

CHAPTER 3

THE SOUTH AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

The Republic of South Africa, located in the southern part of Africa, bounded by the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, is one of the largest African countries. It shares borders with Namibia in the north-west, in the north with Botswana and Zimbabwe, in the east with Mozambique, and it is interesting that South Africa surrounds two independent countries, Lesotho and Swaziland.

South Africa as well as some other African countries is considered as a Christian country according to Meiring, with 74,1 percent of its population being Christians (2005:148); see also Hendriks & Erasmus (2006: 18). Our concern is to investigate the process of reconciliation in South Africa and establish means by which this could be applied in Angola. We shall focus our attention on the South African experience after A.D 1994 in terms of the following points: South Africa A D 1994: the need for reconciliation in a divided country; The TRC process; South Africa today and The role of the churches and other faith communities in promoting reconciliation. A comparative study of the role of the churches in promoting reconciliation in South Africa and Angola aids us to perceive both similarities and divergences between South Africa and Angola, which we will explore below.

3.1. South Africa A. D. 1994: The need for reconciliation in a divided country.

But before we proceed we should summarize some important aspects of the apartheid policies.

3.1.1. The Apartheid Regime

Apartheid was officially introduced in South Africa in 1948 but many agree on the period from 1960 to 1994 as comprising 34 years of the grossest human rights violations, as volume one of the TRC's report reveals (1998:1; Shane 2003:1).

Christopher Saunders for instance comments: "From the 1960s South Africa gained international notoriety for its policy of apartheid" (2005:2). He pointed out that though apartheid

rule began in 1948, racial segregation in South Africa had an even longer history. The major piece of legislation dividing the land dated from 1913, for example (ibid: 5). See also Battle's remarks on Tutu (1997:3). Although when F.W. de Klerk became President, Tutu wrote: "What we are likely to see just a change in initials. Where you've had P.W., now you've got an F.W" (1997:49), Rachel Tingle remarked that after President De Klerk took office in 1989, the South African government took enormous steps to dismantle the country's highly complex and racially discriminatory apartheid legislation whereby almost every facet of peoples' lives had been governed by the colour of their skin (1992:3)

Violence constituted the particular character of the apartheid regime. Tingle recorded that up to the end of 1991, a total of 11,910 people had been killed in such violence since it took off in September 1984 (ibid: 3).

And Piet Meiring gives an exhaustive estimation, that from "1960 – 1989, 7000 people, died as a result of political violence" (1999: 146). Bundy quoted Wolpe who talked of an

unstable equilibrium in which the white bloc, while holding state power and having at its disposal the armed and security forces, was unable to suppress the mass opposition which, in turn, did not have the immediate capacity to overthrow the regime and the system (2000:10/11).

The ANC abandoned the policy of non-violence and mobilized the population to civil disobedience so as to overturn apartheid. Saunders reveals: "There was much talk of "people's power." ... Some police and informers were killed by the 'necklace' method – tires were put over the person's neck and set on fire" (*op. cit.*: 6).

The apartheid security forces, police in particular, killed and tortured people in their squads. Saunders points out that "Deaths in police custody in 1970s had become almost routine until the Biko killing" (ibid: 5). To overturn the apartheid policy the ANC armed wing increased its attacks dramatically, as Saunders indicates (*op. cit.*: 5 – 6).

We should also recognize the efforts of the churches and the other faith communities in the country to combat apartheid. Volume four of the TRC's report reveals such an effort: "As

involved and implicated as they were in the past, South Africa's religious communities also represented important sites of transformation" (1998:59). Piet Meiring writes that:

All future healing processes and reconciliation effort deeply depend on the role that Christians, Jews, Muslims, Hindus, African traditionalists and the rest are willing to play, Archbishop Tutu emphasized (2005:167; see also Paludan Bay Anne (2000:40).

The apartheid regime surrendered its strategies of racial discrimination and gross violations of human rights, of assassination and unlawful killing, owing to the sanctions which the international community imposed against the South African economy (Bent Ans 1995: 145). The rulers of the apartheid regime as well as the ANC leaders realized that confrontation would not help the country's economy to grow and agreed to negotiate. There are no victories at all in confrontation.

One of God's actions to challenge South African leaders on both sides was to strengthen the voice of Desmond Tutu in the political arena, where he played an important role when the ANC leaders had been jailed and exiled: this man of God stood up as the Old Testament prophets did. Battle wrote: "In such a context, Tutu's theological impact was all the more vital as he became an interim political voice when so many political leaders were banned" (*op. cit.*: 4). Battle's remark is justified by Tutu's acts and actions since he viewed himself as a political theologian: "I have no hope of real change from this government unless they are forced. We face a catastrophe in this land, and only the action of the international community by applying pressure can save us" (*op. cit.*: 39).

He spoke with the state president, presumably F.W. De Klerk, recording: "We talked like civilized human beings. Then we changed gears and the temperature dropped several degrees because he came to his point that it was I who was persuading people to break the law" (*ibid.*: 47).

Such encounters nonetheless resulted in the negotiations which the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report, Volume one, records as beginning in earnest with the Groote Schuur Minute in early May 1990 (*op. cit.*: 50). We should thank God who used his servants and guided events to negotiations between the National Party and the African

National Congress. But it is accurate to say that negotiation itself should be understood as a cold confrontation. The TRC report volume one confirms that negotiations were not easy, for instance regarding political prisoners (*op. cit.*: 51).

Saunders records that

In December 1991 the first formal multi-party negotiations began at what was called the convention for a Democratic South Africa, held at the World Trade Center near Johannesburg airport. The process of negotiating a new democratic constitution for the country broke down mid-1992, but in the face of the threat of economic collapse and racial civil war, the parties decided to turn to negotiations, which resumed early in 1993. They were successfully completed in November of that year (*op. cit.*: 3).

President De Klerk, who realized that apartheid could no longer be maintained, led the democratic reform, paradoxically. Verdoolaege & Kerstens (2004: 84/5) argue that he may have been the most important reformer since he legalized the opposition parties and started to negotiate with them openly. By doing this, he initiated the transformation process.

Every nation which is longing for reconciliation should hope that its leaders will be as flexible as these South African leaders. This same flexibility we noticed in Angolan leaders when we saw, on Angolan television, the government and Unita forces signing the memorandum of Luena. We wish this flexibility would continue here in South Africa as well as in Angola, for the future of our beautiful countries.

Apartheid should be understood as a destructive force against one's race. Apartheid as ethnocentrism sought its own protection against the black population, believed to be dangerous to its safety, since Afrikaners had suffered discrimination a long time previously in their history. Doing this, Afrikaners forgot that the black population and the world would react against such gross violations of human rights. Reconciliation should always accompany the relationships of people from generation to generation: in such a way we shall learn together that God created us and placed us together in the same land, and that we must live in peace as reconciled people no matter what religion we belong to. Something wonderful happened in the history of South Africa: not the initials altering from P.W. to F.W., as wrote Desmond Tutu, but Nelson Mandela's coming to power as the first black president in South Africa (Meiring *op.cit.*: 11).

That year marked the history of a new departure and the new South Africa. From that time the new leader began a programme of peaceful co-habitation between white, black, Indians and “coloureds” within the country. From his policy emerged the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Something deep should be said on Mandela’s behalf, that he is God’s instrument and servant with a great capacity for forgiveness, who did not consider how to revenge himself on his foes but for the sake of all South Africans sought to forgive. Hence it is appropriate for us to look at the truth and reconciliation commission process at this point.

3.2. Truth and Reconciliation Commission Process

In spite of what has been written on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), we thought it worthwhile to consider how this process could be made available for Angola. Books and articles contained the following observations which we saw as important:

Firstly in *The cost of reconciliation in South Africa* edited by Klaus Numberger and John Tooke, in particular the article: “Process of reconciliation demands of obedience – twelve theses” written by Dawid Bosch, we read God’s answer to Bosch’s prophetic prayer stipulated in its twelve theses: “We should be prepared to carry the burden of our own guilt and of the other; and carrying the burden of their guilt means forgiving it wholeheartedly” (1988:103). He went as far as saying:

...may God have mercy on me! Like the father of the boy with an evil spirit, I can only say: “Lord, I do believe ...help me overcome my unbelief” (cf. Mark 9:24) and I can, however, challenge those who share my opinion to open their heart too. I may then be used by God’s Spirit as a catalyst. (Ibid: 108).

Furthermore, the presence of Piet Meiring in the TRC, as one of the three Afrikaners there, should be cited as God’s answer. Tutu wrote: “Professor Meiring has done a superb job in speaking about the TRC and commending it to the Afrikaner community” (*op. cit.*: 7). We should also consider the gathering of South African Christians and their confessions in various forms. For instance, we quote this prayer from M. Cassidy in the National Initiative for Reconciliation (NIR): “We have come together in humility and deep repentance for our sin and guilt in order to listen to God and to discover one another in new ways” (1988:82).

Secondly, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa should be understood as reflecting the political leaders' willingness to ensure good governance. A clear vision of South Africa's future was expressed in the Act which originated the TRC, and its delegates were appointed democratically (Volume one of the report, *op.cit.* : 53).

According to Piet Meiring the multiparty negotiations held after the election amongst other things gave birth to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was agreed upon by the various parties (*op. cit.*: 11). The TRC was accepted not only by various political parties but also by the parliament of South Africa when it was submitted by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Dullah Omar, via the National Unity and Reconciliation Act which determined its objectives. The TRC's report volume one records his words on 17 May 1995:

I have the privilege and responsibility to introduce today a bill which provides a pathway, a stepping stone, toward the history bridge of which the constitution speaks whereby our society can leave behind the past of a deeply divided society characterised by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice, and commence the journey towards a future founded on the recognition of human rights, democracy and peaceful co-existence, and development opportunities for all South Africans irrespective of colour, race, class, belief or sex (*op.cit.*: 48).

It is important to note in the South African TRC that the presidency and the government directly sustained this vision for a good future. They established a finance committee for the functioning of the commission (TRC report volume one: 55), the budget for which was R 196 million (Verdoolaege & Kerstens, *op.cit.*: 77).

Thirdly, the TRC should be understood as an instrument for the complex healing of the country. Its commissioners and committee members stemmed from all sectors of the country: Professors, pastors, jurists, political leaders and other civil society leaders committed to involving themselves with wisdom, with openhearted love and moderation in order to hear and comfort the wounded victims and wounded oppressors with forgiveness. And the healing was also intended to be inclusive and complex; we concur with Meiring: "Some of the perpetrators could also be regarded as victims" (*op. cit.*: 46).

Fourthly, the faith community as well as most of the people of South Africa would no longer support apartheid.

Fifthly, the TRC according to some observers acted as a catalyst, but the victims seem to have again been sacrificed on behalf of the offenders to whom the amnesty was granted (Maluleke quoting Omar Dullah, 1997:114). It seems that this observation was made early, before the TRC's final report to Parliament if we are right. Recently Graham Shane observed in his electronic article entitled: "The Truth Commission and Post Apartheid Literature in South Africa," that commissioners "accept the perpetrator's version of events, even when it directly contradicts the evidence given by his victims" (2003:12). Furthermore he argued that

The political need for amnesty and humanitarian need for reform and restoration appear contradictory, perhaps even mutually exclusive, and the commission has therefore given birth to a crisis of public memory and collective agency. That is, ... the commission's work has not only failed to restore the "human and civil dignity" of the victims of apartheid-era violence, but it actually threatens to reproduce the symbolic erasure of impoverished black and coloured masses (Ibid: 12).

His severe critique uses the term "*puppets*" (Ibid: 17) to describe victims as well as perpetrators, regarding the stories told in the TRC "as displacement of events" without digestion, quoting Krog: "the truth could be seen as lies" (ibid: 22). In the same vein, according to him Krog shows "the anonymity of the victims and perpetrators" (ibid: 25) and also "the inefficacy of the victims who could not challenge the perpetrators" (ibid: 27), whom he also claims not to have been real political actors. Colin Bundy likewise critiques the TRC procedure and failures:

The short memory of the TRC in this specific instance is symptomatic of a more far-reaching incipient amnesia. Analytically, how helpful is it to focus on police torture and ignore bureaucratic terrorism? By bureaucratic terror I mean the use of state power against individuals and groups who are politically rightless, socially discriminated against, and economically subordinate (*op. cit.*: 18).

However, he adds, quoting Mahlubi Mabizela, that: "Farm labourers saw the TRC's coming as a sort of Messiah" (*op. cit.*: 19). Hence, in spite of its failures the TRC has been seen as offering hope for South Africa.

Sixthly, my investigation and contact with people revealed that many middle-class South Africans did not know anything about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC); they heard and saw reports in the media but they did not know exactly what happened. The TRC seems to be part of academic and political theory, not a reality in the history of transformation. But many recognize the wonderful transformation which did take place in South Africa.

With all these observations in mind we decided to peruse the five TRC reports and many other articles to establish where and how the TRC should or should not be applied in the case of Angola.

3.2.1 The Process of Reconciliation

The TRC was established because of the dark past of South Africa's history and to offer the opportunity to all South Africans to write a new page of their history. They saw their past as "another country"; their "future, too, is another country" (TRC report volume one, *op. cit.*: 4). The Human Rights Violations (HRV) Committee was set up to investigate and hear the offender and offended, the Amnesty Committee to deal with political crime and finally the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee to assist the victims. The report volume one (*ibid.*: 44) records that the TRC was to investigate such a violent history and grant amnesty to the political violators of human rights, to rehabilitate the offended and traumatized poor people and to lead both offenders and wounded to reconciliation. How this would be? And how long this would take? Could this really be possible? These are the kinds of questions we posed when we took the opportunity to look at this process of the TRC. We decided to investigate each committee of the TRC to determine how it could be helpful for the actual challenging situation which South Africa seems to face, if not as in the apartheid era but economically: many of the black population are still striving to survive day after day, confronting poverty and unemployment.

3.2.2 The Human Rights Violations (HRV) Committee

This committee held its first meeting on 8 January 1996, as the TRC report volume one indicates (ibid: 45). Its membership is reported on p. 44 (op. cit) but Meiring records an extended list:

Also the people of the Committee on Human Rights Violations: Desmond Tutu and Alex Boraine, Yasmin Sooka, Waynand Malan, Mary Burton, Bongani Finca, Richard Lyster, Fazel Randeza, Dumisa Ntsebeza, Denzil Potgieter, Pumla Gobode-Madikizela, Joyce Seroke, Hugh Lewin, Russel Ally and Ilan Lax. (Op. cit.: 15).

The TRC report (volume five) gives further information about the agreement to enlarge the Human Rights Violations committee:

Consideration was given to regional needs as well as the wish to ensure the broadest possible representation in terms of skills, culture, language, faith and gender. The following members were appointed to the Human Rights Violations Committee: Russell Ally, June Crichton, Mdu Dlamini, Virginia Gcabashe, Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, Ilan Lax, Hugh Lewin, Yolisa (Tiny) Maya, Ntsikelelo Sandi, Joyce Seroke, and, in the final months, Mothofela Mosuli (op cit: 1).

All are complementary lists with somewhat different names. It is agreed by most scholars that the HRV Committee is considered the most successful of all the TRC committees, which had the enormous task of hearing all the victims' and offenders' stories and making recommendations to the reparation and rehabilitation committee for the payment due to victims for the damage they suffered and to the amnesty committee for amnesty being granted to some oppressors. The TRC's report volume one describes its mandate in the following manner:

One of the main tasks of the commission was to uncover as much as possible the truth about the past gross violations of human rights – a difficult and often very unpleasant task. The commission was founded, however, in the belief that this task was necessary for the promotion of reconciliation and national unity. In other words telling of the truth about past gross human rights violations, as viewed from different perspectives,

facilitates the process of understanding our divided pasts, whilst the public acknowledgement of 'untold suffering and injustice' (preamble to the act) helps to restore the dignity of victims and afford perpetrators the opportunity to come to terms with their own past (op. cit.: 49).

Some important and general observations are necessary here before we proceed to see how delicate and great was their task. There were numerous participators in the public hearings. Verdoolaege & Kerstens record that: "Altogether, more than 21,000 people came forward to make statements about their experiences, more than any other truth commission had achieved" (op. cit.: 78). The committee faced many difficulties. Firstly the TRC had to determine the type of commission and how it would evaluate the past. Some commissioners thought the commission should be held along the lines of the Nuremberg commission (TRC report volume one, op. cit.: 5), while others preferred amnesia (ibid: 9): to forget the past absolutely. It was thought that the question of impunity for wrongs might compromise the future. The commission's answer was:

Certainly, amnesty cannot be viewed as justice if we think of justice only as retributive and punitive in nature. We believe, however, that there is another kind of justice – a restorative justice which is concerned not so much with punishment as with correcting imbalances, restoring broken relationships – with healing, harmony and reconciliation. Such justice focuses on the experience of victims; hence the importance of reparation (ibid: 9).

And Piet Meiring in his book *A Chronicle of the Truth Commission* shows how enormously hard the process was. But he also demonstrates how an amazing grace accompanied the process for successful repentance and forgiveness, which led into the preliminary national ceremony of reconciliation, where he had the opportunity to give his sermon on psalm 85. In the beginning the non-participation of whites in the TRC could have hindered the process of reconciliation. Meiring described how a minister from a black parish brought his entire congregation to listen to the victims' experiences, but saw that whites were not present. Expressed in his words: "But I see nearly no white people to talk to today. There is nobody with whom we can be reconciled. Where are they?" (Op. cit.: 28). Meiring added:

In Pietersburg Tom's suspicion was confirmed: a hall full of black people, a small group of Indians and coloureds. But the white people, Afrikaners and the English, would not fill two rows of chairs. My feeling, which I shared with Tom, was: it was difficult for them to come, difficult to have to face the mirror of the past (*op. cit.*: 52).

The acts of reparation and rehabilitation faced difficulties because some funds for meeting the immediate necessities of the victims had been provided by the Swiss Government, but it seems that the Swiss parliament would not continue to provide aid because some of its observers themselves became victims of theft in Soweto. Piet Meiring wrote: "They had lost everything: their purses, their expensive cameras, everything they had with them. The only comfort was that they themselves had not been injured, that their lives were spared" (*ibid*: 92).

To conclude this general observation on the TRC process, Colin Bundy's words are appropriate:

The Commissioners and staff lived through an emotionally demanding, litigious, and politically and intellectually contested thirty months. They traversed a political landscape of rock falls and quicksand, pitted with landmines – and it was scant consolation that this terrain was largely shaped by the TRC's own legal mandate (*op. cit.*: 9)

The Human Rights Violations (HRV) Committee, which began its task in 16 – 19 April 1996 (Meiring *op. cit.*: 22), had a crucial role as Christopher Saunders records (*op. cit.*: 5). The expectations of people were great: each wished to hear what had happened to his missing family members or to his neighbour's fellows. Who did what and who had killed whom, and what should be the reaction to such crime or what reparations should be given to the more traumatized victims? On the other hand the committee had been expected to satisfy the population by telling their stories for the purpose of the healing of their traumatic past experience. To establish the truth of a storyteller's narrative was often difficult. In spite of the many cases during the hearings the case of Steve Biko drew most attention, being mentioned by Piet Meiring, Christopher Saunders and many other scholars. The Human Rights Violations Committee was able to uncover much of what had happened to Steve Biko and others, and to

exhume the remains of the approximately fifty activists who were abducted, killed and buried secretly (TRC Report, vol. 1, *op. cit.*: 7).

The forgiveness offered to the perpetrators should be understood as the most important part of the healing process for both the offenders and the offended. Piet Meiring shows how a Xhosa woman told the story of her son and was healed. He records:

Madam, please tell me, I asked, you have come such a long way over so many years, with your story. Yesterday you had to travel such a long distance to come here. All of us saw how difficult it was for you to tell the story of your son in front of all the people. Please tell me: was it not worth it? The tear marks were still on her cheeks. But when she raised her head and smiled, it was like the dawn breaking: "oh yes, sir, absolutely! It was difficult to talk about all these things. But tonight, for the first time in sixteen years, I think I will be able to sleep through the night. Maybe tonight I will sleep soundly without nightmares." (*Op. cit.*: 25).

The success of the Human Rights Violations Committee lay here: this incident shows how wise and disciplined the South African commission was. How many fellow citizens of mine still have nightmares about their beloved family members who died or disappeared during the 30 years of Angolan civil war? It would be healthy for them to display those painful events to each other, which would be a healing for themselves as well as for all the country. This Committee helped not only to reveal what was long ago hidden as state or individual secrets but also, and more important, aided the healing of traumatized people. Again Piet Meiring has shown how the HRV Committee helped by healing people, in narrating the story of Beth Savage who lost a family member but offered forgiveness to her offender. Meiring wrote:

When one of the TRC members asked Beth Savage how she now felt about the perpetrator, she answered quietly, "It is a difficult question. But truthfully, my honest feeling is: 'there, but for the grace of God, go I'. I do not know how I would have reacted if I were one of them (the freedom fighters). It is all I can say. I think is marvellous to have a Truth Commission... When questioned further, about what the TRC could do for her, Beth's reaction was, "I have often said this: what I really want, is to meet the man who threw the hand-grenade. I would want to do it in a spirit of forgiveness, in the hope that he, for whatever reason, will also forgive

me...Archbishop Tutu was greatly moved: "thank you very much! All I can say is, what a wonderful country this is! We really have extraordinary people. (Ibid: 27).

The TRC's report is synoptic, so that similarities and divergences are characteristic of its sections. Maybe Meiring, influenced by Christianity, was more interested in selecting a report which tells us how forgiveness had been offered to offenders and less interested in those who had refused to forgive their offenders. Krog reflects the other side of the refusal to forgive offenders in citing the case of Mrs Kondile, who said: "It is easy for Mandela and Tutu to forgive...they lead vindicated lives. In my life nothing, not a single thing, has changed since my son was burnt by barbarians...nothing. Therefore I cannot forgive" (1998: 109).

What draws our attention is not forgiveness or the refusal of forgiveness but the opportunity given to a traumatized people to express their experience and to be healed by such a process. This is the desire and dream we have for Angola.

The Committee of Human Rights Violation did worthy work, helped South Africans to hear what had happened within the country to their fellow human beings, healed the wounds of racial discrimination and opened new opportunities and new orientations for interaction among South African Blacks, Whites, "Coloureds" and Indians. But some are still held by the bitterness of their past experience because they had not the opportunity to tell their stories and express their feelings. Even some to whom such opportunities were given to share their stories are still waiting to be rewarded for the pain they experienced from apartheid. Thus we have to see how the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee proceeded.

3.2.3 The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (RRC)

This Committee made use of the findings of the Human Rights Violations Committee in carrying out its role to assist with the material and moral needs of the victims of apartheid. Volume five of the TRC's report defines its role in terms of the Act: "any form of compensation, ex gratia payment, restitution, rehabilitation, or recognition" (*op. cit.*: 175). Meiring names the commissioners and committee members who served on the RRC:

The members of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee, the committee on which I myself would serve for more than two years are: Hlengiwe Mkhize, Wendy Orr, Khoza Mgojo, Mapule Ramashala, Glenda Wildschut, Piet Meiring, Tom Manthata, Mcibisi Xundu and Smangele Mgwaza (*op. cit.*: 15).

We said above that this committee faced a massive task in assisting the many victims because of financial constraints. Volume five suggests a number of 22 000 victims and an annual budget of R477, 400, 000 or R2, 864, 400 000 over six years (*op. cit.*: 185). The Historic World Events website, in the article: "*South Africa Reaches Agreement on Apartheid Victim Reparations, April 15, 2003*", revealed:

On April 15, 2003, the South African government of Thabo Mbeki agreed that victims of the former apartheid regime and families should receive a single reparation payment of 30,000 rand (approximately \$4000). Under the terms of agreement announced by president Mbeki, approximately 19,000 victims identified by the national Truth and Reconciliation Commission would receive immediate payments because of severe financial problems (2003: 1).

The number of victims being estimated as 19, 000 does not contradict the TRC report, as the last volume, 7, explains: "The commission received statements from 21 290 (twenty one thousand two hundred and ninety) people, of whom more than 19 050 (nineteen thousand and fifty) were found to be victims of gross violations of human rights" (2002: 1)

Geoff Rodoreda quoted the figure of 22 000 victims (2003:44) as did MacLean, who said they would be paid the equivalent of \$5,400 each (2003:1). The financial divergence could be understood in terms of the altered rate of exchange. Volume five, in the table recording the Number of People in Need, estimated that victims should be paid urgent interim reparation in the following manner: " [for] one applicant only R 2 000; one plus one [couple without children] R 2 900; one plus two R 3 750; one plus three R 4 530; one plus four R 5 205 and, one plus five or more R 5 705" (*op. cit.*: 181). How many victims received this urgent interim reparation the report does not indicate. Many victims are still suffering under the heavy burden of poverty and others died without receiving what they had been promised. Maluleke argues that the legacy of the TRC was strong in granting amnesty to the perpetrators but weak in showing mercy to the victim:

It appears therefore that it is firmly within the competencies of the commission to grant or not to grant amnesty to perpetrators but its hand is not so strong in the case of reparations for the victims. This means that while the TRC is able to “finalise” what it can offer to amnesty applicants, it is unable to do the same for victims (1997:114).

It is important to see how people reflect about what happened to the victims of gross human rights violations. Most of them are the poorest of the blacks. Taylor quoted by Graham Shane said: “The perpetrators have agency, while the victims have been robbed of agency” (*op. cit.*: 21). The Historic World Events website we quoted above further shows how the victims have been crushed:

President Mbeki based his decision on reparations on the Commission’s conclusions, but he limited the extent to which he followed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s recommendations. He said, declared Basildon Peta Southern in the Independent, ‘his government would not follow a recommendation by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to levy an apartheid compensation tax on businesses to help pay reparations.’ Mr Mbeki told parliament, which sat to debate the final report of the truth commission, that his government would not support multibillion-pound lawsuits filed abroad against several companies. Instead he said the government would pay reparations from a special ‘presidential fund’ wrote Ginger Thompson in the New York Times (*opcit.*: 2).

Furthermore this website reveals the amount that President Mbeki made available for the payment of the victims, \$74 million instead of the \$ 390 million budgeted by the TRC (*ibid.*: 2).

This issue of the reparation and rehabilitation of victims has been the most difficult of all, yet it was the basic issue which caused the TRC to investigate the past. Maybe the short period given to the TRC led to its failure in this respect. The Reparation and Rehabilitation Commission did what it was supposed to do but it was the government’s responsibility to recompense the victims. Piet Meiring records that some were: “impatient with the TRC. The Commission had been working for the best part of the year and their circumstances had not changed one bit. They heard about reparation and rehabilitation, but nothing had reached them as yet” (*op. cit.*: 91).

Piet Meiring adds that: "Here and there new wheelchairs had been found, patients could be sent for specialist treatment. Help was provided with exhumations and reinterment. But this was merely a drop in the ocean" (ibid: 91).

In this regard Charles Villa-Vicencio observes, "The president recognises that reconciliation depends not only on an extended reconstruction and development process, but also on the public processes of facilitating co-operation and trust between people for whom these benefits are intended" (2000: 28).

In the same vein Heribert Adam & Kanya Adam recorded that "The South African government, Tutu admonishes, betrays the victims by ignoring the recommendation of the TRC to pay twenty thousand recognised victims a modest amount of R 20,000 for six years" (2000: 41).

The limited resources of the TRC are described thus: "It could merely make recommendations to Government, which was free to accept or to "fudge" even the modest TRC suggestions. ANC leaders now argue that liberation should not be reduced to material benefits" (ibid: 41).

In this regard the TRC had no power to impose their will. Alex Boraine stressed his disappointment at the victims not knowing what the government would or would not pay them: "I am particularly disturbed by the lack of the response to our recommendations regarding the victims. We still have no idea whether Government accepts the recommendations partially or as a whole, or what it will do about the matter" (2000:77).

Have the victims of apartheid not yet been paid for the abuses they suffered? It seems that the Government was busy doing so, since the Amnesty International Report 2004 revealed that in November the government began one-off payments to individual victims (2004: 79). But the appearance of newspapers reporting Desmond Tutu requesting such payments leaves no doubt that these people were not all being paid. In South Africa Charles Villa-Vicencio wrote about the material issue as a fertile ground of violence (*op.cit.*: 30). When we look at the reality of the daily South African experience in the townships, even in the great cities, there is no doubt that frustrated people are acting to survive. Meanwhile those who possess agency are happy in sharing all the privileges, not only political but also economic, and have forgotten those who invested in them. Mrs Kondile's cry, "In my life nothing, not a single thing" (Krog

1998: 109) should not only shock but should also interpellate the hearer and really calls for a positive response, not only psychological but also material.

After ten years the TRC made the news again. On 21 April 2006 in the *Pretoria News* an item on Archbishop Desmond Tutu appeared with the title: "*It is time to pay for apartheid. Tutu calls on white business to contribute funding for TRC reparations*". What shocked readers is the passivity of South African businesspeople though victims are still suffering, as Karen Breytenbach wrote in this article (April 21 2006: 1). She records how Desmond Tutu lamented the lack of compassion: "Amnesty was granted with immediate effect. We should have had a budget (for victims) and estimated what they should get, with immediate effect" (ibid). *The Sunday Times* (April 23 2006: 1) took up the story in Charles Villa-Vicencio's article arguing "Our past is still with us, and South Africa would do well to clear its books on the atrocities of the past, for the pressure to do so will only continue to build," which described the experience of victims:

Victims and survivors simply need to know the truth as a means of bringing closure to their suffering. 'Why do those who killed my sister prolong my suffering by refusing to tell me where to find her body?' asked Thembi Simelane-Nkadimeng, the sister of Nokuthula Simelane, who disappeared after being abducted by the Soweto Security Police in September 1983 (op. cit: 19).

But Tutu's call led to many reactions. David Bullard reacted by writing his article, "Spare us the talk of ingratitude, Desmond" in the *Sunday Times* (Business Times Careers), contending that being a white in South Africa is a burden: "If you happen to have a white skin then you bear two burdens if you live in South Africa" (2006: 1). The post-apartheid era is a danger period among all South Africans, and his wisdom is very important. But the question of victims not being healed could become, as we have argued, an incurable wound with consequences in the future. We wish to close this section with Charles Villa-Vicencio, who quoted Leon Jaworki who asked himself: "How it is that decent people murdered others so systematically?" (op. cit.: 30) He [Villa-Vicencio] said of Josef Garlinski that he reflected on the brutality he was required to endure from his Nazi captors in ... his book *Fighting Auschwitz*. Having told his story with devastating human impact, he goes on to remind us that the young SS officers responsible for such deeds could have been your sons or mine (ibid: 30).

It is really important to make the point that reparation is necessary in any society where human rights violations have been violated. We could pass it by, through ignoring it and embracing each other falsely by a kind of peace, which avoids a deep confession of sin; then our descendants will bear the consequences in the future. But reparation must not be a kind of revenge. Piet Meiring for instance observed regarding this issue: "The rich seem to be getting richer and the gap between rich and poor ever deeper" (2002: 174).

3.2.4 The Amnesty Committee

This was the TRC's third Committee. The TRC Report, Volume Five, described its principal function: "to decide applications for amnesty either in chamber or at a public hearing, sitting in panels of at least three members, which is the statutory quorum" (*op.cit.*: 108). And for this great responsibility the following initial members were appointed: The three judges Hassen Mall, Andrew Wilson and Bernard Ngoepe, together with Adv. Chris de Jager, Ms Sisi Khampepe and Adv Denzil Potgieter" (TRC report, vol one, *op.cit.*: 44). Because of the hard work involved the committee was augmented by new members, as we read in volume five:

The section provided that two members of the committee should be commissioners appointed in consultation with the commission. The two commissioners nominated and appointed to the committee are both qualified lawyers and legal practitioners. The others were appointed by the president and no formal process for such appointments was provided for in the section. In exercising the prerogative, the president appointed three judges together with two commissioners nominated by the commission, to the committee. It is clear from reading the Act that the Committee is required to perform a largely judicial function (*op. cit.*: 109).

The work of the Amnesty Committee drew heavy criticism during its lifespan. The committee, indeed, faced many difficulties. The act of telling the stories of what had long been kept as secret, and the desire for forgiveness, should not be seen as cheap reconciliation, as some think. The restorative approach that the TRC followed is worthwhile in the process of transforming and managing conflicts. Forgiveness was not offered to offenders without their willingness to confess before all South Africa and the world. The case of F.W. De Klerk shows that forgiveness and amnesty were not guaranteed to all offenders. After the hearing of the

former President, who denied that apartheid was government policy, Piet Meiring quoted the reaction of the chairman in the press conference:

The next day when asked in a press conference about De Klerk's testimony, Tutu was almost in tears. He said he could not understand how De Klerk could still insist that he had been unaware of apartheid atrocities, when delegations from Lawyers for Human Rights and the Black Sash, among many others, had told him of security force involvement in gross human rights abuses...It is a policy that killed people. Not by accident, deliberately. It was planned (*op.cit:* 140).

Antjie Krog responded that De Klerk "has just disappointed millions of people" (*op. cit.:* 127). If some people were to read carefully what Krog wrote about the granting of amnesty they would understand that it was never cheap; amnesty was not available indefinitely. For instance she pointed out that President Thabo Mbeki had requested that "the truth Commission complete its task of granting amnesty speedily and not leave the new Government burdened with the mess of the past " (*op. cit.:* 118). She recorded how the deadline for amnesty applications expired at midnight on Saturday 10 May 1997 but that amnesty applications were still streaming in on Saturday morning; when the offices closed at midnight the total number of applications received since the commission started its work stood at "about 7700. My God when we took this job on we were told to expect about 200 applications, a member of the amnesty committee tells me with a shudder, and now 7000!" (*Ibid:* 121).

Volume five of the report explains the pressure regarding amnesty applications and adds that it was necessary for the healing of the country. It also points out that the committee had been in discussion with various leaders of the main political groupings and that "considerable assistance was given to the committee in this regard" (*op. cit.:* 113). In the recent TRC report, volume six, statistics show that amnesty was not given to every applicant: the case of the Pan African Congress reveals this (2003: 377):

| Category | Granted | Refused |
|----------------------------|---------|---------|
| Violations in PAC Camp | 60% | 40% |
| Armed Robberies | 59% | 41% |
| Attacks on Security Forces | 93% | 7% |
| Attacks on Civilians | 100% | 0% |
| Attacks on Farmers | 70% | 30% |
| Sabotage | 100% | 0% |
| Arms Possession | 100% | 0% |

The difficulty the commission faced is further emphasised in the comment in the seventh volume regarding unknown victims: "Many unnamed and unknown South Africans were the victims of gross violations of human rights during the commission's mandate period. Their stories came to the commission in the stories of victims and in accounts of perpetrators of violations" (2002: 10)

Wisdom was really needed to avoid the catastrophe of bloodshed in South Africa after the positive results of the negotiations. Alex Boraine quotes president Thabo Mbeki:

Because we are one another's keepers, we surely must be haunted by the humiliating suffering which continues to afflict millions of our people. Our nights cannot but be the nights of the nightmare when millions of our people live in conditions of degrading poverty. Sleep cannot easily come when children get permanently disabled physically and mentally because of lack of food. No night can be restful when millions have no jobs and some are forced to beg, rob and murder to ensure that their own do not perish from hunger (*Op. cit.*: 75/6).

Shane and Krog's reports are very sharp but hers are restricted by the fact that she was not a commissioner herself. As a journalist her hunger for information limited her reports; she was told by the leaders of the ANC: "Lady, who would know better what the ANC is saying – you or me? ...Actually, you're not supposed to be here yet. Please don't report about amnesty rulings, we still have to add some names to the list" (*op. cit.*: 115, 118).

And Krog could not record all the truth about the TRC because there were some confidential matters which had never been revealed. Furthermore, I argue we should read the TRC reports as “synoptic” in the sense that they do not furnish all the facts. For instance, in Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert’s version of events De Klerk said:

Before you can forgive me, I must confess so that you and the world will know what I am asking forgiveness for...I want to confess today on behalf of my people and myself, before you and the world, that we were fundamentally and completely wrong. That we almost wreaked irreversible damage on our country and its people. For that I ask your forgiveness and that of your people. I also beg forgiveness for your personal suffering (2000:64).

Without willingness really to read deeply, one’s impression will be contradictory to what Piet Meiring wrote about De Klerk during his hearing. But Van Zyl Slabbert shows how De Klerk declined any responsibility for what had happened in the old South Africa: “It was this work, exposed by the TRC, that filled good, loyal supporters of the NP with shame, and persuaded many of them to confess their unknowing accountability. But not De Klerk and his buddies” (ibid: 67).

It is therefore right to recognize that the TRC gave birth to new problems, as Graham Shane contended (*op. cit.*: 12). It is as if the TRC had opened the eyes of people wandering in the darkness. In such a way the TRC should be perceived as a positive effort, which one might compare to a newborn baby with disabilities: the mother is not wrong to give birth to such a baby. James William MacMaster, responding to the questionnaire we sent, commented: “the TRC opened hidden old facts and new fresh wounds” (March 2006). This means that the TRC had both an individual and a sociological impact. Therefore amnesty was not cheap, because the perpetrators as well as victims revealed their secrets and stood before all the people as well as the offended, and also God and his angels.

In describing his conscience in combating racism and reconciling all South Africans Desmond Tutu used an effective metaphor:

In South Africa they said the thing which gave you value was the colour of your skin; you were white and therefore you had value. Suppose we did not use skin colour to

mark what gave people their imagined racial superiority. Since I have a large nose, suppose we said privilege was to be reserved for people with large noses only and those many millions with small noses were to be excluded. (Opcit: 17).

In the investigation we conducted with church leaders and individuals, most of them said the TRC had helped the country a great deal. Reverend Mukondi Ramulondi felt: "It was through the TRC work that people offered forgiveness" (March 2006). Today's South Africa deals with new realities, many of which are outcomes of the TRC's work and the Government programme. After the TRC's catalytic work the road to national reconciliation is open not only in the macrostructures but is also beginning to be cleared in the microstructures. But the process will take time.

3.3. South Africa Today

What about South Africa after the TRC today? Let us say that the TRC opened tombs which raised dead people to life; immediately they realized that they need to be integrated into their new condition of life but this has not yet happened; therefore there is tension. The vision of the TRC is only partially fulfilled, because the rehabilitation of the wounded people is not yet complete. And some think that certain perpetrators have not yet been prosecuted: as said Graybill, quoted by Verdoolaege & Kerstens: "in reality the government did not take much initiative with regard to further prosecutions", adding that many South Africans claimed that the TRC had not really worked toward a more positive attitude between black and white. Racial tensions and material inequalities did not seem to have been addressed (*op.cit.* : 79).

According to Paludan Bay Anne:

The TRC concept focuses on individuals and their crimes, respectively their victims. Restoration is given to individuals. But this does not address the systemic crime whose victims suffer from social and economic injustices. For example, the focus in the TRC hearing is on the urban areas and urban people whereas the systemic problems of rural areas are far away from the centre of radiation of the TRC and national reconciliation process (Op. cit.: 44).

In this regard we need to see how the Government views South Africa today. According to Alex Boraine when Deputy President Thabo Mbeki delivered his now famous speech in parliament entitled "Two Nations" in May 1998, when parliament was discussing reconciliation and unity, he argued that reconciliation had not really started and that it needed to go considerably further. In his view, we had not actually achieved a reconciled society: "A major component part of the issue of reconciliation and nation-building is defined by and derived from the material conditions in our society which have divided our country into two nations, the one black and the other white. We therefore make bold to say that South Africa is a country of two nations" (*op. cit.*: 75).

The economic and racial discrimination described above are issues much discussed by many South African writers. For instance Van Niekerk in his article "*Reconciliation as the functional of complex systems*" evokes the economic issue of non-payment among blacks for electricity and water, consequently experiencing cuts in these services (2005: 255). If we are right the results of the apartheid system even now still remain. Another instance is to be found in the bank system where a "savings account" attracts no interest and keeps the poor impoverished. It is clear that political power is shared between all South Africans (white and black) but that economic power is still hidden somewhere for certain members of the elite and businessmen and is not open to all South Africans. Argues Piet Meiring:

So many unsolved issues continue to sour relations between political groupings. We still struggle with the ghosts of the past, with the bitter fruits of apartheid, with old injustices not taken care of, with promises made and not kept. Add to that the new frustrations, the concern of millions of black South Africans that nothing really has changed, that justice and fairness still elude them; as well as the concern of many whites (*op.cit.*: 174).

But we must remember that not all blacks suffer from poverty: some of them are privileged and have been incorporated into the old economic system of power with "immediate gain" as observed Piet Meiring (*op. cit.*), to which we referred above. Only the weak blacks, but the majority, still struggle on the periphery of the economic system. The question of high rates of unemployment and homelessness should be seen as a fact of the system of economic discrimination and cultural issues. The exterior of society reveals many hidden things and suggests what might be the case in its interior. The many security guards immediately indicate

that the official security system is incapable of carrying out its responsibilities in the cities. The church is not outside of these tensions. Graham Duncan of the black United Presbyterian Church, committed to fight racism in the same denomination, wrote the following about racial and financial issues:

It was observed, for example that on the part of the UPCSA there was a fear that the proposed union may lead to their domination by the predominantly white PCSA. On the other hand, the white members of PCSA were coming into the union with the feeling that, as a result of the introduction of the new political set-up, they have lost everything (2005: 57).

This division between white and black can be easily observed among the various denominations even though where we apparently see some interaction in workshops, seminaries and other joint activities real fellowship has not yet been experienced. Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert in his conclusion asked rhetorically whether the entire TRC process had failed. He answered: "Yes, if one wanted to bring truth and reconciliation together and no, if it made us all aware of where we come from and the direction in which we must move". Again "asked what is its usefulness to today's politics?" he replied: "I think all the parties want to get away from the TRC as quickly as possible. My information, which comes from the former President's office, is that from the outset the new government was never very keen on the TRC" (*op. cit.*: 71/2).

If he is accurate the South African government holds a different perception of what happened in the TRC hearings. According to Krog, for Mbeki reconciliation is a step that can follow only after total transformation has taken place (*op. cit.*: 110).

Furthermore Krog perceives a divergence between Mbeki and Tutu in terms of the issue of national reconciliation. Tutu is proud of blacks for offering and accepting forgiveness but is not concerned about the lack of employment, while Mbeki wants blacks to work together to transform the country and the continent and talks about an African renaissance; the peaceful coexistence that Mbeki wanted to promote (*op. cit.*: 111).

All the above factors could afford insight into the civil disobedience everywhere in the cities and townships. The past which South Africans wish to avoid is looming rapidly; thus the TRC process should be placed back on the table and a technical commission be established to

study means to resolve the irregularities which the commissioners, in the short time they were allowed, revealed and left behind. The workshop on reconciliation to which Paludan Bay Anne refers and to which sixteen schools were invited with pride, shows that reconciliation in the secular community already exists. The term "*ubuntu*" used for reconciliation shows that reconciliation was anchored in the South African spiritual tradition of healing the community as much as in a modern legal or Christian tradition (*op. cit.*: 53). Sporadic actions here and there exist but are not strong enough to influence the national level. It is easy to criticise the TRC. Hence Frederik Zyl Van Slabbert refers to "the prophet not being honoured in his own country" (*op. cit.*: 68). What influence did the TRC have on the world? Why were its commissioners, especially the chairman, regarded as worthy of the Nobel Prize? Imperfection here and there should not astonish us; it is a feature of human endeavour. The TRC, in the context of Angola, would be a good example to follow, in which we should insist that the Angolan government becomes involved in this project to heal the country from the wounds of the civil conflict and bloody war which lasted more than a quarter of a century.

Although South Africa is a multiparty parliamentary democracy in which constitutional power is shared between the president and parliament (Lawrence 2004: 161) this democracy is very weak: for instance, Lawrence testifies against violent xenophobia, which is a problem within the country (*ibid.*: 162). The Amnesty International report 2006 reveals:

On 10 May, the Johannesburg High Court ordered the DHA to facilitate access to asylum determinations procedures for 14 Ethiopians wrongly arrested and detained at Lindela. In October lawyers secured the release from Lindela of a recognized refugee who was due to be deported to Rwanda (2006:236).

With exceptions, the reality is that foreign students in South Africa suffer and refugees are subject to many acts of discrimination. Abuse of women in South Africa is serious and widespread, as the Amnesty International report for 2004 shows (2004:79).

In the most recent Amnesty International report this violence is shown to have escalated to 55 114 rapes, an increase of 4.5 percent over the previous year (2006:237), and even security officials have been involved in the rape of women detainees: "At the end of the year a Free State police officer was still on trial for the repeated rape of a woman detainee in custody at Smithfield police station; the woman became pregnant as a result" (*ibid.*: 237). There are many

other human rights abuses as well. The case of Jacob Zuma has taught one much about the legacy and the dynamics of South African democracy in the media. When the media does not care how dangerous it is to publish information on such bad behaviour, we are victimizing and abusing and wounding the people who have already been wounded instead of healing them. David Masondo expressed a sound opinion on the Jacob Zuma issue in the *Sunday Times*:

The right to dignity and respect for all citizens is a key feature of our Constitution. The ends do not justify the violation of this right...support for Zuma is predominantly about the manner in which the state and media have been treating him, which also put those presiding over his cases in a difficult ethical position...the support by people opposing women abuse for the complainants must be welcomed. As we fight rape, the state and the public should treat both complainant and alleged perpetrator with respect. The insults directed at both must be condemned (March 12, 2006: 18).

In terms of this situation the church must play its role in such a society. The state as well as all other institutions, like the media, needs help to understand the "*ubuntu*" which the church teaches to its members every Sunday in the pulpit. South Africa needs a true national reconciliation. This duty should be part of the churches' ministry of reconciliation, which we hope is a perennial one. The churches should be prepared to face this situation of conflict and to bring hope to all people. In his analysis of the amnesty and reparation committees of the TRC Villa-Vicencio argues that South Africa should hold trials and adduced two cases, from Chile and Nigeria:

The deposed Chilean President, General Augusto Pinochet, who was given immunity from persecution as a former head of state under the Chilean constitution, was arrested while travelling abroad under an international arrest warrant issued by Spanish Judge Baltazar Garzon in October 1998, and extradited to Chile in March 2000...Charles Taylor was last year given asylum in Nigeria from war-torn Liberia over which he ruled. Today he is on trial before a United Nations backed Sierra Leone Special Court on allegations of war crimes and crimes against humanity. We would do well to clear our books, or the pressure of the past will continue to build (April 23 2006: 19).

Only the gospel can describe the gravity of sin and convict people to confess it, and to love even those who have acted badly against one. Here it is appropriate to quote Desmond Tutu's well-known words: "I need you to make me to be me and you need me to make you to be you". Blacks should not continue to see whites as unfair and totally wrong in everything and vice versa but both sides should mutually accept each other. In the same vein respect for all should be very important, as the right of each individual. Regarding the issue of Jacob Zuma to which we referred above, the verdict of the high court published on 8 May 2006 divided South Africa and put the ANC in a hard and perplexing situation. Xolani Xundu et al. in the *Sunday Times*, reported:

Most NEC members the *Sunday Times* spoke to this week said Mbeki found himself in the invidious position of no longer commanding enough authority to force a rejection of Zuma's application to be reinstated, or to pressure to continue the voluntary suspension he announced when he was charged with rape (14 May 2006:1).

South Africa today deals with the apartheid consequences of hatred and power struggles. The case of Zuma is a very hard issue to handle, as Jacobson & Mafela indicate in their joint article: "Zuma divides the nation" in the *Sunday Times* (14 May 2006:1).

Here my suggestion to the democratic Republic of South Africa is that the next presidential election should not be a conflict issue. Support for Zuma, as reported for example by Andrew Donaldson in the *Sunday Times* (14 May 2006: 17), should not be a divisive factor.

All these factors above suggest that churches and other communities of faith in South Africa have an important role to play in the process of national reconciliation.

3.4. The role of the churches and other faith communities in promoting reconciliation

In spite of its sinfulness God chose to indwell the church as his community, to lead humanity to eternal life in Christ Jesus, and it is asked to become holy as God is holy. In this process each believer faces the challenge of observing and obeying, daily, the teaching of our Lord Jesus. The Lord's teaching points to social engagement as one of the challenges that we must face with commitment, as God's instruments: it is a part of the *Missio Dei*, which in turn leads to the *missio ecclesiae*. This mission has within it four dimensions: *Kerugma*, *diakonia*, *koinonia* and *leiturgia*. All these dimensions are helpful for understanding humanity as a mission field in the multidimensional as well as in the mono-cultural and trans-cultural contexts. Even John the Baptist was socially committed to his society when he proclaimed the pro-gospel about Christ and baptized people.. This section will focus on three aspects: the churches' mission or role, the complexity of the society where the church is called to serve and the ecumenical engagement of the churches. The South African context of mission is complex and a pluralism of religions makes mission hard without God's guidance.

3.4.1. The role of the churches

The church in South Africa has been given an immense mission and should let herself be guided by God. Unfortunately often the local churches did not do this. The Church both suffered under and supported apartheid policy. Volume four of the TRC report explains the religious involvement in apartheid: "The term 'state theology' is derived from the Kairos Document and refers to the theology that gave legitimacy to the apartheid state" (*op. cit.*: 69). Section 47 shows how the churches were used to support apartheid policy. As Piet Meiring puts it:

What did become abundantly clear during the three days of the submissions, was that churches and other religious groups had assumed various roles in the past. Each of the roles had something to do with apartheid. Sometimes the religious communities were the agents of apartheid, at other times its victims (*op. cit.*: 281/2).

The following sections explore the four dimensions of the mission of the South African church.

3.4.1.1 *Kerugma* Mission

Firstly the Church of Jesus Christ is called to proclaim the good news of God's love to the world (*kerugma*). A local church which is really engaged in mission should be able to teach its membership what the Lord proclaimed. Bosch reflected thus on being Jesus' disciple: "Following Jesus or being with him, and sharing in his mission thus belong together (Schneider 1982:84). The call to discipleship is not for its own sake; it enlists the disciples in the service of God's reign" (1991: 38).

The teachings should transform the disciple and enable him or her to carry out God's mission in this world. They enable the disciple to be aware of and preoccupied about others. The church as a voice of the voiceless must speak out on behalf of the people, as Tutu said (*op. cit.*: 67). Proclamations which do not lead Christians to social engagement mislead them. The *kerugma* mission (the proclamation of God's love) begins in the local sphere but does not end there: it goes beyond the local boundary. Paul Siaki also maintains this position: "This new wave of missionary sending has increased the number of people serving outside of South Africa's borders" (2002: 41). For South Africa to become a reconciled society the Gospel preached should bind Christians together, both white and black in one local church. Yet, as Ramulondi Mukondi said, "The wounds and sufferings caused by the apartheid are still there" (*op. cit.*). Local churches and their denominations clearly demonstrate a divided society. Hence it is important that any new programme of planting local churches should begin with a new vision of a different South Africa where white and black share responsibility without hatred and cultural barriers.

3.4.1.2. *Diakonia* Mission

The semantics of the term Greek *διακονία*, that means service, ministry, aid etc, should keep our mind on serving God through empowering and helping others to become faithful to God in Christ Jesus. Here is the duty of being a good citizen in the "*polis*", the city where each serves God. The local church with its members should be involved in community issues which worry people, if need be contacting the local or national government. Most of the time when issues touch on the political sphere we, the churches' leaders, find an excuse to be elsewhere

because it is not good for the church to be involved in politics: here is our failure. A clear example of this tendency is to be seen in Jan van der Watt's words: "we must realise that we have two definitions of reconciliation here, with two different foci namely political and religious" (2005: 111). Van der Watt is aware that this narrow definition of reconciliation could be challenged and adds, "not implying that religion does not often include politics and vice versa" (ibid: 111). But for the one who believes that the political and religious spheres are both God's mandates to the world (as mentioned in the TRC report volume 4: "many churches, however, saw the defence forces as servants of God and the chaplaincy as an important legitimate support"; *op. cit.*: 71), consideration is given to both institutions as God's instruments for his glory on behalf of the world. People are already "*polites*", or citizens; a gospel that does not touch their political context is not the one that Jesus Christ taught and Peter and Paul and all the other disciples proclaimed. When the Spirit of God is on you and on me as members of the churches we have the duty of preaching, of proclaiming freedom for the prisoners, healing, releasing the oppressed and proclaiming the year of the Lord's grace. Such a gospel does not spare the political sphere. There is no way to be filled with the Holy Spirit, yet simultaneously to watch all kinds of injustice and the suffering of fellow human beings created in God's image. The Church deals with issues which dehumanise human beings and tend to destroy God's image. When the Lord Jesus said "I will build my church" he used the term *ekklesia* in its context of a Greco-Roman, political assembly for the welfare of citizens. The mission of *diakonia* should be holistic, not only spiritual.

The church as a modality is constituted by sodalities by which she performs specific services: for instance, in education, health, agriculture and environment, assistance and care to the military and security forces. These are now discussed briefly.

In South Africa, Kritzinger makes the important observation that one of the basic social structures in any society is education. "This is also an area where the church historically played an important role" (2002: 9). The past tense denotes that the church is no longer playing its role in that arena. The church should not be in a kind of competition with the government but should adopt the strategy of negotiating with the state in such a manner that both should cooperate and be faithful partners as long as they have in mind the same goal: the citizens' welfare. South Africa is complex in terms of religions: Christians, Hindus, Muslims, Jews, Buddhists, Zionists and others. Hence secular education should not be orientated to some religious goal. Brink records the minister of education's opinion regarding religious education in the secular

school: that “South Africa is a country that embraces all major world religions. Each of these religions, including Christianity, is a diverse category, encompassing many different understandings of religious life” (2002: 154)

Brink comments that: “In developing policy for religion in education it was evident that a distinction had to be drawn between Religious Education and Religion Education” (Ibid). This is why religious leaders need to be reconciled: together they need to decide which kind of religion education should be taught in the secular schools here in South Africa, and we suggest that one ecumenical commission be created to deal with this issue and produce a document which should guide the teaching of religion in the secular school, a kind of prolegomenon to religion, that is an introduction to the beliefs of each religion in South Africa. *Diakonia* mission should focus sharply on how and when such an ecumenical commission should be created.

Health also should be one of the most important duties of the church, but it seems that as with the sector of education, the church no longer plays any part in this sector. As soon as western missionaries left Africa the local government took control of this sector. But the churches should not abandon this task, because it is one of the important commands of the Lord to heal illness. In the 21st century church, mission should be involved in dealing with the pandemic diseases which threaten not only South Africa and Angola but also all Africa. We concur entirely with what Johan Combrinck said: “There is no way in which we could deal with the mission challenge to the church in the 21st century and not deal with this pandemic” (2002: 137). In his own words (written five years ago):

It is estimated that 36,1 million people world-wide are HIV positive or live with AIDS, of which 25,3 million are in sub-Saharan Africa. This last figure amounts to nearly one in every ten African adults (UN 2000). 70% of all adults and 80% of children living with HIV are in Africa. 2,4 million people died of AIDS-related diseases in Africa during 2000 – more than those killed by war, famine and flood combined (Fox 2000). Of the 20 million people world-wide who have died of AIDS, 15 million have been Africans (Ibid: 138).

In terms of the campaign against HIV, the secular method to avoid the disease is the use of condoms: should the church and other communities of faith teach the same to their members? We think that sex outside of marriage is sin and breaks communion with God. The use of a

condom can avoid the physical disease but the sin will remain. The church should help society to reject sexual immorality, which secular teaching does not explain and does not understand. The church is a sinful community called to become holy, as the Lord is holy, and cannot in such cases tolerate sin but should be the light of society.

We furthermore suggest that the church or the council of churches in South Africa increase the numbers of chaplains in the hospitals so as to assist physicians and nurses to care for patients all over the country; to organise ecumenical worship every Sunday; to assist certain patients who need spiritual care more than medication, as we know that certain diseases are psychosomatic and need counselling care and dialogue rather than medication. The new South Africa really needs the church's help in seeking good health for all its citizens, white and black.

The church's mission of *diakonia* should also examine the national economy, in order to understand what the country produces and how these products are distributed, so as to alert the government if the distribution is not fair. People are generally poor or rich as a consequence of a system established by people who themselves have control over the resources which should serve every person for the general welfare. Although the African church has accepted the shallow western teaching, which focused on spirituality rather than material matters, in this 21st century the church has many economists as members, who could evaluate this sector to assist people in handling money and gaining access to a better life.

Diakonia should also minister to the security and military forces. The *missio Dei* is unlimited and indefinite: God is a God of armies; He leads combats and wins victories. This sector is not under evil control as is often thought. Jesus as well as the prophets in the Old Testament assisted soldiers to perform acts for the good of the nation on behalf of their people. We suggest therefore that ministers should be trained and work in the police cells and prisons, to assist prisoners and police officers in teaching them the gospel and organising ecumenical worship every Sunday. Ministers should counsel police and military personnel in performing their daily duties according to God's will. The Church cannot refuse this noble task. I thank God who led me in Congo to do my stint in the military and police camps as a minister; really these forces are in need of many ministers well trained in theology to assist prisoners and personnel.

In addition the Church should consider how to participate in agriculture for the purposes of development. Theologians should encourage our members to take care of the other creatures: beasts, fishes and birds. This mission to the environment is a challenge in South Africa. People need to be taught about the care of nature. *Diakonia* I think should be the focus of the reconciliation ministry, because it is more inclusive and understood in the Pneumatological dimension.

3.4.1.3. *Koinonia* Mission

The *Koinonia* mission, fellowship and unity should be understood firstly as Christological. This mission involves two dimensions: historical and eschatological. In history, the *koinonia* mission has been already carried out: through his life Christ shows that there is no longer separation between people: Samaritans and Jews, Gentiles and Jews are bound together, poor and rich, all together are children of God as long they believe in Christ; and at Calvary Christ destroyed the wall of separation among Jews and gentiles. In the *eschaton*, the *koinonia* mission will concern all creation and the heavens and the earth will come together, united in Christ (Ephesians 1:10, Col 1: 17). The final act of worship in Revelation reveals this. The “already” and the “not yet” encounter in the *Koinonia*, walk and work hand in hand; for such a situation Christ interceded so that when the world perceives the fellowship and unity of the believers in Christ it is able to believe. Fellowship and unity should be a visible sign to help other people to believe in Christ (John 17: 20 – 26). But the reality is that the paradigm shifts in mission gave birth to many types of Christian movements, where now denominationalism is the focus and becomes the great obstacle to the true *Koinonia* of believers. Denominationalism divided Christ’s body, the Church, into molecules, each with its particular focus on “Christ” and in such a way churches cease to be in Christ but are, rather, in crisis: He ceases to be the reference of membership; the criterion is the founding historical leaders, to them all glory; the Lord of the church is trampled upon and put in the corner while the founding leader becomes the centre and the style of life. When those in the world look at the Church where fellowship and unity are supposed to be a reality and teaching in action they see divisions and racism; consequently they prefer to stay at home or even visit a night club to hear secular music, or to watch movies rather than to enter a church where hypocrites gather to listen to the gospel which has never been the centre of their practices. We do not please the Lord. The New Testament Christian

church shows the true *koinonia* where there is no denominationalism. The following theological observations and recommendations will further focus on this issue.

This is a general observation about churches everywhere in Africa. In South Africa we have attempted to check whether reconciliation in the church is still needed: the answer is, in all our investigations, yes. For Nandipho Adoons, yes, "because we have been separated only after the TRC we have a new direction to learn how to do things together" (March, 2006). For Steve Mathe, "yes because we have many different churches" (March, 2006). I have already said that there is a necessity for building new relationships by planting new congregations with a vision of the new South Africa, where white and black would truly work hand in hand. Because the reality is that South Africa is, as president Thabo Mbeki said, quoted above, "two nations in one nation". The churches are separated and divided: Whites on one side and blacks on the other with some superficial and elusive interaction. This reality divides all the institutions in South Africa: schools, hospitals and cities are divided into white and black with small numbers of blacks in the white churches, schools, cities and places of entertainment. This is, I think, the main cause of the criminality in South Africa. Here is the necessity of "*ubuntu*" for national reconciliation; "*Kunlumani*" (dialogue) should take place to create a true new South Africa and the Church united must be God's instrument to promote the reconciliation of the whole nation.

Koinonia Mission should accept the context of South Africa, as well in other countries in Africa, where a pluralism of religions is the reality. Interreligious dialogue is important to see how communities of faith should work together in unity. Unity is not conformity nor vice versa: unity in diversity and harmony is the goal of the inter-religious dialogue. Bosch stated this point of unity and mission, writing: "First, the mutual coordination of mission and unity is non-negotiable" (1991: 464); furthermore he quotes Kung: "Listening to God's word and listening to each other belong together, however; we can have the first only if we are prepared to have the second (Kung 1987:81-84)" (ibid: 465). The people of God should enhance their capacity of listening to each other and discerning God's work in the life of other people of his. And apart from the *Koinonia* mission, there is another important aspect of the *missio-ecclesiae*, that is *leiturgia*, worship to God.

3.4.1.4. Mission as *Leiturgia*

Mission should be regarded as an act of *leitourgia*, an act of worship of the God who sent us into the world. We glorify his name in our obedience to going out as witnesses of his love. God created us to adore and serve Him continually through our neighbour in many ways as an act of worship. Worship of God is the first commandment as the Lord Jesus Christ taught it, according to Matthew 22:37 – 39, and the second is related to the first: you shall love your neighbour as you love yourself. In the context of South Africa what meaning could liturgy offer to the people? It is really important to gather people to worship in a building to encourage them but its impact will not affect the whole nation. The body of Christ in its diversity and in harmony, as an ecumenical church, could gather in a public place to worship and celebrate His presence in a diversity of languages and manners of praise. Piet Meiring witnesses this kind of meeting:

The national celebration would take place on Sunday, 25 April, on the banks of the Orange River, in Upington. President Mandela would be the guest of honour. The Afrikaans minister on the Truth Commission had been requested to conduct the public worship and to deliver the sermon before the president would speak (*op. cit.*: 128).

This national Freedom Day (27 April) should draw the attention of all believers: Christians and members of other religions gathering to worship and celebrate before God as on the Jewish Passover to remember how great, deep and high is God's mercy towards us. But it seems that on Freedom Day, the political leaders are more at home and concerned on that day than Christians and other religious people are, as if it does not mean anything for us. South Africa's church of Christ in its diversity should become involved in and take this day as an opportunity to worship God in diversity and harmony as an ecumenical church. Here should be visible a practical reconciliation or reconciliation in action. On such a day the liturgy could employ ceremonial symbols of reconciliation.

3.4.2. South Africa's Complex Society.

South Africa is a very complex society because of its size. Secondly, its complexity is shown also by a multiplicity of ethnicities. And thirdly, many political ideologies and religious beliefs coexist, with multiple political parties and communities of faith. This is the context of the field of God's mission for the Church in South Africa. Shubane Khehla testifies about political parties in South Africa: "More parties exist here than in many other African countries" (1997: 11). In Shubane Khehla's words: "Seven are represented in parliament, and eight in provincial legislatures; fully 26 parties contested the first non-racial election" (ibid: 11). Regarding the religious movements, Jurgens Hendriks & Dr Johannes Erasmus in their joint article on "*Religion in South Africa: Census '96*" record the pluralism of religions. Statistics show 99 main religious groups scattered among five groups of people (*op. cit.*: 15 – 18). Without this understanding and God's guidance, mission in South Africa could be a waste of time and resources. Maluleke, writing the story of Happy Sindane, who claimed his father was white, commented: "South Africa has remained very much in the grip of racialised thinking" (2005:115). The interview I conducted with Paul Lang Bester on 16 March 2006, revealed to me many things about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Firstly, it did an important and worthy work for all South Africans and had credibility. Secondly, it did not give a chance to all South Africans to tell their stories. Thirdly, not only blacks suffered from apartheid; so did whites, both on the side of the apartheid government and of the opposition. Fourthly, churches have to create new interactions among blacks and whites so that the next generation does not fall into the pit of the previous separatist racial policies. This would be possible by inculcating a clear consciousness that blacks and whites in South Africa and in other countries in Africa are God's children. And I understand that the complexity in South Africa does not matter; on the contrary it offers opportunities for an effective, complete and global Church mission in mono- and transcultural contexts. Christians as the majority religious group should normally witness to Christ living and transforming lives positively in various actions. Here the four dimensions of mission: *Kerugma*, *diakonia*, *Koinonia* and *Leiturgia* become a synergistic action to reconcile, in Christ, people to God and each other.

South Africa as well as Angola offers opportunities for Christians to carry out mission at both dimensions of mission: firstly, the local level symbolized by E – 0; E – 1 considered as monocultural evangelisation; secondly, the missionary and international level, symbolized by E

– 2; E – 3 considered as transcultural (Pedro, Lutiniko 1999:6) evangelisation which requires training for its future incarnation efforts. This dimension of mission should not be evaluated in terms of distance or geographic dimension but should be flexible enough to perceive and understand where and what God wants for his sake and for the people whom he desires to be reconciled. The Church should be prepared not only to reconcile the two nations in one, but should also do its best to go beyond that and reach even small details of racial and ethnic division and discrimination. Mrs Maleka Sindisiwe told me about how whites had disappointed her; after serving as a tea lady in a restaurant, she had hoped to be promoted to a secretary since she had had the opportunity of being trained but was not given work because she was not white. These kinds of events are not only experienced by blacks; whites have similar experiences. Many cases could be illustrated which show discrimination among people but the main issue is the complexity of the country, which should remind the Church how complex is its mission, which normally should be present in all of life. Here the ministry of reconciliation should form the channel between the church and the state for better collaboration. An intricate South Africa requires an ecumenically stronger mission as regards national reconciliation.

3.4.3. The Ecumenical Mission

We have already mentioned many facets of the ecumenical responsibility of the church. We insist on this aspect so that Christians and other communities of faith consider and decide how and what we shall do as believers for our reconciliation first, before we deal with the issue of national reconciliation. It is necessary to make the point that among Christians interreligious dialogue is a very divisive issue, between particularism and universalism. Marianne Moyaert who wrote on this issue observed:

I wish to focus on the current discussion between two theological models namely universalism on the one hand and particularism on the other. The first model emphasizes the commonalities between the religions and the second model focuses on the particularity of each religious tradition often resulting in the rejection of the continued need for interreligious dialogue (2005: 37).

Reconciliation is essential between Christians and between these two theological tendencies for the sake of interreligious dialogue, which I believe would glorify God once we could leave each other in peace, in our harmony in diversity.

In the context of South Africa, the ecumenical mission concerns Christians divided into two or three main groups: Roman Catholics, Protestants with two main branches: Evangelical and the South African Council of Churches, and other communities of faith. The TRC's report, volume 4, refers to all religions in South Africa: "African Traditional Religion, Christian churches, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and the Baha'i Faith". Here we summarize the TRC commentary on these religions: African Traditional Religion is often dismissed as "culture" rather than "religion"; Islam traces its origins in South Africa to the arrival of political prisoners and slaves at the Cape from late seventeenth century; Judaism: the Jewish community in South Africa descends from immigrants of Anglo-German and Lithuanian origin who arrived at various stages during the nineteenth century. The SA Jewish Board of Deputies (formed in 1912) and the SA Zionist Federation (1898) are the two main representative bodies. Hinduism: seventy percent of the one million South African Indians are Hindu. The first Indians came to South Africa in 1860 to work as indentured labour, mainly on sugar plantations in Natal. Buddhism: some Buddhists came to South Africa from India and other Indians have embraced the religion since its arrival late in the nineteenth century, while most South African Buddhists are white converts. And the Baha'i Faith, although present in South Africa since 1911, only began to grow in the 1950s (*op. cit.*: 60 – 65).

Hence there are at least six religious groups in South Africa with whom Christians have to entertain continued ecumenical dialogue as people of God. The "Church of Christ in South Africa" should be a united body in its diversity in harmony. In Jesus' earthly mission he taught everybody from different religious backgrounds without distinction. If we could ask ourselves, "what would Christ Jesus do in our context of pluralism of religions? Would he visit African Traditional religions, Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, Baha'i and other religious groups?" clearly the answer would be yes! If yes, why should we Christians run away from those to whom God has sent us? Why should we hinder God's work with our presumptuous thoughts and doctrines? Did not the Lord tell Peter not to consider as heathens those whom God considers pure? (Acts 10: 15). We do not know when God's work of sanctification began. Should we Christians interact with Muslims and consider each other as God's people? Why not, if the

history of Christians and Muslims tells us that Christians used to welcome Muslims and coexist peacefully; as Alan Neely recorded (1995: 68)

We recognize that the relationship between Christians and Muslims is very complicated but we cannot stay in this very complicated situation: we have to deal within a sincere dialogue and discover how to live in a healthy relationship and how to be reconciled people of God, in both diversity and a harmonious community of faith in South Africa, as the TRC demonstrated with such effort. Likewise, the relationship between Christians and Hindus should be one of the goals of interreligious dialogue here in South Africa. There is a way to be reconciled with all religious groups here in South Africa, and Christians, as the majority, should be promoters of this dialogue. In such a way we can aid reconciliation in the whole of South Africa.

In South Africa as a democratic republic, members of religions should play their role as people of God in all sectors of life. Interreligious dialogue has a great deal to do within the country but some cases call for attention and should be the focus of interreligious dialogue, such as homosexual marriage, corruption, rape, assault and assassination. Dr. Neville Richardson made an interesting comment on same sex marriage, in the Methodist Newspaper: "The Constitutional Court ruling now faces the churches with the need for much more focused thought and action in the matter" (March 2006: 1): interesting because "churches" here means not only Christians but also all other religions. The contact we have had with many individual people shows that the churches combated apartheid together. It is time in the new South Africa for them to join hands to fight against all discrimination, racism, poverty, rape, assault, and homosexual marriage. If today the churches do not want to cooperate, therefore, things will be worse than during apartheid. National reconciliation will be hard to achieve without ecumenical mission. In the investigation the writer undertook, many said that the ingredients for national reconciliation are "love, forgiveness, trust, faith and prayer". The proposed ecumenical commission should not be confused with the TRC but interreligious dialogue will define its role and mission in South Africa.

In conclusion, the HRV Committee was the most effective committee of the TRC, which helped people to forgive and be healed from their traumatic experiences, as Professor Meiring demonstrated. The Reparation and Rehabilitation, as well as the Amnesty, committees are the most strongly criticized. We defended the credibility of the TRC report, showing its seven

volumes as synoptic writings where the events are the same but exhibit similarities and divergences, where the South African authors are more reliable.

We also discussed issues such as economic inequality, criminality, unemployment, xenophobia, violence against women; describing these as apartheid sequels which pose a strong challenge and constitute the churches' mission. Discussing the concept of two nations in one we concur, but not in terms of white and black; rather as rich and poor. Thus, as *Kerugma*, mission should focus on teaching people to know that our faith should be active to bring about transformation in society. In terms of *Diakonia* churches should find themselves involved in the social sphere of concrete actions. Liturgical mission should lead into a great national celebration: Freedom Day should be a time of encountering all God's people. Because South Africa is a complex society with many religions we suggest the creation of an ecumenical committee for regular dialogue on the issues which need a response from communities of faith: education for instance. We have learnt that the TRC should or could be important in the case of Angola, which we think should be communicated to the churches' leaders there; and why not to the political leaders in my country as well?