to protect them from death.

When Soumialot announced the policy of the CNL[146] in Uvira, he said that the objectives of the movement were to bring peace, reform the economy and re-establish democracy, and freedom of all Congolese and foreigners (Verghaegen 1966:134; cf Gatimbirizo 1988:34). But these political aims, found Bafuliru context already disintegrated by internal leadership conflict between Henri Simba and Moïse Marandura in 1961. In 1964, under the ANC's[147] military command, Colonel Mulamba gained victory against the rebels in the Plain of Ruzizi and Uvira town which sent the rest of rebels into mountains of Uvira and Fizi territory.

It was by this time, especially in 1966, that the ANC had established contact with the Banyamulenge people, recruiting a good number of its youths and it distributed weapons to them, not only to defend themselves and their properties, but also to defend the country. The Banyamulenge youth established their own militia known as *Abagiriye*,[148] which collaborated with ANC against the rebellion in Uvira, Fizi and Minembwe territories. The surviving rebel leader Kabila's last stronghold in Hewa Bora in the forest west of Minembwe, was eventually destroyed in 1975 by a contingent of the FAZ[149] referred to by the Banyamulenge as *Abapara,* while the remaining rebel factions led by Zabuloni and Ndalo were finally crushed by the FAZ early in the 1980s in the Fizi territory near Uvira. Zabuloni, however, reemerged during the Mayi-Mayi campaign in 1998.

After the rebellion in Uvira was crushed, Soumialot and Kabila established their base in the Fizi region, where they had the support of Che Guevara, Cubans and a group of Rwandan Tutsis led by Mudandi (Guevara 2000:30-33, 42-68), who had lost their battle against the Hutus in 1959. Simba and his youth wing, the *Abajenesi*, retreated into the mountains of Uvira, where they clashed with the *Abagiriye* who were protecting their families and cattle. One of the Banyamulenge leaders, Mushishi was killed during the fighting in Gafinda in

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[146] *Comité National de Libération* (National Committee of Liberation) was a coalition of different political parties, which waged war against the central government. These included the MNC/Lumumba, BALUBAKAT, and others (see Gatimbirizo 1988:33-34).

[147] *Armée Nationale Congolaise* (Congolese National Army).

[148] The term comes from French *guerrier,* which means warrior.

[149] *Forces Armées Zaïroises* (Zairean Armed Forces).

October 1965. Confusion ensued and people started fleeing in different directions, with people being killed and cattle pillaged. Those who survived made their way to the Plain of Ruzizi where they took cover under the protection of the ANC (Verhaegen & Libois 1966:399; cf Muzuri 1983:102; Gatimbirizo 1988:38; Mutambo 1997:82-86). In the villages of Kirumba, Katongo and Rukombe, many Banyamulenge were executed in churches. Among them was the evangelist Yohana Nyabuhuga who, along with his 17 church members, were executed at Kirumba in Bijombo location in 1966.

Abagiriye who voluntarily fought alongside the ANC, were soon armed and engaged the rebellion faction led by General Ndalo, Colonel Zabuloni and adjutant Kibirigi. Mwunvira Rupande led the side the Banyamulenge were serving on. Others who led groups in various locations were, among others, Muhindanyi, Norbert Gakingiye, Elias Gahungu; Jerome Cunguti; Gacherehwa Rurinda (Gatimbirizo 1988:40). The *Abagiriye* gained the upper hand in the rebellion, making it possible for their families to re-occupy their homes in Minembwe territory. Militarily the war was won, but animosity and tribal hatred, which later were to be exploited by the government of Mobutu, remained a struggle that would yield no winner. Despite enormous contribution of the Banyamulenge warriors in the war against rebellion, and the enrollment of many others in the national army, even after the war, the Banyamulenge were rarely, if ever, recognized as sons and daughters of the land by national politics.

3.7.2.2   Fizi territory

Imana y'Inganji (God of Nganja) is the common slogan of many Banyamulenge church people. Nganja is located in the collectivity of Tanganyika, Fizi territory southwest of Fizi town and not far from the border post of Force Bendera, Kalemie in Katanga province. As the Banyamulenge trekked through the countryside with their livestock after having been chased from Minembwe and Itombwe by the ELIT colonial farm, part of the community ended up in Nganja. According to Damari Nansuhuzwa,[150] a Belgian farmer, whom she only identified as Rezimo, told Rumenge, one of the Banyamulenge chiefs about Nganja as being

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[150] She is a widow of chief Rumenge, who led the way for members of the Banyamulenge people who settled in Nganja in 1955-1956. Interaction with her was carried out in March 2004 in Uvira.

a good locality for grazing. The Banyamulenge thereupon made Nganja their home for the period 1956-57.

The Banyamulenge made contact with their Babembe neighbors through Rumenge and through local churches. Nganja was made up of the following villages: Gipimo, Mirari, Mizinga, Kabiki, Gakurwe, Ruhemba, Gateja, Rugarama I & II, Kajoka and Kirumba. Each village had a local chief (*Gapita*) also known as *ikirongozi*[151]and a small church. There were only two church denominations represented: the Catholic Church and the British Assemblies of God.[152] From time to time, during the dry season when the Banyamulenge would move away from their villages and locations to find grazing elsewhere, they paid tributes in the form of cattle to the local Babembe chiefs.

Nganja had an interesting structure as it is shown in the table below. Rumenge was the chief of the entire Nganja location; church elder Samuel Semutobo supervised all the Assemblies of God local churches; Lay leader Rugubira Venasi supervised the Catholic Church; while Simoni Miringito and Yonazari Makangata supervised all prayer (intercessory) teams.

Village	Local chief	Church leader	Prayer team leader
Gipimo	Joseph Matenga	Simoni Sebitereko	Simon Miringito, Magadalena Nyabasenga, Aburahamu Burangi and Zakayo Ntihabose,
Mirari	Rumenge Mvubikira	Bujanja Evariste	Zakariya Barita & Karaudi Rwihaniza
Kabara	Ndeberi Mbonyi	Rugubira/ Sebitereko	
Mizinga	Gatware Mugaza	Amosi Nyarungwangwa	Simoni Kaneza &Erisha Kabojo
Kabiki	Rumenge Nvubikira	Evariste Bujanja	Donato Ruchakira & Rabani Segabiro
Ruhemba	Ruhorana Basaza	Zabuloni Kamburishi	Filemoni Semayombe &

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[151] The word comes from the Swahili *kiongozi* meaning a leader.

[152] See next section 3.7.4.

			Yoheri Kizeze
Gakurwe	Rwiyamirira Sebasaza	Aburahamu Ndabagoyi	Sadoki Sebasonera & Madam Sofia Nyabitebo
Gateja	Gapfunda	Sefania Sekaruba	Paskari Bitorwa
Kirumba	Rubona		
Rugarama I	Ntagawa Mahinga	Samuel Semutobo	Rubeni Munyangurube
Rugarama II	Rupiya	Lazaro Rusimbi	Simoni Biberebere & Ndereya Rushema
Kajoka	Ntagawa	Samuel Bunduki	Inoki Mberwa & Magayane

During the rebellion, Nganja was affected but not in the same way with Minembwe and Bijombo, although its context was equally precarious.[153] According to Pastor Simon Sebitereko,[154] who was an elder in the church at Gipimo village, the protection of Nganja was from the "hand of God." Because, Nganja was, in actual fact, in the rebel controlled area which made it a direct target of the Congolese National Army. Secondly, Banyamulenge cows became a target from rebels who desperately needed them for food. Thirdly, in Ngandja, the Banyamulenge did not have *Abagiriye* to protect them.[155] Thus the community was helpless and its future depended on God's protection. In this helpless context, local church leaders and intercessors planned, what one of them called a "divine protection"[156] around Nganja. Local chiefs consulted with local church leaders on every social and political matter that engaged the community.

The presence of Che Guevara and the Cuban mercenaries in Fizi had imposed a more disciplined influence on Congolese rebellion in the area. They did not exploit people, kill

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[153] Discussions carried out in 1999-2004 with various pastors, elders and women who lived in Nganja.

[154] He shares his view with a number of other people such as pastors Nduwamahoro Mihingano, Zakayo Mugabe, Samson Mingaringari, Zabuloni Kambulishi, Mr Zakayo Ntihabose, Madam Kesiya Namusarange, Madam Julia Naruragira, Madam Damari Nansuhuzwa, pastors Tito Gatako, and pastor Zabuloni Kamburishi among others.

[155] Unlike their brothers in Minembwe and Uvira, Banyamulenge in Nganja were prohibited to own or possess a gun. God allegedly told them that He would protect them.

[156] This was through a discussion with pastor Inoki Mberwa in March 2004.

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civilians and did not hold them to ransom. The presence of Rwandan mercenaries led by Mundandi in the ranks of Guevara within the rebellion of Kabila, had to some extent also contributed to the protection of the Banyamulenge. Although the Banyamulenge paid *iposho*[157] to the rebels (and later to soldiers) from time to time, the Cubans would regularly come and buy cattle for food (Guevara 2000:22-23).[158] Kabila's army men initially followed the example of the Cubans, but when they lost the battle, they started to acquire cows on credit [159] but which were never paid back.

The villages of Nganja were bombarded by government forces, but did not suffer heavy casualties.[160] As the national army was winning its battle against the rebels, it eventually controlled Nganja location. When the soldiers reached the Banyamulenge villages, chief Rumenge welcomed them and gave them *izimano.*[161] Soldiers who were under the impression that the Banyamulenge were collaborating with the rebels, were surprised by the warm welcome. After the defeat of the rebellion and after Cubans and Rwandan mercenaries had left, Kabila and his men became more hostile towards the Banyamulenge. Anti-personal mines were spread in various areas around villages and at one time, two women going to the market were killed and six others wounded.

In 1968, through a prophecy, the Banyamulenge were told to move from Nganja to Minembwe. Those who obeyed and who left immediately arrived in Minembwe safely. But those who postponed were told that they would reach Minembwe with difficulty. By then

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[157] A local collection of food items for rebels or soldiers. It was normally done once a week at the end of the week.

[158] Che Guevara describes Nganja through his experience as "a group of hamlets each numbering no more than ten huts lay scattered over a huge area of natural pasture. The cluster of settlements, known by the general name Nganja, is inhabited by a tribe that originally came from Rwanda…. In the course of the war, this proximity enabled us from time to time to avail ourselves of the precious beef that is a cure-almost-even for homesickness". However, Che Guevara's estimation of villages' composition is underestimated. There were big villages with more than hundred hamlets, such as Gipimo and Rugarama. The rest were around fifty and above. Those with ten were fewer.

[159] The rebels used to say as Banyamulenge elders recall "*muduhe inka Kabila azishura*" (give us cows [on credit], Kabila will pay [once he wins the war].

[160] In one occasion, bombardments killed dozens of cows and wounded not more than three people.

[161] A package that the host gives to his honoured guests is called *izimano*. This would typically include, cattle, goat, food, milk, etc.

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conditions were unsafe because of rebel activity and they had to wait for an intervention from *Abagiriye* who came from Minembwe to help. During this exodus two persons lost their lives and cattle were slaughtered by rebels as they clashed with the *Abagiriye*[162]. Finally, from 1969-1971 all the Banyamulenge families were once again re-united. Once again, they spread their villages from Minembwe to Mulenge.

3.7.2.3 Rebellions of 1996 and 1998

Thirty years later, in 1996, another rebellion led by Laurent Desiré Kabila, initially supported by youths among them from the Banyamulenge community and backed by Rwanda and many other countries in Africa and abroad, started in South Kivu (Mutambo 1997:108-119; cf Ruhimbika 2001:55). Many youths, known as *kadogo*[163] from many tribes joined the rebellion. Due to harassment by Zairean government and the community's bleak future, the Banyamulenge youths[164] were recruited by the RPF[165] between 1995 and 1996, which later on would fight a war against Mobutu.

After the victory of the RPF in Rwanda, many Banyamulenge families opted to go to Rwanda, mainly to look for safety and jobs[166] and not necessarily, because they felt that Rwanda was their home. Young Banyamulenge politicians emerged, among others there were: Bizima Karaha,[167] Moïse Nyarugabo,[168] Benjamin Serukiza,[169] Azarias Ruberwa,[170] and Thadée

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[162] The defeat of Kabila was explained by the *Abagiriye* in terms of a lack of brave men. Today, it is an expression in the Banyamulenge saying "*Kabila iyari nawe ngo afite abasoda!*" The expression means "do not foul yourself".

[163] Kadogo is a Swahili term that means small and refers to young people and minors who joined the armed groups. The term was taken over from the Ugandan and Rwandan rebellions in the 1980's and 1990's respectively.

[164] This exercise did not enjoy the consent of all the Banyamulenge people. It was a deal between RPF agents and the youths. It was not only Banyamulenge youths who were recruited but youths from others tribes also joined because they were either related or out of sympathy.

[165] Rwandan Patriotic Front.

[166] Thousands of Congolese from different tribes went to Rwanda in search of jobs.

[167] Minister of Foreign Affairs in the AFDL government 1997-1998.

[168] Director General (*Directeur de cabinet)* of President Kabila's office during the war. As soon as they reached Kinshasa, Nyarugabo was dumped. Later in 1997-1998, he was appointed to head the office of restitution, known as the *Office de Biens Mal Acquis* (OBMA).

Mutware.[171] Kabila and the AFDL received a great deal of support from the region as well as from outside the region. This insurrection of 1996 had both an internal and a regional dimension to it, due to the collapse of Mobutu's dictatorship and the political and military implications thereof in the neighboring countries of Angola, Burundi, Rwanda, Sudan and Uganda[172] (see Reyntjens 1998:10; McNulty 1999:72-80; Mamdani 1999:53-63; Dunn 2003:140).

The rebellion was undertaken in the hope of establishing a responsible government that would restore justice and viable socio-political and economic institutions, which in turn would enhance democracy and development in the country and ensure a viable relationship with neighboring countries. The main reason for Banyamulenge involvement in the rebellion was the discriminative policies of the past that were based on ethnic differences. Repercussions of the genocide in Rwanda and the civil war in Burundi affected the Banyamulenge in the region, especially with the influx of refugees, among them extremist Hutus, Interahamwe[173] and former Rwandan army soldiers(see McNulty 1999:71-76; Sarkin 2001:70-71; Nzongola-Ntalaja-Ntalaja 2002:224-225; Dunn 2003:143-144, ICG 2003, 2001).

At one stage between 1995 and September 1996, traveling became a crime for Banyamulenge.[174] Many members of the Banyamulenge community were imprisoned,

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[169] Vice Governor of South-Kivu province from November 1996 to June 2002.

[170] Director General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1997-1998.

[171] Mayor of Bukavu from November 1996 to 2000.

[172] On two different occasions, on 18th and 25th of April 1996, Mr Shweka Mutabazi, the District Commissioner of Uvira said that as long as there is an ethnic problem in Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda, the Banyamulenge would have no peace in the DRC (Zaïre). See Letter of Ndatabaye Rukenurwa, the Chairman of Banyamulenge Mutuality in Uvira to the Minister of Home Affairs dated 26 August 1996; Memorandum of the Banyamulenge Mutuality of Uvira to the Minister of Home Affairs, dated 5 October 1995 in which they express concern for their security in the region.

[173] An extremist Hutu armed group that committed genocide in Rwanda.

[174] Dugu wa Mulenge, mentioned here above, was deported because he had traveled from Uvira to Bujumbura. See M Gakoko, et al (Banyamulenge Local Chiefs), Letter to the Minister of Home Affairs in Kinshasa, Bijombo 20 March 1995. The local chiefs protested against measures taken by the Governor of South-Kivu prohibiting all Banyamulenge to travel to Burundi, Rwanda and Tanzania for whatever reason. Furthermore, he instructed immigration services to confiscate Zairean identification cards from those who would cross the borders. He is quoted as stating in his letter of 1 December 1994, *«A tout celui qui traverserait les frontières*

harassed, arrested, tortured,[175] killed and deported (Rukundwa 1996, Amnesty International: AFR 62/13/96) to Rwanda and Burundi, while their Zairean identification cards were confiscated or destroyed;[176] their rights of ownership of cattle, houses, lands were violated.[177] On 1 December 1993 and on 25 February 1994, the Banyamulenge Mutuality of Uvira wrote letters to the District Commissioner informing him of the insecurity, harassment and assault by Burundian refugees the community was subject to. He only acknowledged receipt of their letters on 1 March 1994. Even then, no measures were taken to protect the community from violence.[178] It is during this time, particularly in 1995, that the Parliament established a commission, led by Vangu Mabweni, to identify foreigners in North and South Kivu provinces. Upon completion of its work, a report known as the *Rapport Vangu[179]* was submitted to Parliament.

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de l'Est (Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzanie), pour n'importe quel motif doit obligatoirement déposer les pièces d'identité à la douane et ne doit plus rentrer au pays.» Banyamulenge chiefs pronounced these declarations as "*anarchique ... et anticonstitutionnelle*" (anarchy and unconstitutional).

[175] See Roberto Garreton, Special Rapporteur of the UN Human Rights Commission "Report on the situation of human rights in Zaire no E/CN.4/1996/66, 29 January 1996; Lucie Budederi et al, Letter written by a group of Banyamulenge women to the Governor of South-Kivu in protest of their arbitrary arrest by the District Commissioner of Uvira, 11 January 1996; *Ligue des Droits de la Personne dans la Région de Grands Lacs* (LDGL), Press Release, 10 January 1996; Attorney M Lubala, letter to the General Prosecutor on 28 November 1995; Heritiers de la Justice, Letter to the Governor of South Kivu in protest of arbitrary arrests of Ruhimbika, Madaga and Rukenurwa in Uvira, 28 November 1995; Letter by Attorneys L Chihanza and S Bukulu to the District Commissioner of Uvira, 13 January 1996; Letter of Mavua Mudima, Minister of National Defense to the Banyamulenge Community, 22 July 1995.

[176] Letter of protest by Ntakiruta Mujandwa et al , members of the *Union des Démocrates Indépendants* (UDI) to the President of the UDI against the deportation of Dugu wa Mulenge, a former member of the Provincial Assembly, 4 April 1995. In an Amnesty International statement quoted by IRIN no 27, 16-26 September 1996, some 217 Banyamulenge members were expelled from Uvira to Rwanda by Zairean authorities. It states "there is no justification for this calculated abuse of human rights – including unlawful killings, disappearances, severe beatings, and deportation or *refoulement* to another country." The Vice-Governor of South-Kivu, Mr Lwabanji Lwasi had issued a statement in Bukavu, on 6 September 1996,in which all members of the Banyamulenge were urged to leave Zaire within six days.

[177] See letter of Mr Shweka Mutabazi no 5072/438/C671/95 instructing *inventaire des parcelles et terrains sis à Uvira appartenant aux Rwandais et Burundais*, in which Banyamulenge were included; Letter from the Banyamulenge Mutuality in Uvira to the Minister of Home Affairs, 5 October 1995 in which the Banyamulenge signatories object to the conduct of the District Commissioner towards the Banyamulenge community in Uvira.

[178] See Gasore & Munyakazi, 29 November 1995. Letter of the Banyamulenge Mutuality of Kinshasa to the Prime Minister, denouncing the Vangu Report.

[179] See contra, Letter by Nyarugabo, Gatimbirizo & Muhoza on behalf of the Banyamulenge Mutuality in Lubumbashi to Parliament, 14 November 1995; Letter of the Banyamulenge Mutuality of Kinshasa to Parliament, 26 April 1995; Letter from the Banyamulenge Mutuality in Kinshasa to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zaire, 29 November 1995; Letter by S Rwakabuba, et al, representatives of Tutsi Communities in Kinshasa to the President of the Republic of Zaire, 10 July 1995.

As a result, Congolese of Rwandan and Burundian origin came to be regarded as foreigners. But according to reaction from the media and from other institutions, Banyamulenge and other affected communities of Rwandan and Burundian origin, questioned the impartiality of the commission. Others criticized it by saying that the commission was a pure instrument of tribalism[180] instigated by the then Speaker of the Parliament,[181] Mr. Anzuluni Bembe[182] and many other Members of Parliament from the Kivus who shared the same spirit of hatred.[183]

Thousands of them were massacred in many parts of the country, not only because of the generalized war, but also because of their ethnic belonging, particularly in South-Kivu and North-Kivu provinces[184] (African Rights, 1997:21-23; Sarkin 2001:70-72). Pastors and Priests from Protestant and Catholic churches were executed in Luberizi (*Integrated Regional Information Network* - IRIN, 22-27 September 1996) and among them were: Pastor Elia Bugunzu, Provincial Representative of the Assemblies of God in South-Kivu along with

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[180] See B Chamira, Le gouvernement Kengo doit interdire Anzuluni de provoquer les Banyamulenge, *Palmares* 8 mars 1996, p 5; N N Mangala, Executive Secretary of Solidarité – Kivu, letter to Président de la Commission de Suivi, Rapport Vangu, 26 février 1996; M Kikoko, "Le Sud-Kivu entre le feu et le sang. Les Babembe acceptant-ils de payer les lourd tribu de l'épuration ethnique qui leur serait imposée par l'homme venu d'ailleurs?" *La Dépêche Africaine* 24 septembre 1993, p 6.

[181] Referring to the Parliament of the transitional government in the early 1990s when Mobutu introduced multi-party politics. It was formally know as the "High Council of the Republic – Transitional Parliament" (*Haut Conseil de la République – Parlement de Transtion,* HCR-PT).

[182] In one of his speeches during his trip to Uvira and Fizi (his homeland), Anzuluni said to his tribesmen that the resolution of 28 April 1995 was his initiative (see Letter of the Banyamulenge Mutuality in Uvira to the Minister of Home Affairs in Kinshasa, Uvira 5 October 1995 in which the Banyamulenge signatories object to the behavior of the District Commissioner vis-à-vis the Banyamulenge community in Uvira: *j'ai tout fait pour que cette resolution salutaire pour vous (Babembe). Les Banyamulenge sont désormais des réfugiés comme les autres [Rwandais et Burundais]. Et pour cela ils doivent quitter notre pays après le 31/12/1995. C'est l'occasion où jamais pour vous enrichir. Réveillez-vous maintenant et profitez de leur départ en vous emparant de leurs vaches non plus en les mangeant comme vous l'avez fait en 1964.* " (I fought for this salutary resolution on your (Bembe) behalf. The Banyamulenge are now refugees like others [Rwandans and Burundians]. Therefore, they must leave our country after 31/12/1995. It is an opportunity for you to get rich. Weak up now and benefit of their departure and take their cows not to eat them again as you did in 1964).

[183] According to Moïse Nyarugabo (currently an MP in the transitional government), Vangu apologized to Banyamulenge in December 1997 and admitted that Anzulini Bembe and other MPs from Kivu provinces tampered with his report.

[184] Letter of the Banyamulenge Mutuality to the District Commissioner of Uvira, 31 March 1994; S Rwakabuba, et al 1997, Letter to the President of the Republic of Zaïre; M Gakoko et al 20 March 1995. They objected to harassment, arrests, rape, extortion and killings of civilians by local authorities in the Uvira and Fizi districts in complicity with Hutu extremists (see also N Rukenurwa 29 November 1996).

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his pastors Zabuloni Muzuzi, Zakariya Semutobo, Rev. Rukema Rushengererwa of the Free Methodist church with his three children were killed in Baraka and Pastor Yohana Kashaje, Mr. Rukenurwa Ndatabaye, the chairman of Banyamulenge council of elders along with many other men were executed at the Kamanyola military post.

Thousands of Banyamulenge lost their lives in the massacres and selected killings countrywide, based on ethnic differences preached by the government of Mobutu[185]. It must also be understood that ethnic hatred in the Eastern Congo was exacerbated by the presence of the Interahamwe and extremist Hutus from Rwanda and Burundi who enjoyed the support of the Mobutu government. Poor political leadership, based on tribal and ethnic discrimination, genocide committed in Rwanda in 1994, the assassination of a Hutu President in Burundi and civil war since 1993 have contaminated the region with tribal hatred. Thousands of innocent Congolese people, Rwandan and Burundian refugees lost their lives as a result of wars in the Great Lakes Region.

The war of 1998, which divided the region and the international community, did not spare the Banyamulenge community. Selfish interests dominated the AFDL government. Misunderstandings between Kabila and his allies both on regional and international levels, were political and economic (Baregu 2002:11-39) for which unfortunately, the Banyamulenge had to pay another heavy price with their lives. In major towns manhunts were launched against Banyamulenge and other Tutsis[186] who were killed, lynched or thrown into rivers.

The armed conflict from May-June 2004 in Bukavu and its environs is another good example of the hatred. The armed and political strife for control over South Kivu between the PPRD and the RCD resulted in a war which turned against Banyamulenge and other

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[185] Nzongola-Ntalaja (1999a:6) quoting McGreal of *Mail and Guardian* explaining the xenophobic campaigns against Tutsis in South-Kivu and says "Statements broadcast by South Kivu governor Kyembwa wa Lumona and his deputy [Lwabanji] Lwasi were, according to McGreal, "'remarkably similar to the extremist Hutu messages broadcast during the Rwandan genocide'"; N Rukenurwa, et al 5 October 1995.

[186] Those from other tribes who physically resembled Banyamulenge/Tutsi became victims too.

Tutsi civilians living in Bukavu.[187] Refugees who had fled from Uvira, the Plain of Ruzizi were among those who sought refuge in Burundi. On 13 August 2004, at least 160 Banyamulenge refugees were massacred in Gatumba by a regional coalition of anti-Tutsi groups[188] led by the FNL.[189]

3.7.3   Politics of discrimination in the postcolonial period

When the Banyamulenge resisted colonial rule, it was a crime, and they were taxed into insubordination. When their youth collaborated with the government of Kinshasa in the 1960s to fight the rebellion and insurrection in the eastern provinces, they were accused of complicity and were brandished as traitors. Their act of defending the nation became a crime in the eyes of local politicians. To belong to a Tutsi ethnic group, which in any event was not by choice, became a crime. Thirty years later, when the Banyamulenge youths joined forces with other compatriots in 1996 to fight and topple a dictatorial regime, it became a crime! While Laurent Kabila, the leader of the rebellion movement - AFDL, was hailed as a "nationalist", Banyamulenge youths within the movement were treated as traitors and foreigners. When insurrection erupted as a result of a misunderstanding between Kabila and his political god-fathers (in Rwanda and Uganda) in 1998, Kabila's government treated the Banyamulenge as "vermin"[190] which resulted in their massacre. How then could the Banyamulenge in such a hostile environment give expression to their nationalism?

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[187] This was on the ground that dissident soldiers, Colonel Mutebutsi and General Laurent Nkunda, were Tutsis, while the provocation came from General Mbudja Mabe on instruction of President Kabila to arrest one of the RCD soldiers, Major Kasongo, without the consent of his Deputy Presidents and particularly from the RCD President Ruberwa.

[188] United Nations Operation in Burundi's Press Release: ONUB/PIO/PR/28/2004 on 14 August 2004; First report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Burundi: S /2004/682 on 25 August 2004; Letter from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council: S /2004/715 on 3 September 2004; See contra UN Report of Investigation to the Security Council s/2004/821 of 18 October 2004; Human Rights Watch (septembre 2004).

[189] *Front National de Libération* ("National Liberation Front")*.*

[190] In August 1998 Yerondia Ndombasi, one of the current Vice-Presidents in the transitional government, referred to the Banyamulenge as " vermin" and incited the rest of Congolese population to kill them. At that stage he was the Director General in the Office of President Kabila. On 11 April 2000, a Belgian court issued an international arrest warrant for Yerodia who by then was the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The warrant was nullified by an International Court of Justice on the grounds of diplomatic immunity (see International Court of Justice 2002). However, justice must prevail. In a similar instance, Shweka Mutabazi, the District Commissioner of Uvira, said on 18 August, 1995, to a Christian gathering in Uvira that the Banyamulenge were snakes and

Although the Banyamulenge were initially called Rwandans it had not been a reason to evict them from their land or to kill them. However, due to a lack of responsible government, the instruments that were supposed to ensure peace and protection of people's rights and properties, such as police and parliament, were abused and turned against its citizens. Since the beginning of the rebellion in 1960s, the relationship between the Banyamulenge and their neighbors deteriorated, mostly due to political incitement.

Two major situations came into play: One is the suppression of the Banyamulenge's local administrative entities (*chefferies*). The second, being the contestation of their citizenship. In general, local populations in rural areas enjoyed tranquility and mutual support of peasant life, until the 1980s, when things changed again. However, the unfortunate situation of the rebellion created awareness among the Banyamulenge to venture into the modern world and to build other mechanisms for their socio-economic and political survival.

As early as 1969, immediately after the rebellion, local politicians from the Bafuliru and Babembe had begun to contest the Banyamulenge nationality. In contrast to their motives, the Governor of Kivu, Mr. Takizala instructed the then Sub-Regional Commissioner in Uvira to the effect that the Banyamulenge community was recognized as founding member of the CFS[191]. When national identity cards were issued, the issue of Banyamulenge identity was again disputed by local politicians, and in his reaction, the Governor[192] of Kivu, Citoyen[193] Ndebo Akanda Dinekenza confirmed that the Banyamulenge were Zairean natives.[194] In 1979,

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invaders "*serpents envahisseurs*" and called upon other tribes to kill them (see N Rukenurwa, Lettre au Ministre de l'Intérieur, 26 août 1996.

[191] In the letter no 212-2220-054-AIC from Takizala, Governor of Kivu to the District Commissioner, dated 16 June 1969, he said ["*les Banyamulenge] d'Itombwe sont parmi les ethnies fondatrices de l'E.I.C. et il sont Congolais d'origine"* ([The Banyamulenge] of Itombwe are among founding tribes of the CFS and are of Congolese origin).

[192] *Commissaire de Région* (Regional Commissar).

[193] This appellation, which means "citizen", had replaced the title of Mister in 1971 as part of Mobutu's authenticity philosophy.

[194] Official message no 01/824/OKP/CAB/REG.COM/73 of the *Commissaire de Région* to the *Commissaire Sous-Régional* at Uvira, on 17 September 1973.

during the process of rehabilitating traditional chieftaincy of the Banyamulenge, the *mwami*[195] Lenge III of the Bavira collectivity, protested against the decision of government. In his letter of objection, he stated that the Banyamulenge had settled in his constituency between the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century.[196]

In the 1972[197], the Honorable Muhoza Gisaro was elected as a Member of Parliament (MP), for the Uvira district. Gisaro was popular, not only among the Banyamulenge, but also among other tribes in Uvira, especially the Bafuliru and the Bavira that also voted for him. He promoted cohabitation and reconciliation among all communities. He gave a voice and representation to the Banyamulenge community.

During the time of Gisaro as the MP, the issue of nationality did not surface at local level, as he played his role to ensure that the matter was dealt with at a higher level. However, his leadership was cut short with his death in a mysterious car accident. Before his sudden death, he had reintroduced the traditional administrative entity, *collectivité de hauts plateaux d'Itombwe* (collectivity of high plateaus of Itombwe). According to Muzuri (1983:112; cf Gatimbirizo 1988:43-46), the project of a traditional entity for the Banyamulenge was already in place by October 1966 in the form of a sub-locality under the leadership of Obedi Sebasonera.

Although tribal politicians and local chiefs from other tribes would agree to have a local entity, they feared the Banyamulenge's autonomy and influence. When the Bijombo sub-

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[195] The Swahili word for local chief.

[196] Letter no 5072/132/1979/F03/MCD/70 dated 6 June 1979 (quoted in Gakoko, et al 1995).

[197] During the early days of Mobutu's regime, the issue of ethnicity and rights to land changed several times. At first, as Young and Turner (1985:149-163, 232-240) observe, Mobutu de-ethnicized his politics, although ethnicity was a political asset that politicians would like to use for social and political gains. Between 1967 and 1969, in terms of law 69/012 of 12 March 1969, the succession to local traditional leadership (chieftaincy) was replaced by the election of chiefs who served a five year term. Mobutu's policy of centralization of the state helped him to appoint people from outside tribal zones at provincial and local authority level which was not possible during the previous regime. This policy was accused of nepotism in nature and as leading to favoritism. Mobutu was also accused of silencing the representation of the people from grassroots level. Between 1970 and 1972, the law on customary leadership was once again changed. In terms of law 73/015 of 5 January 1973 collectivities lost their autonomy and became part of provincial administrations. This legislation did not have the desired effect as many chiefs were not enthusiastic about the reform.

locality in traditional Bavira land was to be transformed into a *groupement de Bijombo*,[198] the *mwami* of the Bavira refused to nominate a Banyamulenge as the local chief. He nominated, instead a Bavira (Gatimbirizo 1988:47-50), because by rehabilitating the traditional ownership of land amounted to recognizing them as Congolese (by then Zairean) citizens, which the local politicians did not want to see happen. Eventually, in September 1999, with the creation of new administrative entities in areas controlled by the RCD,[199] Minembwe was among the three new territories created by the department of local government[200]. Mr. Jondwe Ruhanduka became the Administrator of the territory in Minembwe, while for the first time a Banyamulenge woman, Commander Nyakayange Kega, became the deputy district commissioner[201] based in Bijombo in 2001.

On the other hand, the national identity and citizenship had become the most controversial issue in the DRC conflict. It is also the issue most exploited by both politicians and researchers alike. This results from four amendments to the clause of nationality in Congolese various constitutions, namely in 1904 to the Belgian colonizer' constitution;[202] in terms of law no 72-002 of 5 January 1972 to the constitution of 1972; amendment to the constitution of 1981 in terms of law no 81-002 of 2 June 1981 and amendment to the constitution of 29 April 1995. In terms of the amendment of 1972 Zairean nationality was given *en bloc* to all foreigners who were in the Congo at the time of independence on 30 June 1960, whereas the amendment of 1981 only gave Zairean nationality to those of whom at least one parent was in the Congo (Zaire) by 1885. The rest had to apply for it in their individual capacity.

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[198] A local administrative entity that regroups a number of localities and sub-localities together. The decree from the Ministry of Local Government creating the *groupement de Bijombo* is no 0229 of 23rd of August 1979.

[199] *Rassemblement congolais pour la Démocratie* (Congolese Rally for Democracy).

[200] These newly created administrative entities (Bunyakiri, Minembwe and Kasha in South Kivu Province), are still pending for their official recognition by the transitional government according to the Lusaka Accords signed in 1999.

[201] *Administrateur du Territoire Résident* from 2001 to 2002. Nyakayange later joined the Masunzu faction.

[202] «*Tout indigène congolais, tant qu'il réside sur le territoire de l'Etat, conserve sa nationalité congolaise, est soumis aux lois de l'Etat et reste traité comme sujet de l'Etat*». However, when the Congo Free State became a colony of Belgium, constitutionally, all Congolese (Lumumba 1962:78-81), including the Banyamulenge, lost their nationality and became stateless, because Congolese had no state of their own.

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From a constitutional point of view, the Banyamulenge were not concerned by all these laws, since they, like any other Congolese tribe, are indigenous and their presence in what was to become the Congo can be traced back between the 16th and 19th centuries. The current transitional parliament has just adopted a new constitution, which makes provision for the inclusion of all people who were in the DRC at the time of its independence, namely on 30 June 1960. What is lacking though is the responsible government to give effect to it in a fair and just way. In addition, this constitution, as its predecessors, runs the risk of being violated, or of being amended depending to political interests of the powerful.

In response to the insecurity and the issue of nationality which a parliamentary commission on the identification of foreigners, led by Vangu, had to decide on, the Catholic Bishops of South and North Kivu Provinces published a pastoral letter addressed to Christians of Eastern Congo. In their message, the Bishops urged the government to solve the problem of Zairean nationality: "*C'est pourquoi, pour nous, archevêque et évêques, la nationalité zaïroise devrait être reconnu d'office aux Banyarwanda natifs du pays et à tous les immigrés rwandais et burundais qui se trouvaient déjà sur le territoire congolais avant le 30 juin 1960*" (Munzihirwa, Kataliko, Ngabu & Gapangwa 1995:2).[203] It amounted to a violation of the constitution of the DRC by the executive, judicial and legislative powers, the very powers that are supposed to defend it. The issue has nothing to do with the Banyamulenge as a community among millions of other citizens, but is a failure of the leadership in administering justice to its citizens.

From a constitutional point of view, none of the above laws affect the citizenship of the Banyamulenge in the Congo, except for the ethnic hatred and tribalism and political exclusion that had replaced the law, as well as having replaced order and justice in the country. At the same time, the transplanted, the refugees, and the infiltrators as the Congolese politicians preferred to refer to them, they too, were supposed to have been protected by the law. Amending the constitution to favor or to exclude one group of people in one particular part of

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[203] That is why, for us, Archbishops and Bishops, the Zairean nationality would be recognized officially to Banyarwanda natives of this country and to all Rwandan and Burundi immigrants who were on Congolese territory before the 30 June 1960.

the country is irresponsible on the part of a proper and a postcolonial government, in particular. Surprisingly enough, these discriminative measures have only been applied to the people of the Eastern Congo whose origins are affiliated with Rwanda and Burundi, while the DRC shares her borders with nine other neighboring countries. Indeed, as far as the politicians are concerned, colonialism is to be blamed, but after forty-five years of independence, who do the Congolese blame for the failure of good governance in their country?

It is worthy noting that, during Mobutu's dictatorial regime since the 1980s, the Banyamulenge were excluded at all levels of the government. During the parliamentary elections of 1982, a Banyamulenge candidate, Joseph Mutambo, was disqualified from the elections (Mutambo 1997:93), as it was the case in 1987 when Musafiri Mushambaro and Dugu wa Mulenge were barred from running for parliamentary seats, on the ground of their "*Nationalité douteuse*"[204] (Ruhimbika 2001:24; Pourtier 1996:15-38, Lemarchand 1997:173-193). However, the Banyamulenge people were eligible to vote for other candidates from other tribes. And Mutambo (1997:93) argues "*A chaque approche des élections, le problème de nationalité était soulevé. Curieusement, tout en excluant les candidats Banyamulenge, les politiciens acceptaient et sollicitaient leur suffrage*.[205]

In his report (E/CN/1996/66),[206] Roberto Garreton, the UN Human Rights Commission Special Envoy for Zaire, stated with regard to the situation of human rights in Zaire: "During the Rwandan Tutsi refugee crises of 1959 and 1970, some political sectors began to identify the Banyamulenge as Rwandans … They have suffered many injustices." The nationality law unjustly was not applied to them and they are now "identified only by the origin of their names and by their physical appearance. They are discriminated against at work, etc."[207]

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[204] dubious nationality.

[205] With each approach of elections, the problem of nationality surfaced. Curiously the politicians, while excluding Banyamulenge candidates, accepted and solicited their votes.

[206] The report was published on 29 January 1996.

[207] This argument on identity reminds one of the arguments of Sartre and Fanon with regard to anti-Semitism and blackness respectively (Kruks 1996:122-133). Sartre argued that in an anti-Semitic world, a Jew is "over-determined" and he/she is never free not to be a Jew, the Other. For his part, Fanon experiences the

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Policies of the one party system, the MPR in local administration affected the management of the church too (see Mudagiri, Rugabirwa & Mwungura 1980; Ruhimbika 2001:18). Dictatorship reigned everywhere. The Banyamulenge, regarded as foreigners in their own land, were frustrated. At one point in 1982, they set ballot boxes alight in response to not being allowed to vote, and as a result, the government had to cancel the elections in the whole province of South Kivu.[208] Refusing them nationality and withdrawing it from the Banyamulenge community and other Congolese communities of Burundian and Rwandan origins were thus accentuated. The transitional Parliament's decision in April 1995 treated the Banyamulenge as mere immigrants and they had no right to Zairian (Congolese) nationality.[209]

Through all socio-political frustrations, the Banyamulenge youths and young political aspirants grew up like orphans with no one to depend on. But during the crises of the 1990s, they paved difficult and risky way into a historical political and armed opposition for their survival. In this regard, Weiss (2000:3) says that "faced with the danger of an ethnic cleansing campaign against them, the Banyamulenge undertook a preemptive strike against the National Zairian Army (AZN) soldiers." Their means of survival became precarious and a prayer to gods of heavens might have secured a reason to hope for.

3.7.4   The coming of a new religion

3.7.4.1   The first missionaries

The Banyamulenge community today claims to be 99% Christians, and since the 1950s they belong to a number of church denominations. The church, however, had to embark on a

same over-determination of being a Negro. Whereas a Jew can still sometimes be anonymous, the Negro is betrayed by the color of his/her skin. In the anti-Tutsi world the Banyamulenge and the Tutsis in general, are over-determined by their appearance, name, and their culture, thus becoming the victim of something they never chose to be. In the film *Hotel Rwanda* which was screened in South African cinemas from July 2005, a humanitarian worker said that in her efforts to save Tutsi children, she had found a Tutsi girl carrying her sister at the Interahamwe roadblock in Kigali in April 1994. This girl was pleading with the killers to forgive them and that they would never be Tutsis again.

[208] See, *Memorandum de Banyamulenge à la Conférence Nationale Souveraine – CNS* 1991).

[209] See *Résolution sur la Nationalité*, 1995 (cf *Mémorandum de Banyamulenge* 1995; Ruhimbika 1995; Mutambo 1997:94-98).

difficult and long journey to achieve this remarkable cultural change. The Christian religion within the Banyamulenge community had been taken for granted, even by the Banyamulenge themselves, as if it is "their culture and tradition." However, there is a history and a story to it, which people should know about: the clash of two religions in the community. It is a story of how the original community preserved its identity, while another new community was in the making. How did they perceive a new religion, as opposed to the religion of their culture? Were any benefits or losses involved in embracing the new religion? These are some of the critical questions that need to be answered in this section.

It is generally believed that Banyamulenge community was very resistant to Christianity, and there are some basic assumptions attached to this view : (i) Whites chased them from their pastures in order to establish their own ranches; (ii) Whites suppressed and cancelled all Banyamulenge local administrative leadership in favor of their neighboring communities; (iii) Whites were forcing Banyamulenge children to go to schools. For the Banyamulenge this meant that their children were going to be corrupted; (iv) Missionaries forced the Banyamulenge to eat "unclean" food (e.g. chicken, fish); (v) Missionaries had no respect for indigenous culture, tradition and religion.

Christianity came as a foreign religion of Whites associated with colonialism and Leopold II's era of "free exploitation, forced labor, the whip and mutilation" (Arden 1968:26). Traditional God belonged to the culture and the culture belonged to the people. Thus, only those who belong to the same culture could share the same Traditional God. The more cultures, the more representatives of gods there were. In such a context the passage about the prophet Jonah (1:5) is well understood. The idea of an inter-cultural "shared god" was a totally new concept. To worship other gods amounted to blasphemy and a betrayal of their culture and religion, although, members of the Banyamulenge community respected other communities' gods and ways of worship.

Missionaries who initially came to the Banyamulenge community were not Whites as such, but their disciples from the Bafuliro and Babembe communities. Among them were: Filipo Gahanga; Stefano Mujogo; Zakariya Dugari; Isake Sahiriza; Misabio; Yona Shinia. They

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came from Lemera and Uvira from mission posts of the Swedish Pentecostal mission. They preached in Banyamulenge villages in Rugarama, Kito, Kishembwe, Kavugwa and Kalongi. Other missionaries were from a Norwegian Pentecostal mission post. They came from Kalambi, Mwenga territory and preached in the Itombwe and Tulambo localities. Others came from Baraka, in the Fizi territory, where the British Assemblies of God had a missionary post. They preached in Rutabura, commonly known as Bibogobogo, as well as in Ngandja, Kamombo and Minembwe locations. There were also Burundian missionaries such as Andrea Rurageze, Filipo Bwanike, Esau Kamondo who preached to the Banyamulenge community. They also came from the Swedish Pentecostal mission.

The first Swedish missionaries to the Bafuliru community arrived in Uvira and Lemera in 1922. In the 1950's some of these missionaries began to serve the Banyamulenge people. Amongst them were Gosta Palmetz, nicknamed Palmeshi; Thomas Wimberg, locally known as Fumberi and Lenea Aldolf known as Kanyabuyange. Banyamulenge Christians are in debt to those neighbors who made the sacrifice to come and preach to them. Nevertheless, all these missionaries (Africans and Whites) had different cultural backgrounds from that of Banyamulenge. In many cases, what looked taboo for Banyamulenge was normal for missionaries and vice versa. Thus the coming of the new religion carried along cultural conflicts.

3.7.4.2   Disturbance and confusion

Although many missionaries came to do work in the Banyamulenge community, it was difficult to convert the Banyamulenge to Christianity. It took more than twenty years since the establishment of Christian missions in the region to make a breakthrough. The first Banyamulenge to convert to Christianity was Mr. Samuel Ntakandi and this happened around 1930. He lived in Lemera near the Swedish mission base. He, however, had little contact with his own people, was despised and was not allowed to have a say in the community, for having broken ties with his religion. Instead, he turned to other communities and later became a missionary with the Swedish Pentecostal mission in Burundi where he remained until his death.

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Following him, were three others who converted to Christianity in 1945, namely Messrs Andrea Kajabika and Matayo Mwungura and Mrs. Kibihira Bitwenge. They were baptized at the Swedish Pentecostal mission in Lemera. News that they had been baptized spread to the surrounding villages. This was considered as an act of blasphemy with regard to their traditional religion. They were isolated and were chased from the rest of the community. Madam Kibihira was chased away by her husband Mr. Petero Bitwenge and her family-in-law, having been accused of defilement and of breaking the covenant (the secret- *ibanga*) with her traditional religion; all her ornaments indicating her status as a wife were taken from her. Kibihira went to her own parents, but was also chased away there. Following two weeks of desperation, she decided to be with her only Lord, the one who cared for the homeless. She hanged herself in a small hut used as a chapel by the three converts.

Matayo Mwungura's wife divorced him. She could no longer live with a defiled man who had brought shame to the family and the community. Mwungura left for Cyangugu, Rwanda where he married a Rwandan Christian lady (they aren't alive any more but have left behind children and grand children). At the time of his conversion Andrea Kajabika was still single. All the girls in the community knew about his conversion which meant that he could not get a wife for himself in his own community. He found a Burundian Christian girl in Uvira who became his wife to this day. He retired as minister of the Assemblies of God in the Bijombo location and three of his sons and a son-in-law are pastors today.

Rasito Karikofi, in his early teens in 1952, followed the evangelist Kajabika and also became a Christian. When his parents heard about it, they wanted to kill him. His father armed with a machete went to confront him with the intention of finishing him up before returning to the village. He hurled the machete at Karikofi's face, cutting his cheek. Injured, the boy ran for his life. He was taken into the care of Kajabika in Rugarama village where he spent almost a year before he could be accepted back by his parents. He is still alive and serves the Free Methodist Church as a Pastor in Murambya Parish, Minembwe Territory. Fear and confusion reigned throughout the community. Exclusions and manhunts became the order of the day as the community feared that conversions would incite a curse from their

God and ancestors' spirits that are being defiled by the new religion. Cultural values were threatened and the community's future was in the balance.

Most of missionaries who came in Banyamulenge community possessed little knowledge in cross-cultural evangelism. Some of the White missionaries lacked African cultural sensitivity and they confused evangelization with 'westernization or modernization', which were not conducive to anthropological principles being applied, as Markowitz remarked (1973:15-16):

> [T]he customs, mores, and institutions of the Africans were placed into two general categories: those which were 'bad' or harmful, and those which were 'good' or helpful. These designations provided no solid criteria by which to judge whether particular institutions, customs, or mores were either good or bad, or whether they were to be retained, transformed, or totally discarded. In the last analysis, the decision had to depend on the values, attitudes, prejudices, or whims of the missionaries involved.

Becoming a Christian was a radical and immediate change. As testimony to Christianity and in so doing, bearing shame for the sake of the gospel, a Banyamulenge Christian had to do many things not previously allowed. The following practices were imposed by missionaries:

- Diet and eating habits: As a Christian, it was compulsory eat chicken and fish. Furthermore, he/she had to associate with other tribes, sharing meals with them, eat with members of other tribes that the Banyamulenge regarded as inferior. One had to stop smoking and drinking local beer. The main difficulty in this regard was that drinking was a ceremonial act in communities. The traditional staple food of cooked blood (*ikiremve*) was also prohibited. The question was how and with what this cultural value should be replaced.

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- Clothing: men and women had to remove all their ornaments from their necks, arms, legs and waist (in the case of the women). They also had to change the way their hair was cut;

- Traditional festivity: all traditional poetry, dances and instruments such as the *inanga* (harp), *umwirongi* (flute), were discouraged and abandoned. Instead, they adopted their Bafuliru neighbors' use of drums (*ingoma*). Later on, they began to use what could be termed as "typically White" instruments, such as guitars, keyboards and drums in church worship;

- Marriage: In the case of a man with more than one wife, he had to divorce (*gucagura*) himself from them and had to remain with only one, preferably the first wife. The issue that the missionaries did not deal with concerned the future of the other wives and their children.[210] To this day, the consequences of these broken marriages are still haunting many families.

- Worship: Tradition religion was wrong and bad and was to be abandoned. Yet the God of Christian religion was still identified as *Imana*, although the way of worship became a new venture.

- Health care: traditional medicines were discouraged as sin and people were encouraged to go to modern dispensaries and hospitals.

Christians were a minority group whose community and social security were in jeopardy. They came together as in unison to support one another and remained in constant prayer. Visits to church mission posts and local churches in urban areas were frequent for baptism, Holy Communion, spiritual nourishment, baptism and literacy classes. A journey took them up to three days on foot, depending on from where the journey was undertaken.

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[210] This practice was enhanced by the doctrine of Mariam Kinyamarura see next section 3.8.

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3.7.4.3   Conversion – a change of attitude in mass movement

Early in 1951, an evangelistic conference was organized by Pastor Stephano Mujogo of the Norwegian Pentecostal mission in Tulambo, Itombwe location. Evangelists Matayo Mwungura and Andrea Kajabika were also involved. By the end of the conference, many people had been baptized. Among them were Banyamulenge community members: Danyeri Mutumitsi with his two wives: Lea Ngorore and Sara Nabiduta (these two women were baptized six years after the death of Madam Kibihira).

By the end of 1951, the youth was gripped by a spirituality revival while looking after their livestock in their pastures and they started being converted to Christianity. Young people started traveling from one place to the other, looking for evangelists to pray for them. Those who were prayed for went back and prayed for others too. Within 5 years (1951-1956), 80% of the community had been converted to Christianity, some becoming Catholic, but the majority becoming Protestant.

In 1954 a second conference was held at Kabara location. This was the first conference that was attended by White missionaries in the Banyamulenge area. On 25 December 1955, a conference of shepherds was organized at Kungunda, Muryambya locality. This was a very special occasion. Among the organizers were Rasito Karikofi and Elisha Ndakangwa. Miracles happened: people were filled with the Holy Spirit; young men had dreams and prophesied. Others received gifts of discernment and they composed songs. Every hill, forest, river and cave around villages and pastures provided a place for them to pray.

A phenomenon of prophesies occurring in the form of "writings", just like those that King Belshazzar received in Daniel 5 emerged. A person filled with the Spirit would produce some writings *(amandiko)*, which no one would normally be able to read. Another person filled with the Spirit would take the writings and interpret them. Their interpretation made sense and revealed real prophecy. This phenomenon started around 1962 and today it still continues in churches in the Eastern Congo and in the Great Lakes Region. From the 1950s, prophecy occupied a central point in the Banyamulenge community. Every issue

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that arose within the society, be it political or social, needed to be prayed for and "prophets" and church leaders were consulted about it.

The revival of the early 1970s brought about the phenomenon of "heavenly visitation"(*amaono*). Among the many interesting cases is the example of Mrs. Domitila Nyabibone who fell unconscious for four days at Kalonge in Minembwe in 1968. When she regained consciousness, she recounted many stories of heavenly places. Although Domitila did not go through formal education, she became a very prominent preacher. She has preached in many cities of Africa and beyond. She is currently based in Canada. Mrs. Mariamu Kinyamarura is another example[211]. She created a big "spiritual" centre in Kabela, Baraka, where people from different villages, cities and even from neighboring countries would come to consult her. She died in Rwanda during the Banyamulenge deportation by the Mobutu government in 1996 after having been severely beaten (see Ruhimbika 2001:48).

People learned to read and write without going to formal school. Each village built a small church. Kirundi Bibles and songbooks were used at first and later Swahili and Kinyarwanda books were used in church services and literacy classes. Consciously or unconsciously, being a Christian had become a new way of life - a new culture.

3.7.4.4   Testing times

A massive backslide took place from 1956 to 1957, the cause of which is unknown. It can, however, be assumed that some people became Christian just because others (their peers or groups) had gone that way. The other reason could have been a lack of discipleship. For instance, in Rurambo locality most churches in the villages were empty, a mere two years after their construction. Two women, Nyazuba and Nyabeza, however, kept their Christian faith in their village.

During this time the Catholic Church grew. Many of those who found it difficult to comply with Protestant conditions turned to Catholicism – the moderate church which allowed its

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[211] Allegations around her ministry are that she did not eat nor drink and lied on her bed for more than 30 years. She was usually fed by angels. These allegations had raised many anthropological, social and theological debates which need to be further investigated.

members to keep tobacco pipes; and did not place severe restrictions on the consumption of local beer. During this time a dance, taken over from the Bafuliro, known as the *imbarato* and the *cihariza* and the main song, the *ntamakemwa* composed by Nyamudida and Sebikamiro was popular and often sung during festivities. One of the songs in the *ntamakemwa*, the evangelist Andrea Kajabika, who was trying to admonish and edify believers, was mocked:

> *Wazanywe ni iki Anderea?*
> *Naje kureba abananiwe, nabo nasanze, barirekeye.*
> *Yemwe bakobga bakund'iy'isi, iraha yo mw'ijuru izabonande?*
> *Reka mbagire abazoyibona.*
> *Ni babazungu babongereza.*[212]

Or

> *Ninde wakuvuze Semuhoza?*
> *Sinje wakuvuze*
> *Ni Wokovu yaje ivug' amakuru,*
> *Yaje mwi Jipi ya Bwana Riga[213].*

What is clear is that the first song gives expression to skepticism towards "Christianization" in terms of which missionaries emphasized a new meaning of heaven which, however, was neither contextualized, nor convincing. In other words, there wasn't a proper Christian foundational teaching. In the second song, the composer is mocking Zakariya Semuhoza[214] who resisted colonial decision that prevented Banyamulenge

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[212] Andrea what brought you here?
I came to visit the backsliders. But even those that I found have given up.
You ladies, who lust for things of this world;
Who will inherit the joy of heaven?
I tell you, it is those British [missionaries].

[213] Who betrayed you Semuhoza?
But it is not I who accused you.
You were betrayed by a Christian songbook
Which was found in the Jeep of Mr. Riga (Rugan).

[214] Semuhoza like many other Banyamulenge, resisted against the Belgian farmer's decision that prevented them to pasture their cattle in Minembwe. But defiantly, during the day and night, they grazed in hiding. Semuhoza,

livestock to pasture in Minembwe and was betrayed by his Christian songbook found in his pocket during his arrest. What newly converted Christians had initially been taught in many cases pertained to prescriptions and restrictions associated with the eating of chicken and fish, the consumption of local beer (*inzoga*) or smoking of pipes. These Christians needed more instruction than that, which underlines the importance of education in a process involving conversion not necessarily a cultural change. What really lacked from the start was a constructive theology that would make a transitional step from Banyamulenge traditions to Jesus' teaching. Hence, compatibility of these traditions would have made a real contribution to the community.

3.7.5 Education

3.7.5.1 Formal education

The coming of Christianity brought about spiritual and social change. The church provided "the inspirational and moral basis for social and political change" (Markowitz 1973:145). People's mentality were changed and with it their social life too. Christianity taught them new ways of life. Children went to school and hygiene formed part of their social education. Through church activities health centers, dispensaries and schools were introduced and built in villages.

In 1957, a Swedish missionary by the name of Gosta Palmertz (Palmeshi) visited Bijombo and accredited a privately initiated primary school up to standard three. This school was the initiative of Danyeri Mutumitsi. The school fell under the supervision of Kasenga primary school in Uvira. In August 1999 at a bricklaying occasion for a new girls' school in Bijombo, built by Groupe Milima,[215] Mutumitsi recalled their prayers in the same area in 1957. Among their prayer requests at that time were: church and local administrative entity, schools, dispensaries and roads in their area.

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then took his cows in the Belgian concession and in the process, he was caught by Mr. Riga, and in his pocket was found a Christian songbook known in Swahili "*nyimbo za wokovu*".

[215] Groupe Milima is a local non-governmental organization that works in Uvira and Bijombo areas. It also intervenes in various domains among them, education. The name Groupe Milima means a group of mountains.

In 1961-1962, Bijombo locality got a full primary school with 6 classes. Among the first pupils of this primary school is Dr Runyambo Nyabuhanga[216]. Pastor Amos Kavuye (from the Bafuliru tribe) from Uvira was appointed as headmaster, while Elia Gaturuturu became the deputy headmaster, the first Banyamulenge to hold the highest post in public administration. Elia Gaturuturu and Lazaro Bigeyo had just completed their high school certificates in 1961, followed by Labani Muringa in 1963 and Frederick Muhoza Gisaro in 1964. They also became the community's first university graduates, Gisaro graduating in 1969 and Muringa in 1971. The first secondary school with 3 classes was opened at Kabara locality in the mid 1970s with a Swedish missionary headmaster, Mr. Roland. While a full secondary school in Bijombo was accredited in 1981.

The Catholic Church had a strong influence on the social development of the community. The first Banyamulenge theologian Fr. Jerome Gapangwa obtained a doctorate degree in 1984 and was the Bishop of the Catholic Church in Uvira Diocese from 1985 to 2002. Many of the Catholic Church members converted to Pentecostalism, particularly during the mid 1970s. The Catholic Church accredited three secondary schools in Minembwe, Kagogo and Bibangwa locations.

By the end of the 1980s, Protestant churches had run more than 10 secondary schools and more than 20 primary schools in Minembwe territory. From the mid 1970s the Banyamulenge youths were eager to pursue formal education both at secondary and tertiary levels. By the end of the 80's thousands of these young Banyamulenge became graduates from secondary schools and from national universities, particularly Lubumbashi and Kisangani universities. Although young people were given freedom to study, girls were mainly limited to primary and secondary levels, because they would be married at an early age.

This state of affairs is gradually changing and parents are now willingly offering equal educational opportunities to boys and girls. From the end of the 90's a substantial number

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[216] He became the first Banyamulenge medical doctor in early 1980s. He served for many years in Swedish Pentecostal church hospital in Lemera and at Kiliba hospital. From 1999 he became the head of Provincial Medical Sector in South Kivu.

of university graduates were embarking on post-graduate studies. Nyakayange Kega became the first Banyamulenge woman to earn a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1986 while Olivia Nabintu became the first Banyamulenge woman to earn a Masters degree in International Law. Although the Banyamulenge youth started their school careers fairly late, their performance was outstanding. They became very competitive and adapted themselves wherever they went, despite the enormous socio-political challenges they had to face.

3.7.5.2   Theological training

In 1967, two Banyamulenge students enrolled for Bible training in Lemera: Noa Mudagiri and Daudi Ntagora. Early in the 1970's others followed: Daudi Munyangurube, Daudi Mutanga, Samweli Buruma, Samweli Semutobo, Elia Byondo, Simoni Sebitereko, Elia Makono, Mrs. Sofia Narukundo, Inoki Karojo, among others. Early in 1980, young people started going to Bible colleges and theological seminaries and universities. Among the first ones were: Mayshara Rurenza from the Assemblies of God, Rukema Rushengererwa from the Free Methodists, Bachoba Biguge from the Swedish Pentecostal church and Mudakikwa Ndagano of the Assemblies of God. By the year 2000, several hundred Banyamulenge people had undergone Bible and theological training. The church became a well-established institution, which provided basic services to the community.

In September 1997, Eben-Ezer Ministry International (EMI) organized a conference on peace, reconciliation and thanksgiving, immediately after the war of the AFDL against the Mobutu regime. Unfortunately, there was a plane crash killing all passengers on board. A plane carrying delegates crashed and twenty-two people lost their lives among them pastors, friends from Israel, Rwanda and Burundi. They gave their lives as sacrifice for the sake of the gospel and reconciliation. About 32 000 people attended the conference making it the biggest gathering in the history of the church in the Minembwe territory (Rukundwa 1997).

3.7.6   Church leadership

From 1950 to 1974 the Banyamulenge did not have their own church leadership. They depended on mission posts in Uvira, Lemera, Baraka and Itombwe. Some of the first Banyamulenge local church leaders (who served either as elders or as evangelists) were: In Bijombo location: Andrea Kajabika, Matayo Mwungura, Petero Nzamu, Samuel Bugwejera, Ibrahimu Sebukubo, Ibrahimu Shakagabo. In Itombwe location: Daudi Mutanga; Simoni Muganwa. In Minembwe and Kamombo locations were: Elia Byondo, Daudi Makombe, Samuel Semutobo and Yunusi Rupembge. In 1974 Pastor Evariste Bujanja from CADEZA[217] was designated as the first Banyamulenge to oversee a local church administration with a stamp (seal) of the church in Rutigita, Minembwe.

In 1978, CEPAC[218] also delegated church administration of autonomous missions (parishes)[219] to Bijombo Parish, led by Rev. Noa Mudagiri Tabazi as the overseer and Pastor Simoni Sebitereko as the first secretary of the Parish. He supervised more than fifteen local churches. Other designated autonomous missions in the same year were Minembwe mission, led by Rev. Daudi Makombe; Kabara mission led by Rev. Samusoni Rwizihirwa and Bijojo mission led by Rev. Rugabirwa Budegembe.

In 1979 the CMLC[220] administration chose Pastor Bitebetebe Rusingizwa as the first Superintendent to oversee the Methodist parishes of Bwala and Minembwe. While in 1986 Pastor Rukema Rushengererwa was elevated to head the development department at national level in the church. Within CELPA[221] Pastor Sila Mulondanyi was chosen to oversee Minembwe parish at Ilundu in 1978. Church leaders, alongside local chiefs, became consultative figures, and became part of the decision making processes affecting various community matters. The experience of the church in Indian cultures is very similar

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[217] *Communauté des Assemblées de Dieu à l'Est du Zaïre* (Assemblies of God Church in Eastern Congo).

[218] *Communauté des Eglises de Pentecôte en Afrique* (Pentecostal church in Africa).

[219] In Swedish Pentecostal church terminology, "mission" meant "parish".

[220] *Communauté Méthodiste Libre au Congo* (Free Methodist Church in Congo).

[221] *Communauté des Eglises Libre de Pentecôte en Afrique* (Free Pentecostal Church in Africa).

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to that of the Banyamulenge community. Sahay (1986:293-294) explains the church's leadership role in India as follows:

> A catechist [pastor] is essentially a religious head of the Christian village and has to see if religious obligations of the Christian villagers are being fulfilled in a satisfactory manner. Besides, he has also to guide the social norms set by Christianity. He is expected to be informed about all the village affairs, whether social or religious. His presence is essential in every village council meeting and his words carry a significant weight in making any decision.

In 1982 Pastor Elia Bugunzu became the Provincial Representative of CADC[222] and South and North Kivu provinces fell under his supervision. In 1985 Mgr Jerome Gapangwa became the first Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Uvira Diocese. In 1995, Pastor Ruben Ruganza elected as the General Secretary of the CELPA in the DRC, the office that he holds till now. In August 2003, pastor Isaac Bujambi, was elected as the General Secretary of the Free Methodist church in the DRC. Over the years a number of pastors and evangelists became missionaries throughout the country and beyond. Among them pastors Sefaniya Rumenera, Simon Gahungu and Victor Mikebanyi can be singled out among the longest serving missionaries. Pastor Rumenera started his mission work with CELPA in early 1970s among the Bashi community in South Kivu. In 1990, he was moved to Kinshasa until his death in 1997. Pastor Gahungu started his missionary work in 1980 in Maniema, Kinshasa and later on started to work with Somali communities in Kenya. He is currently working with pastors Victor Mikebanyi also a Banyamulenge in Somaliland with Norwegian Pentecostal church.

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[222] Communautés des Assemblées de Dieu du Congo ("Assemblies of God Church in Congo").

In 1986 the first local NGO was introduced to the community. This NGO was affiliated to CADC and was originally known as PAHU.[223] It later changed its name to Groupe Milima. Over the past 15 years, it has focused its work on the communities living in the mountains of Minembwe with its focus being primarily on agriculture, livestock and primary education for girls. In 1995 and 1997 two other NGOs were established to promote development and peace building in the area, namely UGEAFI[224] and Eben-Ezer Ministry (EMI). A couple of others followed later, including women's associations.

3.8   The community at a crossroad

3.8.1   Church schism

3.8.1.1 *Communauté des Assemblées Dieu en Afrique* (CADAF)

Initially known as Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU) was formed by British missionaries. Around 1920 two missionaries from the British UPMGBI,[225] G. Richard and W. Keller came to Fizi in the Eastern Congo via Tanzania and were based at Baraka under the Belgium administrative post. The Catholics had a mission post in Fizi territory long before the arrival of the British missionaries. But, this post had been abandoned due to disease long before the arrival of the British missionaries (Musabga 1996:15). The first recipient community was Babembe. None of the local people had a formal education. But missionaries recruited some of the local people to work in their missions as houseboys and watchmen, who eventually became their first converts.

According to Rukema (1985:11), "*les missionnaires…recrutèrent des maçons, des ouvriers et des employés des maisons, ceux-ci furent les premiers collaborateurs…Ils furent mieux considérés et utiles dans l'œuvre d'interprétation et d'évangélisation parmi les leurs.*"[226]

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[223] *Projet Agro-pastoral des Hauts-Plateaux d'Uvira* (Agro-pastoral Projet of the Higher Plateaus of Uvira).

[224] *Union des Groupes d'Education et d'Animation de Fizi-Itombwe* (Union of Education and Action Groups of Fizi-Itombwe).

[225] Union Pentecostal Missions of Great Britain and Ireland. Today, it is known as *Communauté des Assemblées Dieu en Afrique* (CADAF – Assemblies of God Church in Africa).

[226] Missionaries … recruited bricklayers, labourers and domestic workers, who became their first collaborators … They were considered useful as interpreters and for evangelism of their own people.

Most of them later on became local missionaries and were sent to evangelize local communities, including the Banyamulenge between 1945 and 1955. Among their first Banyamulenge converts were Filipo Ntamunoza, Petero Segapara, Yohana Rukangira, Petero Nyawikariza, Yosefu Ndasonza, Zakaria Semagagara at villages of Bibogobogo and Kabugu in Fizi territory.

However, a sharp division developed between White missionaries and local Babembe pastors due to a misunderstanding over evangelism strategies (Rukema 1985:24-27). Eventually, it affected the Banyamulenge local churches. The following causes of the rift are listed:

- Church leadership became a problem. Missionaries wanted to relinquish the management of their mission post to another white mission post which acted in an overseeing. Local pastors wanted to manage its full administration;
- Lucrative and development ambitions: missionaries were concerned with "spiritual nourishment" more so than with physical development;
- Poor strategies in mission expansion were another cause. Missions could not expand to other territories as the north of the Fizi territory was occupied by Swedish missionaries; the west by Norwegians and Lake Tanganyika is to the south-east of the territory.

Local Babembe pastors approached the UPMGB with many requirements, while the White missionaries were not flexible to accept any local demands. In view of the fact that the Methodist church was already established in neighboring Burundi. Congolese (local) pastors in Fizi decided to sever its ties with the UPMGB and to seek affiliation with the Methodist church in Burundi.

3.8.1.2 *Communauté Méthodiste Libre au Congo* (CMLC)
Early in 1962, the UPMGBI dissidents went to Burundi and affiliated to the MLM[227] and brought it in their community. The next year, a complete separation of the two opposing groups in the UPMGB took place. Officially, missionaries Philip Klines and Russell

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[227] *Mission Libre Méthodiste* (Free Methodist Mission).

Peterson established the Methodist church in Fizi in 1963 (Musabga 1996:19). Pastor Byaene Akulu (from the Babembe tribe) became the Bishop the church since 1963 to 2003.

The coming of the MLM to the area resulted in more confusion with regard to doctrinal issues among the region's established churches, namely the Norwegian and Swedish Pentecostal churches. The Norwegian and Swedish churches were conservative in their approach and adhered to their church liturgy and discipline, while the Methodist church emphasized a 'spirit-led' approach. They believed that only the Spirit of God can give direction and create order in the church and that there was no need for biblical and theological training (Buhungu 1992:16). Many problems arose as a result but two were generalized in many Methodist churches:

- Prophecy and revivals. Due to lack of proper teaching and strong leadership in the church, prophecy became the source of indiscipline in many churches. Church members consulted prophets more than they did with the Bible and their church leadership. In this regard the example of prophetess Mariam Kinyamarura, who became so famous that she became a consultant for churches, can be quoted. Lack of proper strong church leadership led to heresies in many churches.

- Many revival groups such as *Maruba* emerged in the early 1960s. The name *Maluba* comes from a Kibembe song that goes as follows: *Mti wa uma wamena maluba* (a dry stick has flourished). Another group called itself *Abayumbe* (meaning messengers taken from Swahili word *ujumbe* - message). This group of people claimed to have received a message from God which they had to take either to a particular people or to villages and churches between 1969 and 1975. They would go to a particular community or village as a team and their mission there would last for as long as it took for their message to be delivered. Another group that was established late in 1980 was called *Busoka*, the name also derived from a Kibembe song "*Ah busoka manga wani mtima uwanja Abecha!*" (Oh what happiness in my spirit praising the Lord!). Most of the time, church leadership experienced difficulties to maintain order and discipline in these groups.

- Breaking up of marriages (*indowa*): Through the prophetess Mariam's doctrine, sexual intercourse meant consummation of marriage. This doctrine brought confusion and led to the breaking up of many families especially within the Banyamulenge community, and affected all different churches in the area. The following example is quoted: A young man had intercourse with a widow. The young man and the widow converted to Christianity and the young man got married in church to another woman. After twenty years of marriage, he was told to leave his wife and his children to go back to the widow who was in her 60s. He divorced his lawful wife and joined the widow. Family life was severely disrupted with children losing the warmth and security only parents can offer and looked on while their mothers quietly left them, not knowing why such a thing was happening to them; they were raised like orphans while their mothers were still alive.

3.8.1.3 *Mission Libre Norvégienne* (MLN)

Currently known as CELPA[228] this mission was established among the Bashi community in Kaziba, South Kivu Province in 1921 by missionaries Rev. Gunerrius Tollefsen and his wife Oddbjorg and Ms Hanna Veum from Norway (Buhungu 1992:9). They experienced problems to settle in the area due to "*problème géographique, mépris, menaces de catholiques romaines et la population qui les considérait comme des colonisateurs à cause de la même peau blanche*"[229] (Makelele 1991:12). This mission later expanded to Kalambi, Mwenga territory among the Barega community, Itombwe among the Babembe and Banyamulenge communities.

Although Norwegian missionaries came to the area along with their Swedish counterparts, they did not work together. They rather decided to divide their mission areas, although they kept close links. They made a remarkable social contribution by building schools, health centres and hospitals. The primary school of Malanda is among the first schools where Banyamulenge children in 1957 became educated in Itombwe location.

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[228] *Communauté des Eglises Libres de Pentecôte en Afrique* (Free Pentecostal Church in Africa).

[229] [T]he geographical problem, threats from Roman Catholics and from the population who regarded them as colonizers because of their white skins.

3.8.1.4 *Communauté des Eglises de Pentecôtes en Afrique* **(CEPAC)**

The first group of Swedish missionaries of CEM[230] arrived in Uvira in1922. Among the pioneers were Lemeul Karisson, David and Svea Flood, Julius and Ruth Aspenlind and they settled among the Bafuliru community. Settling was not easy for a number of reasons, inter alia the many colonial administrative rules that applied to missionaries and tropical diseases. By the end of 1924 the Aspenlinds settled in Lemera, which became the centre of the Swedish Pentecostal Mission and still is today (Buhugu 1992:13).

CEPAC worked tirelessly to expand its efforts and to bring the gospel to the Banyamulenge community. The first Banyamulenge converts were baptized in this church. In certain places it provided elementary education and most of the community's first educated people came from the Swedish mission schools in Lemera, Kasenga and Kiliba. Under the leadership of pastor Jean Ruhigita as the Legal Representative (Bishop) of the church at national level, the church begun to have problems with its own member parishes since early 1970s (Bacoba 2001:3). Three main groups from within the Banyamulenge community severed ties with CEPAC and joined other denominations.

- In 1962, a group of local churches joined a revival movement known as *Maruba* established by the Free Methodist church. CEPAC leadership was skeptical about this movement and warned its members not to join the group. But churches led by Evangelist Yohana Nyabuhuga ignored these orders and were excommunicated whereupon they joined the Free Methodist church.

- In 1978, during the nominations of parish administrative leadership of CEPAC in the Banyamulenge community, the position for the Kabara parish was contested between two candidates, Pastor Elia Byondo and Pastor Rwizihirwa. Pastor Elia Byondo won, but pastor Ruhigita, the Legal Representative, favored Pastor Rwizigura and appointed him to oversee the mission/parish. Pastor Byondo regarded this as favoritism and found it an unacceptable practice. He immediately left CEPAC and joined the CMLC.

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[230] Congo Evangelical Mission.

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- In 1980 many other churches left CEPAC and joined the Assemblies of God (CADC). According to the letter written by Mudagiri, Rugabirwa and Mwungura (1980) on behalf of the departing churches. Main accusations against CEPAC leadership would be related to corruption, injustice, dictatorship, nepotism and tribalism.

Frustrations that Banyamulenge pastors experienced were shared with many pastors from other communities too. However, the Banyamulenge became vocal because their socio-political survival depended on church leadership, especially after the death of their Member of Parliament, Honorable Gisaro, in 1980. This struggle coincided with conflict within the *Groupement de Bijombo* (Mutambo 1997:86-93), which was a local politico-administrative entity of the Banyamulenge, but contested by local politicians from neighboring communities.

The *Groupement* was contested for many years by local authorities and the debate again had surfaced. The Church at provincial and at national levels never concerned itself with this community's struggles for justice. This is also true of the war of 1996 when people (church members) were being arrested, harassed, deported and killed. The Protestant church in general remained passive, while their brothers from the Catholic Church made their position on social political and economic crises in the country clear.

3.8.1.5 *Communauté de l'Assemblée de Dieu du Congo* (**CADC**)
All Banyamulenge pastors serving CEPAC had several meetings between 1979 and 1980 concerning their future due to injustice committed by church leadership. Finally they took decision to leave CEPAC and to form their own ministry. Initially they all agreed to leaving, but at the last minute, some decided to remain with CEPAC. Pastors Mudagiri Tabazi, Rugabirwa Budegembe and Mwungura Ndinzimana led those who resigned from CEPAC and accepted risks of excommunication.

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Pastor Ruhigita informed and warned the Provincial Synod of Protestant churches known as *Eglise du Christ au Zaire/Congo* (ECZ/ECC)[231] not to receive any of the excommunicated pastors. They went to Kinshasa and joined the Assemblies of God (CADC), established in 1964 (Buhungu 1992:20-21). The CADC accepted the "dissident group" on the grounds that they were unfairly treated and unjustly excommunicated.

For the past twenty years (1980-2000), the church was immersed in confusion, division and uncertainty. Bacoba lists three main causes for this state of affairs as being social, political and doctrinal (Bacoba 2001:5). Tribalism had penetrated to the core of all communities and the church was not spared. The Catholic Bishop of the diocese of Uvira, Mgr. Gapangwa had been the target of socio-political incitement, criticism and tribalism, through the entire period that he had been the head of the diocese in Uvira (cf Ruhimbika 2001:18-20) until the Vatican in 2002 had not choice but to replace him.

For their part, churches in the Banyamulenge community were deeply divided by Mariam's prophecies that the CADC was not of God and whoever associated with it, was committing a sin. Sharp divisions of whether to accept CADC or to excommunicate it, arose among other denominations. An agreement could not be reached and as a result some of the churches supported the CADC, while others distanced themselves from it completely. CEPAC and those churches that subscribed to the prophecies of Mariam, prohibited all contact and even marriage with CADC members (Buhungu 1992:50). In 1997 the CEPAC national leadership officially announced forgiveness of CADC (Mehne & Kuye, 1997). Some church members from CEPAC and CMLC in Minembwe territory however, rejected this decision, especially the followers of the Mariam doctrine.

3.8.2 Concept of *abacu* as social system

In the Banyamulenge community, the term *abacu* (companions) can also mean brotherhood. The word comes from *iwacu* (our home, where we inhabit or where we belong). Unlike the English term "brotherhood", the *abacu* is genderless and includes all

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[231] Church of Christ in Zaire/Congo.

members of the community regardless of their sex, age and status. Ancestors are also part of this structure.[232] The term means to belong together – those who are ours. Since colonial time, Banyamulenge lost their hierarchical structured system within their society due to colonial suppression of their traditional chieftaincy.

Gradually and unconsciously, they developed another structure of survival from the concept of *abacu*. Since they were subjects of other tribes' chieftaincies, elders of the community would meet from time to time to discuss matters arising and find a collegial solution. This was because, the community had only remained with leaders known as *gapita* or *kirongozi* (local chief) who, in their capacities, no longer had powers to make any big decision of their own. The leadership role became functional whereby; delegates to these functions were to liaise the community with the rest of political and administrative structures. Big decision remained a prerogative of the council of elders, where all members were treated on equal basis.

In 1980s and especially in early 1990s the term was politically employed by the community amid political tension, harassment and exclusion from the Zairian government, which the community had to endure. Thus *abucu* versus outsiders, informed members of the community that "we belong" together for better or for worse. The term becomes inclusive regardless of social strata. Although the term is also used by Burundians and Rwandans, the Banyamulenge connotation is unique. The *abacu* goes beyond social realm to include political and religious realities that exclusively affect one group of people. In other words, it contains a sense of marginality. Within the concept of *abacu*, fulfillment of functions rather than positions is what matters. Elders and leaders appointed to serve in

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[232] In 1982, our family had moved from Bijombo to Itombwe since my father was to work with Norwegian church in Itombwe. Due to tribal conflict between Banyamulenge and Babembe communities, the Babembe local chief for the location accused Banyamulenge of instigating violence in the area. A company of soldiers from Fizi arrived to arrest Banyamulenge local leaders. Soldiers surrounded our village Kuwimbogo. Men, women and children were all rounded up as soldiers made search of all houses. My father told people to pray. As people started praying. One old mother, Monika Nyangondo, started to invoke the name of her late husband and said: "*Nyarushumba we, ngwino utabare abana bawe*," (Nyarushumba come and save your children). My father rebuked her and said: "*Reka guhamagara abapfuye, hamagara Imana*" (do not call the dead [ancestors], call up on God). The grand mother said, "*oyaye we, reka tumuhamagere n'uwacu kandi ni mwiza*" (no, he is part of us and he is also good). This gives a deep meaning of the concept of *abacu* (see also chapter one above section 1.1 note 8).

various capacities such as a *gapita* (local chef)*,* clergy or even chairmanship of mutuality in Diaspora, could only do it as a function. In this case a collegial decision is important for the rest of the community.

3.8.3   Political leadership and its challenges from 1996 to 2005

If there is one thing that could never be justified and about which consensus would never be reached among the Banyamulenge community, it is the rebellion that broke out on 2 August 1998. Unlike previous rebellions, the RCD's war against Kabila might have had its political and military reasons, but it created divisions within the community that have never before been experienced. Two streams of political position gradually emerged during the war of 1996, which created a dilemma for the young and inexperienced, but very enthusiastic politicians. The Banyamulenge had to enter into a political partnership with Kabila, who in the 1960s led a rebellion in which many of the Banyamulenge people were killed and their cattle raided.[233] The challenge was to now turn a former "enemy" into an ally.

This also applied to Kabila as well as to other tribes.[234] They were compatriots, whether or not they liked it and they had to find a way of solving their differences and of forging an interim common front to "liberate" the country from dictatorial and collapsed regime of Mobutu. How would this partnership work in a highly tribalized environment, remained unsolved issue? Neither Kabila nor the Banyamulenge young politicians had time to critically assess the future of their political alliance. Had this been done, it could have helped prevent the worst from happening. It is believed that this hasty alliance was forged

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[233] In October 1996, an old mother Kesiya Namusarange, looked at the youths ready to join the AFDL in Bukavu, and she asked them with some irony where they were going. They enthusiastically answered her that they were going to join the "liberation movement." "That of Kabila?" She laughed and in a soft voice said, "*ni mugende muracar'abana! Kabila waziciy'amaberi niwe uzabakamira*?" What she said was "Go, you are still young! Kabila, he who killed milking cows, will he be able to provide milk for you?" She used sensitive language but actually referred to the survival of the community. The meaning of her statement was: could he, the one who turned children into orphans in the first place, ever be trusted to care for them? This refers to the rebellion of 1960s. The young people replied that that belonged to the past and that they were prepared to reconcile. She was, however, sceptical and her prediction proved to be right within months.

[234] The Banyamulenge made a significant contribution in defeating the 1964 rebellion in Uvira and Fizi. However, the role they played in saving the country led to animosity between them and their immediate neighbours in these areas. This is a real paradox.

under regional and international influence and not much time had gone into the preparation of the alliance.

Many of the Banyamulenge elders believed that this alliance could only lead to disaster. They did not expect the Kabila of the 1990s to be any better than the Kabila of the 1960s, whom they described as *uwaciye inka amaberi*.[235] On the other hand, the Banyamulenge community needed support from whoever would save them from the Zairean government oppression. Regional governments,[236] particularly the Rwandan government appeared to understand dangers of exclusion and extermination based on ethnicity among other reasons and it was quick to offer its assistance.

Earlier, in 1994, Rwanda was a safe haven for the Banyamulenge and other Tutsis from the Eastern Congo fleeing from the Zairean local authorities' harassment and killings. Secondly, the RPA[237] was particularly concerned about Rwandan security around its borders with the DRC where Interahamwe and former FAR[238] were engaged in military activities. These activities provided enough evidence of persisting insecurity for Rwanda and the Great Lakes Region. However, for the Banyamulenge and other Congolese in political alliance - AFDL, questions pertaining to how long they would enjoy RPA protection and support and what form such alliance would take, became immediate concerns.

From December 1996, events started moving first and the relationship between the Banyamulenge and their allies overtaken by both political and economic ambitions. In a meeting organized in Butare, between Banyamulenge politicians and intellectuals and their Rwandan ally, certain security concerns in Congo were mentioned. Consensus could however, not be reached with regard to these concerns. They gradually became a point of

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[235] The literal meaning is "the one who cuts the cow's teats." This expression is used to refer to an enemy, the one who kills. An enemy, who kills the cow that provides milk for the family, might as well also physically kill the family. Again, the absence of the cow and milk in the family signify starvation, malnutrition, poverty and death.

[236] Diverse interests of individual governments that were involved played a role.

[237] The Rwandan Patriotic Army.

[238] *Forces Armées Rwandaises* (Rwandan Armed Forces).

discord between Banyamulenge politicians and their Rwandan ally. At the same time, early in 1997, Kabila gradually began to exclude many of the Banyamulenge who gathered around him, both from the army and in politics. By the time he formed his government in Kinshasa in June 1997, very few members of Banyamulenge community remained in his entourage.

In February 1998, soldiers from the Banyamulenge community led a mutiny in Lemera, Uvira territory. They were protesting against injustice practiced in the army which was affecting them directly. However, this act was interpreted differently by Kabila and James Kabarebe (from Rwanda) who, at the time, was serving as the Chief of Staff for the Congolese National Army. They saw the mutiny as an act of indiscipline. Not being able to have confidence and trust in their compatriot ally (Kabila), nor having fully shared interests with their Rwandan ally, Banyamulenge politicians and soldiers eventually, found themselves at a crossroad.

August 1998 became a decisive moment for politicians – members of Banyamulenge community. A coalition of dissident Congolese politicians and soldiers, backed by Rwanda and Uganda, started another rebellion against Kabila. Reasons for this rebellion were controversial and some Banyamulenge politicians felt that the community was being taxed to justify a rebellion that they did not know. Later on, Rwanda and Uganda would disagree on visions and principles with regard to rebellion, economic and political interests in the DRC. Eventually, they parted, each supporting a Congolese rebel movement of its choice. In 1999, these two sister countries (Rwanda and Uganda) ended up fighting each other in Kisangani over political and economic interests, resulting in heavy causalities among their soldiers and Congolese civilian population. Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola joined the war on the side of Kabila.

The Banyamulenge politicians and soldiers were divided on the issue of whom to side with. One group, led by Bizima Karaha, Moïse Nyarugabo, the current Vice-President Azarias Ruberwa, Benjamin Serukiza, among others, was of the opinion that after severing ties with Kabila, there was no other alternative, but to join the new rebel movement (the

RCD) supported by Rwanda. They, in fact, became the last group to join other rebel members who were forming the RCD. Unfortunately, members of Banyamulenge stood out, not necessarily because of their ideas but because of their ethnic belonging.

Another group, led by Joseph Mutambo,[239] Muller Ruhimbika[240] and others, was not in favor of Banyamulenge support for the RCD option and formed their own political party, the FRF.[241] This party opposed the second war and criticized the influence and role of Rwanda in this war. Many Congolese, unfortunately, did not recognize these internal differences among the Banyamulenge, but preferred to treat them all as a common enemy. For Kabila and his government, the enemy was not a rebel in the RCD or in other rebel movements, but a Tutsi regardless of his/her gender, age and affiliation. It is for this reason that Yerodia Ndombasi had no hesitation to refer to the Banyamulenge people as "vermin" in August 1998 followed by their massacre.

Struggles between the two groups (RCD and FRF) for control of the community began to develop and as the years went by, it got worse. Economic and political interests, not very prominent and pronounced within the value system of the local and traditional Banyamulenge community, began to emerge. The sense and values of the old way of life of commonality in the system of *abacu*, began to wane. The community was undergoing social and political mutation, at times without being noticed. It must be noted that during the rebellion and the difficult times from the early 1960s through to the 1980s and particularly in the 1990s, the community was constantly on the defense, having to fight for the survival of families and their properties.

Members of the community had no political or economic ambitions beyond their own locality. Businessmen were rare and the only examples of Banyamulenge businessmen are possibly the late Rushambara Masiribo (who was based in Bukavu) and the Joseph

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[239] In 1996, he fled with his family from Kinshasa to Bujumbura via Brazzaville and Kigali. In 1999, he was forced to leave the region and died in exile in Denmark on 21 November 2000.

[240] He was forced into exile in 1998 and is still living in France with his family.

[241] *Forces Républicaines Fédéralistes* ("Federal Republican Forces"). This is not yet registered as an official political party in the DRC.

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Mutambo (who was based in Kinshasa). The rest were involved in small scale business activities. In the absence of community plans and measures to cope with socio-political emergencies, conflicts of personal interest between members began to emerge.

Surprisingly, none of these community members would accept that such interest was the result of political and/or economic ambition. But they all explained their motives as being *ishaka ry'ubgoko*[242] which became difficult to define. Eventually, groups of individuals from different clans began to surface, although elders of the community downplayed the significance of these groups. It is important though, to mention that members of the community who joined politics and the army had no political experience, which might have been a handicap in solving some of current community issues.

Apart from a few individuals such as Dugu wa Mulenge,[243] Joseph Mutambo,[244] and Musafiri Mushambaro,[245] the rest who actually became politically active in 1996 came straight from university, secondary school, NGOs and the private sector. Although it could be said that they lacked public and political experience, they received their schooling in public life through the long journey of exclusion and stigmatization. The majority of them performed well and became highly competent in duties entrusted to them. And it was not surprising that after seven years (from 1996 to 2003) of armed and political struggle in the DRC, members of the community are holding various high positions in the country, both in the army and in politics.

Due to lack of cohesion and adherence to common political strategies for the survival of the community on a local, national and regional scale, any action taken by one group had a "subversive" effect on the other. In March 2002, a military confrontation involving a

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[242] Devotion to the community.

[243] He served in the provincial assembly from 1985. In 1987, he was not allowed to stand as parliamentary candidate on the grounds of being a foreigner (Banyamulenge).

[244] Politically and economically, he evolved in Kinshasa. In 1982, he was a candidate for parliamentary election. His candidature was however turned down on the grounds that he was a foreigner (Banyamulenge).

[245] He came from the private sector, and in 1987, his candidacy for a parliamentary seat was turned down, as was the case with Dugu wa Mulenge.

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dissident RCD soldier, Commander Patrick Masunzu, and the command of the RCD led by Brigade Commander Colonel Jules Mutebutsi broke out. It started as a small misunderstanding between Commander Safari and his deputy Masunzu in their battalion at Kiziba, in Bijombo location.

After the report with findings on Commander Masunzu's insubordination, the RCD wanted his arrest to face disciplinary action. Masunzu feared prosecution, not only in respect of this incident, but was also concerned about other incidents in which he was involved, particularly his public confrontation with the Rwandan Colonel Dani Gapfizi in Uvira in January 1999. It should be noted that at this stage (1999) many misunderstandings between RCD soldiers and Rwandan soldiers with regard to military command often occurred. But Banyamulenge soldiers became outspoken.

It was at this stage that many of Banyamulenge soldiers began to desert the RCD. Among them Brigadier General Mustafa Mukiza (at the time a commander) joined the MLC[246] of Jean Pierre Bemba, while others joined the RCD/ML[247] of Mbusa Nyamwisi.

During the seven month conflict (war) between Masunzu and the RCD, the RPA reinforced RCD positions in Minembwe, after the RCD's retreat. Eventually, they all pulled out in September 2002 after mounting international criticism. As is the case in most wars the exact numbers of casualties on both sides have not been disclosed (Eben-Ezer Ministry International 2002). But some villages were burnt down, thousands of peasants were displaced and about 1500 head of cattle were pillaged by Rwandan soldiers.[248]

The RCD and their allies accused Masunzu of harboring Interahamwe elements, while Masunzu accused the RCD of collaborating with foreigners (Rwandan army) to invade their territory. The conflict was resolved by the signing of the peace agreement and the

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[246] *Mouvement de Libération du Congo* (Congo Liberation Movement).

[247] *Rassemblement Congolais pour la démocratie/Mouvement de Libération* (Congolese Rally for Democracy).

[248] Rwandan soldiers had given orders that any cow seen in areas controlled by Masunzu was to be slaughtered. As much as peasants tried to protect their cattle some wandered off especially at night, as they were not used to confinement. Many herds taken by soldiers were released to their owners but others provided in the Rwandan soldiers' food needs.

formation of the transitional government in 2003. But the politics of the RCD and the FRF divided the community, with some supporting Colonel Masunzu and others supporting the RCD. The main issue at stake was the fact that each group made the same claim, namely that they were fighting in the interest of the community and/or the country in general. These internal divisions made the community even more vulnerable.

Colonel Masunzu[249] maintained control of Minembwe territory and was supported by the Kabila government. Leadership ambitions however, caused Colonel Masunzu's group to split into two factions: the Masunzu and the Aaron Nyamushebga factions. Colonel Nyamushebga controlled the Bibogobogo location in Fizi territory, while Colonel Masunzu remained in Minembwe.[250] This followed the earlier disintegration of the FRF as a result of lack of political confidence the party experienced from 1999. Even when the other Congolese politicians, rebel movements and representatives of civil society convened at Sun City, in South Africa for peace talks in 2002, the FRF remained absent.

The war of the RCD and Masunzu exposed yet another political difference among the Banyamulenge members within the RCD. They were divided into two groups on issues of political independence: one group was busy forging a sense of political independence while the other group wanted to maintain close dependency on members of the RPA. Among the many examples of this rift, an incident involving pastor Bitebetebe Rusingizwa of the Methodist church can be cited. He was arrested in August 2002 by RCD security services in Minembwe. Still at war, Banyamulenge members of the RCD organized a courtesy visit of Banyamulenge elders and pastors to Rwanda.

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[249] In August 2004, Colonel Masunzu was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General and he was officially sworn in July 2005.

[250] Both factions however greatly lacked in the necessary political leadership to translate their military convictions into a long term socio-political framework, which would have ensured reconciliation and security, not only of their own community, but that of all the different communities living together and for the region.

The purpose of the visit was to explain to the Rwandans and their leaders that the Banyamulenge community was not part of the happenings in Minembwe[251]. After their reconciliatory talks, the delegation returned to Minembwe. Pastor Bitebetebe, who like many other elders had opposed the RCD's decision to go to war was suspected of collaborating with Masunzu. Upon the mission's arrival back in Minembwe, he was arrested and sent to Goma where he had been as a member of the official delegation of elders. This caught the RCD executive power off guard. The embarrassment that followed revealed the discord between the security department and the executive, both led by members of the Banyamulenge community.

Much reconciliation must still take place for the relationship within the community itself, between the community and other neighboring communities, and that between Congolese and Rwandans to be repaired. This can only be achieved through proper political, economic and social structures that would give preference to human dignity and justice. As long as issues of poverty, land and insecurity are not yet properly dealt with, there cannot be an end to the war in the Congo and in the region.

3.9   Summary

Colonialism affected Banyamulenge traditional way of living, particularly, it contributed greatly to their political vulnerability by suppressing their traditional rights of land access. Christianity helped the community to raise their level of aspiration and investment in future life by educating their children, and there has been a cultural and community living transformation. Christianity also created more strength and leadership in the Banyamulenge community to defend their own fundamental rights, identity and integrity as a people.

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[251] However, those who were opposed to the RCD were of the opinion that the visit was of a more political nature in favor of the RCD and its ally. One month later, the RPA withdrew from Minembwe and eventually from the Eastern Congo. Whether this was a political or a humanitarian mission, it has to some extent managed to restore relations between the Banyamulenge community and their Rwandan brothers. At the same time, Masunzu's control of Minembwe forged some alliances with other local tribal militia, especially from the Babembe and Bafuliru tribes. This alliance protected the villagers from ethnically motivated conflicts and attacks in Minembwe territory.

In spite of the fact that Christianity brought significant improvements in the life of the community, it was also responsible for creating leadership competition and dividing the community into several denominational and religious groups. Conflict of old values, beliefs and habits were so deep-rooted among the people that they were put in dilemma, and found themselves oscillating between Christianity and old ways through which were permanently dislocated.

Involvement of Banyamulenge youths and politicians in Congolese rebellions has been part of expression of their Congolese identity. But divisions around and within the Banyamulenge community are to be understood in light of both Congolese and regional social and political context right from colonialism to independence and thereafter.

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CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL LOCATION OF THE MATTHEAN COMMUNITY

4.1   Introduction

Most scholars agree that the Gospel of Matthew was written between 70 CE and 90 CE either in Antioch or in Galilee.[252] The aim of this chapter is to locate the Matthean text into a context from which it emerges. Scholars such as Meier (1983:11-86), Luz (1990:93), Overman (1990, 1996:16-19), Saldarini (1991:39), Duling & Perrin (1994:329-333), Sim (1998:31-40), and Carter (2000:16; 2001:36-37) have argued that Matthew is a post-70 CE

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[252] The place of origin of Matthew is a matter of debate among scholars since the author does not precisely indicate the place of origin, except where it is indicated that "News about him spread all over Syria" and that large crowds from Galilee, Jerusalem and the Transjordan region followed him (Mt 4:24-25). Although Luz (1989:92) has no objection to a Syrian location where Greek was spoken, he does state that "the Gospel of Matthew does not betray its place of origin". Scholars such as Tenney (1982:150-151), Kingsbury (1988:149), Luz (1989:90-92), Overman (1990:158-161; 1996:16-19), Duling & Perrin (1994:329-333), Sim (1998:31-40), Stark (1991:189-210), Segal (1991:1-37), and Carter (2000:15-16) to name but a few, have explored the Matthean origin. Those who hold the traditional view of it being Antioch say that: (i) Matthew addressed a congregation that existed in Antioch which was predominantly Greek speaking and a mission setting that was circumcision-free; (ii) Matthew reflects an intermingling society of Jews and Gentiles; (iii) Matthew's origin was an urban community; (iv) It is in Antioch where Paul directly opposed Peter. More recently, Overman (1990:158-161; 1996:16-19) taking up the views of W Trilling, F Manns and S Miller, has challenged the widely accepted consensus of a Syrian origin. Overman says that taking the conflict within the formation of Judaism, a Palestinian location would be preferred as the origin of Matthew. Within Palestine, "Galilee is attractive" because of its role in the rabbinic Judaism. Overman puts forward some reasons as to why a Galilean location could be the origin of the Gospel. (i) Matthew rather strikingly did not allow Jesus to leave Galilee; (ii) Rabbinic Judaism took shape in the Galilee. This movement's early heroes, Yohanan ben Zakkai and Rabbi Judah the Prince, were basically Galileans; (iii) The cities of Sepphoris and Tiberias were important in the first century. They were centers of trade, had courts of law; were home to numerous officials and imperial personnel (both Gentiles and Judeans), and they were large enough to contain sizable but diverse forms of Judaism. According to Stambaugh & Balch (1986:92), Sepphoris was established during the Hellenistic period and consolidated later by the Herods. It became famous and was inhabited by wealthy Judean landowners and the priestly class who favored and collaborated with Roman imperialism. Tiberias, on the other hand, was founded between 17 and 20 CE by Herod Antipas. It was an open city that welcomed all people without any distinction between poor and rich, Gentile and Judean. Segal (1991:26) brings both views together (Antioch and Galilee) in a single geographical setting. He argues that Galilee and Syria should be considered as a single geographical area. His emphasis is based on the nature of errant populations across borders due to the influx of refugees and displacements during the Jewish revolts and war. Moreover, the closeness of locations was conducive to easier communication between Syria and Galilee. He also refers to the itinerant nature of Jesus' disciples after the commissions (Mt 10 and 28) which obviates a "strict choice between Galilee and Antioch". Van Aarde (2002b:133; 2004b:424) locates the origin of Matthew neither in Antioch nor in Galilee *per se*, but somewhere in-between region "South-Syria/North-Galilee".

text[253] – in other words a postwar text. If so, the social location of Matthean community could be investigated from a postcolonial perspective.

Aspects such as marginality, gender role and community formations (in both the Matthean and Formative Judaism contexts) are important in order to understand the Matthean location. Some historical facts that contributed to the revolt and to the eventual destruction of both Jerusalem and the temple and the dispossession of the land, which were the main social, political and religious symbols of identity of the Judeans,[254] are worth mentioning.

The aim of this chapter is to shed light on the social, economic and political contexts from which Matthew's Gospel emerges. Matthew wrote to an audience that was familiar to his context. However, it becomes difficult for readers in the 21st century to have appreciation for the full meaning of the Matthean text. It therefore, becomes imperative to understand the locus of Matthew in order to see how he interacted with his fellow countrymen, with Roman colonization and its local agents in Palestine.

The argument here is that the Gospel of Matthew, to a large extent, was influenced and shaped by social, economic, political and religious factors that led to Matthew's introduction of Jesus as a religious and political figure whose mission it is to proclaim

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[253] However, Tenney (1982:150-151; see Sim 1998:31-32) is of the opinion that it was written at an earlier time, between 50 CE and 70 CE.

[254] It has been a tradition for theologians to use the term "Jew" when referring to a Judean or an Israelite in the New Testament. But such term does not exist in original biblical manuscripts. Why do theologians translate *Ioudaion* (Mt 2:2; 27:11, 29, 37; 28:15) with "Jews"? In dealing with this issue, J J Pilch (1997:119-125) lists three important periods from which Jewish terminology might have emerged. (i) First temple period (950 BCE-586 BCE). The temple was built by King Solomon and was destroyed under King Zedekiah by King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon. At this stage, the country was called "Israel" (see Gn 32:24-28); the people were called "Israelites or people of Israel"; and their religion was called "Israelite religion". (ii) Second temple period (520 BCE-70 CE). The temple was rehabilitated under Ezra and Nehemiah, but again destroyed by Roman General Titus. During this period, the country is referred to as "Judea" and its people as "Judeans", while their religion is called "Judean or Judaic religion." (iii) Post-70 CE period, also known as the "period of Rabbinic Judaism." From the beginning of the gathering of the Council of Jamnia around 90 CE to the present day, the religion of this period has been referred to as "normative Judaism." It is derived from "Pharisaic scribalism" which is at the origin of contemporary Jewish belief and practice. The people are referred to as "Jews" and their religion as "Judaism". Although in the contemporary world, the terms "Jewish religion, Jewish beliefs" are mainly used, they "cannot and should not be retrojected into the Bible." Having noted such anachronism, this study prefers to use Judean and Israelite in the Matthean context, where possible. However, where the term "Jew" appears in direct quotations, the researcher will retain its usage.

salvation (independence), not only to Judeans, but also to the nations that had been oppressed. It is also assumed that the Gospel is a result of internal and external conflict based on religious and political misinterpretation of the law, which eventually forced the Matthean community to look like a marginalized group.

4.2   Life in Palestine under Roman empire

4.2.1   Introduction

Klausner (1964, 1977), Theissen (1978, 1992), Freyne (1980), Oakman (1986), Wengst (1987), Horsley (1988, 1989, 1993), Stambaugh & Balch (1989), Balch (ed) (1991), Carter (2001), among others, provide an account of Roman imperial socio-economic and political experience in Palestine. Horsley (1993:3) introduces his work by saying that the "Jews of Jesus' day were a subject people." From the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians in 587 BCE to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 CE, Palestine went through successive foreign military invasions and occupations. Therefore, both Formative Judaism and Christianity emerged from a colonial context, which greatly affected the Gospel of Matthew. Cycles of oppression and subjugation created three major popular revolts against foreign military occupations. The Maccabean revolt (168-167 BCE) against the Hellenistic empire; the revolts of 66-70 and 132-135CE against the Roman empire and its local puppets who were mainly from the priestly aristocracy before they could be acquiesced in *pax Romana* (Wengst 1987; Horsley 1989:30-32; cf Horsley 1989:3-5; Carter 2000:38-39).

4.2.2   Socio-economic conditions

Using Matthew's contemporary narratives such as the Gospel of Mark (10:28), the issue of the dispossession of the disciples, a question that was pertinently put to Jesus, is prominent. While Matthew, on the one hand, encouraged people not to worry about what to eat and to wear (Mt 6:25-34), it bears testimony to a very difficult situation vis-à-vis the economic situation, not only that of the disciples, but of many in Palestine during the first century.

As an agrarian society, Klausner (1964:174-184) notes that the Judeans in Palestine were hard working people. They possessed agricultural, fishing, handicraft and business skills. Unlike the merchants and the other wealthy businessmen a small percentage of the population, the class of smallholders was largely constituted by peasants. According to Klausner (1964:179), the entire family (parents and children) lived solely off the labor of their hands. Their produce depended on seasons, but they were reserved for household use with the rest being sold to procure other basic necessities.

However, such a peasantry life could not permit one to acquire any wealth. Consecutive bad seasons and/or weak health of the peasant would be enough to deprive him of his property and to reduce him to a status of a hireling. Oakman (1986:72-73) explains that if smallholders (peasants) fell into arrears, vis-à-vis any of various obligations – be that because of taxes, rents, dues and household, and replacement requirements, there was not enough for subsistence, leaving the peasant with no choice but to borrow to meet the deficit. This exercise "required something as surety," part of the peasant's property, his piece of land, or even himself or a member of the family. It must be noted that debt, land and agrarian problems (Fiensy 1999:6-8; cf Moore 1966:479)[255] often played a role in Greco-Roman historical development which fuelled peasant revolution movements.

Taxation was heavy and highly problematic. Although it is difficult to establish when excessive taxes were introduced, Klausner (1964:187-188) observes that such heavy taxation was not recorded during the Maccabean period. However, Seleucids did collect various taxes from Judeans. These included poll-tax, salt tax, crown tax,[256] land tax, cattle tax, fruit tree tax, water tax, city tax and house tax. During Herod's reign the burden of

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[255] According to Fiensy (1999:6-8), "peasant mass movements" in themselves do not make a rebellion. There must be a leadership behind the mass. Fiensy argues that from a sociological perspective, when a peasants' protest turns into rebellion, usually the movement is led by someone from outside the peasantry and without such leadership the rebellion can almost never succeed in becoming a successful revolution. Such leaders usually come from among discontented intellectuals or politicians, dissident landed aristocracy, priests, and other religious leaders, artisans, teachers and village leaders. Leaders from outside peasantry circles may offer two services to their followers. They articulate "grievances and organize for action", which have consequences beyond the peasants' immediate problems. Without outside influence peasants' goals in rebellion remain very limited.

[256] Tax for crowns of the bride and bridegroom.

taxes and tributes increased beyond the peasants' endurance. It is suggested that it was at this time that the tax collectors, publicans became associated with robbers.

The idea of excise originated from religious legislation more so than it did from political obligation. Sanders (1992:147) describes it as "financial support of the priests and Levites" but also to the poor (Nm 18; Dt 14:29; 18:1-8). In the post-exilic period, Nehemiah also urged people to give their tithes in order to support the Levites (Neh 12:44). Tithes (Sanders 1992:157) meant the tenth of every form of production ranging from animals to first fruits and money which was to be offered to the Lord. Sacrifices, tithes and offerings were brought. Food was distributed to the priests and the Levites, and some of it was allocated to the poor as charity. Horsley (1989:74) adds that the act of paying dues to the temple and the high priests was "supposedly positive", because they were an obligation to God as indicated by the Torah. But this was different from the dues to Roman colonial rule.

During the different periods of foreign occupation, including the Roman occupation, the payment of taxes and dues was reinforced. Sanders (1992:157-158) quotes Applebaum describing how the Judean peasantry was affected by having to pay heavy taxes. In this regard, he mentioned that the peasant was crushed by merciless exactions under Pompey and his successors and no less under Herod. During regimes that followed, they indeed had to bear "the double yoke" of Roman tribute and the taxation required to finance Herod's ambitious projects of internal public works and "aid to Greek cities outside his kingdom". Between 37 and 4 BCE, "the combination of Roman tribute and Herodian taxation, with religious dues", would have been extremely oppressive.

Wengst (1987:58-61) and Volschenk & Van Aarde (2002:811-837) distinguish between two types of taxation: direct and indirect tax. Direct tax was levied on the land or was raised per capita. This type of tax included all toll fees, customs and excise, market takes, estate duties (Klausner 1964:186-188), "all of which drew money away from the agrarian and commercial sectors" (Volschenk & Van Aarde 2002:833). By means of this taxation, the Romans had grabbed almost all the farming land as their private property. After 70 CE Judea, originally farmed by Judeans only, came to be regarded as "a property of the Roman

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state". Under the Seleucid regime (Volschenk & Van Aarde 2002:834), the land tax (*tributum soli*) amounted to a third of the grain harvest and half of the fruit yield.

On the other hand, indirect tax (Volschenk & Van Aarde 2002:835), which even forced children to work, could be regarded as "the *tributum capitis*. In Syria every man between the age of 14 and 65 and every woman between the age of 12 and 65 had to pay this tax." The rich paid up to "1% of their movable assets", while the poor paid this tax on the body (which also belonged to the state).

For instance in Lenski's (1966:267-271; cf Oakman 1986:72; Fiensy 1991:99-105; Hanson & Oakman 1998:113-125; Carter 2001:135) estimation of taxes, up to two-thirds of a peasant's income was paid in rent, tolls and taxes. Lenski also mentions that political interests played a role. Therefore, the Roman empire had initially lowered its taxes to ten percent (10%) in the provinces of Sicily and Asia "to win support" in newly conquered countries, in order to solidify their economic and political base.

Carter (2001:135) adds that the high taxation of peasants is because the "peasants had no say" in decision making about tax levels, while Saldarini (1988:37; see Vledder 1997:129) describes the peasantry class as most exploited by the rest of the rulers and it supplied the tax-income of the privileged. The aristocratic class made more demands on the peasants, while they themselves had "surplus funds to invest or lend to others." Lenski (1966:217-219) notes "the exercise of proprietary rights" through collections of taxes, tribute, rents, and services became the main sources of income for most agrarian rulers. The threat of military punishment and further loss of land and production by increased tributes and taxes forced compliance.

Moreover, as Lenski (1966:268; cf Vledder 1997:129) observes, "another heavy burden laid on peasants in most agrarian societies was corvée (a forced labor)." This involved both time and energy. Peasants were required to work in their masters' land "from one to seven days a week for a whole year." It is from peasantry taxes that the Roman empire survival

was ensured, thus "nonpayment of taxes would mean the collapse of the lifestyle of the elite, both local and Roman" (Carter 2001:13-14).

Tilborg (1986:28) refers to the economic hardship under the Roman empire that befell the people. Taxes and tributes were also paid for "peace," "security" and "freedom" as benefits of Rome. Carter (2001:15) quotes Tacitus who had the Roman general Cerialis inform the Treviri and Longones in Trier after suppressing their revolt:

> Although often provoked by you, the only use we have made of our rights as victors have been to impose on you the necessary costs of maintaining peace; you cannot secure tranquility among nations without armies, nor maintain armies without pay, nor provide pay without taxes (*Hist* 4.73-74; Cicero, *Quint fratr* 1.1.34).

This is reminiscent of the controversial Roman *imperium* tax mentioned in Matthew (22:15-21) as tax to Caesar.[257] According to Wengst (1987:58), the rise of the Zealot movement was linked to the introduction of Roman taxation. Consequently, the Palestine of Jesus' time (Klausner 1964:189) had produced unequal social classes, one comprising the very poor, destitute, unemployed and landless people, and another comprising the very wealthy farmers, land and estate owners and rich bankers.

4.2.3   Political and religious conditions

It is clear that the writing of the Gospel of Matthew emerged from an imperial world (Carter 2002:260-261) in which religion was interwoven with economic, political and social structures. Horsley (1993:31) notes that Roman repression was merciless in its successful attempt to retake Palestine during the popular revolt of 66-70 CE, of which

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[257] See chapter five.

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Josephus gives an account as an eyewitness.[258] As Freyne (1980:182-183, 194-200), Horsley (1989:30-31; 1993:5-8) and Carter (2000:38-40; 2001:9-34) observe, the relationship between the Roman empire and the Judeans is one of power and exploitation. Domination was maintained and enforced through military, economic, cultural and religious means.

Carter (2001:20-30; 2002:260-261; cf Wengst 1987:46-51) illustrates how the Roman emperors were very much attached to their gods. One of the basic principles of imperial theology is that Rome rules its empire because "the gods have willed Rome to rule" the world. To honor the gods, religious rituals were used by emperors and their officials, as well as by loyal supporters throughout the Roman empire, at home and in provinces to evoke "a picture of the relationship between the emperor and the gods." Roman emperors were representatives of gods and at the same time particular gods "claimed to have a special relationship with emperors" for protection and other blessings. For example, Domitian is said to have enjoyed the protection of the warrior goddess Minerva, who watched over soldiers' safety in battles. Nero and Vespasian enjoyed the protection of Jupiter. Vespasian and Titus portrayed themselves "as bearers of Jupiter's blessing and power". As they celebrated the military conquest of Jerusalem and Judea in 70 CE, they happily "invoked the *Pax Augusta*" (Carter 2001:26-27).

Wengst (1987:48-49) shows how the Roman poets exalted their emperors. Augustus was seen as "the father and guardian of the human race", and as a parallel to Jupiter who reigns in heavens, while Augustus reigned on earth, "god on earth". In his discussion of the Byzantine emperor, Meyer (2003:466) explains how the imperial authority was conceived as having emanated from divine rule. The emperor represented the divinity on earth and emulated "the power and virtues of God."

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[258] See *Josephus, Thrones of Blood: A History of the Times of Jesus 37 B.C. to A.D. 70*, Uhrichsville: Barbour Publishing, Inc, 1988. The book is a paraphrased version of William Whiston's classic translation, taken from *The Antiquities of the Jewish and The Jewish War*.

Judean religious tradition was profoundly theocratic. Following Wengst (1987:7-51) and Woolf (1993:185-189), Carter (2001:32) took a critical view with regard to the subject of Roman peace:

> Claims of "peace", then, are propaganda claims …The cry of "peace" masks the strategies and structures of the empire… It disguises the fundamental inequities in the Roman system that exists for economic benefit of the elite. It lays veneer over the bloodshed and human misery experienced by the vast majority of the empire's subjects, those whose economic activity sustains the luxurious lifestyle of the elite. It claims divine origin and sanction for a way of life marked by domination and exploitation.

Therefore, the *pax Romana* is to be seen from political, military, socio-economic and religious perspectives, which influenced Matthean redaction. Certain passages in Matthew explicitly deal with imperial rule, for example the encounter with Herod[259] (Mt 2; 14:1-12), temple tax and Caesar (*imperium*) taxes (Mt 17:24-27; 22:15-22), as well as the crucifixion of Jesus (Mt 26-27). Matthew also deals with extensive accounts of Jesus' conflict with religious leaders, which is not only cultural or religious in nature, but also political (Mt 12:6-13; 25-29; 21:12-16, 23-27; 23; 28:11-15). Other passages are directly linked to socio-economic hardship under Roman rule (Mt 5:3, 5-6; 6:1-4, 16-34; 12:1-2; 13; 14:13-21; 15:29-39; 20:1-16; 21:18-21, 33-41; 25:14-46).

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[259] Herod is known for his ruthless massacre of children (Mt 2:16-18), the beheading of John the Baptist (Mt 14:1-12) and many other bad things, especially his collaboration with the Roman empire. Herod is known to have been a good developer. During the period of famine in 23-22 BCE, which affected both Judea and Syria, Josephus (Barbour 1988:26-27) recorded Herod's philanthropic activities to alleviate human suffering. Unable to collect taxes from the starving citizens, Herod "plundered his castle of its gold and silver, then sent his wealth to Petronius, the prefect of Egypt, who provided wheat in return." Herod distributed the food in a "generous and equitable manner to all Judea. He also provided winter clothing for those who needed it, since most of the livestock had died or been consumed and there was no wool available. Once his own subjects were taken care of, Herod provided seed and farm workers to his neighbors, the Syrians. With their fruitful soil, the Syrians were then able to grow enough food to feed both countries". However, Herod might have used this for his political gain.

Stambaugh & Balch (1989:91) explain the social disorder that followed Pompey's destruction of the Maccabean state, leading to the first Jewish revolt against Roman imperialism. When the Roman officer separated the Greek cities of Samaria and Transjordan from Judea, a considerable number of Jewish peasants were left landless. As a result, some fled and became refugees (Theissen 1992:69-70) in the Diaspora (see 1 Macc 15:16-24), others became internally displaced persons. The involuntary separation of families in crisis, the loss of loved ones and properties during the eviction amid fighting, contributed to serious stress and depression.

Again the massacre of children (Mt 2:16) turned parents, relatives and surviving children who were fleeing their land, into refugees. Josephus (Barbour 1988:43-44) also records the massacre of students and their teachers who pulled down the golden eagle statue at the gate of the temple (see Horsley 1993:110); the killing of Judean leaders gathered at the hippodrome during Herod's poor health. Herod instructed his aides to kill one member of each family in the kingdom. Because, the mourning such a massacre would also serve as a mourning time for Herod, something his death by itself would certainly not have caused among the Judeans.

Horsley (1989:70-73) further explains the refugees' situation both in 4 BCE and from 66-70 CE. Taking the account of the birth of Jesus recorded in Matthew 2 and in Luke 1, he argues from Lucan context that Joseph and Mary had to travel back to their ancestral town to register (during the census), because they had been somewhat displaced and forced to live in another place. The displacement from their ancestral land may have been a result of debt, famine, political unrest and war[260] (the flight to Egypt is a good example). As a consequence, Joseph and Mary have come to represent an untold number of rootless and landless people in the ancient Judean Palestine. They were disconnected from their ancestral land and villages by the Roman conquest or by indebtedness resulting from the "intensive economic exploitation" that was compounded by obligations for temple dues and Roman tribute.

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[260] But a voluntary relocation and/or a relocation because of work must not be ruled out either (see Elliott 1981:31).

The outcome of military force of Roman troops, with or without the collaboration of their local puppet kings, was always disastrous. Elliott (1981:21) views the first Epistle of Peter as an address to the "homeless strangers". It refers to aliens or refugees dispersed around the region of Asia Minor, "who are currently suffering from various types of hostility". Death and crucifixion[261] of resisters, destruction of properties and goods were used as a means of terrorism and intimidation against the subjected people.

Besides, the high cost of living forced peasants who had owned some plots of land to sell it in order to pay debts (incurred from loans), taxes, levies and tributes to the imperial government and also tax to the temple (see Freyne 1980:183-194, 275-285). According to Oakman (1986:37; cf Riches 1990:24-26; see Lenski 1966:214-216; Freyne 1980:156-170; Wainwright 1998: 39 note 19), land was a precious and primary factor in agrarian societies. Access to land was crucial for survival. From the elite's perspective, land tenure was usually expressed in "territorial or legal terms" while for a peasant it was expressed in terms of "customary right" and in relationship of kinship.

For the elite, the appropriation of land was an added income. On the other hand, the peasants were attached to their plots of land that was considered as the absolute family heritage and acknowledged as such within the local setting. Outsiders who took or grabbed the land upon which peasants resided were viewed as usurpers who wrongly demanded an underserved share of the land's produce from the peasants (Oakman 1986:38). Freyne (1980:181) adds that the toll fees were an obligation in the case of the transportation of goods from one district to another. Thus peasants had to live a life of marginal security heavily dependent upon outside persons and forces (Vincent 1991:278) who were wealthy and owned estates. Matthew (Mt 9:9) (according to Mk 2:14 and Lk 5:27, "Levi"), who was a tax collector, might have served at one of checkpoints in Galilee.

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[261] See Barbour (1988:50-51) for the killings and crucifixion of 2000 people in a revolt during the Pentecost feast.

4.2.4   Humanitarian disaster

Many scholars, among them Vincent (1991:273-290), the edited work of Levine (1992), Horsley (1995) provide an overview of living conditions in Galilean cities, while Stark exposes life in Antioch (Stark 1991:189-210). Diseases, as result of poor health care, either in camps or in densely populated townships and cities, led to high mortality rates. Stark (1991:194-195) demonstrates how life was being threatened. Women's lives were at risk because of chronic infections resulting from childbirth and abortion. According to Stark, the majority of city dwellers (in Greco-Roman cities) "must have suffered from chronic health conditions" causing disabilities and the death of many people. Medication, if it existed, would hardly have been affordable. It was thus understandable "that healing was such a central aspect of both paganism and Christianity." Moreover, people in Palestine had to deal with the foreign occupation, slavery, insecurity, forced labor under excessive use of force from foreign soldiers (cf Carter 2001:37).

People had to endure consequences of natural disasters, such as droughts, floods (Mt 7:24-27), famine and earthquakes (Mt 24:7) (cf Klausner 1977:194-195; Theissen 1978:40; Barbour 1988:26; Overman 1990:197-198; Stark 1991:197). Theissen (1992:70) notes that poverty and material conditions in Palestine caused an influx of many people into neighboring countries. Using Antioch as example, Stark (1991:198) summarizes the serious catastrophes that befell the city:

> Antioch probably suffered from literally hundreds of significant earthquakes during these six centuries [six hundred years of Roman rule], but eight were so severe that nearly everything was destroyed and huge numbers died. Two earthquakes may have been nearly this serious. At least three killer epidemics struck the city-with mortality rates probably running above 25 percent in each. Finally there were at least five really serious famines. That comes to forty-one natural and social catastrophes, or an average of one every fifteen years.

Antioch was a cosmopolitan city that attracted newcomers from tribal and cultural diversities. During the days of Roman rule from 64 BCE, the city saw an influx of many nationalities. Some were brought as slaves, others as soldiers, while others came to the city as businessmen. Segal (1991:27; see Theissen 1992:69-70) adds that others came as displaced persons or as refugees. Tension, revolts and violence marked the period under Roman occupation. In a passionate language, Klausner (1977:197-198) sketches how violence also spread throughout the land:

> The unending succession of war, revolt and destruction also undermined relatively prosperous Judean economy, and reduced many of the country's inhabitants to poverty… [L]ife and property became increasingly insecure; each day further swelled the ranks of the unemployed and the rebellious; and the country was driven to the brink of economic ruin.

The poor were numerous in numbers and their conditions were pitiful (Tenney 1982:49). Natural and social disasters were commonplace and cities were vulnerable to attacks, fires, earthquakes, famines, epidemics, and devastating mob riots (Stark 1991:197). Stark (1991:198) continues to portray what Antioch was like in the early days. The Antioch in New Testament times was a city filled "with misery, danger, fear, despair, and hatred." It was a city where the average family lived a nasty depressing life in cramped quarters, where at least "half of the children died at birth or during infancy and where most of the children who lived lost at least one parent before reaching maturity." Furthermore, being a cosmopolitan city, Antioch was expected to have a constant stream of strangers (refugees, traders) coming to the city, which exacerbated ethnic antagonism. The situation in the city was so volatile that even a small incident could prompt violence.

Galilee on the other hand, was divided in upper (countryside) and lower (urban) geographical regions. Edwards (1992:53-73) explains the socio-economic inequalities that existed between lower and upper Galilee. This inequality, oppressive taxation and land grabbing by lower

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Galilee dwellers (Roman government agents and local religious leaders) exacerbated the revolt in the land.

4.3 The Matthean community and resistance to imperial rule

4.3.1 Political and economic factors

The ruling elite "values hierarchy, verticality, vast inequality, domination, exclusion, and coerced compliance" (Carter 2001:10). At the top of this class was the Emperor who ensured that political power reinforced social gender inequality, as he exercised enormous power. The Emperor shared his benefits and rewards of power with a small ruling class. These included those who inherited wealth, land and social status, officials appointed by the emperor, bureaucrats, military leaders, and religious officials. This minority ruling class comprised 1 to 2% of the population (Carter 2001:11) and in this ruling class the power, influence and status were actually gained and exercised through a network of patron-client relationships, friendship and kinship (Carter 2001:11).

As was established earlier, the Romans enjoyed power and privilege, and they had control over the land, cities, and the whole economy. This frustrated the Judeans, who became foreigners in their own land, to no end. Carter (2001:9-10) observed that with control of primary resources of land and its production, the Roman colonizers exercised their political influence, which helped them to exploit the country. Through its military force, it made all people comply with the payment of tributes and taxes (cf Mt 17:24-27; 22:15-22).

At the same time, the Roman empire used the elite class in the land to suppress and exploit ordinary people. Collaboration between the governing class in Judean society and the Roman emperor led to an increase of wealth, power and status from its patronage. As Carter (2001:11) observes, the emperor had rights to grant or confiscate; to conquer land and estates, or to appoint political official of his choice. Such unjustly acquired privileges meant the governing class in Rome and in the conquered territories (provinces) also competed with one another for a maximum share of the taxes and services rendered by peasants and artisans.

The emperor controlled the army and it was used to control internal security. The military power was used to subjugate land and in the conquest of estates. Carter (2001:12-13) explains how the Roman army played a key role in coercing and maintaining submission. The army was also used "to intimidate and repress would-be opponents." It was known for its ruthless resolve and terror. Horsley (1993:9-11) argues that the Roman imperial system worked with the local elite to keep its domination over the people. The position and role of the Judean priestly aristocracy or of the Herodian client kings was a typical characteristic of the Roman colonization.

The Roman imperial system controlled its colony through the rule of the young opportunist Judean Herodian family which established a repressive regime in 37-4 BCE in Palestine with the help of Roman troops. Moreover, after the death of Herod, domestic Jewish affairs were entrusted to the priestly aristocracy. And as Tenney (1982:47) explains, only families of the priesthood and the leading rabbis benefited from it. This prolonged political crisis (Horsley 1993:11) came in addition to the imperial economic exploitation which broke down "the traditional socio-economic infrastructure on which the society was based". Horsley continues to note that crises mounted especially due to the economic pressure that was brought on the peasantry for taxes, tributes and "participation in an increasingly monetarized economic life. Rising indebtedness of the peasants led to the loss of their land that was the base of their economic subsistence and for their place in the traditional social structure" (Horsley 1993:11).

Consequently, the peasantry (natives) became dispossessed of their land, there was a destruction of traditional economic structures upon which families and communities relied to make a living. A number of passages and parables in which issues of land, tenants, debts feature appear in Matthew (Mt 5:5; 6:12; 18:21-35; 20:1-16; 21:33-42; 25:14-30; cf Lk 16:1-7). Freyne (1980:182) also argues that political and economic fluctuations, especially in the postwar period, "were naturally felt most keenly at the bottom of the social scale."

The Roman empire had a strong influence on the local population and through its local agents, religious ruling class developed a close collaboration with political rulers. Riches (1990:27) notes that influential families that wished to hold positions of power and influence, willingly seized and enhanced opportunities that opened up to them if they joined the service of their foreign masters. Carter (2001:17; cf Heard 1989:42; Newport 1995:114) states that when Matthew referred to the alliance of chief priests, the Sadducees,[262] leading Pharisees[263] and scribes with whom Jesus was in conflict, he meant Judean officials who exercised religious roles while being part of the ruling aristocracy class. With such complicity between foreign and local elites, the socio-economic gap between them and the rest of the community widened. The people of the land became and felt increasingly marginalized.

4.3.2   Means of resistance

4.3.2.1 A non-violence approach

The people in Palestine lived in apocalyptic times as do millions of people across tricontinental countries today. Many in Palestine were left homeless due to injustice, the yoke of taxes, debts and the confiscation of land weighing them down; the insecurity and idolatry that were imposed by foreigners made them yearn for freedom. According to Sanders (1992:278), "it is doubtful that even the chief priests and the 'powerful', the

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[262] In Judaism, the Sadducees appear to have more power, wealth and influence than the Pharisaic movement. The time of their origin is not fully known. It ranges from at least the time of John Hyrcanus down to 70 CE. They played an important role in Judea and belonged to the class of wealthy and political powers (see Heard 1989:31). Due to personal interests, they closely collaborated with foreign rulers who exploited their land. Again, their religious belief was somewhat different from that of the Pharisees and other groups of their times. They did not believe in the oral tradition or in the resurrection of the dead (Mt 22:23); they rejected the belief in angels and spirit (Ac 23:8; Mk 12:18-23). The Sadducees accepted the Pentateuch authority and were influential because many members of the Sanhedrin came from this Saducean group (cf Walton & Wenham 2001:39-40).

[263] The Pharisees were a very prominent religious group during Jesus' earthly ministry and even in the post-temple period. According to Heard (1989:32-33; see Neusner 1991; Saldarini 1998; Overman 1990; Sanders 1992:380-451), the origin of the pharisaic movement can be traced back to the exilic period in Babylon, when in the absence of temple, the study of Scriptures became central to Israelite life. In the post-exilic period, the movement continued to exist and still exercised public and religious influence. Their movement is also seen supporting the Maccabean revolt in 164 BCE and contested John Hyrcanus as a king and high priest (see Heard 1989:33). They resisted foreign powers and their puppets in Palestine. From a social stratification point of view, the Pharisees, according to Saldarini (1988:35-45 cf Vledder 1997:123), are seen as political retainers in a traditional agrarian society. They served as educators, religious functionaries and administrators. After the destruction of Jerusalem, the Pharisees initiated the establishment of Jewish religion in the post-temple era (see Riches 1990:90-94; Heard 1998 32-33).

principal beneficiaries of direct Roman rule in Judea, truly liked having to answer to Rome." Even Herod who enjoyed autonomy in internal affairs, may, at some point, have wished that "Rome did not look over his shoulders." Those who weren't in favor of violence preferred the option of praying to God that he would somehow change the course of history and that the Romans would be fair and decent.

Engaging the social and political context of Matthew, a critical synoptic interdependence, in terms of which Matthew and Luke forge a common front, is unavoidable. For the purpose of this case study, the works of Horsley (1989), Overman (1996:29-51), Carter (2000:53-89; 2001:75-90) and Ukpong (2002:59-70) are quite enlightening with regard to the infancy story (Mt 1-2 and Lk 1-2). The infancy narratives, together with the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5-7) and the Sermon on the Plain (Lk 6:17-49) represent means of non-violent resistance to Rome and its local agents in Palestine. Horsley (1989:74-77; see also 1993:33-43) outlines the forms of protest and resistance that were used. Still on this topic Reid (2004:237-255) regards the Sermon on the Mount and the parables in Matthew as nonviolent teachings.

As Horsley (1989:74) observes, popular resistance were rooted in the memory and expectation of the Messiah. Unlike other people subjected to Roman domination of the *pax Romana*, the Judeans were neither "docile nor passive". They did not simply accept their situation under Roman, Herodian, and high-priestly rule. The news of the birth of a new king of the Judeans (Mt 2; cf Lk 1) was good news in the Judean countryside of Bethlehem, around Jerusalem and probably in the other Galilean villages around Sepphoris. According to Theissen (1978:59), no matter how the significance of the arrival of the kingdom of God is construed or moderated, "this rule of God meant the end of all other rule", including the rule of the Romans and religious leaders.

According to Ukpong (2002:68-67), the birth of Jesus in Palestine represented a political threat to the oppressive Roman regime. Matthew (2:6) cited Micah (5:2) in presenting Jesus as the governor of Bethlehem, who would be the shepherd of "my people Israel." It informed the Judeans under the yoke of oppression that God had come to intervene on

behalf of the poor and the oppressed, the marginalized and all people unjustly treated (cf Is 61:1-4).

In the ancient Near East traditions, the king was the agent of peace and justice. Hammurabi once ventured to say "I am Hammurabi … chosen shepherd … to demonstrate justice within the land, to destroy evil and wickedness, to stop the mighty exploiting the weak … to improve the welfare of my people … The deliverer of his people from affliction" (Richardson 2000:29, 31, 35). In his epilogue, Hammurabi said "It is the great gods that have nominated me so that I am the shepherd who brings peace… so that disputes may be settled in the land, so that decisions may be made in the land, so that the oppressed may be treated properly" (Richardson 2000:121). Therefore, the news of the newborn king is to be understood in the context of Judean resistance against the Roman imposed "peace", which was seen as exploitive.

It must also be understood that although taxes, offerings and tithes to the temple were a divine obligation, it had become cumbersome. The payment of temple tax – the half shekel (Mt 17:24-25) - had become an issue of contention. The reluctance in paying tax was a form of resisting subjugation and economic exploitation. Somehow, the people had lost faith in the priesthood that collaborated with the colonizer. Secondly, the temple no longer existed and therefore, the payment of the half shekel was no longer required. Another argument was that this tax towards temple upkeep was not required by the Torah. Moreover, since sons were exempted from this tax, Jesus' disciples as "brothers" (Mt 12:49; 25:40; 28:10), were "sons" of the Father. Those who support these views with regard to the peasants' resistance are, among others, Horbury (1984:282-85), Bauckham (1986:219-252), Horsley (1989:75), Chilton (1990:269-282), Garland (1987:205; 1993:186-187; 1996:69-91) and Carter (2001:132-144).[264]

The connection of the Matthean text and the citations from the Old Testament must not be ignored as a means of resistance. Furthermore, memories of the past liberation inspired the

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[264] Contra Freyne (1980:281-287).

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people of the land for future (divine) deliverance. "[F]ormative history" within the nativity narratives as Horsley (1989:75-76; cf 1993:33-35) argues, recapitulates events of Israelite liberation from the Egyptian enslavement (Ex 2: 23-25; 5:22; 6:1-12; 12-15) – Passover – which is celebrated each year. Matthew is also aware of political alliance that was created during the Exodus period. For this reason, the presence of Rahab (Jos 2; Mt 1:5) cannot be construed as anything else but a political alliance for the survival of Israelites.

The involvement of the wise men from the East (Mt 2:1-12) is another sign of political allegiance in fighting an oppressive regime (Saldarini 1994:69-70; Overman 1996:43; Carter 2004:273).[265] The interest shown in a king other than Herod and their veneration rather than protestation, before the child and not before Herod, were subversive in nature. At the same time, the political influence of Herod (Laurentin 1981:390-391) dominates the scene. He mobilizes all the high priests and teachers of the law (Mt 2:4) who in turn inform him of the infant's prophecy (Mt 2:5-6). Unlike Jerusalem and the religious leaders (Mt 2:3-4), the Magi remain uncooperative to Herod's political scheme and "*se soustrairont à son influence pour entrer dans l'orbite du dessein céleste*" (Laurentin 1981:391).[266] However, for the rest of the Judean population, the expectation of a deliverer, an anointed king to liberate the people from foreign oppression and domestic rule was a constant yearning.

More importantly, the connection of the angel of the Lord and the shepherds (Lk 2:8-20) is also important to mention. Shepherds should not be seen in the literal meaning of the word 'shepherd'; they were warriors who cared for their herds. Moses was initiated to shepherding during his flight from Pharaoh (Ex 2:16-19); David (1 Sm 16:11; 17:28-51) used his experience as a shepherd to liberate Israel from the Philistines. The Gospel of

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[265] According to Overman (1996:43), the Magi are not so much astrologers as political emissaries. "They are representatives from an eastern kingdom to bring gifts and signs of friendship and cooperation to the new king." They are part of a royal delegation carrying with them "the message of detente and stronger relations" between the two countries. Their visit can easily be viewed as a statement on Matthew's (and other's) critique about the Roman empire and its local agents' poor administration and socio-political tension that colonization has brought to Palestine and to the region at large.

[266] [A]bscond themselves from his influence to enter the sphere of celestial design.

John also refers to the shepherd as a warrior/protector (Jn 10:10-13).[267] Therefore, the peace announced in the song to the shepherds (Lk 2:13-14) is a form of defiance to the *pax Romana*.

The songs of liberation (Horsley 1989:107-120) recorded in Luke 1-2, associated with Matthew 1-2, could be reminiscent of Moses and Miriam's songs of liberation (Ex 15) while the songs of resistance that remembered Zion at the rivers of Babylon (Ps 137:1-2; 32:7) are nothing but a political expression against slavery and captivity. The songs sung during the anti-colonial struggles[268] in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Kenya, and the Congolese Kimbanguist songs are similar expressions. It is also true of the African-American Christianized songs sung in North America (Connor 1996:107-128) in protest to racism. For example, one of the "Negro spirituals" sings of "All God's children (who) got wings"[269] like angels.

The involvement of the unnamed angel of the Lord in Matthew (Mt 1:20; 2:13, 19), in Luke the presence of Gabriel (1:19, 26), is also striking. Horsley (1989:77) is of the opinion that these angelic visions "encouraged people to persist in their traditional covenantal commitment" and resist their oppressors because God, the warrior, was going to vindicate them and bring an end to their domination (Is 7; 9; 40-55; 62:2; Jr 23:1-6).

What is also striking is to note how Jesus rebuked one of the companions (Mt 26:51-53) who had drawn a sword[270] to defend Jesus. Instead, Jesus told them about the twelve

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[267] From a pastorist's experience of the Masai community in Kenya, the Karamajonge community in Uganda or the Banyamulenge community in the DRC (see chapter three), to be a shepherd means to be a leader, but also a warrior. They are trained to protect their flocks/herds from any predators that would endanger their lives.

[268] See chapter two above section 2.5.2.

[269] According to Connor (1996:108), the Negro spiritual song "calls for human freedom to create in a new setting that provided the Bible as a spiritual resource and demonstrates the human ability to create that had long been part of the singers' African cultural tradition." Furthermore, the heaven to which the singers aimed was recognized as a place of justice, "where the twisted talents of slaveholders who manipulated theological discourse – who talked about heaven in exclusively colonial terms – would not be displayed."

[270] Sim (2000b:84-104; cf Garland 1993:118).) constructs an interesting argument on the use of the sword in Matthew (10:34). His thesis is that Matthew uses the sword symbolically to the "apocalyptic-eschatological traditions of his day" and that it would be hard to believe that the sword symbolized a call to armed conflict

legions of angels that were on standby and would intervene whenever he wished them to do so. In those years a legion (Carter 2000:514) comprised about six thousand soldiers. In other words, twelve legions of angels would amount to about seventy-two thousand heavenly combatants[271] who were ready to raid the Roman soldiers and the crowd that had come to arrest Jesus. In this way, the angel of the Lord becomes an important defender of justice.

Brueggemann (2002:42) does not take for granted the role of the angel Gabriel in Luke. According to him, "the birth announcement is the assertion that God was powerfully at work for those who cannot fight their own battles." The Biblical tradition of heavenly armies was not a new phenomenon (Js 5:13-15;1 Ki 22:19; 2 Macc 5:1-4; *War* 6.298-99) and Matthew was aware of it (Mt 26:51-53). Visionaries and prophets were looking forward to "a great war, one in which God, either directly or by proxy," would play a important role, but in which they too would take part and bear arms (Sanders 1992:285).

Sanders (1992:285) quotes from the *Psalms of Solomon* and Qumran's *War Rule* some of the visions of a bright future where the Davidic Messiah will enter the city of Jerusalem, "banish the Gentiles and also Jewish sinners … , and establish the new Israel, with the tribes reassembled … According to Qumran's *War Rule*, the sectarians – who will have become a full true Israel, with all twelve tribes represented – will first destroy the sinful Israelites and then the Gentiles, with God himself striking the decisive blows." The Qumran community, a pious society, expected God to be on their side in their struggles.

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against an oppressor. Whereas I would agree with Sim as far as his contention that Matthew taught the non-violent option is concerned, I still challenge the latter on the ground that Matthew formulated his teaching based on the reality of his days. The sword was literally killing families, priests and prophets; it had destroyed the temple and Jerusalem. Matthew has not relinquished the option of political resistance. He may have changed tactics after the defeat of the Zealots, but he had not withdrawn from the battlefield, because Roman imperialism was still with them (see Carter 2000:242).

[271] Sim (1999:693-718) discusses angelic eschatological role within Judean and Christian apocalyptic traditions and in the Gospel of Matthew. According to Sim (1999:716), the Matthean community, like other apocalyptic groups, was facing a crisis. Therefore, the Matthean use of angelic intervention was an effort "to help his community come to terms with these dire circumstances which enhanced group solidarity."

John the Baptist[272] (Mt 3:1-12) was among many voices (Riches 1990:100-101) of his time who proclaimed the imminent coming of the "stronger one" who will bring judgment and salvation upon the earth.

As it is recorded in Acts (5:36-41; 21:38), certain figures, such as Theudas (between 44 CE and 46 CE), a Samaritan (in 35 CE) and an Egyptian (between 52 CE and 60 CE) all expected a supernatural act in some form or the other that would usher in the end of the world (cf Riches 1990:101; Theissen 1978:60-61; 1992:85; Hengel 1981:20-25; Horsley 1989:77-80; Barbour 1988:113-118). The death of John the Baptist (Mt 14:1-12) occurred amid such expectations (cf Barbour 1988:65). According to Josephus (see Barbour 1988:61; cf Carter 2001:145,148), it was during the time of Pilate (26-37 CE) that the Judean leaders conspired with the Roman regime to have Jesus killed[273] (Mt 27; Mk 15; Lk 23; Jn 19) because of his popularity (see Fiensy 1999:14-26) among Judeans and Gentiles.

Yet Jesus never regretted any of this. Because his death and blood are evidence of his determination, not only to resist oppressive political and religious powers, but also to make them change (Mt 27:51-54). Moreover, Jesus' victorious resurrection became a scandal to the ruling systems as soldiers were manipulated to falsify evidence of resurrection (Mt 28:11-15). The resurrection story exposed the limit (Carter 2004:276) of political and

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[272] According to Josephus (in Barbour 1988:64-65), John the Baptist was killed as a political figure who King Herod feared would stage a rebellion against him. Josephus says that John the Baptist had been a good man, commanding the Judeans to be virtuous to one another and pious before God. He urged them all to be baptized for a remission of their sins and the purification of their bodies and souls. The crowds that gathered around him were moved by his words. But Herod saw John as a political threat and thought it best to kill him, rather than risk any rebellion he might incite. He had "John taken as a prisoner to the castle at Macherus" and was eventually killed as a result of Herodias' conspiracy (Mt 14:8).

[273] According to Josephus (in Barbour 1988:60-61), Jesus' crucifixion took place during a riot of Judeans against Pontius Pilate, the governor of Judea (26 CE-36 CE) who wanted to use temple money to build a water project for the city. While people insisted that Pilate abandon the project, some in the crowd openly challenged, reproached and talked against Pilate. In turn, Pilate ordered his soldiers to attack the crowd "more viciously than Pilate had ordered, killing many of the peaceful as well as the unruly. It was about the same time that "a wise man named Jesus", a doer "of wonderful works – a teacher of the type of men who enjoy hearing the truth. He drew many of the Judeans and Gentiles to him; he was the Christ. When Pilate, at a suggestion of the Judean leaders, condemned him to the cross, those who loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold, along with many other wonderful things concerning him". But this view has been challenged by pro Josephus scholars who believe that this is a post-Christian interpretation and not necessarily from Josephus (see Klausner, 1964:55-60).

religious powers (Mt 28:18-20). The oppressive system could torture and kill, but it could not stop the will of God to establish his kingdom of justice and righteousness.

4.3.2.2 Militant movements

The leaders of the Judean community had been blamed for the destruction of the temple and of Jerusalem because they had rejected God's laws and covenant (Overman 1990:30; cf Riches 1990:87-103). Nevertheless, the Romans weren't the only ones responsible for atrocities, as unruly Judean groups (Horsley 1988:184-191), bandits, brigands, and those pretending to be prophets also robbed and killed people in cities and in the temple without any care of committing an act of sacrilege, as Josephus (in Barbour 1988:118, 170-172, 176-177) explains:

> [T]his seems to be the reason why God rejected Jerusalem and its impure temple and brought the Romans upon the Jews, purging the city with fire and sending the Jews into slavery as a lesson to them … [R]obbers encouraged the people to disobey the Romans; those who would not comply with them had their villages burned and plundered … Jerusalem filled with impiety. Deceivers and false prophets arose, leading the Jews into the wilderness in search of signs and wonders from God.

As Sanders (1992:280-288) recounts the events as recorded by Josephus, others hoped for the future through their own self expression, all be it often in the form of negative expression through "complaints, protests, insurrections." This expression was initiated by the "fourth philosophy" or "the prophetic-charismatic movement" (Hengel 1981:20-24), founded by Judas the Galilean and Saddok the Pharisee in 6 CE, to which the Zealots and Sicarii groups may probably belonged. Saddok made a statement for freedom by refusing to pay any tax to the Roman regime or to call any man a king. Only God could be King (Freyne 1980:217; Sanders 1992:280). The Idumeans (Barbour 188:173-174; Freyne 1980:231) was another group which had religious motivation to defend the temple of God from external and internal enemies.

The "fourth philosophy" was developed alongside the preaching of the kingdom of heaven by Jesus of Nazareth, the advent of which he proclaimed to the Galilean crowds.[274] Horsley (1993:78-79; see Freyne 1980:208-211) locates the proper movement of the Zealots between 67 CE and 68 CE. Riches (1990:98) is convinced that historical evidence indicates that different groups in Palestine were expecting some divine military intervention on God's part, whether it would be in the form of raising some powerful military leader – a messiah, or perhaps in the form of angelic intervention, is not well determined.

According to Horsley (1993:42-43), the Sicarii movement[275] was not necessarily a "revolutionary group leading a revolt". The movement could rather be described as a small group without a broader base in villages and towns. However, their "surreptitious assassinations" constituted more of harassment than a revolutionary threat to the religious rulers and Roman imperialism. This observation also applied to the Zealots. In other words, until 66-70 CE there is no evidence for any well organized and structured "nationalist" movement (Horsley 1988:184). These groups were, however, capable enough to instigate a spiral of violence against Roman repression. It can be said, as Horsley (1993:117) notes, that the Judeans' popular resistance (except the popular rebellion that followed the death of Herod in 4 BCE, and the civil war of 66-70 CE that led to the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple), to Roman imperialism and its local agents, particularly the priestly aristocracy, arguably was "fundamentally non-violent".

The open violent resistance which escalated into war between 66-70 CE, had disastrous consequences. During this period, the Zealots' movement became a prominent and radical force, motivated by a fanatical zeal for the Law, it advocated and used violence, and waged a messianic holy war (see Hengel 1981:18-24) against Roman imperialism. It excluded any collaboration attempts with the Romans (Horsley 1993:149; see Tenney 1982:42). Those

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[274] Among Jesus' followers was Simon the Zealot (Mt 10:4; cf Mk 3:18; Lk 6:15; Ac 1:13).

[275] Horsley 1988:183-199) discerns between prophetic liberation movements, messianic movements and banditry that operated during the Roman period.

Judeans who were found to be collaborating with the Romans in government, local administration, including temple affairs, fell prey to the Zealots. Within this confusing situation, no particular event can be singled out as the cause of the 66 CE-70 CE revolt (Barbour 1988; Horsley 1993:54-58).

The revolt is, however, deeply rooted in the accumulated spiral of violation of human dignity, violence, oppression, resistance, and repression. Josephus (Barbour 1988:123-25; Horsley 1993:54) is inclined to implicate the unruly governor Florus[276] (64-66 CE). His repression and killings exacerbated the violence and the war took its full course. Horsley indicates that while the war raged, ordinary peasants (insurgents) "burned the archives to destroy debts records." As the war intensified, Josephus (in Barbour 1988:129-32, 145-147, 170, 176-177; see Freyne 1980:209-210) claims that it had divided the Judeans into two groups, those who fought against Roman colonization, and those who supported it (in favor of peace).

Horsley (1988:186-192, 194) is of the opinion that those who supported Roman colonization (especially in Galilean cities) did it out of political and economic interest. Roman influence was, however, unavoidable in Galilean cities (Overman 1988:160-168), due to the political and cultural impact within those cities. Of even greater consequence was the fact that the anti-imperialism faction was further divided into different, undisciplined and merciless factions, which no longer respected the temple and God. They looted the city and killed innocent people whom they "envied or hated". This was

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[276] According to Josephus (in Barbour 1988:124-125), Florus was corrupt and allowed robbers to operate in Jerusalem while they shared their profits with him. The revolt started at a Caesarean synagogue built on a piece of land owned by a Cesarean Greek. The Judeans had offered to buy it, but the owner refused. Instead, he started building on the land. The Judean leaders and a man called John, the publican, bribed Florus in order to stop the work. Florus accepted the bribe but did nothing. The Greek owner of the land insulted the Judeans by sacrificing a bird on an earthen vessel, which was a Judean ritual of cleansing a leper. Therefore, he insulted them as leprous people. When Florus was consulted for help, he instead jailed Judean emissaries. This was followed by Florus' removal of seventeen talents from the sacred treasure in Jerusalem. People in Jerusalem despised him and staged a march to publicly embarrass him. But he knew about the plan and thwarted it by sending troops to disperse the crowd. He called priests and leaders ordering them to surrender those who had insulted him. The Judean leaders "apologized for the crowd's actions." He nevertheless, sent soldiers to kill everyone whom they came across on the way and in the marketplace. Up to 3,600 innocent women, children and men were thus massacred. He ordered Judeans serving in the civil service, who were legal Roman citizens, to be whipped and crucified, an act prohibited by Roman law.

confirmed by the message of which, those who had escaped the violence was spreading, namely that "there was no justice in Jerusalem and its citizens were no better than slaves" (in Barbour 1988:177).

During the revolt, all other nationals turned against the Judeans along lines of these divisions. Hatred and anti-Judean sentiment (see Carter 2004:265) mounted and massacres multiplied. For instance, Josephus (in Barbour 1988:132) records the following incident:

> In addition to Scythopolis, other cities turned against their Jewish citizens. Twenty-five hundred were killed in Askelon. The city of Ptolemais killed thousand and enslaved many. Tyre killed a great number, imprisoning even more. Hippos, Gadara, and other Syrian cities killed the boldest of the Jews living there and imprisoned the rest. Only the Antiochians, Sidonians, and Apamians spared the local Jews and refused to imprison them, perhaps because the Jewish population was small in those cities. More than likely, they saw no reason to kill peaceful citizens. The Garasens also spared their Jews, escorting those who wished to leave safely to their borders.

In the end, Jerusalem and the temple were ruined and became desolate. People living in such circumstances must have often despaired. Life became even more difficult for those peasants who had survived. The marginalized, the homeless, orphans, unaccompanied children, widows, war casualties (cripples, traumatized), the destitute, the sick, the degraded and expendable people became more and more numerous in the wretched cities. They must have longed for relief, for hope, for salvation, for a sense of belonging. This is the context from which the Matthean Gospel emerges.

4.4   The "Temple" community in postwar context

4.4.1   Introduction

In the history of Israelite tradition, the temple signified a place of worship (1 Ki 6; 2 Chr 2-7; Is 56:7). It carried the significance of God's presence among his people (Ex 25:1-9; 35-36). The temple also replaced remote sacrificial (altars) places in the desert and on mountains (Ex 25:8; 1Ki 6:13). Throughout the history of Israel, it played a central role in every aspect of the nation's life. It provided a sanctuary, a holy place for worship and for healing (1 Ki 8:22-46; Mt 21:10-14; cf Mk 11:15-18).

The temple served as a meeting place for all Jewish festivals and a center for political leadership (Garland 1993:211), since the high priest played a leading role in the community. As Heard (1989:41) observes, its explicit function was to draw Israel's attention upon their God. This centralized cult not only unified Israel and focused on Israel worship, but it also provided an opportunity for the Israelites to express their loyalty in a tangible way, notably, in their offerings and sacrifices.

Therefore, the destruction of the temple by foreign armies, first by the Babylonians in 586 BCE, and then by the Romans in 70 CE was a major blow to all aspects of the community's life. The devastation of the temple meant that the center of Jewish life was destroyed. Sacrifices ceased, the priesthood was abolished, and the sacred temple to the God of Israel became a pile of rubble. How did Judeans survive in the post-70 era without the temple and Jerusalem?

4.4.2 Matthean community and Formative Judaism

The Matthean community[277] and Formative Judaism[278] (Overman 1990:3; Sim 1998:113-116) were two of the emerging movements within Israelite society in the post-70 period (Riches 1990:90-94; Heard 1998 32-33; Walton & Wenham 2001:39). The two movements, among many apocalyptic movements,[279] were trying to define, consolidate and give direction to their wretched and divided society under Roman imperialism, affected by war and the consequences of war. According to Overman (1990:2-3; 35), Matthean Judaism and Formative Judaism "were in the process of *becoming*." In other words, they were in the process of consolidating, organizing and acquiring a structure to ensure their systems of survival.

These movements were involved in a process of reconstruction and redefinition of what their society should be in the absence of the temple. It must be remembered that during this period neither Formative Judaism nor Matthean Judaism had their traditional leadership. The destruction of both Jerusalem and the temple "was not only a political set back for the people of Israel. It meant also the destruction of cultural and religious center for the people" (Overman 1990:35).

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[277] The community, being a sociological concept, "concerns a particularly constituted set of social relationships based on something which the participants have in common – usually a common sense of identity" (*Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*, 1998). Saldarini (1994:86) defines community as "a group characterized by natural relationship and by common values and feeling of belonging to one another" – communion. Whereas group is defined as "a number of individuals gathered in some way or perceived as having common characteristics." The Matthean community takes on board the world of the neglected, "people of the land" (*am ha ares*), ordinary Judeans, urban and rural peasants, artisans, Samaritans, proselytes and Gentiles; women and children, degraded, unclean and expandable classes (cf Heard 1989:35-38); Vledder 1997:118-148; Carter 2001:17). This is the community that Jesus identified with and for whose justice and righteousness he campaigned. Although these people belonged to different social classes, they had certain things in common: they were considered socially, religiously and politically inferior, the poor were largely members of the Matthean community, but people from elite and wealthy classes were part of the community too.

[278] Formative Judaism (Overman 1990:35) is described as an institution of Jewish religious leaders. The term "emphasizes the fluid nature of Judaism in this period, as well as the fact that for some time Judaism was in the process of becoming", that is, of consolidating, organizing, and shaping a structure for its survival.

[279] According to Overman (1990:3) in the post-70 period, there were many apocalyptic movements in Judean communities (see *2 Baruch*; *4 Ezra* and *Apocalypse of Abraham).

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Insurrections and the war had killed most of priests, scribes and teacher of the law and judges (Barbour 1988:43-44, 176-177). Some were in displacement in different villages and cities, while others became refugees in neighboring countries. Matthew refers to John the Baptist and Jesus (Witherington 1998:225-244) who had been killed (Barbour 1988:60-61, 64-65) and many of their followers might have been displaced and might have become refugees (Segal 1991:26-27). This situation indicates a possible reason for the loss of records, namely of having been destroyed or burnt[280] (Horsley 1993:54). It is not surprising that the Pharisees kept using the traditions of the fathers (Mt 15:2), the *Paradosis* (Overman 1990:62-67) a practice the Sadducees opposed (cf Heard 1989:31-33) and which Josephus criticized (Overman 1990:64). These traditions are also explained by Paul, a former Pharisee, in his letter to the Galatians (1:14).[281]

Exegetes have been tempted to explore this period by means of labeling and ascribing concepts to different groups in Judaism, for example the "Matthean community". This is because of the fluid context from which these "Judaisms" emerged. Overman (1990:8) uses the concept of "sectarian" and "Jewish Christian". On the other hand, Stanton (1992:50-51; see Heard 1989:34) identifies the Matthean community as if it copied social and religious patterns from the Qumran community. Saldarini (1994:85-86) uses the concept of community and egalitarian structure for the Matthean context. This is also the case with Duling (1995:164), but he instead uses a fictive kinship of brotherhood.

What is important to note is that both Formative Judaism and the Matthean community were not only reconstructing norms and beliefs for their communities, but they were also reconstructing their leadership systems. These two movements had many things in common, but they defined and understood them differently. According to Overman (1990:35-71), the Pharisees were reconstructing their social and religious life in light of the

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[280] Van Tilborg (1986:37) argues that by reading Josephus the impression might be created that everything was lost in the war, which may not necessarily be correct. He argues that "Israel's national history" did not end in 70 CE. The violence of the Roman regime destroyed centers of Jewish resistance, but it did not subdue the Jewish national consciousness and the desire to live peacefully according to the Torah. The system of worship, jurisdiction and power structures and cultural patterns remained in the minds and practices and life continued under changed circumstances.

[281] "I was advancing in Judaism beyond many Jews of my own age, and was extremely zealous for the traditions of my fathers" (NIV).

Yavneh (Jamnia) council around 90 CE. Since the temple did not exist any more, Judaism needed a new way to survive.

The Pharisees had developed a system "centered on the application of the laws of purity around the home and table. Tithing, Sabbath and Torah were central features of the movement" (Overman 1990:37). The council of Yvneh was one of the evidences of "institutional development of Judaism in the post-70 period" (Overman 1990:38). Cohen (1984:24; cf Overman 1990:41; see Freyne 1980:323-329) believes that the purpose of the council of Yavneh was to establish strategies towards creating unity in a divided society and a fragmented religion in the postwar period. This strategy would eventually end the "sectarianism within Judaism" and forge a strong unified coalition.

However, within this fluid period (Overman 1990:49), various factions scrambled and competed for influence and control. These groups within Judaism were reaching a decisive stage of self-definition and organization as a means of internal protection and clarification of their different beliefs. The *Paradosis* of the Fathers (Baumgarten 1987:70; cf Overman 1990:62-67) was one of problematic issues within Formative Judaism. It is indicative of the fact that both Judaism and Christianity shared traditional roots and the rivalry between them had been about gaining control of the audience by traditionalizing and legitimizing their respective movements. They had to present their own movements as "traditional, acceptable, and legitimate" (Overman 1990:63). Moreover, they shared a socio-political and religious context. Pursuing Overman's (1996:19-26) argument, the crisis between the various groupings within Judaism can be defined in the following manner:

- Leadership and cultural vacuum: The destruction of the city and the temple disarrayed the community and provoked numerous contentions between various groups. Matthew regarded the Pharisees and scribes as rivals and threats to his community's security and way of life and vice versa.

- Legal interpretation of the law: The issue of the right/correct interpretation was a matter of dispute between Formative Judaism and the Matthean community. The

Pharisees held on to the legalism of the Law of Moses and the traditions of the fathers. The Sadducees challenged the authority of the traditions of the fathers. Matthew, on the other hand, defended his innovative interpretation of the law (Mt 5-7).

- Structure and order of the community: The Pharisees reinforced the idea of the temple through local synagogues, while Matthew was busy building a new concept of brotherhood (Mt 18:1-20) and *ekklesia* around his members (Mt 16:18-19). Issues pertaining to discipline, authority, church liturgy and worship are examples of the order that Matthew sought to provide to his community.

- Community identity: The political turmoil and the defeat of the revolt, as well as Roman repression, undoubtedly cast doubt on and raised questions with regard to the fate of all Judeans. More specifically, each group had to find solutions in its own way in its efforts to save all Judeans. The Sermon on the Mount is a response to such a crisis for the Matthean community.

- The future of the community: The actual survival of the community became crucial. Matthew's community had to deal with a number of issues at the same time. On the one hand, there was a political and armed repression from the Romans. On the other hand, the rift within Judaism deepened. By and large, Matthew found his community being marginalized by existing power structures that exercised influence in the social and political setting of his time. Moreover, Matthew had to also deal with dissidents (Mt 18:15-20) and political leadership ambitions (Mt 20:20-28) within the Matthean group. Responding to the immediate crisis of oppression and persecution, Matthew showed that his community was in complete continuity with the history and eschatological destiny of Israel. He believed that what had happened to the great heroes and the faithful people in the history of Israel, was also happening to his community (Mt 23:35-39).

The society was falling apart (Mt 12:25-26). Both Formative Judaism and the Matthean community were making efforts to save it from total collapse in the aftermath of the destruction of the temple and Jerusalem. But in so doing, each movement tried to prove itself by offering its best to the society, thereby widening the division among them. According to both Overman (1990:8-9) and Saldarini (1998:109-119), the fragmentation of the community started well before 70 CE through a variety of socio-political and historical circumstances.

The period from around 165 BCE to 100 CE provoked increasing tendencies toward factionalism and sectarianism within the Judean community. Some of the factors which exacerbated divisions among the people who shared a common destiny are: The oppressive subjection of many Israelites by Seleucid rule; foreign occupation and domination (Greco-Roman); the abuse of Hasmonean rulers; the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple; and the emergence of different Jewish schools of thoughts.

Sim (1998:116) recalls that in the wake of the revolt of Jews against Romans and the attempt of Formative Judaism to instill "some uniformity" on the Judeans, those with smaller and less influential movements, such as the Matthean community, came to be categorized as separatists and as deviant. The refusal of the Matthean community to conform in turn led to the development of a certain sectarian propensity. According to Overman's (1990:35-36) observation, Pharisaic Judaism was well positioned to cope with the events of 70 CE, because they already possessed a "comprehensive program" for their social and religious identity, which had been designed before the destruction of the temple, and in which they were thus well placed to gain influence.

The Pharisees (Overman 1990:35-36) had a well organized system centered around the laws of purity and table fellowship. Tithing, Sabbath observance, and study of the Torah were central features of the Pharisaic movement. They believed in the doctrine of resurrection, retribution, and vindication, which "offered a meaningful form of consolation in the wake of the disaster of 70" (Overman 1990:35-36).Overman (1990:73-76) summarizes the arguments of both groups by saying that the Matthean community, like

Formative Judaism, created its institution based on law and tradition. Formative Judaism presented its traditions and procedures as having their origin in "the *paradosis* of their ancestors". Responding to the Pharisees' argument, Matthew reacts through the same path of fulfillment *(pleroma)* of traditions through Jesus.

For Matthew (Overman 1990:73-76), the usage of Old Testament citations was not aimed at clarifying "'historical events' in the life of Jesus", but were aimed at making the point that these citations emphasized the Matthean community's claim to the very traditions Formative Judaism was claiming as its own. Competition and conflict arose around the traditions and Scriptures, which the religious leaders and Matthew had in common. Matthew's innovative claim that these traditions and promises were exclusively fulfilled in the person and ministry of Jesus of Nazareth would provoke more tension between these two movements.

Saldarini (1994:122) confirms that at this point the Matthean community was still Judean, as were the other movements, "though sectarian and deviant". The Matthean community had deviated from the parent body by its devotion to Jesus as an apocalyptic figure who was the divinely sent emissary to save the Israel from current subjugation. Matthew's objective therefore, was to bring reform to the collapsing Judean society, and to proclaim the right way in which the community was to live and interpret the will of God.

In this regard Overman (1990:86-100; cf Luz 1990:1214-218) argues that the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5-7) contains the order of the community-forming structure. This structure was based on law (Mt 5:17-20), justice and righteousness (Mt 6:1-7:1-26) and order (Mt 5:21-48). Issues of law became a focal point in a conflict between Matthew and his opponents, because the law contained curricula or educational materials (*halakah*) for every aspect of the community (see Freyne 1980:305-334). Thus, stories and Old Testament citations (Stendahl 1968:195) confirm that Jesus and his followers were doers and not breakers of the law as their opponents claimed (see Van Aarde 1999a:112-113). Matthew presents the historical continuity of God's intervention in the life of his people who are in distress. Thus, Jesus in the form of Emmanuel (Mt 1:23) who is announced in

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the infancy narrative, would promote peace, justice and righteousness, elements that were not found in the opponent's camp.

The ordering of life in the community had to be based on justice and righteousness as the core value for Matthew. Luz (1990:214) argues that righteousness of the kingdom of heaven might be called the theme of the Sermon which is to be seen in the Christian praxis. The use of righteousness (*dikaiosyne*) encompasses the notion of behavior and actions (*praxis*) that could be identified with the Matthean community. Scholars have not reached agreement on how righteousness is to be interpreted in Matthew (Overman 1990:92-94). Some believe the concept of righteousness is to be defined as a "gift of God." This is almost applying the Pauline philosophy of the righteousness of God (Rm 3:21-30) to Matthew (see De Villiers 1981:199-200; Reumann 1982:136). However, Matthew's understanding of justice and righteousness (Bornkamm 1971:30-31) is to be defined in terms of behavior and actions in accordance with the will of God, which is to be experienced by the members of the community (Mt 13:49; 16:27). Therefore, the Matthean use of justice and righteousness in the Sermon of the Mount (Mt 5-7) is to be seen in the light of the social, religious and political context in which Matthew survived.

The context of oppression and power, hunger and death, war and peace, poverty and land reform, injustice and justice (Van Tilborg 1986:13) is the reality that Matthew is facing. Matthew, in turn, challenges both the religious leaders and the Roman colonizers who do not practice justice and righteousness. Furthermore, what are known to be stories of conflict (Overman 1990:78-86) in the interpretation of the law vis-à-vis the Sabbath (Mt 12:1-14); purity (Mt 15:1-20); the temple (21:12-17); and love (22:34-40) are based on the principle of doing justice and righteousness as the fulfillment of the law and the prophets – the will of God (Mt 5:17-20; 7:21) to his creation (see Crosby 1988:197-203) under oppression and economic exploitation.

For instance, Carter (2000:356-360; 2001:130-144) and Carter (2003:413-431) refer to the payment of tax (Mt 17:24-27) as a means of challenging the Roman exploitive regime. Beaton (1999:5-22) discusses the concept of justice and the implication of quoting Isaiah

(42:1-4) in Matthew (12:18-21), and Hosea (6:6) in Matthew (9:13) as a challenge to injustice being done to the society. Both citations are evoked in circumstances of conflict where the Matthean Jesus is showing justice and righteousness to the needy. On the other hand, Pharisees are yet to understand the importance and the relationship between the law, mercy and justice and righteousness. According to Beaton (1999:22), the use of the citations is a "temporal element" for the announcement of justice and righteousness witnessed in the ministry of Jesus, and the anticipation of its "future permanent state" at the end of all ages.

Weakened by the consequences of the revolt and the Roman oppression, the Judean society became fragmented. Its Cultural and religious common heritage became a source of division. Overman (1990:72-73) and Saldarini (1994:112) concur that at this crossroads, Matthew is busy recruiting members and developing a coherent worldview and belief system to sustain his community. Jesus' teachings and actions became the foundation of the Matthean community. It can indeed be concluded that the social developments within the Matthean community were responses to the immediate threats from Roman colonization and Formative Judaism.

The Sermon (Mt 5-7) outlines requirements and orders within the community. Most of these requirements are not new per se, but present a reorganization and reorientation of the traditions and the law. Saldarini (1991:50-51) is convinced that Matthew brought "innovations" to the tradition to fit his audience and to make Jesus the focal point of his message. Jesus tells his audience that he did not come to abolish the law, but to fulfill it (Mt 5:17). The innovations rather than the invention of new rules that Saldarini is referring to, have to take place within the Israelite tradition. Matthew's innovations can be summarized in the following points (using Saldarini's argument):

- *Core symbols*: Jesus is the central authority and symbol, and Torah becomes subordinated to him;
- *Cosmology*: revision of the norms of society;

- *Boundaries*: the vision is to enlarge Matthean community's boundaries and open them up for other groups. He constantly defends the Gentiles' right to faith and salvation through Jesus Christ;

- *Laws*: a re-reading and re-interpreting of the law;

- *Social structure*: all people are equal, fellowship rather than hierarchy keeps the community together.

Matthew is, however, not prepared to embrace everything from the old tradition, as his opponents were prepared to do. But what he wants is for his culture and tradition to be revisited in view of the fact that Jesus was the leader of the community. At the same time, Matthew broadens the scope of his understanding by incorporating other cultures, including marginalized cultures to fit into kingdom requirements. The attribution of the highest honors and citations from the Old Testament leave no doubt that Jesus had to continually face opposition from those who felt threatened by his emerging status, having mobilized the majority of the society (including those who were marginalized: the poor, the hungry, the unclean, the degraded, the sinner, women, children and Gentiles).

4.4.3   Marginality

Duling (1993: 642-671; 1995:159-181; 2002:520-575; 2003:14-15; cf Vledder 1997:137-138; Carter 2000:43-49) has dealt with the concept of marginality[282] that postcolonial theorists call subalternity or hybridity. Marginality refers to "structural inequalities" within

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[282] Duling (2002:520-575; 2003:14-15) and Carter 2000:45) use explanations of Turner and Germani to define marginality. In summary, Duling provides four different types of marginality: (i) *structural marginality* which refers to "structural inequities" in the social system which defines people in binary categories of center/periphery, rich/poor, privileged/unprivileged. Those on the periphery "are mainly, but not exclusively, the socially and economically disadvantaged or oppressed, often poorer ethnic populations, whose norms, values, and attitudes contrast with those in the center." Structural marginality is also called "*involuntary marginality*". (ii) *Social role marginality* " is the product of failure to belong to a [desired] positive reference group." This form of marginality denies individuals from any level of the social class access to services that he or she is expected to receive. (iii) *Ideological marginality*. This is a "desire to affiliate with a non-normative group". It is "desired , visionary marginality, it consists of individuals and groups who consciously and by choice live outside the normative statutes". This type of marginality is also called "*voluntary marginality.*" (iv) *Cultural marginality*. Those who are culturally marginal do not fully assimilate; they are said to be "in-between", they never become part of "the center", but remain on the periphery. This form is also referred to in a more individualistic way as the *"marginal man,"* an individual "who, because of birth, migration or conquest is 'doomed' to live between two or more competing normative schemes."

a social system, which define people in ambivalence or in binary existence, that is center/periphery, rich/poor, privileged/unprivileged. Using the works of Parks (1928) and Stonequist (1937), Carter (2000:43) follows them in defining marginality as the "experience of living simultaneously in two different, antagonistic cultural worlds but not fully belonging to either". According to Lenski (1966:266:283, cf Vledder 1997:127-129), the marginal classes[283] belong to the community, yet they are excluded. In this case, it would include peasants, the poor, destitute, women, children, prostitutes, expendable people, unclean, the sick, maims and Gentiles.

Duling (2003:14-15) makes the point that the Matthean community could easily be classified as a marginal community. Referring to the story of the sheep and the goats (Mt 25:31-46), Duling's (1995:159-161; 2003:15) speculations take Matthew to have been in "voluntary association" with marginalized - a "*voluntary marginal*". Because, Matthew had great concern for and/or was affiliated to the "structurally marginal" group. Carter (2000:45) says that the Matthean community was a marginal community because it exists "'in-both' its larger cultural context of urban-rural." The community belonged to "both worlds", yet finds itself on the edge and peripheral to the dominant power structures. The Matthean community's communal life centered around Jesus and in following him. Moreover, it has chosen "marginality in relation to the larger society". It lives as "participants in the wider society, but in tension with, over against, as an alternative to its dominant values and structures." Thus, voluntary marginality created an egalitarian sense of life in the community.

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[283] Lenski (1966:266-284) categorizes marginal groups in various categories, from peasants to the unclean. The *peasantry class* is composed of freeholders, tenants, day laborers and slaves. This was the group most exploited by the rulers and was the group that supplied tax-income to the privileged Roman rulers and their local agents (Saldarini 1988:37; Vledder 1997:129; Carter 2001:13-16; Volschenk and Van Aarde 2003:832). The unclean and untouchable, degraded and expendable groups were poor and underprivileged. They had neither power nor influence in their society. Some of these which Vledder (1997:127) calls the *degraded classes* of an agrarian society, lived outside the city walls. Among them one would find prostitutes, beggars, the poorest day laborers and tanners. Again, those who were regarded as *unclean* were more inferior than the common people. Tax collectors (Mt 9:9-13) because of their relationship with foreign rulers (Mt 21:31-32), foreigners, sick people, lepers, sinners, bandits, demon possessed, maims are also classified in the unclean category. The *expendable class,* according to Lenksi, includes a variety of petty criminals and outlaws, beggars and unemployed itinerant workers who lived entirely on charities (Duling 1993:642-671; Vledder 1997:129).

The other hypothesis is that Matthew might have experienced some "social role marginality." In other words, he had been a (Pharisaic) scribe and had been denied the social role he had expected. If so, he could have regained his status as a leader by affiliating with a marginal group in conflict with an opponent group (Duling 2003:15). Thus, the evangelist is caught up in the politics of torn-halves (Young 1996) in cultural theory or cultural dislocation (Young 2003:138-142; Van Aarde 2004a:1). The community is "in-between" traditions of cultural marginality. He could thus easily be called a cultural hybrid in the making. Matthew was culturally marginal, someone who was somehow negotiating the "in-betweenness" of culturally marginal groups of communities. Matthean hybrid cultural formation as Duling (2003:15) sees it, refers to:

> "betwixt and between" – between the Judean and Graeco-Roman worlds; between homeland and the Diaspora; between Semitic and Greek; between Roman power with its puppet kings and the power of the king of kings; between the old righteousness and the high righteousness; between wealth and poverty; … between "old" constructionists' views of the Torah and "new" interpretation.

What Duling (2003:15), with reference to Matthew (13:52) calls "cultural tensions and ambiguities" in the Gospel, is what makes the Gospel of Matthew a hybrid text. A text that serves as evidence that Matthew is a scribe trained for the sake of the kingdom "bringing out of his storehouse what is old and what is new." In a more defined manner, Duling (2002:521) is convinced that Matthew, as a "*marginal man*", found himself between a binary exercise of distinguishing between elite and the lower illiterate class; between literate scribes and illiterate peasants, between men and women, between Pharisaic groups and his Jesus group; between the Roman occupation and the Judean dispossessed; between Roman army repression and the defeat of Judean militants; between Judean nationalism and his Gentiles' incorporation into the community.

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By treating the Matthean community, as "voluntary associations" Duling (1995:160-164) and Carter (2000:43-46), are somewhat implying that the Matthean community is a postwar (post-70 CE) community, a community in its formation when real family groups decline. It is in other words, a community that emerges as a "surrogate" group (Malina & Rohrbaugh 1992:100-101) or a translated "fictive kinship" group in the aftermath of revolt against Roman colonization. An important point which deserves mentioning in this regard is the fact that the Matthean "voluntary" association was for survival. Duling (1995:162), like Young (1995:1-28; 2001:217-292; 2003:26-31, 142) and Segovia (2000), are convinced that when people are displaced, migrate or are dislocated from their original setting, associations, *mutualités*[284] or *politeuma*[285] assist them in maintaining their cultural traditions and to adapt to new cultural contexts. Some of these associations did, to some degree, turn into revolutionary movements, as was the case of many African associations during the anti-colonial struggle. Often they were reprimanded or banned for being "subversive" (Carter 2000:48).

Although Duling does not make an explicit ruling on the Matthean voluntary association in this regard, by looking at Matthew as a postwar community, one would be tempted to call it a revolutionary association (see Freyne 1980:216-236; Fiensy 1999:14-20; Ukpong 2002:61-62). More precisely, Van Tilborg's (1986) work on the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5-7), points in that direction. The forming of voluntary associations[286] also occurred among the Pharisees, who were classed in the retainers class,[287] and who were constantly seeking

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[284] In the DRC, tribal and provincial groups of people working or living in different towns are often formed to keep contact among themselves. These *Mutualités* help people from the same tribes to maintain their cultural identities away from their local setting. They assist in solving problems affecting any member of the group, be those internal or even external problems. *Mutualités* also help newcomers to integrate into a new cultural context and to remain in touch with their homelands. Regular financial contribution is a requirement for members, and the money is used for various cultural functions or for any other matter requiring financing.

[285] Paul (1981:369-380) implies the term, which the Judeans used during the Diaspora to identify and integrate themselves in the local politics and in cities of a foreign environment. At the same time, it kept them connected to affairs in Jerusalem. But the term also referred to cooperation, colony and community. As Paul indicated, this *politeuma* was the most effective way of keeping a homogenous group intact in a foreign land.

[286] The Qumran community would also be seen as a voluntary or sectarian association (see Sim 1998:111-112).

[287] The "Retainer class" (Lenski 1966:243-248) is a small group of about 5% of the population that maintains a task of mediating "relations between the governing class and the common people." These may include

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influence and privileges of the ruling class. According to Saldarini (1988:281; see Duling 1995:164), the Pharisaic association "probably functioned as a social movement organization seeking to change society." In this instance, religious and political influence is more obvious than in the case of the Matthean association, as it will be seen in the next section.

The Matthean voluntary association was not only busy to recruit members, but it was also defining its nature and shape. Duling is convinced that the Matthean community was a "brotherhood community" which could be regarded as a Matthean egalitarian[288] community. Unlike Crosby (1988:49-75) and Love (1993:21-31; 1994:52-65) who use the church *(ekklesia)* and the household (family); and Carter (1996) who implies household and discipleship models,[289] in reading Matthew, Duling contends that brotherhood (*adelphotes*) is "a fictive kinship[290] term that comes closer to capturing the overtones of surrogate family language in Graeco-Roman associations" (Duling 1995:164; cf Overman 1990:95; Alison & Davis 1998:512-513), in which Matthean community can be identified.

Of even greater significance is the use of the concept "of the fatherless"[291] (Van Aarde 1999a:97-119; 2001:135-154) and the stigmatization implied by it, as well as the use of

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officials, professional soldiers, household servants and personal retainers (Carter 2001:17). It can also include bureaucrats, bailiffs, scholars, religious leaders, legal experts and lower lay aristocracy (Vledder 1997:123).

[288] The concept of egalitarian social relation (Horsley 1989:209-245) in the Matthean context is a community around Jesus or those who followed him. It includes tax collectors, sinners, prostitutes, beggars, cripples, and the poor, wandering charismatic, non-patriarchal and non-hierarchical communities. The emphasis in this flat structure is that all people are equal before their Creator and are the same in ranks. Differences are seen in various functionalities that are carried out by members in fulfilling duties.

[289] See chapter two above.

[290] According to Horsley (1989:87), kinship is to be understood from a blood relationship. But in the case of Jesus and his movement, it is to be understood in a non-patriarchal familiar community, which is being constituted among the followers of Jesus.

[291] Van Tilborg (1986:64 n 90) using *Mishnah* as source, categorizes children without parents who need the care of the community, as follows: (i) *Jatôm* (orphan), a child whose father died; (ii) *Mamzer* (bastard), a child from an invalid marriage and whose father's identity is uncertain. (iii) *Shetuqi* (the silent one), a child whose father is unknown; (iv) *Asufi* (foundling), a child of whom both the father and the mother are unknown; (v) *Natin* (wanderer) a child whose father was a "gebeonite" (Jos 9:27), i.e. probably a slave in the temple. The term generally used in modern day war situations is unaccompanied children – *enfants non accompagnés* (ENA).

little children as metaphor (Carter 1994:90-115) for discipleship. Van Aarde's argument is based on the fact that in first-century Mediterranean cultures, the peasant family "revolved around the father". Parents, primarily the father, provided as sense of social identity and protection to the household and for this reason "fatherlessness led to marginalization". In other words, children who grew up without fathers were without social identity and would be placed in the category of stateless people. Consequently, the argument would lead to the fatherless status of Jesus, although Matthew and Luke build an adoptive alternative through Joseph (Mt 1:1-17; Lk 3:23-38). Does Jesus' social identity[292] justify his close relationship with the outcasts? Or does his adoption in Joseph's family allow him to better understand the meaning of "to belong" and of "not to belong?"

In such a stratified society, ceremonies, rituals, marriages, even temple access were conducted and determined along the lines of social identities. Regarding the issue of marriage for instance, Van Aarde (1999a:110; see Malina 1993:137-138) explains that it was conducted within the concept of purity and towards the continuation of the "holy seed" of "physical children of Abraham". It is not surprising that in the post-exilic second Temple period, Israelites were encouraged to divorce their foreign wives (Ezr 10:9-44; Neh 13:23-30). From that time on, marriage arrangements were set according to the principle of purity. Van Aarde (1999a:110; see Neyrey 1991:279; Funk 1996:202) lists a hierarchal construct of people, ranging from purity to impurity as follows:

1. Priest;
2. Levites;
3. Full-blooded Israelites;
4. Illegal children of priests;
5. Converts (proselytes) from heathendom;
6. Converts from the ranks of those who had previously been slaves, but had been set free;
7. Bustards (born from mixed-marriage unions or through incest or adultery);

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[292] Quoting from Burton & Whiting, Van Aarde (1999a:100), defines three kinds of social identity: (i) Attributed identity is a status assigned to a person by other people of his/her society; (ii) Subjective identity refers to a status that a person assigns to him/herself; (iii) Optative identity is a status that a person wishes to occupy but from which he/she is excluded.

8. The fatherless (those who grew up without a father or a substitute father and therefore were not embedded within the honor structures);

9. Foundlings (orphans and wonderers)

10. Castrated men (eunuchs);

11. Men who had been eunuchs from birth;

12. Those with sexual deformities;

13. Hermaphrodites ("bisexual" people);

14. Heathens (non-Israelites).

Based on this stratification (Van Aarde 1999a:110), Israelite society determined who should marry who, and who could have access to the temple. To answer the above mentioned question, Jesus in his historical setting, was automatically stigmatized by his social identity. However, his charisma and vision ensured public recognition. He however, clearly associated with /showed a marked association with the class of the prejudiced: the sinners and the outcasts. Secondly, he had decided to make the God of Israel his father. As Van Aarde (1999a:112) notes that this attitude of Jesus would be judged as subversive by both religious and patriarchal structures.

Fatherless and illegitimate children, like women, Gentiles and other impure categories in Judean society were not allowed to enter the temple. Although Jesus' adoptive identity played a great role in Judean public spheres, his identity, as indeed that of the fatherless, might have been diffused (Van Aarde 1999a:112). It is thus, not surprising to see him closely associated with the stateless people, the fatherless and those with no families of his time. Consequently, he forged a new sense of brotherhood for these rejected categories by making them belong to God – the Father in heaven who cared for the fatherless and homeless (cf Ex 22:22; Dt 14:29; 16:11; 24:17; 26:12; 27:19).

In so doing, the Matthean Jesus constructed a new concept of brotherhood and belongingness for subalterns in the absence of the temple (see Van Aarde 1999a:112). Given such an appellation, none of the marginalized would be better than the others. Because under the concept of brotherhood, patriarchal and wealth privileges are abolished.

Members of this new community are all being equal, and can have equal access to God's worship and provisions.

Although this term "brotherhood" does not explicitly feature in Matthew as is the case in Peters' Epistles (1 Pt 2:17), Duling (1995:165; see Luz 1990:54) argues that after all, the use of the term "brother" *(adelphos)* occurs more frequently in Matthew than it does in Mark and in Luke. At times, Matthew' references can signify actual kin or it can be "a plurisignificant" (Duling 1992:109). Fictive kinship (Duling 1995:165) can be explained by the following seven Matthean passages (Mt 5:21-26; 7:1-5; 12:46-50; 18:15-22, 35; 23:8-10; 25:40; 28:10). These passages, according to Duling (1995:172), conclude that the Matthean metaphorical kinship is narrowed to "eleven representative disciples" to whom the Great Commission was entrusted.

Although Duling's explanation is meaningful, a limitation of the brotherhood to eleven disciples needs to be challenged. If, as Duling (1995:165) contends, Matthean reference found in Mt 12:50 is pivotal, then it should not be confined to a limited number of disciples. Matthew indeed edited his source. He left the crowd out, but included the sisters and mother who belong to the marginal group and pointed to the will of God (Horsley 1989:87). Horsley sees the doing of the will of God as determinant as to who should belong to the kinship. The true family or the community of disciples (see Carter 1994:90-91) now is constituted not by physical kinship, but by whosoever does the will of God – they become my brother, and sister, and mother. In this case, parenthood and fatherhood only apply to God (Mt 23:6).

The term brotherhood as Duling uses it can also be interpreted as sectarian.[293] However, within a postwar context, which is the case in Matthew, brotherhood is postcolonial language, which is sectarian in its outlook, but more inclusive in nature. All those who do the will of God and all those who long for the will of God are members of this unit. Thus, brotherhood

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[293] Overman (1990:8-19) explains sectarianism by using a definition of sectarian from Blenkinsopp who defines it as a "group which is, or perceive itself to be, a minority in relation to the group it understands to be the 'parent body'. The sect is a minority in that it is subject to, and usually persecuted by, the group in power." The dissenting group is in opposition to "the parent body and tends to claim more or less to be what the dominant body claims to be" (see Esler 1989:13-17; Saldarini 1994: 92-93, 109-116; Sim 1998:109:117).

for Matthew becomes an avenue where humanity experiences the fullness of God beyond traditional social strata. They all belong where God is both the King and the Father.

Using the concept of *basileia*, Van Aarde (2005:19) is convinced that those who belong to the kingdom include people such as the "economically poor with no family support" (Mt 19:21); those who are "socially homeless" and widows (Mt 19:9; 22:24); fatherless children[294] (Mt 19:13-15); those who are discriminated against on ethnical grounds (Mt 15:21-28; 8:5-13; 27:54); the sick and lepers, maims (Mt 4:23-25; 8:1-4, 14-17, 28; 9:1-2, 18-22, 27-33; 21:14); the crowd, the hungry and the needy (Mt 5:1; 14:14-16; 15:29-32; 17:14-16; 25:35-36). Likewise, Overman (1990:123) states that the reference to brotherhood emphasizes the Matthean "ideal of mutuality and deference toward the other."

Therefore, it is important to note that in a desperate (apocalyptic) or revolutionary situation the labeling of terms is quite significant. An example is the Matthean use of "nation" (*ethnos*)[295] in the parable of the tenants (Mt 21:43), which should not be confused with other usage of "nation(s)" in the narrative. As Saldarini (1994:78-81) explains, the Matthean usage of nation in this instance is to distinguish those who "respond faithfully to God and those who do not". Foster (2004:231-232), thinks that the Matthean community is

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[294] See Van Aarde (2001:135-154), especially the chapter entitled "Defending the fatherless."

[295] The meaning of *ethnos/ethne* – nation(s) here must be properly understood, and what needs to be established is whether it applied to non-Judeans or whether it in fact was inclusive of Judeans and Gentiles. Duling (2003:6) states that in early ancient Greco-Roman literature "ethnos and *ethne* had multiple meanings. *Ethnos* referred to any group of any size, but *ethne* in the Hellenic period and in its Judean use, could be positive and neutral, but could also take on the negative, ethnocentric valence." Saldarini (1994: 59-61;79-81) and Duling (2003:6-8;17-18) caution that Matthew's use of *ethnos/ethne* has different meanings, depending on the context, particularly with reference to Matthew (21:43). In general, ethnos can mean "ethnic group or tribe" or "a large group", that is a people or a nation with its own cultural, linguistic, geographical, or political unity (Mt 12:18, 21; 24:7, 9, 14, 30; 25:32; 28:19). It can also refer to guilds and trade associations, social classes of people, political associations, rural or urban residents' associations. The term in Matthew can also be restricted to his own group. The ordinary meaning of ethnos that fits Matthew's usage is that of a voluntary organization or a small group. The use of *ethne* in Matthew can have more than one meaning, and that is why "commentators have disagreed about when he means gentiles in contrast to Israel" (Saldarini 1994:78). Saldarini (1994:78-79) mentions four things that have to be borne in mind when using *ethne* in Matthew: (i) *Ethne* is not always a technical term for non-Judeans; (ii) The use of *ethne* is not always "theologically weighted"; (iii) The definition of who was included in and who was excluded from the Judean community "was far less clear in the first century"; (iv) The Pauline distinction between a Judean believer-in-Jesus and a Gentile believer-in-Jesus, which for Paul determined whether or not one was bound to observe the whole biblical law, is not present in the Matthean context.

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itself a mixed entity of members called from the margins of society, which include Gentiles.

Furthermore, examples of contemporary concepts from anti-colonial theorists can give further input to the understanding of brotherhood or *abacu*.[296] Examples of Che Guevara's popular slogan of *companiero*[297](comrade) in Latin America; the concept of *Négritude* of Senghor and his company; the slogan of *Harambee*[298] in Kenya; the philosophy of *ujamaa*[299] in Tanzania; the concept of "black consciousness"[300] of Steve Biko in South Africa; "unity and struggle"[301] of Cabral in Guinea-Bissau; or "Orientalism" of Said. It is also important to note how Martin Luther King used the term "brotherhood" in his campaign against racism in the USA. In his prophetic dream, he says "sons of former slaves and sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood" (Peck 1996:74). All these concepts are used metaphorically as a means to forge common ground in defiance to any form of oppression and discrimination. The concepts mentioned above carry a message that "we all belong" or "we all want to belong";

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[296] See chapter three above section 3.8.2. See also how Elliott (1981:24-25) uses the term *oikein* which means "to inhabit, permanently reside, to be at home" in contrast to *paroikos* which denotes "the stranger, the alien, the foreigner, the 'other'". *Paroikos* can refer to displaced, dislocated, translated people, aliens, refugees and strangers in a land that they do not really belong to.

[297] Guevara (1994:430) used to tell his comrades to forget about official ranks, as Benigno says "Che warned us that… we would have to forget status as officials, as men used to leading, and become soldiers…, we resigned our ranks and posts." On guard duty rotation, Che wanted to be like any other soldier and he said "here everyone was equal", that he was the same as everyone else in the camp. This can be defined as "egalitarian comradeship" (see Carter 2000:46). During his sojourn in the Congo, Che Guevara and his team lived in Fizi Territory, not far from my village. From time to time, they used to come for food provisions (milk, cow meat, etc). Their names and ranks were coded and they lived together as equals and the villagers could not distinguish who was who in the company (see Guevara 2000).

[298] The slogan of Harambee in Kenya is widely used in all spheres of life. It means to work together.

[299] The term was used by former President Nyerere (1968) of Tanzania. The term comes from the Swahili word *jamaa* (family).

[300] During the creation of the South African Student Organization (SASO) in 1968 under the leadership of Steve Biko, the use of "black" terminology referred to the oppressed, which included all people classified to mean non-white "colored", "Indian or Asian", as well as "Bantu". According to Wilson (1991:24-25), this new definition of black had "a liberating effect on many, freeing them from the categories defined by apartheid."

[301] According to Cabral (1980:28-31), "unity and struggle" was the moto in the war against colonialism. He believed that regardless of existing differences, people should be one and the struggle must be that of the people, by the people and for their cause.

that we are equally affected by current circumstances and we fight as equals for a better future regardless of our provenance.

As has been argued here above, the Matthean concept of brotherhood is more inclusive and takes gender[302] issues into account, although feminist theologians such as Anderson (1983:4-27), Wire (1991:87-121); Love (1993, 1994); Wainwright (1994:637-638, 1998, 2000:25-47) do not concur with the statement. Their argument is that Matthew is a patriarchal oriented text. According to Anderson (1983:7; see Dewey 1994:470, 508), "there is no doubt that the author of the Gospel of Mathew wrote from an androcentric perspective". Whether the author was male or female, the story embodies patriarchal assumptions. Anderson (1983:7) sees genealogy and birth stories as patrilineal and "patriarchal marriages and inheritance practices" are taken for granted (Mt 1; 5:31-32; 19:1-12; 21:33-43; 22:23-33). At the same time God is depicted as Father[303] (Mt 5:14; 6-9,14; 7:12; 10:20; 13:43; 23:9).

Wire (1991:89, 103), Wainwright (2000:32; 1995:132-153) and Guardiola-Saenz (1997:67-81) criticize the Matthean cultural bias against women and its gender exploitation. Wire argues that despite their commitment, faith and their exemplary roles, "women are not named among Jesus' disciples", and the social organization was patriarchal at all levels. While Jesus' brothers are named in the narrative, his sisters are not (Mt 13:55-56). These and many other Matthean passages make radical feminist reading (Wainwright 1998:10-17) somewhat frustrating to themselves, especially when they end up turning the main discourse (text) into a discursive reading, in which hope for liberation is reduced to defensive argumentation.

While gender reading is to be taken seriously, it must also allow the reader to find meaningful effects in Jesus' struggle against cultural limitations and realities within the text (see Stark 1991:198-205; Carter 2001:50-52). The task of gender reading is not only to

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[302] According to Wainwright (1998:11) gender is defined by feminist critical theory as "an either-or distinction that has been socially constructed and has functioned to maintain patriarchal and kyriarchal domination."

[303] However, there are some images of God as a woman (Mt 13:33; 23:37). In the Banyamulenge community, *Imana Rurema* (God the Creator) is genderless. But Ryangombe one of the high priests (the most influential) is represented in the form of a woman. She is the one who gives blessings and procreation (see chapter three).

highlight patriarchal egoism (which Jesus too is fighting), but also to appreciate positive achievement, attributed to the different genders, which is equally competitive in any given context – in this case – the Matthean context (see Anderson 1983:10-21; Love 1993).

The argument here is that Matthew (18:1-4, 15-20; 20:20-28) is busy creating an egalitarian community in the brotherhood of humanity. This takes place within a postwar context whereby sociological, political and economic structures of traditional society no longer exist. Furthermore, the understating of gender role is not necessarily based on the domination of male and the subordination of female. But it must integrate itself in the focus of other binary aspects of the new society, that is child/adult, Gentile/Judean, rural/urban, poor/rich, human/divine, slave/free, colonized/colonizer, etc (see Wainwright 1998:11).

The egalitarian society that Mathew has in mind, basically is a society based on fair judgment and equal treatment of all members of the society, regardless of social strata. In this case, he uses the examples of a child (Mt 18:1-4) and that of slave/servant (Mt 20:26-27) to illustrate the importance of brotherhood in the community. The Matthean Jesus is the architect of the new community in the making where new roles are based on equity, justice and righteousness and not on power competition. Crosby (1988:104-11) sees it as a collegial structure, while Horsley (1993:209-284) refers to this process as "the renewal of local community" where egalitarianism and social-economic cooperation should be the basic qualifications for members (contra Elliott 1981:198; Love 1993:27-28).

Old social structures in which patriarchal figures assumed "power-as-status" (Crossan 1998:163-165) have been affected by a number of factors (Horsley 1993:232-233), and can no longer be regarded as a construct of the new community. One of the factors, which is of relevance to this study, is Roman interference with the "traditional patriarchal authority" at social, political and religious levels in Judean society. Horsley (1993:232-233) argues that as peasant families fell into heavy debt as a result of economic exploitation, taxation and loss of ancestral land, the authority of fathers as the head of their families was affected, because it became increasingly difficult for the heads of families to avoid having a member of family

being taken into debt-slavery and/or to avoid losing the ancestral land that had been the family's inheritance for generations.

Furthermore, "traditional governmental authorities" experienced the same crisis. For example, during Herod's reign, he interfered with and reduced the influence of the Pharisees (Horsley 1993:69). In the time of Jesus in Galilee, the Pharisees and scribes shared influence or competed with Herodian of Antipas' regime. Again, the Pharisees and other representatives of the high-priesthood were subordinated to the powerful political influence of the Roman regime. There was indeed a crisis, "a decay in the traditional patriarchal social-economic-religious infrastructure" of Judean society in Palestine. The Matthean community therefore, emerges from a collapsed socio-economic, political and religious authority.

Amid this confusing and hopeless state in Palestine, Matthew still believed that all hope had not faded. The presence of his charismatic and divinely-sent leader would revitalize the community, by doing justice and righteousness to all. For the Matthean community Jesus' presence meant more than Israelite religious symbols, such as the Sabbath (Mt12:1-14), or the temple (Mt 21:12-16). Although observance of these symbols was of great importance, Matthew gave preference to justice and righteousness and mercy by ministering to the needy of society. According to Matthew, this was the new interpretation of the law, through words, faith and deeds. By so doing, he proclaimed the presence of the kingdom of heaven on earth in which the sick were healed, the hungry were fed, the homeless were given a home and the outcast gained access to worship their God.

4.4.4   The Matthean interpretation of the law

4.4.4.1 Doing good and the Sabbath (Mt 12:1-14)

Jesus confronts two issues that "violate" the Sabbath. According to Carter (2000:262), the scenario in this section is a focal point where a "specific conflict that has much wider implications" to observe. The Pharisees strictly observed the Sabbath as institutionalized by God. Matthew, on the other hand, presents a new Sabbath praxis, namely that, on humanitarian grounds, human needs may be given priority and can be met on this day. The

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two scenarios are the feeding of the hungry disciples (Mt 12:1-7) and the healing of a man's shriveled hand (Mt 12:9-14). Here again, Matthew demonstrates that meeting the needs of the weak, is more valuable and it is therefore "lawful to do good on Sabbath" (Mt 12:13).

God's justice and righteousness entails Jesus' compassion and mercy in attending to human needs, which is the way of honoring the Sabbath. This criterion (Carter 2000:262; cf Crosby 1988:197-203; Knight 1998:65-88) evaluates both the Sabbath practice and any system that restricts people's access to basic needs, such as food and health. The Sabbath was instituted by God after the creation (Gn 2:2-31) and throughout history, Israelites were told to observe and celebrate this day as God's reign over all creation (Ex 20:8-11; Dt 5:12-15; Is 1:13). The Sabbath also commemorated and celebrated the liberation of Israel from slavery (Dt 5:12-15). Moreover, the Sabbath (Carter 2000:262-279) is a reminder and a renewal of the call of Israel to God's covenant (Ex 31:16; Jr 17:19-27; Neh 9:13-14).

The sabbatical and jubilee[304] year that is introduced in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, proclaims freedom to all of God's creation. Debts were written of, slaves were to be liberated, orphans, widows, aliens and the poor were to be protected and taken care of, and the land was to lie fallow (Ex 22:16-24; 23:1-9; Lv 25; Dt 15:1-18). Thus, celebration of the Sabbath was not a mere privilege, but it was a communal responsibility. This is rooted in social justice and the alleviation of human suffering and the provision of basic human needs, such as food (Lv 23:22; Dt 24:19-22; Mt 6:25-27; 14:13-21; 15:29-39); clothing (Ex 22:26; Dt 24: 12-13; Mt 6:28-34) and health (Lv 13-14; Nm 21:8-9, Is 53:4-5; Mt 4:23-24; 12:9-14). To deprive men and women of these rights was against God's ordination of fair distribution of resources.

The section dealing with the "hungry disciples" is Matthean, and does not appear in Mark and Luke. Matthew added it to justify his context of meeting human needs, which is more lawful than the legalistic observance of the Sabbath itself. On the other hand, the Pharisees are ready to use the occasion to trap Jesus for defiling the Sabbath (see Minear 1982:79). Unintentional violation of the law was an offence that required a sin offering (cf Lv 4:27-

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[304] Van Tilborg (1986:84-85 n18) lists some of the advantages and disadvantages of the jubilee.

35). An intentional violation of the Sabbath was a serious offence (Garland 1993:135; see *Jubilee* 2:25-26) that required an amputation or a death penalty (Ex 31:14; 35:2; Nm 15:32). Trade was not permitted (Neh 13:15-22); the carrying of burdens was prohibited (Jr 17:19-27); fighting with the exception of self-defence (1 Macc. 2:29-41) was prohibited.

Consequently, according to Sanders (1992:208-209), the Sabbath was ill-exploited by Gentiles who "took Jewish to court on holy days in order to outrage their religion – and possibly to tie their hands, since some of them may have refused to appear in court on the Sabbath." Sanders (1992:210) brings another interesting dimension to the fore, namely that the Sabbath was a day of celebration and eating and not of fasting and starvation. All work was prohibited, but eating was part of the event of celebration. Moreover, according to rabbinic literature (see Ford 1980:39-55), some allowances were permitted to assist the needy on the Sabbath. However, the sages disagreed with such allowance.

One of the examples given is that of the inhabitants of Jericho who "made breaches in their gardens and orchids to permit the poor to eat the fallen fruits in time of famine" (Ford 1980:53). There is, however, a confusing story in Numbers (15:32-36), which the Pharisees might have used against Jesus: A man is put to death because he was found collecting woods on the Sabbath. If this was still in line with alleviating human needs, then this section poses a problem. It is not explicitly stated whether he collected wood for leisure or for a specific pressing need, such as putting up a shelter or collecting firewood to prepare a meal for his family. The only thing that is emphatically stated is that the man was put to death for having violated the Sabbath.

Jesus' defense (Mt 12:3-8), using the very Scriptures and the law that the Pharisees were using to challenge him, is well documented: (i) David, when he was hungry ate the sacred bread (the bread of the Presence), which he was not supposed to eat in normal circumstances (1Sm 21:1-6; see Minear 1982:79; Overman 1990:175; (ii) The priests work on the Sabbath and do not incur guilt (cf Lv 24:8). This second addition in the Matthean record is not found in Mark and Luke. (iii) The quotation from Hosea (6:6) becomes appropriate, as it is also quoted in the previous healing story (Mt 9:13). God's desire for mercy (Minear 1992:78) by

doing justice and showing righteousness takes priority over the temple offering and the Sabbath.

Jesus wants to teach the Pharisees as well his disciples that there is another meaning to observance of the law (see Snodgrass 1988:536-544; Loader 1997:136-272). For Garland (1993:137), the implication is that the disciples of Jesus are able "to break the Sabbath as the priests do because they are with him and are carrying on a greater work than the priests serving in the temple". My view on "being greater than the temple and the Lord of the Sabbath" (Mt 12:6, 8) in contrast to Mark (2:27), differs slightly from that of Garland here (see Overman 1990:177).

With Matthew 5:17-20 in mind, the importance of the temple and the Sabbath is not diminished, or overlooked; nor is the intention for it to be abolished for any reason. Crosby (1988:2002) prefers to refer to the Sabbath rest being "temporarily lifted in the face of needs" rather than to talk about contravening the law. What Jesus advocates is that by doing a service with compassion, to alleviate human suffering is also celebrating God's presence and fellowship. The Sabbath is a symbol of God's presence and salvation (cf Dt 5:12-15), which is fulfilled in doing justice to his creation. For the purpose of saving lives, work on the Sabbath is justified as an act of mercy, and is not contrary to the meaning of the Sabbath itself.

If the Sabbath was made to celebrate God's relationship with his creation, then it could be argued that it is plausible that meeting human need is part of God's celebration in its fullness. Crosby (1988:2002), followed by Knight (1989:78-80) and Carter (2000:265-266) argues that although God who entrusted rest to men, rested on the Sabbath, but "until all God's creatures have their needs met, alleviating these needs takes precedence over Sabbath rest." Jesus is not against the law and the Sabbath, but he is against the Pharisees' interpretation that overlooks the principle of doing justice and showing mercy to the needy.

The second issue is that of healing on the Sabbath (Mt 12:9-14). The use of the analogy of the sheep in the pit (Mt 12:11) is a Matthean pericope. Its interpretation can be argued from

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different view on the observance of Sabbath (Garland 1989:135). Not all the Judean groups in the first century interpreted the law and especially the Sabbath in the same way. According to Sanders (1992:367), the Qumran community was stricter in their observance than the Pharisees. *CD*[305] 10:14-11:18 records several prohibitions, including "picking up food that had fallen in a field …, assisting a beast that was giving birth, lifting a new-born animal out of a pit…, carrying a child, or wearing medicaments… The only exception to the prohibition of work was that they could save human life." The Pharisees were flexible with regard to the laws ruling the Sabbath (cf Sanders 1992:425). Helping animals is recorded in Scripture, but not necessarily on the Sabbath (Ex 23:4-5 ; Dt 22:4; Mt 7:12).

Taking into consideration that Jesus was familiar with rural peasantry whose means of survival were limited, and husbandry being an integral part of the local economy, then the analogy makes sense. Secondly, Jesus refers to a sheep in the pit in this instance, but elsewhere he uses analogies of sheep without a shepherd (Mt 9:36); the lost sheep (Mt 10:6;15:24; 18:10-14); and the sheep and the goats in the parable of rewards (Mt 25:31-46) by which he was referring to the marginalized groups of Israel who were helpless and harassed (see Van Aarde 2005:19).

The "lost sheep" constitutes a group (of the poor, peasants, women, children, the sick, the lame, the homeless, the unclean, expendable people) whose access to basic necessities was limited. Their health is constantly threatened, especially during times of crises, wars, and natural calamities such as earthquakes, droughts, floods and volcanic eruptions. They become even more vulnerable and victims, in most cases they are defenseless and voiceless. Mainly women and children are the mostly affected, with women being raped and being infected with sexually transmitted diseases. Families end up in displaced or refugee camps with no shelter, no food, no health care and with no social status. These people are those that the Roman imperialism and its local agents preferred to exploit but not protect.

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[305] Damascus Document.

But Jesus (who carries out salvation in his life, teaching and action) is concerned about the wholeness and well-being (Mt 4:23; 8:3;16-7; 9:12-13; 15:21-28; 20:29-31) of those who live in a society of inequalities. From this perspective, Matthew's concern is to re-order social life (Crosby 1988:198-203) and to teach the Pharisees that "it is lawful to do good on the Sabbath" (Mt 12:12) to those among "us who are in need." The healing of the man (Mt 12:13) challenges religious leaders in two ways: (i) Authority over powers of darkness and principalities that infringe upon people's lives. Jesus demonstrates that he is a healer and he gives the authority to heal (Mt 10:8; cf Mk 16:16-18; Lk 10:17). (ii) Lack of concern and mercy towards the suffering and unprivileged people in the society (Mt 12:7; cf Mt 5:20; 25:35).

Beaton (1999:21) sees the Pharisees as being "painted in bad light for having more compassion towards animals than humans," thereby being viewed as being unjust to their fellow humans. They were with this sick man in the synagogue, but no mention is made of any help he received from them. The reference to sheep without a shepherd is to be understood in light of Roman and religious leaders' failure to fulfill the role of leadership by doing justice and righteousness to the needy.

Instead of pleading with Jesus to help the sick man, like the Judean elders who pleaded for the cause of the centurion (Lk 7:4), the Pharisees used this incident as a case for conspiracy (Mt 12:14). According to Carter (2001:148), these religious leaders "do not have an exclusively 'religious' agenda but uphold and impact the economic and societal structures of society." Their teaching and religious practices, such as tithing and taxes, maintain the hierarchy and ensure their own wealth at the expense of the rest of the poor and the weak. The law is fulfilled through compassion and mercy for others.

4.4.4.2 Cleansing the temple (Mt 21:12-17)
In the temple cleansing (Mt 21:12-17) or "temple-ordering" as Crosby refers to it (Crosby 1988:199), a similar attitude of excluding people from experiencing the healing and the fullness of God's presence, is shown by religious leaders. The temple hardly represented an

innocent religious place divorced from reality. Taxes were funneled through it, and it "served as a means of economic redistribution" (Crosby 1988:200).

During the first and second temple eras (cf Carter 2000:418), prophets warned about misgivings and corruption in the temple and in Jerusalem. The Qumran community had withdrawn from the temple (Sanders 1992:53) due to misconduct of the priests in charge and wanted to see it being reformed (see 1 Macc 4:36-59; 1*QM* 2:1-6). Priests supervised economic system in the temple, and in the process, they may well have made some profit at the expense of the poor and of pilgrims who either had to sell or buy animals for sacrifices (cf Crosby 1988:199).

Ford (1980:41) goes even further in showing how corrupt the priesthood was how it had become a business itself within the temple. He states that the sons of priests became treasurers. Pilgrims from the Diaspora coming to Jerusalem created business for bankers and moneychangers to facilitate the procurement of sacrifices. In addition, the half shekel paid by every male Judean over the age of twenty (Freyne 1980:278) could have contributed to the temple's finances. It is not surprising that Herod wanted to use some of the temple money in his social projects (Barbour 1988:60-61). The mechanism of selling and buying in the temple was a form of robbing worshippers (Mt 21:13). Sanders (1992:76-92), however, is hesitant to come to such conclusion.

The abuse of sacrifices in the presence of God by the wicked sons of Eli is an example of what was happening in the temple (1 Sm 2:12-36). Religious leaders were not concerned with the plight of the poor and pilgrims who came to seek God's presence in the temple. No concern was shown towards the lame, the sick and the children who had no access to the temple. Instead, the religious leaders' interest vested in what they could collect from them. Temple leadership had defiled itself (Garland 1993:212) and lost its capacity to raise the hope of the underserved and to invite them to come into communion with their God, as Isaiah (55:1-5) did when he extended the invitation to all of those in need.

As is the case with observing the Sabbath, Jesus was not against the temple, but he was against the misuse of it. The temple had become a den of robbers (Mt 21:13), a situation Isaiah also deplored (Is 1:10-31; 56:7). Under Roman domination, religious leaders collaborated with the Romans (Mt 2:4) and the temple was viewed as "an arm of Roman imperialism. In the eyes of many popular leaders the temple served to support and bolster Roman rule and Roman administration in the land of Israel" (Overman 1990:294). According to Loader (2001:71, 76), Jesus' attitude reflected certain priorities, and in this case, justice and righteousness is the key theme, because "it expresses this total commitment" in doing the will of God which gives preference to people's needs above cultic and ritual requirements.

The leaders of the temple were complicit with Rome's economic exploitation of Palestine and the temple was used to facilitate such business. Jesus was aware of the type of priests who were serving, and the role they played in exploiting and misleading people at the temple. He was well informed of the fact that the temple had come to symbolize corruption and faithlessness, contrary to its divine and social purpose within society (Overman 1990:294). Jesus' action of overturning the tables (Mt 21:12) is a social and spiritual reform whereby, he urged religious leaders to reform their ways and practices (Jr 7:1-8; Am 5:11).

According to Crosby (1988:200), the overturning of the tables "was a symbolic call for them to stop abusing their authority by exploiting pious pilgrims and the poor". It was only after he had cleansed the temple and declared it as "a house of prayer" (Mt 21:13; Lk 19:46) "for all nations" (cf Is 56:7; Mk 11:17), that those with physical, material and spiritual needs, the poor, those who were excluded, the blind and the lame, had access to the temple where they got healed (Mt 21:14; cf Mt 11:28-30). The blind and the lame were among those who had no access to the temple (2 Sm 5:8; Lv 16-24) but remained at the temple entrance (Ac 3:1-10).

Jesus healed many diseases as proof in John the Baptist's enquiry (Mt 11:6). Carter (2000:420) argues that if God is understood to be especially encountered in the temple, "the exclusion of maimed from the city and the temple appears to be an attempt to exclude them

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from God's presence." Jesus, on the other hand, manifests a willingness to do God's justice and righteousness to the dispossessed. He includes them in his reign and worship. Children (Van Aarde 2001:135-154; see 1994:261-276) had the opportunity to express their emotions and joy through singing (Mt 21:16; Ps8:2), while Jesus provided warmth in the form of a loving touch to them (Mt 19:13-15). According to Van Aarde (1994:268), Jesus used the parental custom of touching children as a symbol of loving and blessing. This also applies to those whom he extended his touch and fellowship. Jesus' healing mission was inclusive enough for everyone to find his/her place.

Sanders (1992:77-92) objects to the predominant view held by many scholars who are of the opinion that the priesthood abused and misused the temple for their own gain. In his argument, one important remark is well taken, namely that as a human being, failing the required standards, is quite natural. "Dishonesty, greed and corruption are universal human failings and it is simple to say that these were *the* failings of official Judaism" (Sanders 1992:91). He regards the criticism from Judeans and Christians against the temple system as being corrupt and detrimental to the people's welfare, as a competition between two movements.

Failing moral standards is understood, but the culpable must change once he/she recognizes his/her failure or is reprimanded by others (Ezk 18:27-28). Surprisingly, a modification of behavior did not occur in the case of chief priests, teachers of the law and leaders among the people (Lk 19:47). Jesus reprimanded them (Mt 21:12-13; cf Mk 11:17; Lk 19:45), but they remained "indignant" (Mt 21:15), and "plotted to kill [him]" (Mt 12:14; cf Mk 11:18; Lk 19:46). This therefore, offers enough evidence of the Pharisees' unacceptable conduct which is also expressed in the seven woes (Mt 23). The crowd, on the other hand, was receptive to Jesus, believed that he was a prophet (Mt 21:46), accepted his teaching (Mk 11:18), and "hung on his words" (Lk 19:48).

Social, political and religious systems have often prevented the outcasts and the needy from celebrating God's presence and from hearing the good news of hope. They are the ones who

are always on the periphery, even at the temple's courts where they find themselves excluded, until Jesus comes to do justice to them and to include them in the fellowship.

4.5   Summary

The social location of Matthew was discussed from a social, religious and political perspective. The Judeans in Palestine, like any subjected people under colonial rule, looked on and experienced the consternation caused by the destruction of their cultural, political and religious values. Roman imperialist collaborated with local agents and inflicted misery upon people, whose lives entirely depended on the produce of their land. The introduction of excessive taxation in the country placed the peasants in a situation of dependency and indebtedness, while their land was either grabbed or deviously taken as payment in surety. The people in Palestine had to endure the consequences of natural disasters, such as drought, famine and earthquakes, which left the survivors greatly impoverished. Poverty, war and insecurity forced an influx of many people into neighbouring countries where they became refugees, while others were forced into slavery.

Resistance to colonialism was expressed in various forms. Some efforts took the form of well organized militant groups such as the Zealots, others manifested in rather unorganized fashion in the form of sporadic attacks by so-called bandits and brigands. The Messianic movements also formed part of the resistance against the Roman occupation. Peasants, including the Matthean community, were disappointed not only by the behavior of the Roman agents, but particularly by Judean aristocrats who worked alongside the colonizer. The Gospel narratives refer to non-violent resistance which might be termed as the third way (Horsley 1989; Wink 1992a:102-125) of solving the crisis and of ensuring the community's survival.

Matthew, like many of his contemporaries, informs the reader of the crisis that was developing between his community and the parent body of Judaism. This can be attributed to the fact that the administration of justice and righteousness was in jeopardy. The Pharisees had fallen out of God's standards in their interpretation of the law and in showing justice and compassion. On the other hand, Matthew claimed to have got the right interpretation of the

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law through Jesus the Messiah. Matthew brings socio-political and religious teaching to strengthen his community and avoid any disintegration based on Pharisaic teaching, contacts with Roman justice, but also to avoid the anger of God.

CHAPTER V

JUSTICE AND RIGHTEOUSNESS IN MATTHEW 5-7 AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE BANYAMULENGE COMMUNITY

5.1 Introduction

The Sermon on the Mount, lays the foundation for the Matthean community's structure which is based on law – justice and righteousness (Mt 5:17-20), order (5:21-48) and social responsibility (Mt 6:1-7:1-26). A number of theologians have drawn some connections between the Sermon on the Mount and the rest of the narrative (Anderson 1988:496; 1996:233; Overman 1990:94-101; Vledder 1997:27; Carter 2000:128-129). It provides an alternative for the oppressive, chaotic and unjust environment caused by Roman colonization and its local collaborators which need to be dealt with. According to Carter (2000:128-129; see Crosby 1988:147-195), the Roman empire is dominated by the *pax Romana* (Wengst 1987) which, however, is disruptive. The Sermon on the Mount, on the other hand, presents an alternative world marked by restructured societal relationship based on equal redistribution of resources.

The aim of this chapter is to understand the utility of the Sermon on the Mount from a postcolonial reading in a postwar community. The attention will be drawn to the relationship between the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5-7) and the Canaanite woman (Mt 15:21-28), and the Banyamulenge community. The argument is that Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom is not a matter of comforting those in need and encouraging them to wait for their deliverance in the consummation of times. Rather, the implication of the kingdom's happiness starts from the announcement of the king's birth (Mt 1:23), the beginning of his ministry (Mt 4:23) to the consummation of ages (Mt 28:20). In other words, the concept of Emmanuel is a non interruptive presence, which in fact, finds its dwelling place among his people regardless of social, political and religious circumstances. John's revelation defines the concept of Emmanuel in terms of the Alfa and Omega (Rv 1:8), making his dwelling place among his people (Rv 21:3).

Salvation which is promised to the poor, the hungry and the mourners and a process of reconciliation between the Judeans themselves and the Gentiles, thus already becomes a reality. Because Jesus, the Messiah, is turning to the *déclassé* (Luz 1990:231) in his public contacts and (re)claiming their justice. Justice and righteousness, being the core value in Jesus' teaching, guides this study in finding the most effective postcolonial interpretation inherent to it. The findings are then applied to the situation of the Canaanite woman and the Banyamulenge community within the context of its social location, described in chapters three above.

5.2 An overview of the Sermon on the Mount

The Matthean community is called to live according to the new way of life by doing God's will and by living a brotherly life in the community where justice and righteousness prevail. Traditionally, Luz (1990:229-231) agrees with Sabourin (1982:333) and Dupont's (1973:312-313) views on the three triads of the Beatitudes (Mt 5:3-11). This section of the Sermon can be divided into (i) impartation of grace; (ii) ethical admonition; and (iii) order for the community life (see Overman 1990:94-100; 1996:103-110). The main purpose of these *macarisms* (the Beatitudes), is to respond to the very social, religious and political circumstances in which the disciples of Jesus and the crowds (peasants, women, children, the sick and unclean, the poor, the Gentiles) are living. Luz argues that the background of the Beatitudes is the apocalyptic hope for a complete reversal of circumstances.

The Sermon on the Mount is a social-political and religious discourse by which Matthew responds to his situation. The Matthean context was largely influenced by social, economic, and political realities which eventually shaped his Gospel (see Freyne 1980; Stambaugh & Balch 1986; Oakam 1989; Horsley 1993; Overman 1990; Stark 1991:189-205; Carter 2001).[306] Thus Luz's (1990:231) interpretation of the term "poor" does not need to be given a spiritual connotation in the first instance. For him the term "poor" in terms of its Semitic interpretation, does not only mean those who are lacking in money but, more comprehensively, "the oppressed, miserable, dependent, humiliated – but by no means *only* a

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[306] See chapter four above.

certain type of piety and/or *only* a poverty which is separated from external circumstances and is internal."

As it is delivered, the Sermon on the Mount, has about three audiences around the newly (or intended) created structure of brotherhood (Mt 5:22-24, 47; 7:3-5; 18:15-20). The main groups addressed in the Sermon include the crowds (Mt 5:1; 7:28), the disciples (Mt 5:2; 7:29), and the rest, the world at large (Mt 5:20, 22; 6:10). Within the proposed structure, unconditional love, care for the needy, forgiveness, tolerance and communal prayer were to be practiced. Therefore, the teaching within the Sermon (Luz 1995:42-62) is a universal manual, which is to promote justice as a standard for all (Mt 5:17-20; 7:12). Overman (1990:94-100) sees the Sermon as a "constitution" with its primary focus being on "the ordering of relationships and behaviour" within the Matthean community for it to survive the pressure of Formative Judaism and implicitly the Roman occupation. It contains "values and norms" and self-definition that legitimize the life of the community, which are summarized in *dikaiosyne*.

Consequently, justice and righteousness (Mt 3:15; 5:6; 6:1; 21:6) becomes the highest standard in fulfilling God's will. According to Allison (1993:183), righteousness is seen as "doing more". By conveying its message of Jesus' teaching and the principle of righteousness, Matthew should not be seen to be subversive, according to Bornkamm (1971:31) and Overman (1990:87). What Matthew does, is to show the new interpretation thereof which fits in with the will of God. The distinction between violating the law and fulfilling it through a different interpretation is an important argument. Bornkamm (1971:31) puts it as follows:

> Matthew understands the law in a way which does not differ in principle from that of Judaism …The sadness in his contrast to Judaism arises from the discrepancy between doctrine and deeds on the part of his opponents, and at the same time … from the misuse and failure of an interpretation of the law, which does not enquire concerning the original meaning of the divine demand and refuses to perceive the essentials of the law.

Matthew is reacting to some relaxation in obeying the law by some unidentified teachers of the law (Mt 5:19). But at the same time, he is convinced that the way to know and to teach the law, is by doing it (Mt 7:12; 12:50; 21:31). This new interpretation is explained in the Matthean antitheses (Mt 5:21-48) and its essence is to be found in loving God (Mt 22:37-38) and the neighbor (Mt 22:39). In his examination of the new interpretation of the law, Allison (1993:183) sees a "continuity" of the Mosaic Law and some "newness in the present, and it does not surprise when 5:21-48 goes beyond the letter of the law to demand even more." Here again, responsibility and accountability are not measured by the legalistic stand of the law, but in its fulfillment, which is to do justice and righteousness. Hence, observance of the law is an entrance requirement into the kingdom (Mt 5:17-20; 22:40). Its fulfillment in doing justice and righteousness sets a standard for rewards at the day of judgment (Mt 25:31-46), where the doer of justice and righteous is at peace with the judge.

Matthew is familiar with policies of the *pax Romana*, which in itself is repressive and exploitive (see Horsley 1989:74-77; 1993:33-43; Carter 2001:26-27). This system must be replaced by a just kingdom, whose sons are peacemakers (Mt 5:9), who do not cause chaos, but judge with love and equity (Mt 7:1-5). They do not avenge, but forgive (Mt 5:21-26; 6:12); they do not exploit, but give to the needy, showing them respect and giving in a discreet way (Mt 6:1-4). This is the way of the kingdom in which Emmanuel (Mt 1:23) is proclaimed, in contrast to the Roman imperial regime which is ruled by injustice.

5.3 The Beatitudes (Mt 5:1-12)

5.3.1 Jesus and the crowds at the mountain (Mt 5:1-2)

It is important to take note of Jesus' attitude at the introduction of the Beatitudes.[307] In the interest of the crowds, *ochloi* (Mt 5:1), Jesus engaged with the realities of his time. He met

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[307] See the works on Beatitudes in three volumes of Jacques Dupont, *Les Beatitudes, Tome I : Le problème littéraire. Les deux versions du sermon sur la montagne et des Beatitudes*. 2nd ed. Paris: J Gabalda et Cte Editeurs, 1969; *Tome II : La bonne nouvelle*, 1969; *Tome III: Les Evangélistes*, 1973. See also James M Boice, *The Sermon on the Mount: An exposition*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1972; U Luz, *Matthew 1-7. A commentary*, translated by W C Linss. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1989, pp. 209-460; Dennis Hamm, *The Beatitudes in context*. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1990 (cf also Sabourin 1982:335-353; Powell 1996:460-479).

people who were weary and burdened (Mt 11:28-30), who could no longer bear the rule of injustice imposed on them by political repression, socio-economic and religious exploitation.

Reading the Sermon on the Mount from the perspective of anti-colonial struggles, particularly in line with Cabral's (1980:81) perspective of "unity and struggle", solidarity with the peasants comes to the fore. It is quite probable that after seeing the devastating conditions of the crowds, of which neither the Roman regime nor religious leaders took any heed, Jesus was forced to give a revolutionary lecture. Cabral's conviction is that every struggle is owned by people only if the reason for that struggle is based on the aspirations and the desire for justice and the progress of the people. Thus, those who are able, regardless of their color, status and provenance, must show solidarity with those who are struggling to overcome injustice.

Jesus was definitely not talking in a vacuum. He is challenging the existing power structures that were not doing justice and righteousness on behalf the poor and the weak. Instead, they abused their *raison d'être* (cf Ex 22:21-27; 23:9; Lv 23:23; Dt 24). Hagner (1993:86), like Allison (1993:172-181), is tempted to use Moses typology which has been referred to by among others Sabourin (1982:325-327). Matthew may well have had in mind a picture of Moses who went up to Mount Sinai to receive the law (Ex 19-20). Jesus, in a way like a new Moses, ascends to the mountain "to mediate the true interpretation" of the Torah. However, Hagner is not that decisively convinced that the evangelist was emphasizing the Moses typology. For Sabourin (1982:325), however, Jesus on the mountain speaks like a "new Moses proclaiming the new law of the kingdom."

If the parallel of Moses (Luz 1990:224; Allison 1993:172-181; Garland 1993:51-52; Carter 2000:129-130) is to be used in the Sermon of the Mountain, it is necessary to refer to his charismatic leadership. Israel placed its hope in Moses' leadership, which was better than that of Pharaoh (Ex 1:1-2:10; 5:1-6:1-13). Moses consecrated his time in leading the Israelites who came to him to seek the will of God (Ex 18:15). It is equally important to see that the Matthean crowds were going through an apocalyptic episode in the aftermath of the war, and sought a wise counsel for their survival.

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Thus, the crowds were yearning for a leader, a Messiah who would bring deliverance (Mt 1:23) and would take care of their worries (Mt 6:25-34). The crowds were anxious to be healed by Jesus (Mt 4:24-25; Mk 3:7-11), to be fed (Mt 5:6;14:13-21;15:29-39; Mk 8:1-10), and the mourners longed for consolation and comfort (Mt 2:18; 5:4) because of the persecution (Mt 5:11) and the killings they witnessed (Mt 14:10; 23:35-37). In the crowd were those who were dispossessed of their land because of indebtedness as well as many depressed and hopeless people as consequences of war and colonial regime.

Therefore, ascending the mountain (see Carter 2001:129-130) was to challenge imperial rule and to reclaim the land and proclaim the kingdom of justice and righteousness on behalf of the poor. The way the "mountain" concept is used here is worth noting.[308] Camping on the mountain (Mt 5:1) and calling the crowd seem to be a sign of defiance to the existing power structures that unjustly occupied the land. Jesus had previously engaged and defeated evil powers on the mountain (Mt 4:1-11). He healed multitudes and fed great crowds at the mountainside (Mt 15:29-39). A transfiguration ceremony took place on a mountain during a consultative meeting with heavenly emissaries (Mt 17:1-11). On the Mount of Olives (Mt 24:3), he led his disciples in an eschatological teaching. He met his disciples at a mountain after overcoming death, which is the last measure of punishment imposed by a tyrannous government (Mt 28:16-18). In his post-paschal address, Jesus commanded his disciples to go and claim not only Palestine but the world back for God's rule (Mt 28:19-20).

Abraham, of the Israelite nation and the father of faith strengthened his friendship with God at Moriah (Gn 22:1-19). At mount Horeb (Ex 3), Moses negotiated with God about the political future of Israelite refugees and slaves. Moses camped on a hill while Joshua fought against the Amelekites (Ex 17:8-15); Moses sojourned at Sinai in the company of the divine host, whereby Israel was given a new identity (Ex 19:1-17; 20:1-21). Elijah at the mountain Carmel (1 Ki 18:16-39) challenged Ahab's exploitative rule, which had fallen from God's standards of justice and righteousness.

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[308] See Terence, L Donaldson, *Jesus on the mountain: A study in Matthean theology*. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985.

In the twentieth century, Martin Luther King's (1992) prophetic speech "I have a dream", the image of the mountain is paramount. In his speech on the struggle against racism and social injustice inflicted upon the poor by the United States government, King (1992:192-203) took fellow African-Americans and other members of his audience with him up to "the mountaintop,"[309] and he saw in his "dream" the promised land, where equality and mutual respect reign.

Therefore, territorial occupation by or on behalf of the oppressed is a revolutionary position which offers a better space for the Matthean Jesus to defend the dignity of the defenseless and be the voice of the voiceless. The Matthean Jesus places himself in a locality which implies his march in the footsteps of the God of Exodus, whose definition of justice and righteousness means taking side with the oppressed (cf Pixley & Boff 1995:218).

The Matthean Beatitudes on the mountain can be taken as a summary of Jesus' socio-political and religious discourse in the Sermon on the Mount (Dupont 1973:316; see Van Tilborg 1986:164), and as a springboard for the rest of the teaching and ministry in the narrative. Quoting F Grawet, Dupont (1973:316; cf also Sabourin 1982:332) mentions an existing correspondence between the Beatitudes and the rest of the Sermon as follows: Mt 5:3 and 7:7-11; Mt 5:4 and 7:3-6; Mt 5:5 and 7:1-2; Mt 5:6 and 6:1-34; Mt 5:7 and 5:38-48; Mt 5:8 and 5:27-37; Mt 5:9 and Mt 5:17-26; and Mt 5:10 and 5:11-16. For Carter (2000:131), the Beatitudes are constructed in a descriptive manner in order to point to the "oppressive situations of distress" that characterize the Matthean context. They expose and challenge the existing social, political and religious structures which infringe suffering upon people. At the same time they also express God's transforming power that delineates the Roman empire and all its oppressive structures.

5.3.2   The poor and the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven (Mt 5:3)

There are three Greek words that translate the word "poor" or "poverty" (Dupont 1969b:19-34), namely *penichros*, *penes* and *ptochos*. *Penichros* refers to the poor or the needy (Lk

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[309] This is a figurative concept in King's speech.

12:2); *penes* refers to a poor person or day labourer, and *ptochos* means a beggar. The latter term is used by Matthew to refer to the poor (Mt 5:3;11:5; 19:21; 26:11). Van Tilborg (1986:14-19) argues that the term beggar is used in Matthew for those who depend on nothing but God's provision.

Luz (1990:231) concedes that *ptochos* is the strongest available Greek word for social poverty. The term *ptochos* is also used in the Septuagint and it emphasizes the social aspects that correspond to Jesus' meaning in the Beatitudes. Unlike Luke, who clearly states poverty in social circumstances (Lk 6:20), the Matthean addition "in spirit" can be ambiguous. Dupont (1969a:216-217) and Luz (1990:232) prudently question the use of *ptochos to pneumatai*, which shifts the meaning by moving from a social to a spiritual connotation: piety or voluntary poverty. Bligh (1975:43-44) and Hagner (1993:92) argue that Matthew is talking about voluntary poverty, while Sabourin (1982:342-343) thinks that the connotation carries a religious signification. Bligh's implication is that the term "poor in spirit" seems to refer to "something other than real, economic poverty".

Hare (1993:36-37) on the other hand, argues that the phrase "the poor in spirit" refers neither to those who are poor for religious reasons (voluntarily poor), nor to those who are deficient with respect to spirit, but to those "who manifest the attitude, appropriate to their condition", that is, humble dependence on God's grace. However, quoting A Pieris, Phan (1997:226) explains two kinds of poverty: "forced poverty" which is the fruit of injustice, and "voluntary poverty" which is "the seed of liberation." In other words, voluntary poverty can be embraced in solidarity with the poor in protest against imposed poverty. Consequently, liberation can be seen as twofold: as "an interior emancipation from spiritual slavery", and as a "release from sociopolitical and economic enslavement."

The argument is that Jesus is talking to people whose poverty has been imposed on them by social, political and religious circumstances in which the victims have no control. Powell (1996:463-464) adds that the Hebrew word *anawim* is semantically equivalent to "poor in spirit" and that this emphasis on spiritual poverty "redefines them as people who may be on

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the verge of giving up." It can be convincingly argued that the Matthean audience is "poor in spirit" because they have no reason for hope in their current unjust state.

However, Jesus' proclamation that the kingdom of God belongs to "the poor in spirit" implies the accomplishment of God's will as a holistic mission. Arguing from the perspective of the Mediterranean societal codes of honor and shame, Malina and Rohrbaugh (1992:48) comment that to be poor means to fall below the status into which one was born.[310] The proclamation of the kingdom of heaven to the poor (Mt 5:3b) therefore means a complete reversal of circumstances and a complete restoration human dignity.

The essence of "belonging" is in itself a revolutionary concept for the poor and the marginalized. It implies something similar to a certitude of citizenship – and in a Roman colony not everyone had a right to citizenship. This is clear in the account of Paul and Silas' imprisonment at Philippi (Ac 16:35-40). It was mainly prominent people in politics and businesses who were given Roman citizenship. Kee (1997:200-201; cf Witherington 1998:499-502) explains "select … indigenous leaders in the *coloniae* would be designated as Roman citizens" while other residents were called *incolae* (resident aliens). Citizens generally served as members of the civic councils and were chosen from the wealthy families in the community. They were appointed for life. However, an exception was made for slaves who were "manumitted by citizens", as well as military veterans and their sons. Consequently, Palestine had many people who were stateless, and it is these people to whom the kingdom of God gives preference.

As part of his ministry to the needy, Jesus proclaimed a kingdom of justice and righteousness by healing the sick (for example, in Mt 4:23-25; 8:1-17; 9:1-8, 18-34; 12:9-14; 17:14-18) and welcoming tax collectors, prostitutes, Gentiles (Mt 21:31;15:21-28) and the rejected children (Mt 19:13-15; see Van Aarde 2001). He challenged the rich on behalf of the poor (Mt 19:24). He fed the hungry (Mt 8:5-13; 12:1-8; 14:13-21; 15:29-39) and defied the religious rulers on behalf of justice and righteousness (Mt 12:1-14; 23:15-39; 23).

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[310] Beyond this definition, there are also those who are born poor. According to Israelite tradition, all those born with infirmities were considered unclean and thus poor.

Carter (2000:131) argues that the meaning of "poor" in Matthew's gospel should not be understood in either a figurative or a spiritualized way. There were the literally and physically destitute people in the Judean community. There were those who "lack adequate resources." They were exploited and oppressed by the wealthy and powerful. These "poor" included aliens, widows, orphans, and the physically handicapped persons (Lv 19:10, 15; Dt 24:19-21; Job 29:12-16; Pr 14:31; Mt 19:13-15; 21:14). Van Tilborg (1986:19) mentions that Jesus' proclamation of the *basileia* restored the "quality of a person" because it implies that God's power reigns against the power of dictatorship and leads to the liberty of subjects (see also Is 61:1-2, as quoted in Lk 4:18-19). Therefore, "the poor in spirit" is to be understood in the light of hopelessness and despondency in the lives of those who were oppressed by the existing power structures.

Dupont (1969b:105-123; cf Horsley 1993:165-172) also explains the essence of God's *basileia* as "good news" proclaimed to despondent people. God's *basileia* became a reality for and among these people because the *basileia* belongs to them. According to Sabourin (1982:341), this promise of the kingdom points to the whole "divine economy" of the messianic age, proclaimed and enacted by Jesus, who defended the weak. The good news to the poor, according to Dupont (1969b:104), is that "*Dieu … va prendre la défense de son peuple opprimé et lui accorder le salut.*"[311] God invites all men to co-work with him in doing justice to the poor and in comforting the afflicted.

Van Tilborg's (1986:83-89; see Bligh 1975:119-121; Sabourin's 1982:386-367) argument about the giving of alms to the poor (Mt 6:2-4) in a world of inequalities, maintains that "justice must be the governing factor with equality as guide". And it must be construed within economic realities that people are living in. Moreover, the act of giving must be motivated by mercy and compassion. According to Ulrich Luz, the practice of welfare and almsgiving was not common in synagogues after the destruction of the temple (cf Carter 2000:158-160):

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[311] "God … will come to the defense of his people who are being oppressed and he will save them."

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> In the period of early Christianity, there was not the care of the poor in the synagogue which was organized on the community level and was unique in antiquity, but the distribution of the tithe for the poor was left to the judgment of the individual. Benevolence was recommended all the more strongly. Jewish sources demonstrate that almsgiving was also abused and offered opportunity for advantageous public self-display.
>
> (Luz 1990:356)

The synagogue played an important role as a replacement for the temple and people who gave more were actually given a preferential seat, such as "sitting next to the rabbi." The teaching of Matthew is opposed to those who do not practice giving for the sake of justice and righteousness: not "for mercy" (Carter 2000:159), but for their own fame, because in the Matthean community, no-one should take advantage of the needy (Ex 23:21-27) as those – in economic, political and religious positions of power – are seen as hypocrites, who are "self-deceived" (Garland 1993:78; cf Crosby 1988:205). The principle is that whatever is done to the needy, is done on behalf of God (Mt 10:40-42; 25:35-42; cf Mk 9:40; Heb 6:10; Ja 1:27).

5.3.3   Consolation for the mourners (Mt 5:4)

Those who mourn will be comforted. According to Dupont (1969b:35-37; cf Sabourin 1982:344), two Greek words are used to refer to mourners and the afflicted. *Lupe* is a general word for pain, sorrow and affliction "*le mot caractérise l'état d'âme de celui qui est affecté par un événement malheureux, ou simplement désagréable.*"[312] The word *penthos,* on the other hand, refers to an affliction that is more acute, which is externalized by tears and lamentations: "*elle est si violente qu'elle se manifeste par des larmes, par des lamentations.*"[313] Often, *penthos* is associated with the word *klaio*, to weep.[314]

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[312] The term that characterizes the state of mind of him who is affected by an unfortunate or simply unpleasant event.

[313] It is so violent that it manifests itself in tears and in lamentation.

[314] S v *penthos*. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, 1968.

As a consequence, Luke can indeed refer to those who weep (Lk 6:21). Mourning rituals are culturally diverse, but what is important to note is that regardless of the culture, the bereaved need to be comforted (Is 61: 2-3; Mk 16:10; Lk 8:52; 23:27; Jn 11:1-44; Ac 8:2; 9:36; Rv 5:5). Matthew refers to mothers in Bethlehem mourning their innocent children (boys) killed in the brutal and ruthless massacre by Herod (Mt 2:16). This is reminiscent of Pharaoh's plan of ethnic cleansing (*kurimbura igitsina gabo*)[315] – where baby boys were killed, which left Israelite mothers uncomforted (Ex 1:15-2:1-10); and is reminiscent of the Egyptian women's grief (Ex 11), whose firstborns were innocently killed by an angel in punishment of Pharaoh's oppressive regime against the refugees.

Josephus records the killing of many leaders during Herod's death, so that the country would mourn them with Herod (Barbour 1988:43-44). According to Van Tilborg (1986:21), Matthew opens his narrative with "violence, deceit, and royal arbitrariness", the realities of suffering people. In sorrow, fear and confusion, families fled their homes and country with little hope of returning to their country or region of birth (Mt 2:22); mothers could not be consoled (Mt 2:5-6; Mc 5:2) in the land where tears and lamentations of the innocent go unheard. People mourned and longed for justice and righteousness, because they had been denied justice (Carter 2000:133), and they lived under the pressure of debts, taxes and landlessness. In other words, the people constantly lived under the shadow of death (Mt 4:16).

Jesus, a *rescapé* (a survivor) of the massacre (Mt 2:13), who grew up in a refugee camp (Mt 2:14-15) and in a displaced location (Mt 2:19-23), turns into a "liberated liberator" (Wainwright 1998:60-66), and a comforter (Is 40:1; 49:13. 51:3; 61:2; Jr 31:13). Jesus and his family, who had experienced the injustice and misery of the Roman brutal force, understood the language – the heavy heart – of the mourners. Van Tilborg (1986:22) is convinced that Matthew presents Jesus as "someone who knows whereof he speaks." The Matthean audience is no stranger to mourning, as it is the victim of daily injustice and

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[315] This is an ideology of genocide in process. In Kinyamulenge, it means to wipe out the male gender.

violence perpetrated by brutal and colonial powers. But now, the suffering should come to an end, for God's salvation has come to rule with justice and righteousness; to restore people's joy and turn their mourning into gladness (Jr 31:13). One of Matthew's contemporaries, John on the Island of Patmos, presents Jesus in his revelation as one who has won a victory over death (Rv 1:18) and mourning (Rv 18:8; 21:4) in the same way as Paul edifies the Corinthian believers (1 Cor 15:54-57).

The Roman regime used (excessive) force to discourage any attempt at opposition to its interests, ironically called *pax Romana* (the peace of Rome). The crucifixion of Jesus (Mt 28:32) was politically and religiously a relief to both the Romans and the religious leaders of Israel. As the "mourning of mothers" anticipated his death in Matthew, in Luke he comforted the "women of Jerusalem" when he faced this death (Lk 23:28). Matthew refers in the Beatitudes to the same kind of comfort. The implication is that, even in death, Jesus challenged the Roman and the religious leaders' failure to do justice and act righteously. His joyful and victorious resurrection therefore caused a scandal that shook these same rulers, but brought hope and strength to the community of his followers (cf Neh 8:10).

5.3.4 The meek and the inheritance of the land (Mt 5:5)

The term *praus* refers to those who are meek, gentle or humble and Matthew uses it three times (Mt 5:5; 11:29; 21:5). It can also mean the powerless, the poor and the afflicted (Carter 2000:132-133; see Dupont 1969b:19-90). The meek (Mt 5:5) referred to those dispossessed of their land and who lost their dignity as a result, while others were evicted from their land as a result of debts. The land of their ancestors was grabbed by the powerful, while the meek watched on helplessly and become more disillusioned with the socio-economic, political and religious exploitation and discrimination of their day. Land (see Lohfink 1997:236-237) is an ancestral inheritance affiliated to the socio-economic, political and religious identity of a people (cf Lk 2:1-7). Landless people were constant strangers and wanderers, a people with no identity, with no physical location (cf Ex 2:22; 1 Pt 1:1).

In Israelite culture, land ownership (Van Tilborg 1986:23-27; Freyne 1980:155-170; Oakman 1986:141-156) was a family's inheritance whereby the ancestral land could only be sold to

another member of the family, or a countryman (Lv 25:25-28). This was in accordance with jubilee principles when the land reverted to the original owner (Lv 25:8-34). While the land could be leased to a stranger in times of need, it could never be sold to him (see Van Tilborg 1986:23-26). The land was furthermore divided among different clans (Jos 14-19) according to God's will, because, he still owned the land (Lv 25:23). Van Tilborg (1986:24) quotes Philo who said that "the whole country is called God's property, and it is against religion to have anything that is God's property registered under other masters." In such circumstance, it was difficult, if not impossible, to conclude any sales agreement in respect of the land. Only its produce, such as fruit, could be sold. The story of Naboth and King Ahab is of particular relevance here (1 Ki 21).

Since the Judeans had lost the war against the Romans, everything had to be reformulated and had to function according to Roman laws. According to Van Tilborg (1986:24), legal protection of the land was abolished or was simply ignored and the land became "an object of trade". Moreover, in circumstances of war and in the aftermath peasants lost their land. Some were forced into exile, thereby losing their land. Others were forced to sell their land because of taxes and indebtedness or to get a means of subsistence (Mt 6:25-34). The parable of tenants (Mt 21:33-41) explains the hardship and desperate situation of the peasants. In this new form of selling, land had apparently "lost the protection of the clan" and the family.

Van Tilborg (1986:25) notes that in the postwar period, the Roman emperor grabbed and confiscated "vast tracts of land, declared them as his personal property and/or gave them on loan to veterans and collaborators." Mishnah also refers to "the [*siqariqôn*] – the laws dealing with the purchase of the confiscated property –, it is clear that Jewish countermeasures were necessary." It is from these sins of oppression (Carter 2001:70), domination and economic greed, which the world's need for a Savior heightened. It is in such circumstances that Matthew evokes the second Beatitude, namely that the powerless, those who cannot defend or speak for themselves, the subalterns (Guha 1982a, 1982b; Spivak 1988:197-221; Young 2001:352; Loomba 1998:231-245), those whose land was taken from them, would be restored. Matthew did not submit to and did not concede this

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defeat; he still expected a comeback through a divine messianic plan that would make Israel whole once more.

Again, according to Van Tilborg (1986:27), the idea of submission is used to refer to /to describe animals which carry heavy burdens. It can also be used as a parallel word to refer to the poor who is subjected and "covered by injustice." For Matthew, the use of meekness, humility or submissiveness, does not in this particular context refer to a coward. Rather, it denotes a sign of resistance and defiance to an oppressive scheme. Matthew presents Jesus as a leader who introduces a kingdom – an empire of justice and righteousness – in contrast to the Roman empire which exploits and extorts the land from the peasants.

God's reign is ever present among his people. This reign is also different from the Roman empire. Emmanuel (Mt 1:23) is also evoked in the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6:9-15): "may your kingdom come." Here again, Matthew being Judean (cf Allison 1993:172-206; Luz 1995:30-41), reminds himself of the theocratic reign of the Exodus, when God's presence dwelt among Israelites (Ex 33:12-20); when jubilee was celebrated, debts forgiven and slaves set free, while the land was restored to the owner (Lv 25; Dt 15); when community leaders ruled with justice and commitment to the cause of the people (Ex 18:13-26); when the fatherless, widows and aliens were taken care of (Ex 22:21-24; Lv19:9-10; Dt 24:14-22); and where food, shelter and health were provided daily and in equal measure (Ex 16, 17:1-10; Nm 21:8-9).

Moreover, the same presence of Emmanuel is in the reverence of God's name,[316] as the provider, protector, benefactor and most importantly the ever present, comforting God in times of need. Self-identification of God is a common feature in the Old Testament tradition, but the most interesting example is Moses' encounter with God "*ehyeh asher ehyeh*" : "I am whom I am" (Ex 3:13). For Waetjen (1999:59-62), the self-identification to Moses is not to be construed as a name, but rather as "a notification" that God cannot be confined by any

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[316] In Banyamulenge tradition, the praise of the name of a benefactor is common and is called *kwirahira umuhanyi*. This tradition is seen in the Israelite tradition too, when Israel remembers God of Abraham, Jacob and Isaac.

human title. Consequently, God's presence among his people becomes an ever present solution to the meek, which gives them right to belong and the power to possess.

Matthew sees God's will being done in a form of a re-visitation, this time not from the ancient past, but from within the community (Mt 1:21-22) living in darkness and in the shadow of death (Mt 4:15-16), because the empire of God is with them (Mt 4:23:4; cf Lk 7:16-17). Oakman (1999:139) makes the point that Jesus' religion spoke to an "immediate need in concrete terms". That is, God's kingdom of justice and righteousness, means to resist the massive illegal accumulation of land which was occurring through taxes and defaults on high-interest loans, which deprived peasants access to those resources that were vital for survival (see Carter 2000:133). Once again, Matthew contrasts God's kingdom with that of the Romans and the temple leaders who failed people's expectations (cf Jr 7:1-8; 22:1-10; Am 2:4-8).

From John the Baptist's proclamation (Mt 3:2) to Jesus' own teaching and action (Mt 4-28) the kingdom of God became a reality among the people. He taught members of the community (Mt 6:10-13) to constantly pray for the presence of the kingdom (Van Tilborg 1986:103-130), in which God's will would be reestablished on earth. Debts would be cancelled, food would be provided on daily basis and deliverance and protection would be assured. In this regard, Horsley (1993:170; cf Carter 2000:165-166), points out that the kingdom of God is a "political metaphor and a symbol" because, it includes the "social-economic-political substance" of human relations as willed by God. That is, God is experienced as a king who provides basic necessities, land, shelter, peace and security to the people in need – a "life giving- kingdom" (Carter 2000:165). This designation is in contrast to the Roman emperor whose rule is exploitive and oppressive. According to Warren Carter, the purpose of the Matthean type of kingdom is to destroy/crush the evil kingdom which caused

> [t]he suffering in 4:23-25 and oppressive and exploitive actions in
> an imperial system which deprives many of the earth's resources

in 5:3-6 – not to mention the murderous actions of the imperial puppet Herod in 2:13-23, the resistant religious leaders in 3:7-12, or the devil's claim in 4:1-11 – have established widespread rebellion against the divine will.

(Carter 2000:165)

Horsley (1993:169) sees the divine activity of the kingdom of God as focusing "on the needs and desires of people." This is in line with Jesus' reply to John the Baptist's enquiry while in prison (Mt 11:2-5). It is also similar to the Lucan community' enthusiasm when they looked at him and said "God has come to help his people" (Lk 7:16). Therefore, the presence of God's kingdom is a consolation to the landless, the powerless unable to defend their own rights. It is also important to note that the good news preached reminds the powerless of their right to re-possess what was theirs, but robbed from them by exploitive regimes.

5.3.5 The hungry and thirsty for righteousness (Mt 5:6)

The joy that it brings is not only to the mourners, but also to the hungry and the thirsty who would be satisfied (Mt 5:6). According to Van Tilborg (1986:28), by remodeling the Beatitude, which refers to those who hunger for a meal and thirst for water into a desire, explains how people longed for justice. Carter (2000:133) argues that the concern is with "unjust practices" in connection with land, access to resources, taxes and debts. People are dissatisfied with "the status quo of exploitive social relations."

But hunger and thirst must not, in this case, be entirely taken as a metaphor, because it speaks about real life in the Matthean times. According to the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (1968), two Greek words are used to express hunger. The word *peino* means "to desire for something". It can refer to people who are "painfully deficient" in basic needs of life and since they cannot help themselves, they turn to God. On the other hand, *limo*, "to lack", denotes an acute lack of food as a result of the absence of, literally, means of supplies.

In ancient Near East societies: (Mesopotamia, Ugarit, Egypt and Israel (see Dupont 1969b:54-90; Weinfeld 1995, Nardoni 2004:1-90), it was the social and political duty of rulers to ensure a subsistence level which would keep their subjects from hunger and protect them from afflictions. Pharaoh and Joseph in Genesis (41) are a case in point. Hammurabi (Richardson 2000:33, 37) said that he was a king who "protects the people of Malgium from catastrophes, who secures their habitations with plentiful supplies" of food and water; God identifies himself as the chief supplier of food and water for Israel (Ex 15:22-27; 16:1-17:1-7; Ps 23).

In Palestine, a desert country where the sun was scorching and sand and wind storms were frequent, "thirst was man's constant companion" (Boice 1971:46-47). In such a situation, for people in refugee and displaced camps or people who did not have the necessary means to survive, hunger and thirst became a real concern and struggle for survival (Mt 5:6; 10:42; 11:28-30; 25 35; cf Rt 2:10; Jn 4:7; 6:24; 7:37; 19:28; Rm 12:20). As it has been argued in previous chapter, the Matthean times saw severe famines, caused by either, droughts, poor harvests, earthquakes or insecurity and wars, with peasants being unable to cultivate and harvest their fields. Life was expensive, and people in cities with no jobs or any means of living, or refugees and internally displaced people (Segal 1991:28, Stark 1991:189-205) were the worst affected. Dupont (1969b:38) explains "*[a]voir faim c'est le sort habituel des pauvres et des indigents.*"[317]

Ethics, according to the Israelite tradition, demanded sharing with the needy (e g, Dt 24:12-15, 17-22; Job 22:7; Pr 25:21; Is 32:6; 58:7-10; Ezk 18:7). Matthew would know this old tradition (see Mt 6:2; 10:42; 14:13-21; 15:29-39; 25:35-46). On humanitarian grounds, even non-Israelites helped in emergency feeding programs. Elijah was rescued by a Sidonian widow (1 Ki 17:7-15). The Judean Jesus asked water from a Samaritan woman (Jn 4). Paul personally invested much to make a collection in Diaspora on behalf of the poor in Judea a success (e g, 2 Cor 8-9). Hence, according to Dupont (1969b:39), the audience that the Matthean Jesus addressed consisted of people with no means of survival. Not only were they

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[317] Hunger is the usual fate of the poor and indigent.

hungry, but they also had no means to procure food and water to quench their hunger and thirst – these were the "*pauvres, qui ne disposent pas du minimum vital*."

From an African perspective, Ukpong's (1992:55-64) reading of the parable of the sheep and goats (Mt 25:31-46), a reading in search of an "African christology" – is important. Ukpong argues that the hungry and thirsty could have been those people in Africa who do not have the basic necessities of life. These include millions of destitute people, wandering in the streets of African cities and their suburbs from Cape Town to Cairo via Zimbabwe and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Africa has millions of street children, refugees, internally displaced people and poor whose lives are reduced to starvation. They are the kind of people with whom Jesus identified himself. In search of an "African women hermeneutics", Oduyoye (1998:362) argues that "African theology" has ensued from an actual experience of living. Africa lives with its "poverty and wars" that have caused famine, the destruction of properties and social structures, and its remnants are at risks of starvation.

Matthew records examples in which Jesus participated in feeding programs. In the wilderness, Satan tempted the hungry Jesus with food (Mt 4:2-3). In a controversial story of the hungry disciples (Mt 12:1-9), Jesus allowed them to pick corn on the Sabbath. Jesus disagreed with his disciples, who were reluctant to engage in this feeding program without adequate food supplies (Mt 14:13-21; 15:29-39). Jesus pleaded with those who had to share with the people who were hungry and thirsty (Mt 10:42; 25:35-46). Jesus encouraged the people to trust in God, who took care of their basic needs such as feeding, clothing and shelter (Mt 6:25-34). Matthew's argument is that "divine supplies" challenged the Roman empire and the Israelite patrons on their failure to attend to the needy. Thus, blessed are those who desire to help those in need, because they are seen as "representatives of the Son of Man" (Van Tilborg 1986:29) on the judgment day.

At this stage, a minor debate with regard to the fourth Beatitude needs to be dealt with. According to Van Tilborg (1986:28-31) and Sabourin (1982:347),[318] this Beatitude concerns

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[318] Sabourin (1982:347) states that to hunger and thirst for righteousness "is a source of beatitude, not a social condition of misery as such". But he overlooks the fact that body and soul alike need salvation. Luz (1989:237-238) also sides with those who are of the opinion that that the Beatitude refers to human behaviour.

those who desire to do justice and righteousness, whereas Dupont (1969b:39-51) and Carter (2000:133-134) are of the opinion that the Beatitude actually concerns those who were denied justice and righteousness. Jesus' audience includes all of these categories (Mt 5:1-2), and the message applies to everyone in his/her own capacity. Matthew is rebuilding the Judean society, a society based on a new understanding of the law under the concept of brotherhood.

According to Luz (1989:238), Israelite and even Hellenistic traditions take 'hunger' and 'thirst' to mean "to long for and to make an effort for". In this case, those who were hungry and thirsty to do and see justice and righteousness are members of the community, in contrast of those in the Roman empire and its Judean religious collaborators who fail to give effect to these principles. On the other hand, those who unjustly suffer oppression are saved by the coming in their midst (Mt 6:10; Lk 7:16-17) of God's kingdom of justice and righteousness.

A statement such as "for they will be filled" (Mt 5:6) is a reminder of those days when Israel experienced God's presence and fullness. Even in the wilderness, God fed (Ex 16:1-35), gave water (Ex 15:22-27;17:6-8) and provided shelter (Nm 2) to wandering refugees in the repatriation process. God had commanded the Israelites to feed the hungry people, especially the homeless, among them: orphans, widows and aliens. During harvesting time, the Israelites were instructed not to harvest on the corners of their fields and to leave some sheaves behind (Lv 19:9-10; Dt 24:19-22), so that something would be left for the poor. The story of Naomi and Ruth (Rt 2) serves as an example in this regard.

In those early times, everyone considered it a duty to do justice and to show righteousness, to show mercy by alleviating human suffering in every way possible. God had instructed Israel to give tithes and offerings so that those with no land inheritance, the Levites, the fatherless, widows and aliens would eat and be satisfied (Dt 14:29). Hence, Psalm 23 encapsulates it all. God's presence as a shepherd among his people is an assurance for the Matthean community that their human and spiritual needs provided for, because a righteous

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king, who is also merciful, "*est celui qui réprime les oppresseurs et les empêche de nuire aux plus faibles*"[319] (Dupont 1969b:56).

5.3.6 Doing justice in a corrupt society (Mt 5:7-12)

Generally, mercy, purity, peace and compassion are individual responsibilities towards others in society, while persecution is the opposite. The Matthean use of this cluster is rich in meaning. The merciful will experience the mercy of God (Mt 5:7). Mercy (*eleos*) refers to biblical covenant traditions, which bound partners in fidelity in serving or helping one another. In other words, it is a required attitude of man to man or of man to deities and vice versa. Mercy also refers to the emotion roused by contact with an affliction which comes "undeservedly on someone else."[320] As Van Tilborg (1986:31) observes, the practice of mercy as part of a covenant entails "all kinds of contracts" between nations, families and individuals. It can also be between deities and people.

God initiated such a covenant with Israel (Dupont 1973:604-617) in which mutual obligations, an oath of fidelity, punishment in the case of such covenant being breached, are stated. Henceforth, in such covenant (Ex 34:6-7; 1 Sm 20:12) there is an element of dependency and interdependency of obligations that the respective partners have to observe and implement. Van Tilborg (1986:31-32; see Davies 1964:109-190; Sanders 1977:147-182) argues that it is unthinkable to have an Israelite covenant without love, mercy, compassion, pity or fidelity.[321] The Matthean community was under an obligation to be merciful and forgiving to one another (Mt 6:12-15; 18:21), whereby, human compassion becomes "the touch-stone for Israel regarding its fidelity to its covenant with God". The showing of mercy (Pr 14:21; Hs 6:6; Tob 4:5-7; Mt 9:13; 12:7) was not just a desire, but an obligation and a responsibility toward one another, not only to those covered by a covenant contract, but also and particularly to those in need.

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[319] Is he who restrains the oppressors and who prevents them from hurting the weak?

[320] S v *eleos*. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, 1974.

[321] The ritual of *igihango* (pact of blood) was a regular practice of many tribes in Eastern Congo and in the region. In the case of Banyamulenge, see chapter three section 3.7.1.

The example of David and Jonathan is striking (2 Sm 9). Jonathan was dead but Mephibosheth, a cripple – "a dog" (2 Sm 9:8) was still alive. David asked "Is there no one still left … to whom I can show God's kindness [mercy]" (2 Sm 9:3), "for Jonathan's sake" (2 Sm 9:1)? Mephibosheth represented the many destitute, desperate, poor and marginalized people who needed the support, love, mercy and kindness from the strong, wealthy and the powerful. There are also those who do not necessarily fall under the covenant, but who desperately need help. The Lucan reference to the Good Samaritan (Lk 10:25-37) is an interesting example. These examples are very close to the Matthean commentary on the Beatitude of mercy (see Dupont 1973:618-632; Luz 1989:238; Garland 1993:56-57; Carter 2000:134-135).

The Matthean world was a highly insecure world (Klausner 1964:135-175; Barbour 1988, Stark 1991:189-205; Horsley 1993). The violation of human dignity, arbitrary arrests and killings of innocent people, looting and the destruction of properties that occurred, were unbearable. Displaced people in search of humanitarian shelter; wandering stateless people: refugees, the poor, women, children, the sick, the blind, the maims and the hungry, strangers of all kinds, including the Canaanite woman's demon possessed daughter, all needed a language of compassion. The Matthean thesis of mercy for his community stands in contrast to the attitude of the Pharisees and other religious leaders and the rich men, who had neither care nor compassion for the needy (Mt 9:13; Mt 12:7; 19:21-24; 23:23). Luke refers to the Samaritans (Lk 10: 30-37) and tax collectors (Lk 19:5-8) who are merciful in defiance of religious leaders - the hypocrites.

The key words here are mercy and compassion, not tithe and sacrifice (Mt: 9:9-13; 12:1-8; 23:23; Hs 6:6; Am 5:21-24), because God's law is fulfilled in doing justice: showing mercy to the needy (Crosby 1988:198-205). On the other hand, the unforgiving servant (Mt 18:21-35) is a reference of the lack of mercy and human understanding. Van Tilborg (1986:34) says that hunger, sickness and debt are things which Jesus "finds and which call forth his mercy." Matthew confronts the Roman empire and its local agents whose responsibility to protect, and to show mercy to the people, is being jeopardized by the same institutions.

The Matthean leader not only comes to do and show justice and righteousness, but he instructs his followers and hearers in the community to do the same (Mt 6:1-4; 10:1, 8-9, 40-42; 19:16-24). Jesus is preaching about unselfish brotherly love, that is, if one wants to be helped, one must feel obliged to help others as well (Mt 7:12; 22:34-40). By practicing these principles, one is fulfilling the will of God (Mt 7:21) and is above reproach. Those with no reproach, who are pure at heart (Dupont 1973:557-603) are blessed because they will see God (Mt 5:8; cf Ps 24:3-6).

Van Tilborg (1986:34) notes that Israelite anthropology shows that the heart of man plays an important role in the theoretical concept connected with human visions. The heart is the center of man "from where he opens himself as a living creature to his environment." He/she reacts to it, gives him/herself up to it, is capable of taking good and bad decisions as his/her own accountable responsibility. It is through the heart (Carter 2000:135) that courage, love, pity, desire, excitement, sorrow, joy, lust, anger, pride and the likes, are expressed. According to Matthew what comes from the heart are "evil thoughts, murder, adultery, sexual immorality, theft, false testimony, slander" (Mt 15:19). The heart can be a center for lust (Mt 5:27-28); for love (Mt 22:37) or it is where decisions are made (Garland 1993:57). Therefore, purity of heart (see Dupont 1973:55-603; Sanders 1992:70-76; 214-230; Borg 1994:49-59; Overman 1996:222-227) is to Matthew as important as it is in the Mosaic Law (Lv 11-15; Dt 14; 23:1-14).

There are cases in conflict between the Matthean community and the Pharisees (Borg 1998:8-9), which are centered on the matter of purity (Mt 15:1-20; 23:25-32). Paul's reference to true love that comes from a pure heart and a good conscience (1 Tm 1:5) is an indication of the hypocrisy that was prevalent at the time. Dupont (1973:567-572) explains how the Israelites distinguished between the physical and the spiritual dimensions of purity. He refers to two examples of a pure heart in Isaiah (1:18 and 6:7) which denote a purification of sins; while Psalms (24:4; 73:1) "*qualifie l'attitude intérieure qui trouve son expression dans le comportement qu'on adopte à l'égard du prochain*" (Dupont 1973:570).[322]

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[322] Determines the internal attitude which finds expression in the behaviour one adopts towards the neighbor.

As far as purity of heart is concerned, Matthew draws attention to a number of issues such as sexual immorality and corruption which merit further examination. The issue of a pure conscience versus sexual immorality: adultery and divorce (Mt 5:27-32; 19:1-12) constitute a crucial argument (cf Van Tilborg 1986:35, 57-65; see Sabourin 1982:370-373; Anderson 1988:498-500; 1996:237-239; Luz 1989:290-310; Garland 1993: 66-70; Overman 1996:82, 277-285; Carter 2000:146-149). By having a pure heart, good desires, clean thoughts one is thinking positively of others, in contrast to having destructive thoughts, to abuse power and privileges at the expense of the weak.

The issue of adultery and divorce must be discussed in the light of having pure heart. The Matthean use of evil thoughts that cause adultery (Mt 5:27-32; 15:19) and divorce (Mt 19:1-12) suggests the occurrence of these practices in his time. On this theme, the issue of rape, which is implicitly evoked in this *macarios* of purity, is also relevant. A girl was pure by virtue of her virginity, and a married woman by virtue of remaining exclusively true to her husband.

The argument here is that Jesus had in mind the weak, among them women who were vulnerable to rape, and other sexual abuses, in which they were constant losers, when delivering this Beatitude. The victims had to undergo the trauma of physical and psychological pain inflicted on them and the trauma of being disgraced and loosing their dignity and public honor. Jesus showed compassion with this stituation and settled the issue of divorce on an equal basis. Men used their masculinity in a violent and merciless manner to destroy the beauty and security of women whom they counted as objects or as merchandise (Van Tilborg 1986:57). Again due to masculine oppression, lust and general absence of concern for women, Garland (1993:66) notes that "unconditional fidelity was specifically required only of the wife." This is the situation of Tamar and her father-in-law (Gn 38:24-26), or in the rehearsal of the bitter water (Nm 5:11-31). The account of rape

among the Benjamites (Jdg 19) is shocking and here again women found themselves not protected.[323]

Israelite tradition (like any human society) was strongly prejudiced in favor of men. As Van Tilborg (1986:57) observes, there were three ways in which to contract a marriage or to acquire a woman: "by money, by a document or by sexual commerce." All three ways have the nature "of a sales contract" in terms of which the man is considered as the main buyer and the woman as the merchandise. For reasons of hidden defects such as unknown promises made, promised virginity which is found to be not the case, wrong information on social and financial standing, a man could bring a case against his wife to court. And the man would win the case because he bought the goods "in error".

The wife was a property of the husband, and was viewed as "an infringement of the rights of her husband" (Van Tilborg 1986:57). This was an act of stealing and amounted to a termination of the existing marriage. Against this background, men and women were identified in unequal terms. A husband does not commit adultery, only the wife does (Garland 1993:66-70). For this reason she is considered to be the guilty party whenever marriage problems arise. Van Tilborg (1986:58-59) argues that adultery "is a question of right of possession which begins when a man has laid claim to it." In contrast to the Israelites, the law of Hammurabi charged both wife and husband caught in adultery (Richardson 2000:83).

The issue of divorce (see Tenney 1982:58; Luz 1989:298-310; Garland 1993:67-70; Carter 2000:147-148) became a serious concern in the Judean schools of Shammai and Hillel (Van Tilborg 1986:63; Carter 2000:378-384). The Hillel school held a liberal view and argued that one could divorce from his wife under any circumstance and for any reason even "if she has spoiled food" of her husband or has shown a lack of submission (Van Tilborg 1986:63). The Shammai school, on the other hand, was conservative. It advocated that a wife could be divorced only if the husband had found "something of nakedness in her" (Van Tilborg 1986:63). This issue is the basis of a dispute between Jesus and the Pharisees (Mt 19:1-12).

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[323] The same scenario at Lot's home in Sodom (Gn 10:1-9) exposes the vulnerability of unprotected women.

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In the introductory chapter to the Gospel, Matthew presents the heightened tension between Joseph and the "innocent" Mary (Mt 1:18-20) who was pregnant out of the wedlock. There were laws which governed the society in matters of sexual relationship (Van Tilborg 1986:59, 64). But these laws were either not implemented or were not strictly enforced during Matthean times, particularly, when war raged and banditry and violence reigned. The Roman empire had also imposed its own laws which were not necessarily in line with Judean traditions. The circumstance surrounding the death of John the Baptist (Mt 14:1-1; cf Klausner 1964:241-244) is a good example.

Jesus' Sermon, therefore, aimed to bring people to reason and to establish some measures to protect women from sexual abuse. According to Luz (1989:295), in "Hellenistic Judaism, under the influence of the four Stoic *pathe,* lust often became the reason for all sin." Lust (Mt 5:28) drove men to sexual abuse against women. Carter (2000:146) says that lust against a woman is sin because "it is predatory in seeking to exploit her." According to the law (Van Tilborg 1986:64), a girl who was raped was required to marry her seducer.[324]

Furthermore, irresponsible men would terminate their marriages for no reason whatsoever (Carter 2000:378-379) and dismiss unprotected wives, who subsequently became adulterous or prostitutes without a permanent home. Powerful men also, because of lust, were often responsible for the break-up of others' marriages, thus causing enmity between brothers (Garland 1993: 66). Jesus' teaching comes as a social revolution to bring an end sexual exploitation of women, which the Roman regime, together with religious leaders was practicing (Mt 14:1-12; Mk 6:17-20; Lk 3:19). Therefore, committing adultery was to sin against one's partner, community and against God (cf Nardoni 2004:76).

Therefore, God's presence is to be experienced by having a pure heart, a pure desire, pure thoughts and a pure action. Again, the lesson from this Beatitude is to do justice and righteousness by protecting the weak from any sexual exploitation driven by the lust of

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[324] This measure was also practiced in Banyamulenge community.

uncontrolled men. Today, it is as relevant as ever, because many of the domestic crimes committed against women in societies all over the world, are sexually motivated.

Matthew (15:19; 23:23-38) also deals with other issues in which the concept of purity plays a role. He mentions corruption and theft, the murder of innocent people and prophets, false testimony or the collapse of the judicial system, slander and idolatry (Carter 2000:320). Israelite traditions were strongly opposed to corruption and theft (Lk 3:10-14). The Old Testament taught and preached against corruption (Ex 23:8; Dt 10:17; 16:19; 27:25; 1 Sm 8:3; Ps 15:5; Is 1:23; 5:23; Ezk 22:12; Am 5:12; Mc 3:11; 7:3). In the first century, corruption was exacerbated by war and lawlessness that was characteristic of the time of successive foreign occupations of Palestine.

Klausner (1981:163) quotes Philo of Alexandria (*Ant* XVIII iii I) in saying that Judea under Pilate, was marked by "bribe, vainglorious and insolent conduct (*ubreis*), robbery, oppression, humiliations (*epereiai*), men often sent to death untried, and incessant and unmitigated cruelty". It is believed that corruption was even prevalent in temple courts (see Van Tilborg 1986:132-139; Crosby 1988:199-201) among religious leaders and their money changing agents (Mt 21:12-14) while the Roman rulers exercised influence on the temple's economic affairs.

Excessive taxes and tributes beyond the means of peasants were imposed out of greed and corruption on the part of the Roman and religious rulers (Mt 17:21-24; 22:15-21). Josephus (Barbour 1988:124) records a corruptive scheme involving religious leaders and the governor Florus at Caesarea in 66 CE. Religious leaders made a deal with one of Jesus' disciples who betrayed him for thirty silver pieces (Mt 26:14-17). In the resurrection story, religious leaders – chief priests and elders - corrupted Roman soldiers (Mt 28:12-15); Luke refers to a conversation between John the Baptist and tax collectors and soldiers (Lk 3:10-14) concerning corruption.

Matthew shows how corruption and extortion were rampant in his time. He investigates the values of landownership and trade in the parables,[325] in which people were obsessed by wealth (Mt 6:24), illegally acquired in most cases. Thieving had also become a growing concern in Matthew's time (Mt 6:19; 24:36-44). Van Tilborg (1986:141) also explains how the Romans, especially in the post-70 CE, were involved in the confiscation of land from peasants which "contributed to the fantastic growth of big landownership."

Matthew is concerned with the present generation whose heart is set on earthly gain which turns out to be ugly. Every means possible, including killings, grabbing and confiscation, theft, deceit, looting people's properties, unbalanced economic structures which exploited the poor, were used to acquire wealth. But the Deuteronomist clearly states that the God of Israel "shows no partiality and accepts no bribes." Instead, "He defends the cause of the fatherless and the widows, and loves the alien, giving him food and clothing" (Dt 10:17-18). For Matthew, the presence of God is hidden from exploiters and oppressors, and is revealed to those who are humble and willing to depend on his provision (Mt 6:25-34).

The kingdom of God that is proclaimed is a kingdom of justice and righteousness, a kingdom that challenges existing corruptive mechanisms that are set to exploit the poor. Thus, only one who cleanses his/her heart from all evil desire "fulfils the Law" (Van Tilborg 1986:36) and is the son/daughter of God. The Sermon on the Mount challenges the existing Roman political and economic system and the uncaring behavior of religious leaders, by introducing the golden rule (Mt 7:12). That is, if any one wants economic progress he/she must stop his/her heart (desire) from evil thoughts and from being exploitive. For one to live in peace, one must give it to others, because the community has a new outlook: it is a community of brotherhood.

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[325] Mt 13:1-45; 18:21-35; 20:1-16; 21:31-41; 22:1-5; 25:14-31.

5.3.7 The peacemakers as sons of God (Mt 5:9)

Why does Matthew link peacemaking to sonship?[326] The war of 66-70 CE was over by the time Matthew[327] took on the task of writing his story as one of the surviving followers of Jesus. Matthew and his contemporaries who survived the war, contemplated their current situation, while their memories flashed back to scenarios of the lost battle for their independence (see Van Tilborg 1980:37).

Memories of fallen heroes, of Jerusalem, once called the "city of God" laying in ruins; of the temple which is now destroyed; memories of slain priests, and God's prophets, of loved ones decimated in the carnage, while those who escaped were scattered all over the country and beyond, fleeing the repressive measures of Roman rule. All these were still fresh in Matthew's memory. Van Tilborg (1986:37) sees the Beatitude about the peacemakers as acquiring a very "specific meaning in such a setting", because the message was heard by

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[326] Certain difficulties are associated with the connection between peacemaking and the sons of God. According to the works of Paul Billerbeck, produced around the 1920s and as quoted by Van Tilborg (1986:39), Billerbeck stated that he "did not know of any rabbinical text which made a connection between making peace and being called the child of God." According to Van Tilborg (1986:39 note 144), Billerbeck's conclusion was contradicted by the findings of J A Fitzmyer (1972:92) arising from a Qumran text which says "O King. All men shall make peace, and all shall serve him. He shall be called the son of the Great God, and they shall call him the Son of the Most High." However, Fitzmyer is not completely sure of his reconstruction of the fragmented text as "it is surrounded by mystery". There are, however, two assumptions of understanding this connection between peacemaking and the sons of God. Matthew is not convinced that the peace of Jerusalem can come from foreigners – the Romans. They do not belong to the covenant, nor do they have any share in the inheritance of the land. As much as they grab it, it does not belong to them; as much as they destroy it, sooner or later they will have to move out. The second assumption is directed at those who belong to the land, who have shares in land inheritance, but for various reasons, particularly their implication in violence, destruction, killings, banditry or collaboration with the colonizer, have been disqualified from being patriots. In one way or the other, they have contributed to the destruction and interruption of peace of Jerusalem. Matthew is thus looking for those who love their country and who can work diplomatically to restore the peace of Jerusalem. In chapter three above, the example of the Banyamulenge community and the conflict of 2002 illustrate these assumptions. Due to the political and social instability that divided the community, some soldiers and rebels, members of the community, turned on one another and caused damage to themselves and to their own community. The common term of *abana* (children or sons) used in the community before this division, referred to all whether soldier or rebel, but who were jointly combining their efforts for the cause of the community. For this reason, the term has a connotation of community support. Once they were divided and started fighting among themselves, the connotation of *abana* fell into disuse because the 'children' or 'sons' no longer qualified to be called the *abana*. They either compromised and worked with foreign armies or local armies that were regarded as enemies of peace of the community. Therefore, what Matthew is talking about must be interpreted in light of conflict within his context.

[327] See chapter four.

people who had experienced war and knew what it was about and how destructive it can be for mutual relations.

The understanding of peace as *eirene*, *shalom, pax, amahoro,*[328] means well-being or wholeness. To make peace (*eirenopoieo*) refers to the establishment of concord between people (see Luz 1989:241). It must be noted that peacemaking is not only when one concedes defeat in war or in times of conflict, but it is part of one's life obligation. Sabourin (1982:350) argues that to make peace is an act of love, humility and self-denial. Matthew had reason to use pre-war materials when the temple, Jerusalem and the land still functioned normally (Van Tilborg 1986:37). Peacemaking was a prescription found in the law (Ex 22:25; 23:1-9; Lv 19:12-18; Dt 19:16-20). The Torah taught Israelites about good neighborliness, not to kill, not to think evil against a brother or a neighbor, not to do evil to a foreigner (Dt 10:18-20). However, the context in which Matthew is coming from has gone through changes, it is a context of war, a context typical of the aftermath of revolt. Peace and purity are thus seen from a clear social and political dimension (Borg 1998:77-84).

In these circumstances, as Van Tilborg (1986:39) argues, the implication of peace (shalom) is much more that a mere saying of salvation, it is a reality which "must be achieved, connected with and rooted in a society full of conflicts, injustice and imperfections." Again, Luz (1989:241; cf Garland 1993:57) notes that peacemaking is a mission that goes beyond the limits of one's own community to include even enemies. According to Sabourin (1982:350-351), the use of "peace maker" in the Israelite tradition "*oseh shalom*", extolled pacification as an act of love, humility and self-denial for the sake of others. It is important to note that the peacemaking that Matthew is preaching automatically challenges the presence of *pax Romana* (Theissen 1978:63-64; see Wengst 1986: 64-72; Carter 2000:135-136).

Circumstances surrounding the Beatitude of peacemaking need to be closely examined (see Dupont 1973:633-667; Van Tilborg 1986:37-40; Hamm 1990:102-106). The Sermon is in

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[328] The word for peace in Kinyamulenge but also in Burundian and Rwandan languages.

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fact, a reaction to the prevailing Matthean situation. Matthew is using the Sermon as a way of coming to terms with his context, but is far from conceding defeat, because Roman colonizers (Horsley 1993:5-8) are still occupying his ancestral land. Matthew is willing to change tactics of his resistance: instead of using violence as the Zealots did (Klausner 1964:135-175; Freyne 1980:229-247; Horsley 1988:183-199; 1993:20-58), he uses a non-violent means (Horsley 1993:147-245), but which equally challenges the colonizer. The revolutionary teaching targeted existing power structures that advantaged the powerful at the expense of the poor. Gandhi who eventually inspired Martin Luther King (Davidson 1986:33) had developed the "love force theory" by which the enemy was to be won, not by violence, but by a touch of heart.

In the Sermon, Jesus as the leader of the Matthean community, sets the new way of life and shows how the community should keep the spirit of the freedom struggle alive. The reward is clear, they will be called the sons and daughters of God, in the spirit of *abacu*[329]/ *brotherhood*. According to Theissen (1992:135-136), the concept of sonship here is "a representative force." The sons will rule and not the Romans, who use excessive force to kill, subjugate and occupy their land illegally. A peacemaking strategy in the spirit of *brotherhood* is quite similar to *companiero* in Latin America; the concept of *Negritude* of Senghor and company; the concept of *black consciousness* of Steve Biko; *unity and struggle* of Cabral or Gandhi's *satyagraha* (truth force) and the *Orientalism* of Said,[330] whose mission is to negotiate a space for peace and justice.

5.3.7.1 To make peace one must not kill (Mt 5:21-26)

In order to avoid Roman court, one should not kill. The judicial system was not only foreign, it was also tyrannical and corrupt, full of false testimony (Mt 15:18). Moreover, it worked in complicity with religious leaders. Matthew's conviction and advice to his community was not to be close to, nor associate with such an institution. Matthew is still remembering the trials and unfair judgment of John the Baptist (Mt 14:1-12), Jesus (Mt 26:47-67; 27:11-54)

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[329] See chapter 3 section 3.8.2.

[330] See chapters two and four, section 4.4.3.

and the case of the massacre of the children which was never brought to court (Mt 2:16-18). Josephus (Barbour 1988:43) refers to the killings of students and their teachers by the orders of Herod, when after his death, the public demanded justice, they were violently repressed. In the parable of the unmerciful servant, Matthew illustrates how the court never protected the poor and jailed them without proper hearing (Mt 18:21-32).

Matthean contemporaries, such as Luke, noted how this judicial system was unfair, turning a deaf ear to widows and the poor (Lk 18:1-8). Apostles were persecuted (Ac 5:17); Peter and James (Ac 4:3; 12:19), Paul[331] and Silas (Ac16:16-40), were all jailed and persecuted unjustly, while Stephen was killed (Ac 6:8-15, 7:54-60). For the evangelist John, the judge of such courts were to be replaced by the Son of God who comes to save and rule with justice (Jn 5:22; 8:15-16; 12:47). Matthew (12:18-21) and Luke (4:18-19) respectively refer to Isaiah (42:1-4 and 61:1-2) to challenge the existing corrupt judicial system, which denied the poor, the peasants, women, children, the masses a fair hearing.

The Old Testament warns against such misconduct of the judicial system (Ex 23:8; Dt 16:19; 27:25; Ps 15; Is 1:23; 5:23; Ezk 22:12; Am 5:12; Mc 3:11; 7:3). This type of court is to be avoided by not committing murder. Matthew instead sets a way that the community has to follow to settle issues among themselves. Mutual love (Mt 22:37-40; cf Malina & Rohrbaugh 1992: 56-57), understanding, forgiveness and reconciliation (*diallasso*) must replace the Roman and religious court systems.

Reconciliation will turn enemies into brothers and sisters, so that they can be called sons (Dupont 1973:656) [and daughters] of God (Mt 5:9).[332] Van Tilborg (1986:54-55), correctly argues that in an exchange of positions, "the hostile brother is made into a friend again, because there is no access to God in a community which is divided by enmity." Implicitly Matthew leaves the reader with the idea that what is at stake is that there is a common

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[331] Paul's long trials, see Acts 21:17-28:1-31.

[332] According to Dupont (1973:656) the term sons of God is attributed to members of the heavenly court who are identified as servants of God. It can also refer to the kings who represent God's will on earth. Finally, it can also be used to show the good relationship between God and his chosen people.

enemy (Roman imperialism and its collaborators) which the Matthean community must avoid. In other words, the Matthean community is not to expose its weaknesses and internal conflict, which the Roman court can take advantage of to keep exercising its oppressive and unfair judgment on the sons and daughters of God. Living in peace with one another prevents the Roman court's *immixtion* (interference) in the internal affairs of the community.

5.3.7.2 To make peace is to be patient with people (Mt 5:38-42)

Matthew introduces a very innovative way of life in the community. For Matthew, Jesus did not come to abolish the law (Mt 5:17), rather he is giving a new interpretation to it (see Dupont 1973:633-667; Van Tilborg 1986:37-40; Wink 1988: 210-224; 1992a:102-125; 1992b:133-136; Horsley 1992a:72-101; 1992b:126-132; Carter 2000:135-136). Mosaic Law maintained balance in its judgment. But it could be cumbersome, especially in the event of an accident. During the sojourn in the wilderness, cities of refuge were built to restrain unjust vengeance (Nm 35:6-34; Dt 19; Jos 20).

Under Roman colonization, especially at the height of the revolt, lawlessness set in. Killings of innocent people and looting of properties were common. In such anarchy and in such a confusing situation, assassinations of people by organized banditry (Barbour 1988; Horsley 1988: 210-224) and acts of vengeance frequently occurred. Therefore, the *lex talionis* "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth"[333] (Mt 5:38) was not new to the Matthean community (see Weaver 1992:32-71). This was the tradition of ancient Near East communities, and was practiced by both the Israelites (Dt 19 21) and the Babylonian king Hammurabi (Richardson 2000:104-105).

According to Meier (1976:175; cf; Banks 1975:196; Van Tilborg 1986:71), some changes took place during the Pharisaic time when the practice of redemption money was in use to control the taking of vengeance. This practice is also found in the Hammurabi practice against assault (see Richardson 2000:104-105). But there is not evidence of the exact period when it started as a practice within Judaism. The general principle behind redemption money was that it (money) was to compensate for the damage caused, subject to the victim being

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[333] See Foster (2004:122-139).

satisfied and agrees with the terms of such payment. Apparently, as Van Tilborg (1986:71) states "people have discovered that a mediating body is useful to limit conflicts." The solution is in harmony with the attempt from the Pharisaical movement to broaden their influence over the people in practicing the law (Mt 5:21).

Jesus' lecture does not accept the pharisaic redemptive money system, rather, he tells his audience what to do: "do not resist an evil person" (Mt 5:39). Matthew is dealing with the Roman regime and its local agents who in this case are to be taken as "evil". Van Tilborg (1986:71; cf Weaver 1992:32-36) defines an evil person as one "who abuses his position of power". Mishnah, according to Van Tilborg, calls "evil" one who "beats deaf-mute, an idiot, a minor, a woman and a slave." Matthew is persuading his community to avoid engaging such a person in a fight.

Does this mean that submissiveness and an apolitical position were being advocated? Does this really show that Matthew has accepted Judean defeat in the war? Or does avoidance mean non-violence, but resistance nonetheless? These are some of the pertinent questions that come to the fore when reading this Matthean pericope. In this regard the possibilities of interpretation are diverse. In the main, two views seem to pertain to a reading of this section. One view is that Matthew teaches his community to be submissive (Theissen 1992:115-156) and to literally not resist the evil person. The second view holds that a Matthean reading is political and defiant of the evil (Horsley 1986, 3-31; 1992a:72-101; 1992b:126-132; Van Tilborg 1986:70-79; Neyrey 1998:190-211; Wink 1992a:102-125; see Carter 2000; 2001).

According to Wink (1992a:102-125), the teaching is highly political and represents a way of humiliating the oppressor. Dealing with resistance (Mt 5:39), Wink shows how a backhand slap was "the usual way of admonishing inferiors". Masters backhanded slaves; husbands slapped wives; parents, children; men, women; and Romans backhanded Judeans. All those who were in unequal relations suffered the indignation of being slapped. The only normal response in such cases "would be cowering submission" (Wink 1992a:105). The question that Wink asks is why does Jesus "counsel these already humiliated people to turn the other cheek?" Wink's answer (Wink 1992a:105-106) is very interesting:

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> Because this action robs the oppressor of the power to humiliate. The person who turns the other cheek is saying, in effect, 'Try again. Your first blow failed to achieve its intended effect. I deny you the power to humiliate me. I am a human being just like you … You cannot demean me.' Such a response would create enormous difficulties for the striker … If he hits with a fist, he makes the other his equal, acknowledging him as a peer … [I]n the world of honor and shaming, he has been rendered impotent to instill shame in a subordinate. He has been stripped of his power to dehumanize the other.

Moreover, Van Tilborg (1986:73; cf Wink 1988:215-216) shows that the command to go the extra mile (Mt 5:41) was common practice among landowners and Roman soldiers. Landowners imposed forced labor, *corvée* on peasants (Lenski 1966:267-268; cf Vledder 1997:128-129), and *angareia* (Wink 1988:215; Horsley 1992a:88) in their fields. In other instances soldiers would instruct porters to carry goods and arms for them. An example is that of Simon of Cyrene who was requisitioned on the street and was forced to carry Jesus' cross (Mt 27:32).[334] The argument in this instance is that by going another mile, the porter challenges the oppressor (Wink 1988:215-218;1992a:108-109;cf Carter 2000:152-153).

Van Tilborg (1986:75) is convinced that shaming the evil by "such paradoxical behaviour" would hopefully turn him from his wrongdoing. Justice is realized by the voluntary acceptance of injustice. It is an attempt to break "the vicious circle of rage and revenge". Wink (1988:218) adds that by going another mile (Mt 5:9) with the oppressor, the victim throws the oppressor "off-balance by being deprived of the predictability" of the victim's response. Jesus' invitation is to those whose lifelong pattern had been to cringe, bow, and to

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[334] According to Wink (1992:215), such "forced service [*angareia*] was a constant feature in Palestine from Persian to late Roman times, and whoever was found on the street could be compelled into service". The experience of the DRC soldiers during Mobutu's regime and those followed in various rebel movements or armed groups up to today is similar. This practice of requisitioning people by force to transport baggage, ammunitions, and whatever belongings they may have, is still common in war torn countries such as the DRC and Burundi.

cower before their masters. The message of this form of defiance is that the victims should liberate themselves from both "servile action and a servile mentality".

Responding to Wink's argument, Horsley (1992b:126-127) finds the teaching of Jesus against violent resistance relevant. The logic of Jesus' teaching is far from defeat, what it says is "do not acquiesce in your own oppression, but on the other hand, do not react violently to it either". There is a third way (Mt 5:39b-41), which is equally resistant to evil and which can also secure human dignity by changing the power equation. This is the philosophy that Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King (Bishop 1981) adopted in their struggles against colonialism and racism respectively. By the humble resistance of the victim, as Wink (1988:222; 1992a:115; cf Horsley 1992b:131) notes, it breaks "the cycle of humiliation with humor and ridicule, exposing the injustice" of the oppressive regime.

5.3.7.3 To make peace is to love one's enemy (Mt 5:43-48)

There is no evidence from Jewish literature (Davies 1964:245; cf Banks 1975:200; Van Tilborg 1986:200; 2000:154) indicating that people were commanded to hate their enemies, although hatred is part of human failure. It is not something which can be demanded as "a positive commandment" (Van Tilborg 1986:75). In the Sermon on the Mount, it was established that the poor could bless his/her poverty (Mt 5:3). Such paradoxical behavior should be interpreted in the context of loving one's enemy. Humanly speaking, it is very difficult, if not impossible to overcome one's bitterness, hatred and sorrow and to love an enemy. Measured against recent examples of war, genocide, tribal conflict, or domestic violence, Matthew is no lesser victim. He is talking from personal experience.

However, Matthew does not want to accept defeat and the status quo which would give the oppressor a sense of victory. He wants to humiliate the oppressor, the enemy by doing good – by loving him/her (Ex 25:4-5; Pr 25:21-22; Mt 5:44; Rm 12:20). The issue here is that only if persecuted and pursued (Van Tilborg 1986:77), can one truthfully state that "an offer of peace is the only solution". Van Tilborg' s (1986:79) understanding of the saying is that, it is attempting to lay the basis for the universality of love – that all people must be loved – but rather in the totality of love: love must reach even the personal enemy. In the foregoing

interpretation, this aspect had been implied several times. Now it is explicitly stated. One must be prepared to not only reject all revenge, but one should even go one step further by wishing one's enemy and persecutor well. Regardless of what they had done, one must wish for them the good gifts of sun and rain as one would for one's friends of course.

The implication of loving one's enemy, according to Luz (1989:340-341), is a tradition which is echoed "in Judaism, among the Greeks, especially the Stoics, in India, in Buddhism, in Taoism." Jesus' comprehensive call to love entails "the *entire* person which does not exclude feelings". Lucan examples of the Samaritans[335] (Lk 10:27-37; 17:11-19) in Jesus' entourage are witnesses of his teaching about love for the enemy. According to Donahue (1992:143-147), the teaching of Jesus challenges "both historical reality of viewing the Samaritan as enemy and the deeper religious attitude that divide the world into outsiders and insiders." The love that Jesus teaches is without borders; it penetrates and breaks patriarchal and colonial prejudices; it demystifies social classes and gender discrimination; it gives those once called unclean access to worship God. Simply, love is a revolutionary weapon that turns the world upside down for the glory of God and the recovery of human dignity.

Martin Luther King, like Gandhi (Bishop1981:82-128), preached the power of love of one's enemy which conquers hatred and creates a new class of people. The oppressed does not become a new oppressor, rather he/she becomes an equal around the table of brotherhood. The preaching of love and equal respect by Martin Luther King and his fellow revolutionaries, brought about change in the North American society. Consequently, the recovery of humanity and the worship of God meet in heavenly perfection (Mt 5:48).

Therefore, perfection is the fulfillment of the law (Mt 5:17) for those whose justice and righteousness supersede that of the Pharisees (Mt 5:20) and who do not let their hearts be ruled by evil thought (Mt 5:8). Anger, evil desire, sexual immorality, slander, murder, injustice, (Mt15:18-20) are the things that make one impure and hinder one to reach God's

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[335] Although, on his way to Jerusalem, a Samaritan village refused to welcome him, Jesus rebuked his disciples who wanted to call on fire from heaven to destroy it (Lk 9:51-56).

standard of justice and righteousness. No-one can be perfect but to strive for this perfection, is a way of showing the face of God to the community.

5.3.7.4 To make peace is to keep mutual relations (Mt 7:1-12)

Van Tilborg (1986:163) calls this section (Mt 7:1-12) "a mutual relation" in light of the law; while Carter (2000:180) refers to "a community of compassionate correction." Surrounded by the needy in the aftermath of war, people were blaming one another for the mistakes and failures in the war, which were now resulting in Roman repression, and it is in these circumstances that the evangelist is set to control emotions. As Van Tilborg (1986:163) observes, Matthew uses a "metaphorically homogeneous language," known to his local audience. Examples of such language usage would be the judge who passes judgment or not and the merchant who uses his measure to judge his wares (Mt 7:1-5); beggars whose survival depends on wandering in city streets looking for food and knocking on doors (Mt 7:7-8) in contrast to the sons who ask for bread and fish from their fathers (Mt 7:9-11).

The point that follows this parallelism is that those who wish to be treated as sons and daughters of the Father-God must comply with the Law and the prophets. That is, to treat others in the same way as one would like to be treated (Mt 7:12). Looking for food in the Old Testament (Dt 24:19; Lv 23:22) was regulated as all farmers had to follow certain regulations in order to take care of the needy among them. In contemporary African cities, from Cape Town to Cairo and beyond (especially cities in war or postwar situations), the so-called street children and beggars everyday search for food in dustbins on the streets, while others go begging from door to door. The survival of beggars totally depends on the charity of others (Ex 22:21-27). Therefore, the saying dealing with he who asks, searches and knocks, is understood in the light of this reality in the Matthean context.

Lack of possession according to Van Tilborg (1986:190; cf Carter 2000:184), "gives them an awareness of largeness of the promised riches". There must be some clarification on how Matthew uses these two terms "sons" and "evil" in light of his teaching. Previously, "evil" was clearly defined as being associated with one who misuses his position of power. In this case fathers are called "evil" (Mt 7:11) in relation to the "evil" person (Mt 5:39) in contrast

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to the "good Father" in heaven (Mt 7:11). Carter (2000:184) believes that the argument proceeds by shifting from the earthly fathers to the celestial Father, from evil to good. What is apparent is that the Matthean audience of the Sermon is a mixture of social classes and the presence of *ochloi* makes sense. On the one hand Matthew speaks to members of his own community, while on the other hand, he challenges both patriarchal and religious structures and implicitly also the Roman regime. These power structures have neglected their social duties of taking care of the poor, and are being driven by greed.

Returning to the issue of judging one another (Luz 1989:415-416; Garland 1993:85), the tendency is to read it in the light of defiance of the Roman court (Mt 5:21-25; 18:15-20). Does a statement such as "do not judge, least you will be judged" (Mt 7:1) indeed refer to the Matthean collaboration with the existing judicial system? Van Tilborg's (1986:165; see Sabourin 1982:425-426)) argument is that at the very least Matthew "accepts the functioning of existing legal practices [Mt 5:21-25; 18:15-20]" and "has placed all human judgments in a legal framework." The implication of this reading is that no contradictory view about the court is to be entertained. Matthew is totally opposed to Roman courts. Instead, he intends to create a "theocratic court of justice" in the community, in order to avoid any contact with Roman justice, which to him is corrupt.

Roman justice stands in contrast to the Israelite justice known in the wilderness. It is clear that Matthew is referring to those times when God was the "Chief Justice" in their courts. From the counsel of Jethro (Ex 18:21), Moses instituted a court of justice where justice and righteousness would prevail. The code of conduct of judges was also clearly stipulated. Judges had to be impartial, had to give small and great, Israelite and alien an equal hearing; they had to be men of integrity, avoiding corruption and favoritism (Ex 18:19-22; Dt 1:15-17).

Again by referring to the position of Matthew's contemporaries, the full picture of the existing tension emerges. For Luke one is already acquitted if one does not judge (Lk 6:37-38). Paul (Rm 2:1-16; 14:1-15:1-13) and James (4:11-12) follow the same line of thought. The admonition is that, one should not judge a brother/sister or a neighbor. Paul's opinion

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even goes beyond the inner circle to include a Gentile. This would support the "anti-legal attitude" (Van Tilborg 1986:165) in the very situation where people's faith in the Roman court is betrayed. Hence, Jesus' lecture forms part of the criticism of the courts, the judges and the jurisprudence. It is therefore fair to say as Van Tilborg (1986:169) also argues that criticism against the Roman judicial system was widespread throughout the time of their occupation of Palestine.

5.4 Blessed are the persecuted because of righteousness (Mt 5:10-12)

Finally, the last Beatitude reinforces the first (Mt 5:3), thereby summarizing the teaching in the very context of Matthew (Carter 2000:136-137). As was already established from the social location of the first-century, the Matthean community lived in a situation where physical violence, banditry, sexual abuse and war were daily occurrences both at a local and a national level. This violence developed between different groups, locals and foreigners, between brothers and also individuals; between rulers and peasants. Van Tilborg (1986:40) states that when such "violence starts from a lawful authority or is fostered by it, it is called persecution".

In this case, reference to Lucan accounts is most appropriate.[336] Although Van Tilborg (1986:40) argues that Matthew's experience of persecution is geographically limited, and that he therefore does not have similar access to experiences as Luke had, the various cases, whether in Jerusalem or in Galilee, were equally painful. Matthew refers to the various forms of persecution that people were subjected to in the mission sending speech (Mt10:16-24), in the woes' speech (23:30-38) and in the end time speech (Mt 24:1-16).

Persecution for the sake of justice and righteousness or on account of Jesus is central for Matthew (see Sabourin 1982:351-353). In this regard John the Baptist (Mt 14:1-12), Zechariah son of Berakiah (Mt 23:35) and Jesus (Mt 26-27) are some of the Matthean examples of such suffering for the sake of justice (see Klausner 1964:241-242; Barbour

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[336] See persecutions of apostles and other believers in the Acts of Apostles.

1988:61; Luz 1989: 242-243; Garland 1993:58-59; Carter 2000:136-137). Matthew's experience reflects those times of conflict between the Law of God and the Roman imperial law, disputing the control of Jerusalem and the temple. Fidelity to the law and the prophets takes a stand against the lawlessness and injustice of the oppressor. The struggle for justice is an uncompromising value which must be preserved at all cost. This is particularly important when the defenders of justice are told to be faithful till death (Rv 2:10; Ja 1:12), because the kingdom of heaven, which is just and stronger than that of the Roman empire, is theirs.

It must be remembered that this was at the time when the Roman rulers practiced the unthinkable sacrilege of erecting statues[337] in the temple, thus reducing the temple of God to level of the temples of Roman gods (Freyne 1980:261-266; Horsley 1993:110-116; Van Tilborg 1986:41; Carter 2001:20-34). It is for this reason that Van Tilborg (1986:42) says "keeping the Law, doing justice was a dangerous business in Matthew's time". Matthew does not want his community to be identified with the Roman empire and its local agents, that are persecuting and killing innocent people and prophets for speaking the truth and for doing justice.

Moreover, Matthew is aware of the fact that his community is being falsely accused because of their sense of justice and righteousness. And according to Van Tilborg (1986:42), this persecution is seen "in the reality of ridicule and slander", while the place of justice and righteousness is replaced by Jesus himself. That is, Jesus becomes a reason for persecution. In other words, Matthew is convinced that his Jesus, the Messiah is the real doer and giver of justice and righteousness, whose example is to be followed (see 1 Cor 11:1; Rm 4:12). For Matthew, persecution for the sake of justice and righteousness is a "structural code" (Van Tilborg 1986:42) for those to whom the kingdom of heaven is promised because of their suffering. This preparedness to suffer even unto death is yet another way of resisting injustice. This is the fate of many tricontinental world freedom fighters.

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[337] See Daniel (1-6) about resistance against idol worship by Hebrew captives in Babylon.

5.5   Summary

The Sermon on the Mount, summarized in the Beatitudes, is a challenge to everyone's responsibility and obligation towards the society. Luz (1989:243) argues that the Beatitudes involve "a series of uncompromising demands" which confront us to live according to God's will. The challenge is whether Christians in the socio-political, religious and economic upheavals of the day, are still able to act on behalf of God, and proclaim his kingdom among the needy. In other words, can Christians in a world of inequalities still make their faith a reality in their relations with the needy?

In traditional societies the Sermon on the Mount in general and the Beatitudes in particular would be interpreted as an initiation rite. The rites of a community do not segregate people from their social classes, or into poor or rich, town or village. Everyone in the community, on an equal basis, is entitled to be initiated, thus the concept of brotherhood is well enacted. At the same time the Sermon represent the will (testament) of a statesman elder in his village who calls on his people to give them a last message.[338] During the initiation, peers are told about a community's norms. What is interesting about Jesus' oration is that it sounds like a renewal of the testament in light of charismatic leadership of Israel (Dt 28-33) where the community was called to renew the covenant with their God.

The revolutionary speech of Jesus, not only targets the existing oppressive social-political-economic, and religious structures, but also some undesirable behavior from within the Matthean community itself. The principles of brotherhood (Mt 5:23-24; 18:1-5; 25:31-46) create an opportunity for those who were previously regarded as unclean, and for Gentiles, the poor, outcasts (Mt 3:23-25) to become sons and daughters in the kingdom of God (Mt 5:9). They join in table fellowship (Mt 9:10-13; 21:31-32; 22:8-10; cf Rv 3:20) as free citizens in their land with equal access to the temple (Mt 21:14) and to the kingdom matters (Mt 16:19).

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[338] In Banyamulenge community, this is called *irage*.

5.6 The Canaanite mother and identity crisis

5.6.1 Introduction

The story of the Canaanite mother[339] (Mt 15:21-28) is at heart of postcolonial criticism, with campaigners being of the opinion that the story portrays cultural, ethnic/tribal, racial economic, political and gender discrimination (Wainwright 1994: 650-656, 1998; Guardiola-Saenz 1997:69-80; Dube 1996:111-129; 1999:33-59; 2000:157-195; Donaldson 1997:1-12; Levine 2001:22-41). Hare's (1993:176-179) interpretation of the story of the Canaanite mother is well motivated. He presents three possible theses of reading the anecdote. (i) The story is to be read as "inauthentic" in that it was credited to Jesus by Judean Christians who were opposed to Gentile mission; (ii) the story is to be treated as "authentic" but argues that "Jesus' behavior is not as harsh as modern readers think." It is used as an expression of the principle that "charity begins at home", and as a way of testing her faith "if she passes the test, he will accede to her request"; (iii) the narrative is to be accepted as is in all its "harshness". It presents Jesus as a Judean man of his days, "chauvinistic toward women and non-Jews."

Hare's argument can be interpreted as making the point that the Matthean Jesus is a tribal Messiah whose mission is primarily limited to cultural boundaries, which could eventually change, depending on the receptivity of Israel or its rejection by Israel, whereas the conversion of Gentiles would be effected by divine miracle. Prior to this moment, however, "repentance had to be preached to Israel" (Hare 1993:117).

The difficulty inherent in such discriminative reading is the failure to disassociate the christology of Jesus, whose healing mission is to do justice and righteousness in a borderless world, from a cultural ghetto. It may be argued that the socio-political, economic and religious context from which Matthew emerged, particularly under Roman colonization, had influenced the Gospel's redaction. The Matthean cultural conservation can be seen as reactionary

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[339] Some years back, I was invited to preach to a local Anglican congregation in a suburb of Bujumbura, Burundi. My message was on the Canaanite woman (Mt 15:21-28). My Bible references were Swahili, French and English, and had not taken attention to Kirundi translation. But as I started my sermon, I asked one mother to do the Scripture reading for me. As she read the first verses, she used the term "*umugore*" which simply and generally means a woman or a wife. At the last verse, instead of using *umugore*, the Kirundi version uses "*nyina wanje*" which literally means "mother of mine" or simply a mother. This reading changed my understanding of the story, especially on how Jesus was completely revolutionized in his understanding of the Other. Therefore, in the following section of this study, the term "mother" would be implied.

measures against Roman imperialism (see Carter 2001), which undoubtedly created tensions between neighbors, including the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon.

The other argument is that Matthew had been influenced by cultural and traditional conflict that existed between the Israelite and Canaanite communities (see Guardiola-Saenz 1997) from the conquest history (cf Gn 12:4-6; Ex 3:7-10; Jos 13-22). To be led solely by this argument would mean that the long and good diplomatic ties between Israel and Tyre and Sidon (cf Jackson 1992: 35-41) during Davidic reign (1 Ki 5) would be overlooked. Tyre and Sidon had played a very important role in the commercial exchange with Judea (Freyne 1980:114-121). It should also be borne in mind that during the Judean anti-colonialism struggle from 66-70 C.E, the Sidonians[340] protected the Judean population, while the anti-Semitism campaign and massacres of Judeans swept across the whole region (Barbour 1988:132).

The argument is that the Matthean Jesus confronts Roman imperialism and Israelite cultural and religious structures (Wainwright 1998:41-45) that stand in the way of justice and righteousness taking its course. Justice and righteousness is the essence of the whole existence of Jesus, the law and the prophets, which in its simple definition represent "the will of God". From a psychoanalytic reading (Dolto 1980:16-19; Mukendi 1997:56-57), both Jesus and the Canaanites (mother and daughter) are liberated from their respective cultural and religious boundaries, from demons and cultural prejudices. Healing (Crossan 1989:293-304; cf Dube 1996:123-127) as part of God's mission, is to be interpreted as a means of resistance against social, political, religious and economic ills.

Being whole, being free from all forms of anomaly and disease, reestablishes the complete identity of the victim in the society. Reading the story of the Canaanite mother in light of *Semoya*[341] in Botswana, Dube (1996:126; 2000:186-187) states that healing is "a political struggle against structural forces behind unemployment, breakdown of family relationships,

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[340] However, according to Josephus, Tyre killed a great number of Judeans during this time of war (Barbour 1988:132).

[341] According to Dube (1996: 111-129), *Semoya* means "of the Spirit".

poverty and lack of success." In other word, the Spirit of God empowers God's people to heal social ills. The Marcan and Lucan references to healing a demon-possessed man present an interesting example. Roman oppression is implicitly referred to when demons identify themselves as legions (Mk 5:9; Lk 8:30). Theissen (1978:101-102) explains the issue of "transference" in a psychoanalytical approach.

According to Theissen, resistance against the Romans is interpreted through exorcism, in terms of which demons that lived in the herd of pigs "behave like the occupying power." The demons spoke Latin like the Romans, they presented themselves as a legion, and had one wish: "to be allowed to stay in the country." As far as the Judeans were concerned, they would have wanted to see the Romans being drawn into the sea as happened to the herd of swine. This is indicative of how strongly the Judeans felt about and opposed to the foreign occupation.

Nonetheless, those who have adopted a postcolonial theory to read the story of the Canaanite mother can also go the other extreme of "deconstructive theology" (Wainwright 1998:91). This would apply to the approach of Guardiola-Saenz (1997:69-80) and Wainwright (1998:84-92). Both authors argue from a feminist perspective. Guardiola-Saenz (1997:70) argues that the Canaanite mother is a victim of her writer and her reader who "mistreated and incarcerated [her] in the oppressive boundaries of the text … for their own benefit, maintaining the status quo." Furthermore, Wainwright (1998:91-92) argues that the structure and legitimacy of the healing power of Jesus is highly "genderized" and "oppressive of women and others designated as outsiders."

The power of healing and doing justice that is attributed to Jesus in this story "veil the violence that can be inherent in such power" (Wainwright 1998:91-92). Wainwright believes that the power predicated of Jesus and the household metaphors that proclaim it as such "may well have been – and hence can continue to be – deconstructed." From African point of view, Dube (2000:170) identifies with the Canaanite mother as a victim of "patriarchal and imperial ideology." More rigidly, Guardiola-Saenz (1997:76-77), says that the recognition of Jesus as the son of David by the Canaanite mother is not "a statement of faith" but it is an asseveration

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of protest and a demand of her rights from the "invader" and "oppressor". The point that needs to be made here is that by reading this story in such a passionate way, the reader risks being left in disarray. To avoid such temptation, one needs to construct a theology of hope around Jesus' divine mission, which is essentially liberating.

5.6.2   Social and political boundaries

The encounter of Jesus and the Canaanite mother in Matthew (Anderson 1983:14-16; Wainwright 1994: 635-677; 1995:132-153; 1998:84-92; 2001a:126-137; Donaldson 1996:10-14; Dube 1996:111-129; Guardiola-Saenz 1997:67-81; Humphries-Brooks 2001:142-145; Jackson 2002; 2003:779-792), is one of the most interesting experiences in putting the law "do not deprive justice to aliens among you" (Ex 22:21), to the test. Moreover, the context of the Canaanite mother fits the contemporary issues of discrimination based on race, region, tribe, ethnicity, class and gender. As Garland (1993:164) mentions, this story raises modern sensitivities. Jesus' treatment of this Canaanite mother poses certain difficulties and continues to trouble. Most readers want to ask the same question Garland grapples with, namely "[w]hy does he give a frantic mother the cold shoulder when she pleads for her demonised daughter?"

Spivak (1988:197-221; cf Loomba 1998:231-245; Young 2001:354) argued that the subalterns do not speak. President Fidel Castro (Young 2001:215) once said "colonies do not speak" and "are not known until they have an opportunity to express themselves". The silenced voice (Wainwright 2001a:127-128) of the Canaanite mother is a real example of what goes on in a world of inequalities. Like many colonized and marginal voices, the space to speak from is never peacefully negotiated, rather it is (re)claimed by means of resistance[342] and insistence.

This was also true of the hemorrhaging woman (Mt 8:20-22) who forcefully negotiated her healing by breaking cultural and religious barriers, which in normal circumstances subjected her to a life of isolation from the rest of the public (see Anderson 1983:11-12; Garland

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[342] Resistance does not necessarily mean violent, it can also be through non-violent procedures.

1993:107; Carter 2000:320-321; Levine 1996: 379-397; 2001:71). The Lucan reference to the widow and the bad judge (Lk 18:1-5), demonstrates how another marginalized person was silenced by social and political structures. She forced her way through to get justice which she was otherwise denied.

Unlike the woman with the alabaster jar of perfume (Mt 26:6-7); the woman (widow) with the offering who caught Jesus' sympathy (Mk 12:41; Lk 21:1-4); or the widow whose son had died that won Jesus' favor (Lk 7:11-13), the Canaanite mother is a real destitute, a stranger in her own land in contrast to Moses who became "an alien in a foreign land"(Ex 2:22). At face value there appears to be nothing good, nothing positive about her, nothing attractive; she does not represent any material interest or political position, which might have endeared her to the crowd, the disciples and to the Judean Jesus. Consequently, Jesus is confronted with ethnic, cultural, religious and political barriers (Carter 2000:321), from which his psychological worldview had to be liberated.

Moreover, the mother's status is not revealed (Levine 2001:26), nothing is known about her relatives, neighbors or friends, in contrast to the paralyzed man (Mt 9:1-8) who was carried by "some men", probably his relatives or neighbors. In this pericope only the woman and her demon possessed daughter feature. She stands alone in a similar situation to that of the hemorrhaging woman (Mt 9:20-22). Was she married, a widow or a single mother? None of these questions is explicitly answered, but what is known is that she came on her own, pleading for help.

According to Wainwright (1994:651), the matter of her identity is more serious. She maintains that the identity of the mother is "a disability that made her unclean", because the woman is ethnically categorized as a "Canaanite", a term that makes her "an ethnic and religious outsider" to Judeans. She is thus doubly marginalized by "her gender and her race" (Dewey 1994:484; Wainwright 1994:651), and economically by "her class" (Sibeko and Haddad 1997:84).[343]

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[343] Sibeko & Haddad note a "triple oppression" of African women, which is equally applicable to women in the first century.

Nevertheless, the interaction between Jesus and the mother indicates that although not equal in social-political-economic status, they are "equal in faith" (Anderson 1983:12). The mother portrays the same outstanding character of patience and consistency as that of Gentile women in the genealogy story (Weren 1997:288-305): Tamar (Gn 38:13-30); Rahab (Jos 2:1-30); Ruth (Rt 1:16-4:1-12); Bathsheba (2 Sm 11:1-27); the Samaritan woman (Jn 4); and Kibihira,[344] the Banyamulenge woman whose resistance – faith – crossed cultural, religious and political boundaries to claim God's justice and righteousness to nations.

Although women were never assigned prominent roles as disciples (Wire 1991:87-121), they were part of his circle. As Anderson (1983:17-20; cf Osiek 2001:204-220; see Perrin 1977:29-31) explains, women outscored men in the testing of their faith and in their resistance to the conspiracy of the religious leaders and the Romans to kill Jesus and other noble, innocent people and prophets. While male disciples fled from the scene and deserted their teacher, the women stood bravely by him at the crucifixion (Mt 27:55-56; cf Mk 15:40-41; Lk 23:55-56) and resurrection (Mt 28:1-10; cf Mk 16:1-8; Lk 24:1-10; Jn 20:1). Only the evangelist John mentions one male disciple standing with the women at the crucifixion (Jn 19:26).

The woman anointing Jesus in Bethany village (Mt 26:6-13) and the women, at the worst scene of political and religious travesties at the cross and the tomb (Mt 27:55-56, 61; 28:1-10) serve as foils for the disciples (Anderson 1983:18) and play important roles that the disciples should have played. Moreover, women became the reconciliatory means by which the deserters (disciples) are reunited with Jesus and are commissioned. The Bethanian woman's act became a stumbling block to disciples (Mt 26:8-9), while she earns honor before their Master (Mt 26:10-13). What must be deduced from these roles played by women is that these roles were not assigned to them by religious, patriarchal or political systems, but they (women) forcefully claimed them.

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[344] See chapter three above section 3.7.4.2.

The geographical location of the meeting between Jesus and the Canaanite mother remains unknown. But it must have taken place around the frontiers of Judea and the region of Tyre and Sidon (Mt 15:21). Matthew remains ambiguous, for he does not let Jesus leave the region of Galilee. By contrast, the Marcan version tells us that Jesus crossed the borders (Mk 7:24). The use of the Canaanite identity is a Matthean version, while Mark uses a Greek, Syrophoenician identity. Jackson (2002:35-59; 2003:784:785) argues that Matthew alludes to four functions of Tyre and Sidon in the Old Testament, namely "negative ethical behavior, as an outsider of the Jewish faith, as friends of Israel, as participants in the same salvation as the Jews". During the first century, the Canaanite community was no longer in existence as a people or a tribe. But the term was used to denote a disgraced people (see Dermience 1982:29; Selvidge 1987:79; Jackson 2002:60-100, 2003:785).

It would be viewed as ingratitude towards the Canaanite women (Humphries-Brooks 2001:138-156), if the Judeans forgot or underestimated the political role that Rahab (Js 2) played in hiding Joshua's spies at Jericho – and along with mother Tamar (Gn 38) by keeping alive the lineage (Mt 1:3,5) of the same man – Jesus – of whom the Canaanite mother would be an aunt or a cousin.[345] According to Gottwald (1979:556-558), the alliance between Israelite spies and Rahab (the Canaanite woman) at Jericho must be given some consideration.

In ancient cities prostitutes formed one of several groups of occupational outcasts whose services were desired, but because of taboos, it carried a stigma and "worked under decided disabilities". For Rahab, this reality presents enough reason for resentment of the ruling class in Jericho. She might have hoped that by siding with the rebels it would improve her economic situation and social status.[346] It must also be understood that economic pressure could have been the reality that pushed Rahab to harlotry to earn a living. Be that as it may, her deal with the spies was important for Israel.

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[345] From an African point of view, kinship counts and keeps ties within close and extended families.

[346] The class of outcasts in the ancient world included slaves, leatherworkers, butchers, barbers, prostitutes and lepers.

In contrast, Josephus (*JW* 2.478; *Con Ap* 1.70), quoted by Carter (2000:321-322) demonstrates how the people from Tyre were enemies of the Judeans and in the 60s CE clashes between them often occurred. "Along with ethnic conflict, there are competing religious understandings". In addition, there were economic and political interests which, from time to time, united and divided them as well. For instance, during Roman colonialism, Josephus notes that many of the followers of John of Gischala, who revolted against Rome, came from the region of Tyre (*JW* 2.588, cf *Vita* 372). Nevertheless, the social and political relationship between Galilee and Tyre-Sidon was based on the interest of the moment and at best could be described as lukewarm.

The Canaanite mother was caught up in this lukewarm political and diplomatic relationship which was highly unpredictable. In most cases, innocent people living on the borders were the main victims of such inconsistent diplomatic relationships[347] (see Freyne 1980:118-121). However, at the time there might have been either some temporary political alliances or a laissez-faire strategy at the border crossing which allowed some free movement of people and information exchange. Therefore, the mother might have learned about Jesus' charismatic leadership in terms of which an advent of a just and healing kingdom (Mt 4:23-25; Mk 3:8; Lk 6:17-18), different to that of the occupying force, was announced. In those days when the Roman regime oppressed all the region (see Klausner 1964:135-173), the desire to have independence was strong, not only among the Judeans but also among other people in the region, although the Judeans were more outspoken.

Levine (2001:26, 40) correctly argues that both tribal communities (the Judeans and the Canaanites) were victims of Roman oppression. "It is Rome that occupies the land held by the Canaanites; the [Judeans] are under the same political domination as their Canaanite neighbors. This historical reality to some extent mitigates the claims either group would make for dominance".

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[347]Diplomatic relations between the DRC and Rwanda are a case in point. When there is no problem in the respective policies of the two countries, the people, particularly those on the borders, live in peace. But when it changes, they become victims. The example of the Kashmir border between India and Pakistan, and the border between Poland and Germany during World War II are examples that can be mentioned in this regard.

The news about Jesus as the "son of David" (Mt 15:22) which the Canaanite mother invoked, thus had political significance. The mother presented the Matthean Jesus as a regional Savior. This could also be a reference to the diplomatic ties which existed between kings David and Hiram (1 Ki 5:1-12). However, the conversation between the mother and the Judean delegation does hint at the antagonistic relationship between the two regions. The mother was fully aware of whom she was dealing with. It is for this reason that her insistence could not be discouraged or frightened by a few harsh of words.

5.6.3   A psychoanalytic approach: Self-consciousness and self-determination

Matthew's account contains detail, such as Jesus' silence following the woman's request, (Mt 15:23a), and the rude, undeserving treatment she received from Jesus' entourage – the disciples (Mt 15:23b), which does not appear in Mark. The mother said a simple and polite prayer "Lord, Son of David, have mercy on me" (Mt 15:22). The Canaanite mother appeared to be familiar with the Judean liturgy or could she have been a proselyte? Could she have learned about this Judean charismatic leader and a healer during Jesus' ministry in Galilee (Mt 4:23-25), which drew crowds from regions across Jordan and from around Tyre and Sidon (Mk 3:7-12)? She certainly engaged Jesus in a prayerful manner using a particular wording of one who had been in contact with Jesus' milieu (Mt 15:22, 23, 27). She used the same words generally used by and found among the "lost sheep" – the marginalized of Israel (cf Mt 8:25; 9:27-28; 14:30; 17:15; 20:30-31; Mk 10:47).

The attitude of Jesus' disciples (Humphries-Brooks 2001:142-143) towards this mother is rather disturbing, especially taking into account the physical and psychological stress, depression and trauma that the mother and her daughter were going through. Firstly, the request was not directed to them (disciples), at least not according to Matthew and Mark. Secondly, Jesus did not ask them for an opinion. Thirdly, they acted in a culturally bound and discriminating manner. Fourthly, they showed ignorance with regard to the fulfillment of the law – doing good to the needy even to the aliens (Ex 22:21-24; 23:9; Lv 23:22; Dt 24:17-21; Jr 22:3; Zch 7:9:10). Lastly, they were equally ignorant of Jesus' divine prospects in mission beyond Israel (Mt 4:23-25; 12:21; 24:14; 26:13; 28:19-20).

The mean attitude shown by the disciples, the Pharisees and the crowd towards Jesus' compassion and intention to render justice and righteousness to the needy, is repeatedly mentioned in the narratives (Mt 9:34; 12:1-14; 14:15-17; 15:33; 20:29-31; cf Mk 6:35-36; 8:3-4; 10:46-48; Lk 13:10-17; 18:15, 35-39). In this situation they still had to learn that this was the way to fulfill the law and the prophets (Mt 5:17; see Lk 24:44).

Upon the insistence of the mother (Mt 15:25), Jesus gave an even harsher response "It is not right to take the children's bread and toss it to their dogs" (Mt 15:26). Jackson (2002:54-58) emphasizes the use of the dog in biblical and rabbinic literature. What needs to be realized is that dog, *keleb* in Hebrew and *kusin* in Greek, is used as a metaphor to refer to the abuse of persons of lower classes, the latter being determined according to Israelite social standards.[348] In this regard the Lucan story of the rich man and Lazarus (Lk 16:19-31) is significant. Lazarus, the beggar needed support from the aristocrat and only wanted to have access to the leftovers from the rich man's table.

According to Van Aarde (1999:107), eating leftover food was not considered acceptable in terms of the purity regulations of the temple. Lazarus shared the bits of food with the dogs, his only companions. In this story, the dogs "nursed" him for they came and licked his sores. Lazarus as a beggar was thus considered as unclean, impure and equal to dogs.

Although Jesus did not listen to the advice from his disciples in the encounter with the Canaanite mother, his reply was equally as shocking. In Mark, the answer comes rather with some good intentions "first let the children eat …" (Mk 7: 27), while in Matthew it is a direct answer in the negative to the effect that he was sent to the "lost sheep" (Mt 15:24; cf Mt 10:5-7).

In most cases, such *dénigrement* (humiliating treatment) would be discouraging and would make a person retreat from the scene to his/her own agony in solitude. It is equally disappointing when the cries of the weak are reduced to mere noises. Due to cultural,

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[348] This is also true in many African cultures. In the case of the Banyamulenge, *imbga* (dog) is metaphorically used to refer to a despised person and a coward.

religious, social-political, economic and ethnic differences, she was in the end reduced to the level of the dogs (Mt 15:23b, 26). Even then, the Canaanite mother still persisted because her need remained unattended to. The polite answer from the patiently waiting mother became a reprimand to an unbelieving Israel, compared to Tyre and Sidon (Mt 11:20-24; Lk 10:10-14); the little faith demonstrated by Peter (Mt 14:31), and by Jesus' disciples (Mt 16:8-10; 17:17).

The Canaanite mother said "even the dogs eat the crumbs that fall from the masters' table" (Mt 15:27). The knowledge she displayed about the master and the dog eating the same food, is of paramount importance. As Levine (2001:40) puts it, the mother "provides a major means by which social hierarchies can finally be broken down." In the Israelite tradition the dog does not only denote Gentiles, but also the maimed, crippled, lame and undeserving Israelites. This is the case of Mephibosheth (2 Sm 9:8). Unlike Mephibosheth who won the favor of David because of his father's kindness, the mother when, compared to the diplomatic approach in Jesus' dialogue with the male Gentile who was a military officer (Mt 8:5-13), faced gender and social class discrimination. From the Lucan pericope of the centurion, it is clear that Israel (the Judean community in Capernaum) could get some political (Lk 7:5a), economic and religious benefits (Lk7:5b) from the soldier, benefits which the Canaanite mother could not offer. The Judean emissaries of the centurion pleaded with Jesus that "this man *deserves*[349] to have you do this" (Lk 7:4).

Nevertheless, the mother was unrelenting in her plea for justice, until Jesus overcame barriers (cultural, religious and political prejudices) and did the will of God. The Canaanite mother's reclaiming of the wholeness of her daughter, demonstrates not only her resistance to injustice done to women and foreigners, but also to the misappropriation of God's healing power (see Levine 2001:26). According to Dube (1996:11), the Canaanite mother insisted that "regardless of the nature of her inadequacy, she was not incapable of improving." The mother's plea liberates Jesus from the Judean cultural ghetto and helps him discover a desire. In his psychoanalytic reading, Dolto 1980:16-17; cf Mukendi 1997:56) argues that

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[349] Italics that of the author.

Jesus is urged "*de se comporter en Messie.*"[350] The mother confronted the Matthean Jesus with a very disturbing factor, namely the knowledge that his community was undergoing social mutation which eventually has to become a hybrid (see Bhabha 1994:112-116; Young 2001:265-274), a more accommodating community.

Henceforth, the circumstance taught Jesus that he had to take care of all, regardless of their social-political and geographical provenance. Dolto (1980:18-19; cf Mukendi 1997:57) argues that Jesus now understands his mission differently and "*découvre l'entendue des affaires de son Père, de la maison de son Père. Seul au milieu des apôtres, seul hors de ses frontières, il est seul avec son avenir imprécis qu'il découvre au jour le jour.*"[351] It is crucial to realize that the Matthean Jesus is in the process of discovering God's will which is totally different to his Judean background. Using the Johanine reference, a woman (his mother) introduces Jesus to public reality (Jn 2:1-11), while the Canaanite mother introduces him to the universal reality of God's healing mission.

Jesus was surprised and touched by the mother's resistance (faith) and said "you have great faith! Your request is granted" (Mt 15:28b). Although the faith of the Canaanite mother is great (Mt 15:28a), the text in both Matthew and Mark does not show any continuation of the story beyond the healing of the daughter (cf Mk 7:29-30). Did the mother want anything more? Were they both embarrassed by this type of species of diplomatic incident in their dialogue? Of course, the text does not go further than to narrate a healing act. But it is certain that the healing of the daughter turned the mood of mourning into one of joy, and a desire for justice and righteousness into satisfaction. Her poverty and uncleanness were turned into fullness and accommodation in the reign of God's kingdom of justice and righteousness.

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[350] To behave like the Messiah.

[351] Discovers the extent of his Father's business and of his house. On his own, in the midst of the disciples and finding himself outside his frontiers, he is alone with his own uncertain future which he discovers from day to day.

In two instances, healing occurs as a result of Jesus' touch, namely the healing of Peter's mother-in-law and the official's daughter recorded by Matthew (Mt 8:14-15; 9:18-25). It is interesting to note that there is an implied association with cleanness and uncleanness (Vledder 1997:184, 215-218). In these two instances (Mt 8:15; 9:25) it is Jesus who touches the sick, while in another, that of the hemorrhaging woman, it is her touching of Jesus that is instrumental in her wholeness being restored. Wainwright (2001b:90-91) correctly puts it "[t]hat which was culturally sanctioned as dangerous to touch was manipulated by that very touch."

In the case of the Canaanite mother, Jesus does not touch, but merely uses a word to answer the request of the unclean foreigner mother on behalf of her unclean foreigner daughter who is demon-possessed. The Canaanite mother shares the same experience with the Centurion (Mt 8:5:13) (see Vledder 1997:179-184). Both are non-Judeans, both are pleading for healing on behalf of the sick in absentia and both experiences provide an opportunity for Jesus and his disciples to learn about the incomparable faith from the culturally undeserved people. In this particular story the concern is not whether the Matthean community is inclusive[352] or not. But the concern is to see justice and righteousness done to the poor, widows, orphans and to strangers among "you" (Zch 7:9-10).

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[352] As much as this study does not deal with the inclusive and exclusive debate, there is a strong objection to this theology, which would be seen as "imperial theology" (Carter 2001). If the Matthean scholars would consider the introduction (Mt 1-2) and the conclusion (Mt 28:16-20) of Matthew, they provide enough evidence to challenge such theology. The Matthean introduction takes into account four mothers alongside Israelite men and leaders found in the genealogy story (see Jackson 2002:943), while in chapter two he introduces the presence of the Magi. In the post-paschal commission, nations are again equally included. The other important challenge, which needs to be taken seriously, comes from A-J Levine (2001:39-40). She depicts the two powers at stake not necessarily as Judeans and Gentiles, but as the Church and Rome. "For the story world, the real power is that of the Church; for the historical setting, the real power is Rome. Delimiting discussion to Jews and Canaanites [Gentiles], commentators release from culpability the true power brokers. Once Rome and the Church enter the discussion, the scene changes." Levine puts forward two arguments challenging both the anti-Semitism and anti-Gentile propaganda: Firstly, "the anti-Jewish readings of the pericope – those that highlight Jewish ethnocentrism, exclusivity, clannishness, etc. – appear for what they really are: products of the Church". Matthew is not a text preserved by the Synagogue. Her argument is that the Matthean text emerges out of Judean matrix and that even if the text is to be cited as a form of "temporarily limited Jewish ethnic superiority, this superiority is proclaimed not by the Synagogue but by the Church." Her second argument aims at those who concentrate on Judean ethnic interest and she says "readers risk eliminating the real source of supersessionist oppression in the 1st century. It is Rome that occupies the land held by the Canaanites; the Jews are under the same political domination as their Canaanite neighbors. This historical reality to some extent mitigates against the claims either group would make for dominance". In light of a postcolonial reading, the argument should be further pursued in order to achieve a balance, which might facilitate an understanding of the Other. In another argument, Levine (1996:379), says that the Matthean message of new life for those who follow Jesus, the invitation is inclusive

Arguing from an African perspective and experience, Ukpong (1992:59-62) and Van Aarde (2005:23; see Jackson 2000:940-943) are convinced that the marginalized, "the least of these brothers", *adelphon mou ton elachiston* (Mt 25:40), or the "lost sheep" are included in the kingdom of heaven and are to be "understood in the context of *panta ta ethne*." It is therefore, a responsibility of members of the community to take care of the needy regardless of their origin or status. According to Israelite tradition in the Old Testament, "in order to be fully alive [existent], an individual needs sustenance, health, and emotional stability" (Knight 1989:81). In the case of those who do not have access to these basics, the community around them, their neighbors must provide the warmth. This is what the community of brotherhood is all about.

As a male Judean, Jesus' mission is shaped and delimited by Judean cultural and religious belief, and in this case he is instructed by his cultural milieu that the Canaanites are not *abacu* or are not part of them (see Jackson 2003:781). Yet, as a divine messenger who has to proclaim justice and righteousness to the afflicted (Lk 4:18-19), the illuminative thought of doing God's will – justice and righteousness (Mt 5:17; cf Ex 18:15; Jn 4: 34) prevails. Therefore, ethnicity does not come first when justice and righteousness is to be administered. Instead, human are to be given priority. The kingdom of God in the light of universal brotherhood and sisterhood is a hybrid fabric in which all nations, tribes, races and, both genders find an equal and mutual existence.

5.7 Summary

Becoming one of God's chosen is not just a privilege, rather it is a responsibility. It brings with it the accountability to do justice and righteousness; to carry on a decolonizing and healing mission; to take the good news to the poor and to oppressed (cf Is 61:1-4; Lk 4:18-19; Jn 10:10). The fulfillment of the law in this particular case is the extension of justice and

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from fishermen like Peter (Mt 4:18-22) to the rich, politically connected figures such as Joseph of Arimathea (Mt 27:57). It also applies to all those considered to be marginal or disenfranchised from the Israelite system, among them would count tax collectors, prostitutes, sinners, lepers, women, children, the dispossessed and the sick.

righteousness to the so-called undeserved. Jesus' teaching is a revolutionary teaching that challenges the existing structures that dehumanize the *Other*.

From a traditional Israelite viewpoint, the Canaanite mother must have been aware of her rights (although this is not explicitly stated in the pericope), and it is this awareness that made her insist and persist that strangers should not to be deprived of their justice (Dt 24:17). For anyone to deprive another of the basic necessities for a happy existence "constituted immoral conduct" (Knight 1989:81). Van Aarde (2005:20) is convinced that Jesus' restoration of the daughter to new life is "a manifestation of the liberating and inclusive nature of the *basiliea."* The healing of the daughter is women's empowerment, in the true sense of the word, restoring their strength to face the challenges of life in an unbalanced gender society. Indeed, a society's sense of justice and righteousness is the indication of God's reign among human societies (Amos 5:24).

5.8 Banyamulenge community and Matthean justice and righteousness

5.8.1 Introduction

After studying both the Judean and Banyamulenge communities, a number of issues have come to the fore that will now be examined in light of the Matthean understanding of justice and righteousness. As has already been argued, the Sermon on the Mount has presented an alternative way of living for a community in socio-political turmoil. The DRC provides a case study for Jesus' teaching that favors the poor and dispossessed. As was stated earlier in chapter three, the Banyamulenge community is not the only community in the Congo/the DRC to have suffered because of a succession of bad political leadership since the colonial period. In fact, the Congo is a case in itself, let alone the different tribal groups that inhabit the country.

But what makes the case of the Banyamulenge community unique, is its social and political identity within the parameters of national and regional perspectives.

First of all, because of their uncompromising stance to colonial demand, colonial rule discriminated against them and as a consequence their customary leadership was cancelled

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out. In a country where political identity was linked to customs and land ownership, especially in postcolonial Congo, the Banyamulenge were left with no customary authority, thus without land ownership.

Secondly, their immediate neighbors discriminated against them because of the military contribution to the national army in suppressing the rebellion in the Uvira and Fizi territories in the 1960s. The rebellion in the eastern region was largely supported by the very neighbours (Babembe and Bafuliru).

Thirdly, they were discriminated against because of tribalism and ethnic amalgamation in the Great Lakes Region. As minority group and not represented in most of the colonial and postcolonial political administrative spheres, it is as if they never existed, or they existed as foreigners. It is for this reason that Lemarchand (1999:15-16) made the statement that their "name never appears in colonial records."[353] Nevertheless, their cause keeps haunting Congolese politics for many years, until justice is rediscovered.

5.8.2   The meek and the dispossession of land

"The meek… will inherit the earth", while "the poor in spirit", the kingdom of heaven belongs to them (Mt 5:3,5). How would a Banyamulenge peasant read these Beatitudes? Are these promises for him/her today or are they applicable to another world to come? The imperial powers (Carter 2004:264), such as Babylon and Rome, and their local collaborators do not comply with God's will according to which basic necessities should be equally distributed to all of humanity.

The Judeans owned land inherited from their ancestors which entitled every citizen to belong. But with the coming of the Romans and their local collaborators, injustice became the order of the day. The proclamation of the kingdom of heaven – a God-with-us kingdom – encapsulates the essence of resistance against the injustice that was practiced. In his

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[353] Lemarchand's argument is somehow misleading (contra chapter three above). Secondly, his argument can also be regarded as a colonial reading in itself. People's identity, dignity and justice need not necessarily be (re)defined by colonial records, because they have been a people long before colonialism, no matter how their history can be (re)written. However, Lemarchand's statement is widely used by many Congolese extremist politicians who would like to continue the politics of divide and rule.

campaign against racism in the USA, Martin Luther King brought the issue of equality and equal ownership to the forefront of his campaign. During that time, former USA President John F Kennedy asked a revolutionary question: "Are we to say to the world that this is the land for the free, except for the Negroes" (Peck 1996:73)? Yet, the very dream and prayer of African-Americans was to belong.

The Banyamulenge who, like any of the other local tribes, migrated to what became the Congo, and had a right to belong to a land where they would express and develop their cultural and national identity. The argument of Young (2003:45-68) on landlessness is quite significant here. By being dispossessed of their rights to own land, the community, however, fell victim to the colonizer. Even after independence, they were victimized by the postcolonial political structures that refused to give them any official recognition. Instead, the Congolese central government often overlooked its responsibility of protecting and administering justice to all its citizens, which left the community in socio-political disarray.

Therefore, to the Banyamulenge, the presence of the kingdom of heaven represents a restoration of wholeness of life, a restoration in which God would reestablish order in the society, in the process, returning to the dispossessed that which had belonged to them. It is not surprising to learn that as the Banyamulenge people became Christians, land rights became one of their most pressing requests. A request made not to colonialists, nor to the missionaries, but in the form of a prayer to God.[354] In 1957 when a group of Banyamulenge elders went to pray in the Bijombo locality, the issue of land ownership was one of their priorities. In 1979-1980, during a church crisis between the Banyamulenge church leaders and the CEPAC leadership, traditional land ownership was among the concerns raised.

Although not formally educated (in the colonial definition of education), the motivation to fight for their rights was part of every Banyamulenge person, particularly when the issue of their nationality also became intertwined with the issue of land ownership. During the rebellion of 1964-1968, when anti-Tutsi sentiment against the Banyamulenge was at its

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[354] See chapter three, section 3.7.5.1.

height, the community's dependency on God became their only hope. Mobilization of churches, prayer groups, sermons and songs focused on God who would let them live. From 1966 to 1972, there came prophetic messages that they have right to belong; that "the land is theirs and no one will ever drive them from it."[355] Bicinoni Nyiringoma, Rasito Karikofi and madam Domitila Nyabibone are among those whose prophecies gave hope for living in the land .

In December 1972, a group of intercessors, among them pastor Protais Muzero and Rasto Rungwangwa, were praying at Kahwela, Minembwe. They received an instruction to go to a place called Nyabibuye up on a mountain and stand on a rock which God would show them.[356] There, they would receive a message from God. The divine message they received when they reached the venue, was to look to the west, the east, the north and the south, thereafter they were told that "the land surrounded by horizons that your eyes are seeing, I (the Lord saying) will make it your dwelling place."[357] Among those intercessors who prophesied about the future of the community and the land, are Sefania Munyakazi[358] of the Rutigita village, Musa Gasogi[359] of the Mugeti locality, Simoni Sebaganwa[360] of the Kirumba village, Rasito Karikofi[361] of Kajebwe locality. It must also be understood that false

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[355] In April 1995, when the law on nationality was changed to make Banyamulenge and other Congolese of Rwandan and Burundian origins foreigners, and calling on them to leave the country, people were in great fear. An old man called Zakayo Ntihabose of Tulambo, Itombwe was told about the decision and said "*Oyaye, siko Imana yavuze*!" (No that is not what God said!). When they were given six days by, Mr. Lwabanji, the Deputy Governor of Bukavu in September 1996, one other person said, that the "governor is talking about himself. He is the one who will leave." Indeed after that week, the war broke, the Deputy Governor fled.

[356] The prophet was Ezekiel Musinga.

[357] This was recorded during a discussion between the research and pastor Protais Muzero in June 2004.

[358] A pastor with CADAF in the Minembwe location. In 2002, he became a victim of the RPA in Minembwe when he was arrested at an evangelistic conference organized by EMI held from 12-15 September; he was beaten up and was held for two days. He allegedly prophesied that RPA soldiers would not win the war against Masunzu and that they would withdraw. Within a week, the Rwandan troops were called home.

[359] He was a pastor with CADC for many years until his death in 1998.

[360] He is a pastor with CADC in the Bijombo location.

[361] He is a pastor of the Free Methodist church in the Bijombo location.

prophesies and political fanaticism were rampant especially during the early 1980s and in 1998 when the community went through religious and political upheavals respectively.

When the issue of nationality and their status as foreigners became politically and socially unbearable; when the future of the community was bleak in the 1980s, God's word, in the form of a prophecy, once again comforted them. The prophecy said "you will live in this land and that "*abana banyu bazabategeka*."[362] Carter's (2001:75-90) argument dealing with the use of the prophetic announcement of Jesus as the Savior of his people (Mt 1:21), is of importance here. God's purposes to serve Israel neither do nor run through Rome, but through Israel's genealogy. In other words, the presentation of Jesus as the Son of David, takes on the form of political resistance against Roman imperialism. God challenges Roman rule for failing to do justice and righteousness. Thus, Israel will be represented by her own son.

Likewise, for the Banyamulenge, the comfort that comes from their sons, presents a challenge to both the colonial and local powers which had failed to establish justice and righteousness for all Congolese citizens, regardless of their origin or tribal affiliation. Their land rights and national identity would be recovered through God's own intervention. The Banyamulenge people were denied their rights to the land and citizenship unjustly. Neither the other Congolese tribes nor the Banyamulenge had chosen the tribe they belong to. Geopolitical boundaries were drawn by colonial greed and not in the consent with nor in the interest of local people. Nevertheless, what needs to be done, is not to blame each other for what they are today. They are compatriots and each need to have his/her full rights as Congolese citizen and appreciate their cultural diversity in the essence of national hybridity.

For this matter, Horsley (1993:170) is quite correct in saying that God's kingdom brings "wholeness to the individual person" and the renewal of social and political identities. As much as any other Congolese national, don't the Banyamulenge members need to be recognized and be accepted for they way they are? As Carter (2000:133) also argues that the

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[362] Your children would be your leaders. Pastor Karikofi is the one who prophesied in 1968 that God will give them a territory and will be protected by an army from their own children.

meek, those who are dispossessed, would soon recover their land, as the occupying force would be replaced by God's empire. The owner of the land, the Lord God (Gn 1; Ps 24:1; Lv 25:23), distributes it justly and righteously, regardless of race, physical appearance, gender, language or ethnic group.

During his ministry to the needy, the Matthean Jesus proclaimed the kingdom of justice and righteousness which gave people rights to belong and to fellowship. In so doing, Jesus is creating an egalitarian society based on justice and righteousness, a society in which every person is entitled to have a fair judgment. The God of Israel had instructed his people to do justice so that they may live in the land (Dt 16:18-20). The DRC is a country of about 2,345,410 km^2 with an estimated population of about 55,000,000. It shares its borders with nine other countries, whose tribal groups are scattered across the boundaries. Furthermore, the Banyamulenge community totals between 400,000 and 500,000 people,[363] and yet politicians feel uncomfortable and are unable to accommodate them and to cohabit with them. Greed for power and possession of wealth has turned the Congo into a poor, miserable and ungovernable country.

Between 1993 and 1994, tribal antagonism between local tribes (the Bahunde, Banyanga, Banande) and Kinyarwanda speaking Congolese which was based on the issue of land ownership and which was instigated by politicians in North-Kivu (African Rights 2000:310-312; ICG 2003, 2005), left thousands of people dead, properties destroyed, and herds of cattle in their thousands pillaged. Thousands of people, mainly Kinyarwanda speaking Congolese, sought refuge in Rwanda and Uganda. One year earlier, in 1992, the ethnic cleansing and eviction of Kasai people (Baluba) from the Katanga province (Nzongola-Ntalaja1999b:46-47) had been instigated and supervised by provincial Katangese authorities. Thousands of Kasai people were killed and their properties destroyed on the grounds that they did not belong to the Katanga province.

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[363] For many years, no census has been conducted. The figures for both the Congolese population in general and the Banyamulenge community in particular, are based on estimation.

From the late 1980s through to the early 1990s, the Banyamulenge who lived in Vyura location,[364] in the Moba district of the Katanga province, also became the target of local authorities on the same grounds, namely that they did not belong there. In the Ituri region, the conflict between the Bahema and Balendu tribes (see Van Woudenberg 2004:189-204) over the issue of land, that has been raging since the early 1990s, has claimed thousands of lives. The conflict over control of land between the Babuyu and Babembe in the Fizi territory has been raging since the 1980s but has never been exposed, mainly because the area is isolated and the Babuyu is a minority group, without interlocutors who could raise their plight at provincial and national levels.

If there are people whose desire it is to do justice and righteousness (Mt 5:6) on behalf of those who had been denied justice, the land that is available would be enough for all. If not, those who have lost their land because of their powerless status will have it restored through God's intervention. As Van Tilborg (1986:19) and Carter (2000:131) argue, the proclamation of the kingdom is a quality in which God' power prevails against colonial and dictatorial regimes and proclaims justice to all subjects. The good news, according to Dupont (1969b:104), is that God will come to the defense of the oppressed and proclaim their salvation.

The Banyamulenge community has been generally and globally accused of collaborating with Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda. However, all other armed groups involved with foreign support seem not to cause any serious issue[365]. There is a critical question rather that needs

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[364] Letter of Banyamulenge local chiefs at Vyura to the Minister of Home Affairs and Local Government in Kinshasa, on 22 December 1989.

[365] Azarias Ruberwa, one of the Vice-Presidents of the DRC was interviewed by le *Soir* on 2 June 2005. In reply to a question on Rwandan support to his political party, he answered by saying that not a single movement in the Congo came to power without local and foreign alliances and that Rwanda should not be seen through him and his movement, the RCD. "*C'est très subjectif de croire que l'occupation rwandaise ne serait préjudiciable qu'à moi. Le pouvoir de Kabila est un pur produit du pouvoir rwandais: nous sommes arrivés par le biais de négociations; eux ont été installés par la force militaire rwandaise à Kinshasa. Et le RCD n'est pas la seule rébellion à avoir été soutenue de l'extérieur: Bemba le fut par l'Ouganda.*" (It is very subjective to believe that the Rwandan occupation would be only prejudicial towards me. Kabila's power is purely a product of Rwandan power: we arrived by means of negotiations, [but them] they, have been put in Kinshasa by a Rwandan military force. And the RCD is not the only rebellion to have been supported from outside: Uganda did the same in the case of Bemba).

to be examined: who else in the country based on his/her origins, had been denied his/her citizenship and became stateless in his/her own country?

In 1996 and in 1998, some Banyamulenge politicians, in alliance with other Congolese politicians from different political views and tribes worked together. They received support from various countries from near and far to fight regimes judged to be dictatorial. At the same time, the regimes being fought, also sought support from neighboring countries and beyond their borders. The argument is that members of the Banyamulenge community have also right, like any other citizen, to express their political feelings, particularly when their basic rights are at risk.

Jesus extends his kingdom and rights to live in the land to the poor, the powerless and to the stigmatized people of the land (see Van Tilborg (1986:19). Those neglected or disliked by existing power systems; those millions who are crying out for justice and righteousness are given preference (Is 46:3; 52:7-8). As Carter (2000:133) observes, God's rule "redistributes" equal access to basic resources with no favoritism. This can be achieved through Cabral's (1969:41-43) national liberation, which is through unity and endurance of cultures as the result of people's history. In this case, all peoples and cultures are equally recognized and appreciated for their contribution in building a nation where love, peace and unity prevail.

5.8.3 Love your enemies and a non-violent approach
In a short overview of the process in terms of which the Banyamulenge people reclaimed their rights, the following events can be highlighted: In 1933, their *chefferies* (local chieftaincies) in the Uvira territory were cancelled by colonial Belgians. From 1951 to 1952 they were evicted from Minembwe and Itombwe locations by colonial farmers. Between 1964 and 1968 their families and herds became the target of rebellion and tribal hatred. From 1979 to 1996, their social and political identity became problematic as a result of discriminatory policies which treated the Banyamulenge as foreigners in their own land.

For their part, the Banyamulenge used non-violent means to reclaim their rights until their lives became endangered. They used legal channels to reclaim their land, but had little success. Even when the *Groupement de Bijombo* was officially recognized by the Ministry of Local Government in 1979, members of the Banyamulenge community could not be candidates for its leadership on the grounds that they were foreigners. In 1982 and 1987, Banyamulenge parliamentary candidates were disqualified, while other politicians (from neighboring communities) still solicited votes from the community. When they were excluded from elections in 1982, they destroyed ballot boxes in different locations of Uvira and Mwenga as a means of protest and resistance against political discrimination.

Their use of force from 1964-1970, was purely in self-defense. The rebellion was not their initiative. Secondly, when it reached Uvira and Fizi, it became a tribal issue and the Banyamulenge became the immediate target. Helplessly, they joined government forces as a means of self-protection, but also in defense of the nation, like millions of other Congolese. Again, in 1996, the use of force (in self defense) was their last resort. Politicians who benefited from the anarchy and the "collapsed state" under Mobutu since early 1980s (cf Young & Turner 1985; Dunn 2003:105-138), worked locally and through the Parliament to frustrate, harass, discriminate against and eventually kill Banyamulenge members. Once more, legal procedures were used, with Banyamulenge mutualities in different places, local chiefs, women and students, pastors and NGOs submitted letters and memoranda to local, provincial and national authorities, but went unheard.

The reason for not being listened to is twofold. First, there was a general lack of responsible people within political and social institutions who would ensure that justice be done, not only to the Banyamulenge, but also to the millions of complaints from other Congolese on various issues. In other words, there was a total absence of responsible government. Second, their case was intentionally suppressed because of the political discrimination perpetrated by those in power, who played the role of the accuser/instigator and judge at the same time. Thirdly, the lack of control over the presence of Interahamwe

from Rwanda and FDD militia from Burundi by the government and the international community, exacerbated ethnic hatred in the Eastern Congo.

In 1996, Kabila with the help of youths from across the nation, particularly from the eastern region of the country, among them Banyamulenge youths, mounted a rebellion that toppled the dictatorship of Mobutu. Unfortunately and paradoxically, the Banyamulenge were accused of being foreigners and traitors, while Kabila who led the rebellion was called a nationalist. Does practicing the principles of the Sermon on the Mount make one a coward? Carter (2001:171) believes that the Sermon is part of the measures denouncing the injustice perpetrated by the Roman regime and its collaborators. The motif behind Banyamulenge resistance is not to kill, but to protect themselves and to let the Congolese politicians see otherness in the *Other*.

The example of church separation which occurred between CEPAC and CADC (as described in chapter three) also bears witness to the injustice that permeated even religious institutions. After a long time of frustration and endurance, Banyamulenge pastors decided to withdraw from the mother church, CEPAC (Mudagiri, et al Mwungura 1980). Moreover, the Banyamulenge church leadership participated in the measures of civil disobedience when the community was denied the right to vote in 1982 and ballot boxes were destroyed. This was interpreted as a subversive act which resulted in the imprisonment of many local Banyamulenge leaders.

According to Matthew, making peace meant that one must not kill (Mt 5:21-26) thus avoiding Roman courts. The judicial system under the Romans was unfair, corrupt and full of false testimony (Mt 15:18). Both the colonial and post-independent regimes in the Congo falsified the history of the people, which left the Banyamulenge community vulnerable and exposed to politics of divide and rule. As a consequence, where the law does not exist, anarchy reigns. From independence to date, the question of who benefited from rebellions, the chaos and anarchy, still remains unanswered.

Neither the central government, nor local politicians or the population at large, including Banyamulenge, was victorious. The refusal of national identity, thus turning people into a state of statelessness; the senseless killing of people, destruction of properties, hardship inflicted on innocent people, forcing survivors into refugee status since 1964 to this day, have only contributed to the collapse of the state and the betrayal of nationhood. Hatred and tribal animosity became uncontrolled. Both politicians and civil society representatives, including religious institutions, were caught up in wars and their consequences (see African Rights 2000:153-191). The involvement of foreign countries from Chad to Zimbabwe (Mangu 2003:242-243); the intervention of MONUC,[366] are the consequences of various political and economic interests of external bodies. However, the Congolese themselves share a greater responsibility for not being responsible toward one another and for not being able to be coherent in their definition of nationhood, in order to avoid this foreign political and military presence.

Today, the labeling of *Self* and *Other* is commonly exploited in political and social representations. Ethnicity has been used as a political tool in earning profit for some, whereas for others, it is the most dangerous road to venture on. Where does love for an enemy start? The use of force as self-defense by the Banyamulenge, among other Congolese military insurrections in 1996 meant that, in no time, the war became a regional war, attracting both foreign regular armies and mercenaries from the region and beyond (Vine 1999:67-69) as was the case in the 1960s (Clarke 1968). The same scenario was repeatedly observed in 1998.

Nevertheless, the most surprising turn in all this, is the fact that Tutsis became more visible than political aspirations of the war. This political stigmatization of the Banyamulenge community, ironically, identified them not as Congolese (their nationality), but as Tutsis (their ethnic group). It is in this regard that Sartre and Fanon's argument on anti-Semitism and blackness (Kruks 1996:122-133) comes to mind. Sartre argued that in an anti-Semitic world, a Jew is "over-determined" and that he/she would never be free not to be a Jew, the Other.

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[366] *Mission de l'organisation des nations Unies au Congo* (Mission of the United Nations in the Congo).

Fanon, on the other hand, feels the same pressure of being a Negro (see chapter two) as someone who is determined by the color of his/her skin.

 Political and rebel movements such as the AFDL, RCD, MLC, RCD-ML, UDPS, PPRD[367] etcetera, may represent views which are apparently sympathetic to the plight of Congolese society but which are exploitive as they do not necessarily act on a mandate from those very people that they claim to represent. It does, however, not preclude people living in misery from identifying with anyone who can provide any means of protection. The complication of the political scenario in the Congo and the Great Lakes Region since independence is that hatred and tribal animosity have led some people to believe that their security depends on the extermination or exclusion of the other and that tribal majority or minority formation would ensure their survival.

Yet, the message of Jesus is to love the neighbor (Mt 22:39) and the enemy (Mt 5:44). Because, political and social structures in any given context are not beyond reproach (Mt 5:21-22; cf 1 Jn 1:10). Political and social systems built around tribes and based on exclusion can only exacerbate hatred and will never secure peace and security between neighbors, or enemies for that matter. At the same time, a corrupt judicial system cannot promote peace and unity among differing parties.

Speaking purely from a human point of view, it is an extremely difficult, however, if not impossible, to overcome bitterness, hatred, and sorrow and to come to love an enemy. In view of recent examples of war, genocide, tribal conflicts which have left deep open wounds on bodies and hearts, it takes God's grace to forgive. Nevertheless, Matthew was no less of a victim and is talking from experience. Matthew witnessed anarchy, in which assassinations of people through organized banditry and acts of vengeance prevailed (Mt 2:16-17; 14:1-12; 23:27-35) and the *lex talionis* (Mt 5:38) was not a new practice to him (Ex 21:23; Lv 24:17-23; Dt 19:21). But Matthew wants to overcome evil by doing good, by loving one's enemy (Mt 5:44) as a means of resistance against hatred and injustice.

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[367] *Parti Populaire du Peuple pour la Reconstruction et la Démocratie* (Popular People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy).

What has happened in the Great Lakes Region can best be described as disastrous. Foreign troops and militia came and waged war in the DRC; local rebel movements waged war against their governments; the governments turned against their own people; tribes turned against one another; groups within one tribe/community turned against each other. And in the absence of justice, survival of the strongest became the only law in the land. Matthew is speaking from a similar experience and is convinced that the way to peace is not to kill, but to love and to forgive. Interventions from the United Nations (UN) the African Union (AU) or the European Union (EU) will not solve the crisis in the DRC unless the Congolese themselves accept in the first instance to make peace with one another. That is to give effect to the command, to love a neighbor and an enemy. To this effect a number of peace initiatives have been organized by members of civil society (churches, para-church organizations) and NGOs in the country and in the Great lakes Region in partnership with international organizations. But much still remains to be done.

It is only by making peace with one another that humanity will be recovered and true and perfect worship of God can be achieved (Mt 5:48). To be perfect in God's eyes is to love one's enemy. In so doing, the Matthean community qualifies to be a community of sons and daughters of God. Matthew makes the basis clear in the golden rule (Mt 7:12) and in the Great Commandment to love God and the neighbor (Mt 22:37-39).

As the war raged in 1996, coalition forces within the AFDL were gaining ground. Banyamulenge politicians and soldiers were instructed to be forgiving and patient and that if they obeyed, God would protect them and would give them victory. However, this was not observed and failures that ensued were blamed on their misconduct. Soon after the victory of the AFDL in May 1997, their sacrifices were betrayed, when in August 1998, they fell victim to anti-Tutsi campaign and massacres (see Nzongola-Ntalaja 1999:46-48; Sarkin 2001; Mangu 2003:240; see Hans 2004:223).

As far as the conflict within the Banyamulenge community itself is concerned, it can be said that lack of political cohesion divided brothers, each blaming the other for the fate that

befell the community. However, using Young's (2003:141-143) argument, the community was going through a process of political, social and religious translation, whereby the desire to live according to old traditions, under the *abacu* concept, was reduced to mere nostalgia, while not being fully accepted in the current situation. At the same time, there was internal political competition and ambition, as was the case in the Matthean community (Mt 20:20-28). The fragmentation of the community since 1998 turned into a mercenary-type affair.

The PPRD of Kabila enjoyed support from one group, with the MLC of Jean-Pierre Bemba forming another considerable force, while a couple of others joined the side of the RCD/ML of Mbusa Nyamwisi . The RCD-Goma remained with another group. Despite the forces of soldiers from Banyamulenge being dispersed to different belligerent movements, anti-Tutsi sentiments grew and members of the community became victims of tribalism (African Rights 2000:168-178, 298-309) whenever they were found across the country.

At a seminar organized by the Eben-Ezer Ministry in 2004,[368] Banyamulenge pastors reflected on the current issues affecting them and the future of the community. As any other community in the midst of apocalyptic times, several challenges were identified: (i) Internal divisions in local churches; (ii) Leadership wrangles both within the church, society and politics; (iii) lack of justice, a culture of impunity and negative solidarity; (v) lack of repentance and mutual forgiveness of various parities in internal and external conflicts. Based on this diagnosis, the Sermon on the Mount applies to the situation. Forgiveness must happen so that sins can be forgiven (Mt 6:12-15). They must love their neighbors as well as their enemies (Mt 5:43-48).

Belgian colonialism must indeed be blamed for having incited political tribalism, but for how long? After forty-five years of independence, whom does the Congo blame for its tribalism, lack of justice and sense of nationhood? When and how will all tribes, particularly those living in the Eastern Congo region, come to love one another and

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[368] Eben-Ezer Ministry International, *Compte-rendu de la rencontre de pasteurs Banyamulenge du 22 au 23 juillet 2004.* Minutes of a meeting of Banyamulenge pastors held from 22 to 23 July 2004).

develop a sense of brotherhood? How can the Congolese state come to terms with its failures and begin to find solutions in building a multi-cultural identity in which all tribes, races and social strata will find a sense of unity and security?

These are only a few of the many questions one could ask at this juncture and which desperately need to be answered. The Congolese government has a huge responsibility to lead people in peace and prosperity by introducing and defending a sense of mutual sharing of resources and justice for all.

Senghor (1961:54-55) delivered a very profound speech to the 16th session of the UN General Assembly. In his concluding remarks, Senghor challenged tricontinental countries, by what he called an "examination of conscience". He said:

> We are accustomed at times to speak harshly of the great Powers. I, also, have done this, but when all is said and done, are there no criticism which we should make of ourselves? The truth is that by our ambitions, our weaknesses and our errors, we have discouraged neither the arms race nor the cold war. We have denounced the imperialism of the great Powers perhaps to hide a lesser imperialism among ourselves in the 'third world'. We have sought disarmament on the part of the great Powers while turning our own countries into arsenals. We proclaim neutralism but we do not always support this claim with a policy of true neutrality. It is time for us, the third world or non-aligned world, to do our duty, if we truly wish to influence the great powers … It is time to make our deeds match our words; it is time for us, in turn, to listen to the voice of reason and the voice of the heart.
>
> (Senghor 1961:54-55)

Matthew shows the way for a community to settle issues among themselves (Mt 22:37-40). Mutual love (Malina & Rohrbaugh 1992:56-57), understanding, forgiveness and reconciliation, *diallasso*, must replace the Roman and religious court systems. If the Congo is to succeed, it must enact a law which offers equal protection to all its citizens and seeks reconciliation beyond subjective judgment (Mt 7:1-5). Likewise, a responsible and impartial government would serve the interests of all its citizens; it is a government which would not corrupt its own systems or squander its own resources; a government that would establish bilateral and diplomatic relationship with its neighbors. If the DRC government adopts principles of good governance, it will avoid unnecessary social and political interference of foreigners and will live in peace.

5.8.4   Family affairs

Matthew highlights a number of issues that merit further attention. One is adultery and the other pertains to divorce (Mt 5:27-32; 19:1-12). Matthew records tension between Joseph and an innocent Mary (Mt 1:18-20) who found herself pregnant outside wedlock. At the time certain laws governed the society in matters of sexual relationships (Van Tilborg 1986:59, 64). The circumstance surrounding the death of John the Baptist (Mt 14:1-1) is another example of marital problems during the time of Matthew, in which women became sexually exploited.

Jesus' teaching comes as a social revolution to terminate women sexual exploitation, which Roman regime was practicing (Mt 14:1-12; Mk 6:17-20; Lk 3:19), together with religious leaders. But what is the situation beyond Matthew's culture? Three issues which are found in Banyamulenge practice need to be highlighted.

First issue is divorce and remarriage. It is true that women had no social status in a Judean and Greco-Roman cultural setting which as Carter (2000:378) puts it, "reflects dominant Jewish and Greco-Roman attitudes to women and divorce." In this regard the case of Mwungura (see chapter three above) can be recalled. In 1945, he was divorced by his wife because he defiled his culture and tradition by being baptized. The families supported this

divorce, because Mwungura dishonored them. In this case, Pauline theology on marriage and divorce permitted Mwungura to remarry (1Cor 7:1-24).

Second issue is polygamy and Christian restrictions. Polygamy is not explicitly discussed in Matthew apart from his reference to the story of creation (19:8). Pauline theology of marriage, however, refers to this issue in a restrictive manner (1 Tim 3:12). To this day, missionaries and church doctrines support the idea that the polygamous must part with some of the wives, preferably the late comers for them to be accepted as committed Christians. However, the one who is discarded has a remote chance of remarrying, thus falling in the category of vulnerable and homeless women, after being separated from her home and children. More severely, this practice of breaking families has a negative impact on children who are victimized and denied the care of their mother.

The Great Lakes region, as many other war-torn countries in the world, experiences a serious challenge as far as the future of thousands of widows in the society and particularly in churches is concerned. How do churches minister to them? Matthew does not deal with this problem explicitly in his community like Paul (1 Tim 5). In the Banyamulenge community, as is the case in Israelite tradition, and in many other African communities, the custom is to take care of widows.

But the restriction of traditions by Christian doctrine endangers the future of the widow who entirely depends on the community. When life becomes unbearable, this widow finds herself having children. This becomes problematic both to the church and the family, because in most cases these children are fathered by (officially) unknown fathers. Who should be responsible for those babies? In most cases, such a widow is not economically independent. In the end she becomes a burden either to ill equipped churches (with no program for widows, nor for such babies) or to the family (disturbed by the fact that they either don't know father(s) of such babies or do not belong to the family).

Culturally, there is a problem of inheritance associated with such children. Then there is also the danger of these widows, who are left unprotected by family traditions, becoming

involved with several men, "unfaithful" men amongst others, who might cause tragedy by infecting them with deadly diseases. The other issue is when some of the widows would like to remarry. In this case, traditionally and constitutionally, such widows are not protected. The moment they are remarried they lose automatically the right to belong and to own their late husbands properties, and even the right to raise up her children.

Churches which have discouraged the tradition of polygamy have not yet come up with an alternative solution to this issue. Consequently, these women become dislocated (Young 1996:8; 2003:69-92; cf Van Aarde 2004a) from their family traditions and become marginal to Christian practices.

Third issue is adultery. According to Banyamulenge culture, sleeping with someone's wife as long as it is within the family ties was not an offense. It would only be an offense if committed outside one's family, and it was a serious and shameful offense when committed outside community boundaries. Traditional life was in all aspects a communal life. With the coming of Christianity, such practices were prohibited in the community.

But still adultery was not considered to be serious enough an issue to be a ground for divorce. But this gradually changed when members of the community were going through a process of acculturation as they mixed with other cultures and were exposed to western civilization and Christian religion. Some cases of divorce on the grounds of adultery have been recorded, but it is still on a small scale. Reference to adultery (Mt 5:27-30; 19:9) as a sin and the message of forgiveness (Mt 18:22) that Matthew implies causes hermeneutical difficulties. What sins are and are not forgivable seventy-seven times and why?

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

6.1   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to summarize the findings of this study. It will include a summary of objectives, the findings of the study and some concluding marks.

6.2 Summary of objectives of study

From the outset, the main objective of this study was to contribute towards a postcolonial reading in Matthean scholarship by examining the concept of justice and righteousness. The focus was to establish how the principle of justice and righteousness is applied in the Matthean community and beyond. To achieve this, argument formulations were based on the social and political setting of the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5-7). The findings were applied to the reading of the story of the Canaanite woman (Mt 15:21-28). Furthermore, a contemporary parallel application with the Banyamulenge community, whose social and political identities have been contested by the government of the DRC since 1960s, has been made.

It was concluded that

(i)   The theme of justice and righteousness was an important one in Matthew's theology;

(ii)   All people, poor and rich, Judeans and aliens, the powerful and the powerless are equal before the will of God and deserve equal and fair judgment regardless of their social, economic and political status;

(iii)   The contestation of the Banyamulenge community's citizenship by successive governments of the DRC was a threat to justice and righteousness. It was a result of colonial and postindependent devices that needed to be challenged;

(iv)   Postcolonial theory is the appropriate method which facilitates a constructive reading of the Gospel of Matthew from a social and political setting to a text which can be applied to contemporary neocolonial settings.

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6.3   Findings of study

Chapter two of this research dealt with the development of postcolonial theory. The different stages from anti-slavery movements to anti-racism campaigns were reviewed. Although this was a brief journey through a vast field, the work of Robert J C Young (2001, 2003), among others, was most helpful. Revolutionary movements and philosophies in Latin America, India and in Africa alongside the feminist campaigns were briefly explored. Subsequently, postcolonial theory was transformed into a model/method, which facilitated a reading of the Matthean Sermon on the Mount.

As part of this research, two trends of postcolonial theory emerged and are worth mentioning. First, postcolonial theory was found to be a highly paradoxical exercise especially when dealing with locations and specificities in a world of globalization. Ivison's (1997:154) concern, namely that it was "extremely difficult to establish a general sense of postcolonialism," since it means different things to different people with different histories in different contexts, is indeed valid.

Postcolonial theory is not in fact a theory in the scientific sense of the word (Young 2003:1-8), which understandably is an elaborated and ready-made collection of principles that can predict the outcome of a given set of phenomena. Postcolonial theory rather entails related yet different perspectives. In other words, one's sorrow became another's joy; the loss of one became the fortune of the other; the liberation of one became the subjugation of another (the oppressed became the oppressor and vice versa). Therefore, subjectivity within the definition of surviving identities' framework becomes a fatal flaw in postcolonial theory.

This can be attributed to the continuity within the discontinuity of colonialism and imperialism in the postcolonial era. Secondly, the clash between the political-economic interests of capitalism and the cultural values of traditional societies has further widened the gap in the world of inequalities. Ever since colonial times, the powerful has dominated and subjugated the weak and has kept the latter in a permanent state of dependency, despite political independence. Thirdly, people of tricontinental countries lost their land and traditional identities to their conquerors, who in turn, appropriated themselves the right to subjectively

(re)define and (re)write the history of the colonized. Fourthly, revolutionary heroes became the victims of the colonizer's oppressive machinery, which left in its wake countless, orphans and widows and left countries divided and alienated. Finally, the world's resources are not shared according to the needs of the poor/weak, but are used in accordance with the interests of the wealthy/powerful.

The blending of natives' experiences of oppression with the colonial culture of excessive force can never create equality within a postcolonial setting. It, however, remains a matter of desire. As Nkrumah (1965:xi; 1968:15) had observed on a political level, such amalgamation produced neocolonialism in the name of civilization (Loomba 1998:184). Within this new breed of independent states that have no control but to accept their fate and to become nativized, it eventually creates a culture of dependency. The reconciliation process of the colonizer and the colonized is a never-ending process, because the "post" in postcolonialism is not yet reached, and the struggle for a total liberation remains a lifetime mechanism.

The other crucial point within postcolonial theory is the failure of independent states to create a national consciousness (see Fanon 1995:156). While neocolonialism will be blamed as a continuity of imperialism, the incompetence of national elites in dealing with issues pertaining to the welfare of their nations must also be taken into consideration. They have failed to keep to the spirit of nationalism by putting in place both political and economic structures, in order to reinforce and safeguard the essence of their independence. Instead, nationalism was replaced by regionalism, tribalism and ethnic wrangles. This weakness should not only be interpreted as a mutilation of the colonized by the colonizer, but also because of intellectual slackness of national elites in their "spiritual penury".

On the other hand, as many theorists have foreseen (Riley 1963:704-716; cf Van Staden 1994:166-167) postcolonial theory confronts some crucial translation problems (Van Aarde 2004a:14-15). Certain fallacies arose in research, because either the "methods failed to fit model" or the "methods failed to fit facts". Subsequently, postcolonial theory becomes vulnerable to ethnocentrism and anachronism.

Second, the main essence of postcolonial theory lies in what Che Guevara (1995:20) said: "Man ceases to be the slave and tool of his environment and converts himself into the architect of his own destiny". Postcolonial theory bears witness to the unequal forces of cultural representation (Bhabha 1994:171) that are involved in a constant competition for political, economic and social control within the contemporary world. Postcolonial theory emerges from the discourse of marginality within the geopolitical spheres of West and East, North and South.

A postcolonial reading challenges any measures of exploitation in postcolonial settings by claiming equal treatment in society.The theory is construed and intervenes as a reaction to ideological discourses of Western hegemony and its local agents in their process of further oppression and unequal development principles. Postcolonial theory formulates its critique around social histories, cultural difference and political discrimination that are practiced and normalized by colonial and imperial machineries. The critique concerns (Young (2001:1-11; 57-69) itself with the history of colonialism in the past and in the present.

Postcolonial theory is inspired by anti-slavery and anti-colonial liberation struggles. Thus it can be defined as a dialectical discourse that marks more broadly the historical facts of decolonization. This critique allows people emerging from socio-political and economic domination to achieve their own sovereignty. It negotiates space for the marginalized to speak. In so doing, a new hybrid society, consisting of a mixture of colonizer/colonized, rich/poor, high/low classes, masculinity/femininity emerges in which all become equal insofar as justice and righteousness are concerned.

According to this study marginality (Duling (2003:14), is defined as structural inequality within systems that arrange people according to a binary social stratification. That is, it places certain persons in the center, while others are placed on the periphery. Marginality manifests in various forms of cultural identification, such as hybridity, subalternity, Negritude, Diaspora. In the Banyamulenge community the concept of *abacu* is used, while the Matthean community took refuge in *brotherhood*. These terminologies not only are used to differentiate *Self* from *Other* in the world of representation, but they are also tools by

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which the very act of difference is challenged and serve as derivative discourse which helps the colonizer, the powerful, the racist, the tribalist, the elite, and the wealthy to see equality and otherness in the *Other*.

The concept of marginality in its hybrid sense negotiates a new platform which both the colonizer and the colonized must use as a meeting point after their original identities have gone through a translation process. This allows every culture to have input in the new cultural identity in the making.

Is postcolonial theory an appropriate biblical research method? How can its models be drawn? These are some of the questions dealt with by this research. The answer to both questions is in the affirmative. This research defined a theory as a basic scheme in terms of which a variety of observations and statements become explainable, while a model is an instrument in a social process which facilitates an understanding of a given context being investigated. In other words, theory serves as a foundation upon which models are built in order to produce a working methodology in a particular study (cf Elliot 1993:42; see Carney 1975:7-9; Esler 1995:4-8).

Before narrowing the theory and model down to the Gospel of Matthew, this study looked at how postcolonial theory fits the alternative hermeneutical tool for tricontinental biblical readers. Africa, Asia and Latin America were subjected to slavery and colonialism which was followed by religion and western civilization. The colonizer exercised cultural domination and assimilation (see Dube 1997:20). However, since the Bible is product of colonial experiences (Pui-lan 1996:213), postcolonial reading is to examine socio-political, economic and historical processes that call it into being. In this way the Bible texts contain a voice of justice and righteousness and a call for liberation.
Moreover, a postcolonial reading of the Bible is a war against sin: neocolonialism, corruption, dictatorship and social injustices in every aspect of society, regardless of the agent. In this case a postcolonial critique is not a discourse of historical finger pointing, but a tireless committed struggle for total decolonization and liberation of the oppressed (Dube 1997:14). In other words, the oppressed must find his/her deliverance and revolutionary

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message from the Word of God. No matter how the Bible is used or abused by the colonizer, the meaning of liberation of God's people – the oppressed - never loses its power. Rightly so, the Bible (Segovia 1995b:327-330) is and will remain the "effective weapon and faithful ally" in the struggle of liberation against injustice and oppression committed by external, internal and evil powers that come to destroy the likeness of God in the human being.

The above affirmation takes to task the question of biblical interpretation. Who has the right of reading the Bible on behalf of the *Other*? In other words, who has the right of representation in biblical reading? The Bible as Pui-lan (1996:212-213) said, is not "a frozen artifact", whose meaning can only be activated or given by "the experts in the metropolitan centers" under the rubric of "objectivity" and "scientific" inquiry. The Bible is the Word of God and must be decolonized so that those on the peripheries have access to its healing power (Is 61:1-3). Therefore, as has been established in chapter two, the traditional triangular hermeneutics (the Bible provides the text – the West produces the hermeneutics – the rest reads) – must be reviewed as part of a postcolonial process.

The idea is not to destroy the hermeneutical tools produced by Western theologians, but at the same time, Bible readers must make use of and expand the hermeneutical principles that are being produced from and are relevant to tricontinental realities. African perspectives and contexts for that matter must stimulate exegetes to formulate questions that are relevant to their own situations. Tricontinental theologians must also actively engage in innovative theological research that will open up new landscapes in biblical scholarship. This tricontinental hermeneutics must be relevant to tricontinental contexts but also to the rest of biblical interpretation. The critique of Schroer (2003:1-17) on feminist hermeneutics is very appealing, in that the feminist exegesis need to move from deconstructive to constructive hermeneutical approaches. This equally applies to tricontinental hermeneutics.

With the help of postcolonial theory as hermeneutical tool, the Sermon on the Mount was investigated insofar as it related to the concept of justice and righteousness. This hermeneutical tool was subsequently applied to three other cases, namely the Matthean

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community, the Canaanite mother's story and the Banyamulenge community. The study has revealed that these communities had the following in common:

6.3.1   Justice and righteousness as a core value in Mt 5-7

It has been found that justice and righteousness and purity are an integral part of Israelite tradition and intertwined with other ancient Near East traditions (Weinfeld 1995; Crossan 1998:182-208; Richardson 2000). From a social, political and religious point of view, these terms define the character of God which is both protecting and liberating. The concept of justice and righteousness (Weinfeld 1995:7) is associated with God's power, his mercy in bettering the situation of the destitute (Jr 7:5-6; Zch 7:9-10). It is important to note that the ancient Near East tradition of justice and righteousness makes explicit mention of justice the weak, the fatherless and the homeless, including the poor, the widowed, orphaned and aliens. These vulnerable members of the community needed God's divine and royal protection for they lacked paternal linkage to the safety nets offered by kinship.

In such a context, improving the situation of the destitute, the elimination of exploitation and oppression, the liberation of slaves and the establishment of equity and fair judgment were found to be key elements in maintaining justice and righteousness in the community. The precarious situation of the voiceless and the weak whose rights are denied by the powerful, the rich and kings touches the heart of God and forces him to act on their behalf (Ex 22:21-27; 23:6, 9; Dt 24:12-15). God's justice and righteousness, is a liberating power whose manifestation takes place within the world of the living.

6.3.2   The Matthean community and the Sermon on the Mount

A context of oppression and power, hunger and death, war and insecurity, poverty, land reform and economic hardship, exploitation and dispossession (see Van Tilborg 1986:13) is the reality that the Matthean community was facing. Through the Beatitudes, Jesus showed his solidarity with the poor and the afflicted of his time. Resistance against the oppressive structures which left people landless, made them poor, caused them untold grief and which made them the persecuted in their own land, was the main focus of Jesus' speech on the mountaintop.

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Both the temple and Jerusalem were destroyed during the war. The question the community had to grapple with was who should be blamed for this crisis? Matthew challenged both religious leaders and the Roman colonizer for not showing justice and righteousness as the fulfillment of the law and the prophets – the will of God (Mt 5:17-20; 7:21) - to his creation suffering under oppression and economic exploitation. The Romans and their local collaborators on the other hand, blamed Judean militants for insurrections against established ruling structures – i.e. the government. Militants blamed religious leaders and other Judean aristocrats for collaborating with an invader and oppressor.

At this stage Judean society was clearly falling apart (Mt 12:25-26). Both Formative Judaism and the Matthean community were making efforts to save it from total collapse in the aftermath of the destruction of the temple and Jerusalem. The Sermon on the Mount, therefore, is seen as a socio-political and religious discourse by which Matthew responds to his situation. The Matthean context was largely influenced by social, economic and political upheaval. Based on Overman's (1996:19-26) argument the crisis within Judaism groupings can be defined in the following manner.

- Leadership and cultural vacuum: The destruction of the city and the temple caused disarray within the community and provoked numerous contentions between various groups. Matthew viewed the Pharisees and scribes as rivals and threats to his community's security and their way of life and vice versa.
- Legal interpretation of the law: Formative Judaism and the Matthean community were involved in a dispute with regard to the right interpretation of the law. The Pharisees held onto the legalism of the Mosaic Law and the traditions of the fathers. The Sadducees, again, challenged the authority of the traditions of the fathers. Matthew on the other hand, defended his innovative interpretation of the law presented by Jesus (Mt 5-7).

- Structure and order of the community: The Pharisees strengthened the idea of the temple through local synagogues, while Matthew was busy building a new concept

of brotherhood (Mt 18:1-20) and *ekklesia* around his members (Mt 16:18-19). Issues pertaining to discipline, authority, church liturgy and worship were thus examples of the order that Matthew sought to present to his marginal community.

- Community identity: The political turmoil experienced, the unsuccessful revolt and Roman repression, undoubtedly would have cast doubt in people's minds as far as the fate of all Judeans was concerned. More particularly, each group in its own way was looking for solutions to save all Judeans from war. For the Matthean community the Sermon on the Mount represented the response to such crisis. It emphasized the fact that in order to prevent the disintegration of a community, all should be brothers.

- The future of the community: The actual survival of the community became a serious problem. Matthew's community had to deal with several issues at the same time. One the one hand, there was the political and armed repression from the Romans to contend with. On the other hand, the internal division within Judaism deepened. Matthew found his community by and large being marginalized by existing power structures that exercised influence in the social, religious and political spheres of his time. Even more discouraging was the presence of discord and ill-discipline within the Matthean community itself. The community found refuge in the concept of brotherhood under the leadership of the Father-God who is in heaven. Every member of society, from maims to the rich, had the right to belong to this brotherhood.

6.3.3 The Canaanite mother (Mt 15:21-28)

What was established in the case of the story of the Canaanite mother is that she has to be regarded as marginalized and that her identity was stigmatized in advance: (i) she was a woman; (ii) she was a foreigner both from an ethnical and a religious point of view; (iii) she was pleading for an unclean demon-possessed girl and (iv) Tyre and Sidon too were under Roman colonization. Notwithstanding her status, the Canaanite mother was unrelenting in

her plea for justice until Jesus overcame the barriers (cultural, religious, political prejudices and gender discrimination) and did the will of God.

The Canaanite mother's claiming of wholeness for her daughter not only demonstrated her resistance against the injustice done to women and foreigners, but also to the misappropriation of God's healing power. The mother's plea liberated Jesus from the Judean cultural ghetto within which he found himself and helped him to discover a desire of doing justice and righteousness. Jesus was then urged to behave as the Messiah (Dolto 1980:16-17) not only for the Judeans, but for all in the region and beyond under foreign occupation who yearned for liberation.

Through the mother a very disturbing factor was presented to the Matthean Jesus, namely the knowledge that the Judean community was undergoing social mutation and that the community eventually had to become a hybrid, more accommodating one. This knowledge he had to impart to the disciples. Seen in a different way, it was the beginning of the community of brotherhood. Circumstance taught Jesus that he should take care of all, regardless of their socio-political, religious and geographical provenance.

It is crucial to note that the Matthean Jesus finds himself in a situation of discovering God's will and what he discovered was totally different from his Judean background. Being a Judean male, Jesus' mission was shaped and delimited by Judean cultural and religious belief. Yet, as a divine messenger proclaiming justice and righteousness to the afflicted (Lk 4:18-19), the illuminative thought of doing God's will – justice and righteousness (Mt 5:17; cf Ex 18:15; Jn 4:34) and showing mercy (Mt 9:12) as a servant of all nations (Mt 12:18; 20:28) prevailed. It is also important to note that in light of the concept of brotherhood, the kingdom of God is a hybrid composition in which all nations, tribes, races, genders find equal treatment.

6.3.4 The Banyamulenge community

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In light of postcolonial reading of the Sermon on the Mount, it has been found that the Banyamulenge community resisted and continues to resist injustice they suffered since colonial times. This can be summarized in the words of the old poet Muyengeza:

> *Baje amigobomba,* (they came across)
> *Baje bakikiye Tanganika,* (they came around the shores of [the lake] Tanganyika)
> *Bamirwa n'Isata* (they were swallowed by a python)
> *Isanga ni ibitigiri* (it found them too [strong to bite/to crash]).

The fact that the Banyamulenge people's citizenship was contested by successive governments in the DRC right from colonial times poses a threat to justice and righteousness. During the course of time, the Banyamulenge community has been the victim of the following:

- **Belgian colonial regime:**

The Banyamulenge resisted the colonial idea of land occupation primarily because the survival of their livestock was at stake (Kidogi 1985:22-32). Secondly, they resisted being treated as colonial subjects. Thirdly, they resisted the exorbitant colonial taxes levied on their livestock. Whereas the Belgians imposed taxes on rubber collection elsewhere (Slade 1962:177-178), the Banyamulenge were forced to pay taxes (*ikori* or *umurambu*) for themselves and for their cattle. Fourthly, they were seen as potential competitors in cattle farming and eventually, in the early 1950s, they, together with their livestock were evicted from Itombwe and Minembwe. Consequently, they became the victim of the colonial policy of divide and rule and exploitation. During the colonial campaign of restructuring local administrations, they again became victims when their traditional administrative entities – the *chefferies* were banned (*supprimées*) (Gatimbirizo 1988:26-27; Mutambo 1997:65-67).

- **Congolese government:**

 After losing their traditional leadership (*chefferies*) linked to the land, the Banyamulenge were administratively represented by their neighbors (the Bafuliru, Bavira and/or Babembe), depending on the locations. In the postcolonial Congo, they were considered as mere outsiders from Rwanda and Burundi (Muzuri 1983:140).

On the other hand, the issue of nationality, which has become the most controversial and the most exploited by politicians in the RDC, is politically motivated. From a constitutional point of view, it has been found that the Banyamulenge people have been victims of bad, tribal and irresponsible governments that have successively manipulated the country's constitution and failed to bring justice to Congolese. The fact that the Banyamulenge people, whose presence in what was to become the DRC, can be traced back to between the 16th and 19th centuries, and being as indigenous as any other Congolese tribe, is completely overlooked. In April 2004, the current transitional parliament adopted a new constitution which stipulates the inclusion of all people who were in the DRC at the time of independence, i.e. 30 June 1960. What is lacking in ensuring a just application though is not so much the letter of the law as the actual implementation thereof by a responsible government.

- **Regional politics and the stigmatization of ethnicity:**

It has been found that lack of good neighborliness in the Great Lakes Region constituted yet another problem for the Banyamulenge community. It must also be understood that since 1993 ethnic hatred in the Eastern Congo was exacerbated by the presence of the Interahamwe and extremist Hutus from Rwanda and Burundi who enjoyed the support of Mobutu's government and later on that of Laurent Desiré Kabila. Moreover, the ethnic discrimination and conflict in the Great Lakes, and the wars of 1996 and 1998 stigmatized the Banyamulenge community who ironically, were generally not identified as Congolese (their nationality), but as Tutsis (their ethnic group).

- **International complicity:**

The selfish political and economic interests of those countries in the region and beyond, that were either directly or indirectly involved in the conflict, coupled with weakness from the Congolese government, tribalism and ethnic differences all contributed to the misery and killings of millions of Congolese, including Banyamulenge. The lack of political will to solve the problems of ethnic conflict and tribalism linked to geopolitical realities and consequences of colonial boundaries in Africa will sooner or later result in further fragmentation of Africa. The failure of the international community to deal with the consequences of genocide in

Rwanda and the presence of the Interahamwe in the DRC is yet another obstacle for any prospect for peace, not only for the Banyamulenge, but for all tribes living in the Eastern Congo and the region at large.

- **The disintegration of the community:**

The lack of a clear and properly articulated agenda in both the short and the long term for the community within local, national and regional perspectives, constituted a further threat to the community. From a church's point of view, cognizance should be taken of the following: Notwithstanding the fact that Christianity brought significant improvement in the life of the community, it was also responsible for creating leadership competition and for dividing the community into several denominational groups. On the other hand, the emerging leadership class in the community must still articulate its political and social principles, which will define and protect the community within the larger scope of local, national, regional and internationals realities. The community's real threat today is not the Belgians, the Rwandans, nor other Congolese tribes for that matter, but a bad and corrupt political system, supported either from outside or from within the community itself.

Therefore, the Congolese government, in its successive multi-form systems, must be held accountable for not doing enough to secure justice for all its citizens. The Sermon on the Mount compels the government of Congo to do justice and righteousness, for this is the will of God. On the other hand, Banyamulenge community as well as all their neighboring communities are called not to judge but to love one another, in order to live in the land peacefully. As long as the Matthean concept of brotherhood and unity is not practiced within Congolese communities, peace of Congo will be constantly interfered by imperialism and its regional and local agents. Because "Every kingdom divided against itself will be ruined" (Mt 12:25).

6.4 Concluding remarks

The Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5-7) more than any other teaching in the Gospel, provides principles for justice and righteousness that need to be practiced not only within the

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Matthean community, but also beyond. The Matthean concept of brotherhood breaks traditions, cultural barriers, economic, political and religious stigmatization and opens a door for equity. The Sermon is also to be understood as a measure of resistance against imperialism and its local agents that have robbed people of their rights and dignity. Consequently, the stigmatization based on race, ethnicity and gender based exclusion, must be resisted and abolished under the effects of justice and righteousness through Jesus Christ.

APPENDIX (I)

(1) Chronological Table of Roman Emperors from 31 BC to 117 CE

Emperor	Date
Augustus	31 BC – 14 CE
Tiberius	14 CE – 37 CE
Caligula	37 – 41
Claudius	41 – 54
Nero	54 – 68
Galba, Otho, Vitellius	68 – 69
Vespesian	69 – 79
Titus	79 – 81
Domitian	81 – 96
Nerva	96 – 98
Trajan	98 – 117

(2) Chronological Table of Roman Procurators in Judea from 6 CE to 66 CE

No	Procurator in Judea	Date
1	Coponius	6 CE-9 CE
2	Marcus Ambivius	9-12
3	Annius Rufus	12-15
4	Valerius Gratus	15-26
5	Pontius Pilate	26-37 CE
6	Marullus	37
7	Cuspius Fadus	44
8	Tiberius Alexander	48
9	Ventidius Cumanus	48-52
10	Antonius Felix	52-60
11	Porcius Festus	60-62
12	Lucceius Albinus	62-64
13	Gesius Florus	64-66

(3) Chronological table of Judean kings from 39 BCE to 93 CE

Location	King	Date
Judea	Herod the Great	39 BCE – 4 BCE
Galilee and Perea	Herod Antipas	4 BCE – 39 CE
	Agrippa I	39 – 44
	Agrippa II	44-93
Judea, Samaria & Idumea	Herod Archelaus	4 BCE – 6 CE
Northern Palestine	Philip	4 BCE – 34 CE

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APPENDIX (II)

A brief chronology of major events in the Banyamulenge community during the 20th century

6 October 1891: The Banyamulenge *chefferie* (local entity) led by Gahutu was among several entities officially recognized by the Belgian colonialists in the Luvungi sector in the district of Uvira.

1909: The Kayira chieftaincy was mentioned by Mr. Prassek (*Chef de Secteur*) as being among those recognized by the Belgian authority in Luvungi.

1924: The relegation of Bigimba, a Banyamulenge chief, after a conflict developed between him and Mahina, the Bafuliru chief.

1927: Settlement of Rutambge in the Bibogobogo locality, Fizi district.

1928 and 1937: Colonial leadership created artificially large *chefferies* and sectors into which different entities were merged. As a result, the Banyamulenge people lost their autonomy.

1932: Chief Muhire arrived in Itombwe.

1944: Chief Muhire is among those local chiefs recognized in Itombwe location by colonial authorities.

1945: The coming of Christian religion; first group of community members are baptized: Andrea Kajabika, Matayo Mwungura and Madame Kibihira. Madam Kibihira becomes the first a martyr of Christian belief.

1950-1957: Christian revival, literacy classes and primary education.

1956: Banyamulenge settlement in Nganja location.

1958-1963: A time of religious revival, with prayers being held on mountains, in forests and by rivers, accompanied by the building of churches in villages.

1961-1962: Official recognition of a primary school with 6 classes in Bijombo. Elia Gaturuturu became deputy headmaster, the first highest position held by a Banyamulenge in public administration.

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1964-1968: The rebellion against government of Kinshasa led by Pierre Mulele and Laurent Desiré Kabila became a tribal affair and the Banyamulenge people became the victims thereof in Fizi and Uvira territories.

1966: The killing of many civilians in the villages of Kirumba and Gatongo followed by massive displacement of the population from the Bijombo and Rurambo locations to Uvira and the Plain of Ruzizi; the first Banyamulenge youths enrolled as local defense volunteers (*abagiriye*) in support of the National Army.

1969-1970: The Banyamulenge people regained their villages in the Bijombo, Rurambo, Kamombo, Itombwe and Minembwe locations after the defeat of rebellion.

1969: Gisaro Muhoza became the first university graduate, followed by Laban Muringa in 1971.

1972: Gisaro Muhoza becomes the first Member of Parliament from the Banyamulenge community. He held this office until his death in 1980.

1976: The name Banyamulenge was used as the community's identity.

1978: Swedish Pentecostal church established (CEPAC) autonomous local church mission (parish) leadership in Bijombo and nominated Mudagiri as the first Banyamulenge pastor to lead the parish, while Simon Sebitereko became the secretary of the parish.

1979: Recognition of the *Groupement de Bijombo* (Bijombo location, a local and traditional entity).

1979-1980: Many Banyamulenge left CEPAC and a major church schism occurred, as a result the dissidents joined Assemblies of God (CADC). Pastor Elie Bugunzu became the Provincial Representative of the CADC.

1982: The candidacy of Joseph Mutambo, the Banyamulenge candidate for Parliament was rejected and members of the community were refused to vote, which resulted in the burning of ballot boxes at various localities in the Minembwe territory.

1982: Captains Asoni Kirago and Rofi Sebugorore, graduated from Military Academy in Kananga.

1984: Fr. Jerome Gapangwa became the first Banyamulenge theologian to obtain a doctorate degree

1985: Fr. Jerome Gapangwa became the Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Uvira Diocese (a post he held until 2002)

1986: Nyakayange Kega became the first (Banyamulenge woman) university graduate with a Bachelor of Arts degree and the first to enroll in the military service.

1987: Musafiri Mushambaro and Dugu wa Mulenge were disqualified from standing for Parliamentary elections on the grounds that they were foreigners.

1993-1994: An influx of Hutu refugees from Burundi and Rwanda and victimization of the Banyamulenge community in the Eastern Congo.

1995: Pastor Ruganza is elected as the General Secretary of the Norwegian Pentecostal church in Congo (CELPA).

1995-1996: Parliamentary decision to withdraw Zairean nationality from the Banyamulenge people and their deportation to Rwanda and Burundi; killings and massacres of Banyamulenge throughout the country; Massive enrollment of Banyamulenge youth in the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

September 1996: The "liberation" war in which the Banyamulenge youth fought along with other Congolese youths against the Mobutu regime; creation of the *Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaire* (AFDL).

October 1996: Benjamin Serukiza became the Vice-Governor of South Kivu (a post he held until 2002); Thadée Mutware became the Mayor of Bukavu till 2000; while Boniface Budederi became the Deputy Administrator of Uvira disctrict until 2000.

June 1997: Karaha Bizima became the first Banyamulenge to hold a ministerial post: Minister of Foreign Affairs until August 1998.

September 1997: Plane crash in Minembwe, killing 23 delegates to a conference on peace and reconciliation, organized by the Eben-Ezer Ministry. Among the deceased were pastors, missionaries and other dignitaries.

February 1998: Mutiny of AFDL soldiers (members of Banyamulenge community) denouncing unfair practices within the army.

July 1998: Creation of the *Forces Républicaines et Fédéralistes* (FRF).

August 1998: War against Kabila and creation of the *Rassemblement congolais pour la Démocratie* (RCD) and division among Banyamulenge politicians; stigmatization of Tutsis, massacre of innocent civilians and soldiers on duty throughout the country.

January 1999: Conflict between RCD soldiers (members of Banyamulenge community) and Rwandan Patriotic Army units in Uvira.

1999: Creation of, among others, the administrative entity (Territory) of Minembwe by the RCD administration; Jondwe Ruhanduka became the first Administrator of the Minembwe Territory.

2001: Nyakayange Kega becomes the Deputy Administrator of the Minembwe Territory (*Administrateur Résident*), the first political post held by a Banyamulenge woman. She is also the first Banyamulenge woman to become university graduate in 1986.

2002: War between the RCD and its ally (RPA) and RCD dissidents led by Commander Masunzu supported by Kabila government.

2002: Olivia Nabintu became the first Banyamulenge lady to obtain a Masters Degree.

June 2003: Formation of the transitional government in Kinshasa, Azarias Ruberwa became one of the four Vice-Presidents of the DRC; Malick Kijege, Moustapha Mukiza, Patrick Masunzu and Charles Bisengimana members of Banyamulenge community were promoted to the ranks of Generals in the unified army of Congo and holding senior positions; politicians namely, Enock Ruberangabo, Moise Nyarugabo and Bizima Karaha became Members of Parliament, while Gervais Ruboneka became the Senator in the Transitional Government.

August 2003: Pastor Isaac Bujambi was elected as the General Secretary of the Free Methodist church in Congo (CMLC).

May/June 2004: Conflict between General Mbudja Mabe and his Deputy Colonel Mutebutsi in Bukavu, left thousands of people in exile in its wake after a dozen members of Banyamulenge community died among many civilians in the town.

13 August 2004: The massacre of Congolese (Banyamulenge and Babembe) refugees in Gatumba, Burundi by regional militia groups.

April 2005: Alexis Gisaro became the Director General of the *Office National de Transport* (ONATRA).

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ABSTRACT

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Title:

JUSTICE AND RIGHTEOUSNESS IN MATTHEAN THEOLOGY AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE BANYAMULENGE COMMUNITY: A POSTCOLONIAL READING

This study makes a contribution towards a postcolonial reading in Matthean scholarship by looking at the concept of justice and righteousness and its application within the Gospel of Matthew and beyond. The argumentation is based on a construct of the socio-political setting of the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5-7). The findings are applied to the reading of the story of the Canaanite woman (Mt 15:21-28), while a contemporary parallel reading is made in respect of the Banyamulenge community, whose national identity has been a politically contentious issue since colonial times in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

Postcolonial theory, which emerges from the discourse of marginality within geopolitical spheres, challenges measures of oppression and exploitation in any given setting. It claims fairness for all and seeks to empower the marginalized in order to create space for their own representation. From a perspective of postcolonial theory, marginality is seen as expressed through various cultural forms of identification, such as hybridity, subalternity, Negritude, Diaspora, *abacu* or brotherhood. This point of view provides a hermeneutical discourse that challenges the powerful to recognize otherness in the *Other*.

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Seen from this perspective, the Sermon on the Mount is considered not as speech of resignation, but rather a speech of resistance against the oppression and exploitation carried out by imperialism and its local agents. The justice and righteousness which people are denied due to their socio-political and religious status, is to be administered, not by imperialists, nor by their local collaborators, but by agents of the kingdom of God. For Matthew, the Sermon on the Mount gives new directions with regard to the structure of the community in which all members are equal.

In this study a parallel is drawn to the marginalization of the Banyamulenge community by successive governments of the DRC. The study illustrates how socio-political marginalization has constituted a threat to justice and righteousness. The Banyamulenge community has been a victim of the colonial regime and the tribalism practiced by the Congolese government. The Sermon on the Mount challenges the existing power structures on behalf of the poor whose justice and righteousness is denied. For the DRC to survive as a united nation under the concept of brotherhood, all marginalized groups need to be treated equally.