



























































































































































































































































































































































































sexism of many of the church, social, political, economic and family structures". In the same way, church leaders were called to confess their failure to involve young people in the full life of the church.<sup>24</sup>

The meeting affirmed the need for a just economic order based on "justice, compassion and co-responsibility, so that those in need benefit more than those who have more than what they need". In this context, South Africa's white population would have to accept "affirmative acts of restitution in health care, psychological healing, education, housing, employment, economic infrastructure and especially land ownership". The church and state were charged to work towards restoring land "to the dispossessed people". In committing themselves to the establishment of a "just, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa", the Rustenburg meeting called for a popularly elected constituent assembly. In turn, this should produce a new constitution that would enshrine the "value of human life created in the image of God" and entrench a Bill of Rights "subject to the judiciary alone". All of this should happen within the context of a multiparty democracy within a unitary state. Concerns were also raised at the rising levels of violence. In their estimation, the rising levels of violence were rooted in the denial of political rights, the emergence of a "third force" with links to the state, rivalry for limited resources and "power struggles between some political parties". Church agencies were encouraged to collect evidence and expose the perpetrators of violence, provide support to victims and to convene a task force to coordinate strategy. Furthermore, churches were called to move from confession and declaration to restitution and action. In practical terms this meant redistributing church land, opening white-only schools to blacks as well as planning a national day of prayer for "forgiveness and reconciliation".<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> "Rustenburg Declaration"

<sup>25</sup> "Rustenburg Declaration"

The Rustenburg meeting acknowledged the different understandings of the message of reconciliation.<sup>26</sup> The gathering further acknowledged the need to admit guilt and to ask forgiveness and acceptance within the church of Christ. In fact, the respected NGK theologian, Willie Jonker, underscored that an experience of reconciliation was necessary to enable the church to come to a united witness in promoting reconciliation in the anticipation of a new South Africa. Jonker argued that without acknowledging guilt as asking for forgiveness and acceptance, mutual trust could not be restored. In addition, the meeting recognised that the churches shared a responsibility to stand with the marginalised. Here the notion of reconciliation was invoked to address the violation of human rights in the country. In addition the gathering agreed that a confession of guilt and restitution on the basis of reconciliation with all people and all churches was essential.

### 5.2.3 Rustenburg in perspective

The main objective of the Rustenburg was to foster reconciliation as well as redefining the role of the churches after the abolition of apartheid. This meant helping the churches come to terms with the changing political terrain and enabling them to contribute to the development of the new South Africa. Among other things the conference is known for the spirit of confession that became a characteristic feature of the gathering. The most significant of these came from Willie Jonker. Jonker, who had been on the more progressive wing of the NGK, expressed deep regret that his church and the Afrikaner people defended apartheid. In his view, he could do little more than acknowledge their guilt and to ask for forgiveness and acceptance:

---

<sup>26</sup> Firstly, there were those who were deeply moved by the sinful violent situation in the country, thereby proclaiming reconciliation with God and their neighbours. Secondly, there were those who argued that the Christian faith had a very clear political function and message, which called people to liberating political action. These Christians read and interpreted the gospel from the perspective of the marginalised, who are seen as God's redemptive activity. They argued that the South African situation was characterised by totalitarian oppression, which was idolatrous, and completely under the judgment of God. In this context, traditional theology would be naïve in its attempt to present the middle way between opposing forces, thereby asserting the notion of reconciliation was not suitable in the present situation because it could be misused by the oppressors.

I confess before you and before the Lord, not only my own sin and guilt, and my own personal responsibility for the political, social and economic and structural wrongs that have been done to many of you, and the results of which you and our whole country are still suffering from, but vicariously I dare also to do that in the name of the DRC of which I am a member, and for the Afrikaans people as a whole.<sup>27</sup>

Jonker's confession received a mixed reception. Some were of the view that Jonker had no right to confess on their behalf, while others felt that the NGK was still not doing enough to seek unity within its own ranks (i.e. NG Sendingskerk).<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, many responded favourably, including Desmond Tutu, who as a sign of accepting the apology responded with a warm embrace. Boesak observes, "In the hall that day when Tutu strode to the podium, spoke into the stunned silence, and said, 'We forgive you,' he made this an unforgettable, historic moment."<sup>29</sup> Frits Gaum one of the senior NGK figures remembers the immensity of the moment, stating that: "The applause was deafening ... Tears of gratitude and forgiveness were flowing."<sup>30</sup> Notwithstanding the significance of the moment, Tutu's action also received its fair share criticism, especially from blacks who felt he had no authority to accept the NGK apology for anyone other than himself; whereas others were inspired to make their own confessions.<sup>31</sup>

According to Boesak, Tutu's reconciliatory gesture also spells the beginning of something that often goes unnoticed. In this context his response may have been met with resistance by some but this reconciliatory act also cleared the way for something else to emerge. Here the words, "we forgive you", as spoken by Tutu, deserve particular attention. In Boesak's

---

<sup>27</sup> L. Alberts and F. Chikane (eds.), *The road to Rustenburg: The Church looking forward to a new South Africa*, Cape Town: Struik Christian Books, 1991, 92.

<sup>28</sup> Vosloo, "Christianity and apartheid in South Africa", 418.

<sup>29</sup> Boesak and DeYoung, *Radical reconciliation*, 133.

<sup>30</sup> L. Gaum and F. Gaum, *Praat verby grense*, Cape Town: Umuzi, 2010, 82-83.

<sup>31</sup> I. Phiri, *Proclaiming political pluralism: Churches and political transition in Africa*, London: Praeger, 2001, 124.

view, the language of forgiveness transformed (“redeemed”) Tutu in the eyes of many whites. Tutu, a key figure in the church struggle against apartheid, was fierce opponent of the NGK’s policies on race, and for many of its members, this reconciliatory act came as a surprise. In fact, Frits Gaum, a senior NGK official described the experience as “a moment of liberation”. They were now convinced that he had “proved in practice” that he meant what he had been saying all along. In essence, Tutu became the redemptive presence in South Africa: “the embodied forgiveness of whites, and the simultaneously the embodied example of magnanimity for blacks. His was a piety that might be beyond the reach of most, but he personified the hope that a miracle was not impossible.”<sup>32</sup> So while not everyone shared Tutu’s sentiments and the consequence for reconciliation at that very moment, there is very little doubt that his action brought him renewed and certainly even new veneration across racial lines.<sup>33</sup>

Critically, the Rustenburg conference was supposed to mark the beginning of a new era of the churches. However, in reality it seems more plausible to suggest that it signalled the beginning of the end of the influence of the churches. For many, Rustenburg did very little to help facilitate the process of rebuilding. Some even go as far as describing the Rustenburg conference as a disappointment – in many respects lacking new insights.<sup>34</sup> This is attributed to the view that the *Rustenburg Declaration* is a compromise document, with much of the prophetic demands that were called for subdued by the burden of general consensus.<sup>35</sup> The influence (or lack thereof) of the Rustenburg conference should also take into account the many developments outside of the ecumenical movement. In this context the voice of the churches now had to compete with the voices of the unbanned political movements that were now starting to take shape.<sup>36</sup> So, while the SACC and its affiliates did much in trying to invigorate the churches in the post-apartheid environment,

---

<sup>32</sup> Boesak and DeYoung, *Radical reconciliation*, 133.

<sup>33</sup> Boesak and DeYoung, *Radical reconciliation*, 133-134.

<sup>34</sup> Phiri, *Proclaiming political pluralism: Churches and political transition in Africa*, 125.

<sup>35</sup> De Gruchy, *The church struggle*, 214.

<sup>36</sup> Phiri, *Proclaiming political pluralism*, 125.

denominational responses were largely disappointing. Walshe notes that the vibrant, populist responses generated in the 1980s were now largely absent – appeals from church leaders all too often encountered timid local clergy and uninterested parishes.<sup>37</sup> This was also the case with the second ecumenical conference referred to as Cottesloe II, held in Cape Town, approximately one year after the Rustenburg meeting. The hope was that Cottesloe II would prompt a renewal of the ecumenical movement through a pastoral programme of nation-building – much as the Rustenburg meeting had anticipated. But here also the end result was disappointing, a sobering reminder that the “fire in the belly was gone”.<sup>38</sup> Overwhelmed by the complexity of the transition many churches withdrew and occupied themselves mainly with internal church affairs.<sup>39</sup>

In December 1992 at the centennial celebration of the Free Ethiopian Church of Southern Africa, Nelson Mandela made a plea in which he underscored the contribution of the “broad ecumenical movement in South Africa and internationally”. Mandela emphasised the role of the churches in the anti-apartheid struggle, stating that: “One has just to look at leaders such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr. Frank Chikane, Dr. Beyers Naudé and many more to measure the role of the church in the struggle.” Furthermore, with the abolition of apartheid the churches could “not afford to retreat to the cosiness of the sanctuary.” Rather, that it now had to assume the role “as midwife to the birth of our democracy,” In Mandela’s view this role suggested a number of responsibilities. Among other things this included the involvement of the church in “...national reconciliation that is underpinned by confession and restitution.” Moreover, the church, was called “to take an active part in the building of a new nation in South Africa.”<sup>40</sup> Inevitably the responses from the churches remained hesitant. In this context, the churches were once again

---

<sup>37</sup> Walshe, “Christianity and democratisation in South Africa”, 81-82.

<sup>38</sup> Villa-Vicencio, “South Africa’s churches: After resistance ...?”, 35.

<sup>39</sup> P. Walshe, *Prophetic Christianity and the liberation movement in South Africa*, Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1995, 144.

<sup>40</sup> “Mandela’s Challenge to the Church”, Speech at the Centenary Celebration of the Free Ethiopian Church of Southern Africa, December 14, 1992, *Challenge*, 20-21.

challenged to formulate a revised contextual theology. James Cochrane and Gerald West make this point in stating that given the changes in the political landscape the churches needed a prophetic vision that went beyond protest to one which was prepared to be “constructive”. In their view much of what came from the churches before the transitional period was rooted in the need to object and protest against the injustices of apartheid. The situation dictated that more was needed. That protest alone would not suffice. In their view there was a need to move from “liberation” to “reconstruction”.<sup>41</sup> This came in the wake of the views expressed by Charles Villa-Vicencio, who not long after the abolition of apartheid proposed a “theology of reconstruction” as a means to address the new situation that has arisen.

#### 5.2.4 The proposal for a theology of reconstruction

The proposal for a theology of reconstruction emerged during the 1980s as an approach to African theology. The Kenyan theologian, Jesse Mugambi, was the first among African scholars to propose a departure from liberation to reconstruction.<sup>42</sup> Mugambi began advocating for “reconstruction” as a new theological metaphor especially when it became apparent that apartheid was coming to an end. He argued that, in post-colonial Africa, theological articulation (be it South African Black Theology, African Women’s Theology, Liberation Theology or Cultural Theology) needed a new theological motif to deal with the emerging challenges.<sup>43</sup> Mugambi argued that this new phase on the continent represents an opportunity in which theological articulation must shift from “liberation” to “reconstruction”. Comparing Africa to 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century Europe (and the respective awakenings of the Renaissance and the Reformation), Mugambi declared the 1990s to be the beginning of Africa’s Renaissance and Reformation and therefore the commencement

---

<sup>41</sup> J. R. Cochrane and G. West, “War, remembrance and reconstruction”, *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 84, 1993, 25-40.

<sup>42</sup> Vellem, “The symbol of liberation in South African Public Life”, 130.

<sup>43</sup> J. Gathogo, “Black Theology of South Africa: Is this the hour of paradigm shift?”, *Black Theology: An International Journal*. 5, 2007, 328.

of a process of reconstruction.<sup>44</sup> This proposal was taken further through the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) under its president, Desmond Tutu and General Secretary Jose Chipenda who also advocated for a shift in paradigm. In February 1990, the AACC invited various theologians to take part in discussions on the changing global patterns that followed the end of the Cold War, and the relevance of these changes for the African continent. Various papers on the reconstruction of Africa were later presented in March the same year. Some of these contributions were published in a book entitled *The Church of Africa: Towards a Theology of Reconstruction*, with Mugambi as one of the co-editors.<sup>45</sup> Since then the concept of reconstruction has been an important component of the discourse on African Christianity, and African church history in particular.<sup>46</sup>

In South Africa, the proposal for a theology of reconstruction was put forward by Charles Villa-Vicencio.<sup>47</sup> In his view, much emphasis was placed on the Exodus motif in the articulation of Black Theology of liberation in South Africa – in this context blacks are likened (metaphorically) to the people of Israel on their way from the land of bondage in Egypt (oppressive regime) to the promised land (anticipated liberation). Here Black Theology of liberation is modelled on the Exodus event (Exodus 3), where Moses led the Hebrews to freedom from oppression. With the abolition of apartheid and the subsequent transitional period, Villa-Vicencio identifies a shift, which he likens to the Old Testament post-Exilic period.<sup>48</sup> Accordingly, this new phase in the history of South Africa provides the basis for the “reconstruction” motif in contextual theology. In this context, the post-Exilic metaphor derived from Nehemiah, not that of Moses, represents the lens through

---

<sup>44</sup> J. N. K. Mugambi, *From liberation to reconstruction: African Christian theology after the cold war*, Nairobi: East Africa Educational, 1995.

<sup>45</sup> J. B. Chipenda, A. Karamaga, J. N. K. Mugambi, C. K. Omari (eds.), *The church of Africa: Towards a theology of reconstruction*, Nairobi: AACC, 1991.

<sup>46</sup> I Phiri & Julius Gathogo, “A reconstructive motif in South African Black Theology in the twenty-first century”, *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 36, 2010, 2 – Supplement, 185-206.

<sup>47</sup> C. Villa-Vicencio, *A theology of reconstruction: Nation-building and human rights*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

<sup>48</sup> Villa-Vicencio, *A Theology of reconstruction*, 6-8.

which one interprets the mission of the churches to redefine what is needed in the country. For Villa-Vicencio, “liberation”, which has largely been associated with the Exodus theme, is no longer adequate to deal with some of the new challenges. In his words: “Hitherto the task of liberation theology has essentially been to say “No” to all forms of oppression. The prophetic “No” must, of course, continue to be part of a liberating theology. As the enduring struggle for democracy in some parts of the world begins to manifest itself in differing degrees of success, however, so the prophetic task of the church must include a thoughtful and creative “Yes” to options for political and social renewal.”<sup>49</sup> In this sense the abolition of apartheid, together with the demands of the transitional period demanded more than merely resistance, it demanded the reconstruction of South Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>50</sup>

The proposal for a “theology of reconstruction” emerged in a climate where reconstruction and development were central themes in discussions on South Africa. It also came at time in which the churches were struggling to articulate an effective strategy on a way forward. Thus, for many, reconstruction as a contextual theology, was not only necessary but also appears the sensible thing to pursue. This is also the case for those directly involved in political negotiations where discourses on reconstruction became increasingly important. At this stage the ANC had already begun to discuss the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), a programme central to its bid to become the first democratically elected government. Tinyiko Maluleke observes that the RDP became the ANC’s “rallying call”. Moreover, that it was during the transitional period where the term reconstruction was popularised through the ANC’s labour alliances – “This reality has helped to entrench reconstruction as an important concept in so-called ‘progressive circles’ including the churches.”<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> Villa-Vicencio, *A Theology of reconstruction*, 1.

<sup>50</sup> Villa-Vicencio, *A Theology of reconstruction*, 14.

<sup>51</sup> T. S. Maluleke, “The proposal for a theology of reconstruction: A critical appraisal”, *Missionalia* 22(2), 1994, 245-246.

In the context of transitional politics much emphasis was placed on the need for reconstruction in the context of nation-building. Except for the scepticism coming from some quarters, it appears most were in favour of this proposed shift.<sup>52</sup> However, on the theological front, those using Black Theology as a self-description were not as enthusiastic. Among other things, they sharply criticised the project of reconstruction on the basis that it takes very little account of the heritage of liberation theologies in South Africa.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, like those using Black Theology as a self-description, the proponents of a theology of reconstruction also appear to be using substantial biblical motifs to support their views. Here concepts such as “reconciliation”, “repentance” and “forgiveness” are essential building blocks in the formulation of this theology.<sup>54</sup> These components were further explicated through the proceedings of the TRC. Here it is important to note that Villa-Vicencio, the main proponent in the call for a shift, became the Director of Research for the TRC. It is, therefore, not surprising that many of these principles were ever present in the approach and conceptualisation of the TRC. Here the notion of reconciliation, although inspired by the theological principles, appears to be unrelated to Christian beliefs or practices; it is a process in society. According to Villa-Vicencio, reconciliation, within the context of reconstruction, is a process driven by an energy that stands at the intersection between theology and experience, in which the biblical invitation to reconcile and the experiences of those who have suffered are taken seriously.<sup>55</sup> He argues that reconciliation requires sincere and lasting repentance and this invites theological and ethical reflection.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> For an interesting discussion on the general reception of the RDP, see Maluleke, “The proposal for a theology of reconstruction: A critical appraisal”, 245-246.

<sup>53</sup> For an in-depth discussion on the theological reception of a reconstruction, see Vellem, “The symbol of liberation in South African public life”, 128-236.

<sup>54</sup> Maluleke, “The Proposal for a Theology of Reconstruction: A Critical Appraisal”, 250.

<sup>55</sup> C. Villa-Vicencio, *The art of reconciliation*, Östervåla: Life & Peace Institute, 2002, 13-14.

<sup>56</sup> Elsewhere he states that, “Reconciliation with God involves accepting the claim of God on one’s life. But this can be little more than homiletical appeal if it is not translated into cultural and structural controls and incentives designed to order our lives. At best, under the continuing challenges of the gospel, these

Villa-Vicencio further identified the following distinctive features of the process of reconciliation. Firstly, that “reconciliation does not necessarily involve forgiveness”. For Villa-Vicencio, the perpetrators may be ready to confess and repent their wrongdoing, but this does not necessarily mean the victim will respond by offering forgiveness. Secondly, that “reconciliation interrupts an established pattern of events”. To engage in reconciliation is to step beyond enmity, in the midst of violence, without any guarantees. To allow for the possibility of reconciliation is to make time for speech. Thirdly, “reconciliation is a process”. It is a process that begins with intrigue, curiosity and perhaps morbid fascination as to what it is that makes the alienated person who he or she is. Fourthly, “reconciliation involves understanding”. Understanding does not necessarily lead to reconciliation, but when the story of the perpetrator is thoughtfully told, heard and deeply understood by the victim or survivor, it opens the space for the possibility of a new kind of interaction between those alienated from each other. Fifthly, “reconciliation requires acknowledgement”. Acknowledging the truth does not necessarily lead to reconciliation, it does not mean forgetting the ghastly deed, and it also does not mean becoming friends with the perpetrator. However, it does mean a break from unconcealed enmity. This implies the beginning of a different kind of relationship that is open to new possibilities. And lastly, “reconciliation takes time”. For most people only a first enquiring venture beyond hatred is possible. In this context, the reconciling process takes time and may only come later. It is with this in mind that reconciliation as a national project could be considered.

---

structures can become part of the process of renewing, transforming and redirecting personal and social goals. See Villa-Vicencio, *A Theology of reconstruction*, 162.

## 5.3. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa

### 5.3.1 Reconciliation as a national initiative

South Africa's transition marks the time when discourse on reconciliation shifted from an almost exclusive theological endeavour to something that was now seriously considered a national issue. Through various developments on the political front, the discourse on reconciliation evolved from its traditional theological associations into something that now formed part of a guiding vision for the country. Until the Rustenburg meeting, theologians and church leaders used reconciliation in the church struggle, inspired by biblical and theological language and aiming to reconcile the races, and later on to reconcile the opposing parties in the context of the then apartheid state and its growing violent polarisation. These religious positions informed the public debate on the future of the country. But the discourse on reconciliation grew more important when key political figures started using and contesting the concept. In this context, the discourse on reconciliation moved from being a theological issue into something that now formed part of the general plan of national reconstruction. Notwithstanding its deep theological roots, it now became an issue firmly observed through the lens of public morality. This does not mean that theologians did not continue to grapple with this controversial symbol but simply that it now became a national rather than strictly theological matter. The end result, as Eddy Van der Borghht observes, is that the discourse on reconciliation was now incorporated into various spheres, including the vocabulary of psychology, sociology, philosophy and political science as well as being embraced by politicians, especially during the transitional period.<sup>57</sup>

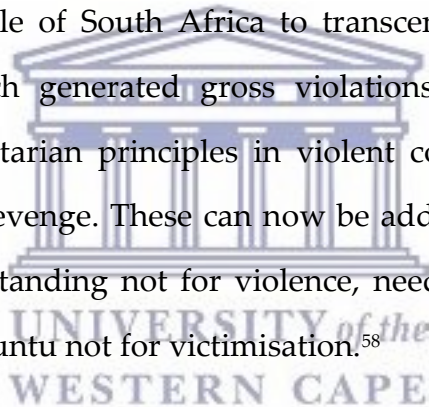
The beginning of reconciliation and a national initiative is traced to the decisions reached during the multiparty negotiating process. An important aspect of the negotiations was

---

<sup>57</sup> E. A. J. G. Van der Borghht, "Reconciliation in the public domain: The South African case", *International Journal of Public Theology*, 9, (4), 2015, 413.

the issue of an interim constitution that would replace the old constitution that formed the basis of apartheid legislation. Among other things, one of the more controversial aspects of this interim constitution was the issue over whether the advent of democracy would include the possibility of amnesty. The lack of an amnesty provision in interim constitution posed a particular problem, especially to those forming part of the military as well as human rights communities. The issue of amnesty was temporarily “solved” by allocating a place for it in the post-amble of the interim constitution and by framing it within the context of reconciliation on the road to national unity. In Doxtader’s words:

The pursuit of national unity, the well-being of all South African citizens and peace require *reconciliation* between the people of South Africa and the *reconstruction* of society. The adoption of this constitution lays the secure foundation for the people of South Africa to transcend the division and the strife of the past, which generated gross violations of human rights, the transgression of humanitarian principles in violent conflicts and a legacy of hatred, fear, guilt, and revenge. These can now be addressed on the basis that there is need for understanding not for violence, need for reparation but not retaliation, a need for ubuntu not for victimisation.<sup>58</sup>



On this basis, an amnesty provision was announced: “In order to advance such reconciliation and reconstruction, amnesty shall be granted in all respect of acts, omissions, and offenses associated with political objectives and committed in the course of conflicts of the past. To this end, Parliament under this constitution shall adopt a law determining a firm cut-off date ..., and providing for the mechanisms, criteria, and procedures, including tribunals, if any, through which such amnesty shall be dealt with at any time after the law has been passed.”<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>58</sup> Doxtader, *With Faith In The Works Of Words*, 213.

<sup>59</sup> For the full text and the interpretation of the post-able to the interim constitution, see Doxtader, *With faith in works of words*, 211-217.

Van der Borghht observes that the inclusion of the amnesty provision in the post-amble did not satisfy the various stakeholders. The representatives of the apartheid government understood this as “forgive and forget” and accordingly they wanted to “close the books on the past”. On the other hand, the victims of gross violations of human rights opposed the amnesty provision because they were not prepared to consider immunity to prosecution. Moreover, some were convinced that in order to prevent the explicit risk of forgetting the past, a process was necessary that would help facilitate the transition from a violent past to a more sustainable future.<sup>60</sup> The main issue was that the post-amble did not provide the tools for such a procedure. Due to uniqueness of the situation it would be fair to suggest that at this stage such tools had not yet been developed. In the context of the negotiated settlement, Kader Asmal, in his inaugural lecture as Professor of Human Rights Law at the University of the Western Cape in 1992, had already explained why and how the past needed to be opened. Asmal explained that “we must take the past seriously as it holds the key to the future. The issues of structural violence, of unjust and inequitable economic social arrangements, of balanced development in the future cannot be properly dealt with unless there is a conscious understanding of the past.”<sup>61</sup> In this context, he was convinced that in order to come to terms with the problematic history of South Africa, something more than a Nuremberg-style trial was needed. In fact, he argued that such an approach would lack the capacity to deal with the humiliation, brutality, deprivation, and degradation of the past. In his view South Africa needed a truth commission because the harm done by apartheid simply exceeded the law’s grasp. It is for this reason that South Africa needed to embrace the mode of reconciliation that carefully considered the past, located accountability, and supported the revival of moral conscience. Reconciliation entailed more than the mere creation of new structures and arrangements. For Asmal, reconciliation’s potential needed to serve three ends. Firstly, it required a demonstration of

---

<sup>60</sup> Van der Borghht, “Reconciliation in the Public Domain”, 417.

<sup>61</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report Volume One. Cape Town: Juta Press, 1998, 49; Doxtader, *With faith in the works of words*, 230.

apartheid's illegitimacy. The process needed to illuminate the past in order to better grasp the current predicament. Secondly, reconciliation's potential to enact change was largely dependent on its capacity to broker disputes and disputation. This would forge consensus and deter denials about the evils of apartheid. Finally, reconciliation offered the chance for cathartic truth-telling, a process in which South Africans could hear the experiences of fellow citizens, stories that set the stage for the "justice" of acknowledgement, "restitution", and "atonement".<sup>62</sup>

After the adoption of the interim constitution, the organisation Justice in Transition, headed by Alex Boraine, organised an international conference in February 1994 to reflect on dealing with the past in the context of a negotiated transition. Through these deliberations and others, it became apparent that amnesty without history and truth-telling would not yield the intended aim of reconciliation. Doxtader explains that "the spirit of transition called for the constitution of individual and collective identity while emphasising that apartheid's violent identitarian logic was precisely why citizens needed to remember the past in the name of creating the identifications of reconciliation".<sup>63</sup> The end of the political negotiations reached its symbolic climax with the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as the country's first democratically elected President on 11 May 1994.<sup>64</sup> This was followed by the passing of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act in mid-1995. This legislation gave birth to the TRC. Chapter 2, section 3:1 (a-d) of the Act, spells out the mandate of the commission. Here the commission is tasked with: (a) establishing a picture of the gross violations of human rights in the period between 1 March 1960 and 10 May 1994 through investigations and hearings; (b) facilitating the granting of amnesty to those who made a full disclosure of all the relevant facts to acts associated with political objectives; (c) establishing and making known the fate or whereabouts of victims, restoring dignity by giving victims the opportunity to relate their

---

<sup>62</sup> For an analysis of Asmal's inaugural lecture, see Doxtader, *With faith in the works of words*, 229-232.

<sup>63</sup> Doxtader, *With faith in works of words*, 239.

<sup>64</sup> South Africa first non-racial, democratic elections took place on 27 April 1994.

own accounts, and recommending reparations, and (d) compiling a comprehensive report with findings and recommendations.<sup>65</sup> De Gruchy observes that through the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, reconciliation was crucial in trying to uncover the truth, also, in terms of how the country should deal with the past as well as defining the future. Moreover, reconciliation was now seen as part of defining the national goals of democratic transformation and reconstruction.<sup>66</sup>

### 5.3.2 The mandate of the TRC

The 17 member commission, headed by Desmond Tutu as the chairperson, was inaugurated in December 1995. The commissioners (including Tutu) were nominated by a representative panel appointed by President Mandela. The commissioners included people from different backgrounds, with Christian leadership well represented. Besides Tutu, they included the deputy chairperson Alex Boraine, a theologian by training, and also former leader of the Methodist Church. Other church leaders included, Khoza Mgojo, theologian and former president of the SACC; Charles Villa-Vicencio, theologian; Bongani Finca, church leader and prominent ecumenist; Tom Manthata, former employee of the Justice and Reconciliation division in the SACC; Rey Xundu, church leader and Piet Meiring, theologian and prominent figure in the NGK.<sup>67</sup>

The idea of the commission is not unique to South Africa. There are other examples, particularly in Latin America where similar ventures have been undertaken in post-conflict situations.<sup>68</sup> However, these commissions differed in their approaches. Elsewhere they tended to opt for approaches focused on providing “blanket amnesty” or for

---

<sup>65</sup> Van der Borcht, “Reconciliation in the public domain”, 419.

<sup>66</sup> De Gruchy, *Reconciliation*, 25, 41.

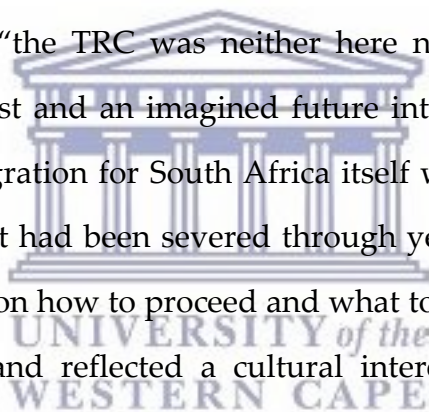
<sup>67</sup> R. S. Tshaka, “The black church as the womb of black liberation theology?: Why the Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa (URCSA) is not a genuine black church?”, *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies*, 71, 2015, Online: <http://www.hts.org.za/index.php/HTS/article/view/2800> [Accessed 21 December 2017].

<sup>68</sup> For a comparative study of different truth commissions, see P. Hayner, *Unspeakable truths: Transitional justice and the challenge of truth commissions*, New York: Routledge, 2001,

“Nuremberg style trials” to deal with past atrocities.<sup>69</sup> In contrast, the South African commission attempted to find a balance between the two approaches. In Tinyiko Maluleke’s words:

On the one hand, the plan aims to grant amnesty ‘at a price’ – the price being the requirement for those applying for amnesty to make ‘full disclosure of all the relevant facts’ regarding their activities. On the other hand, through its processes of public and private ‘hearings,’ the TRC hopes to give the victims of ‘gross human rights violations’ a chance to tell their story, not only to the TRC but also to the nation as a whole, with some prospect of possible reparations.<sup>70</sup>

Moreover, at heart of the TRC process is the notions of “reconciliation and reconstruction,” rather than retribution or justice in a judicial sense. Catherine Cole underscores this “balancing act”, stating that “the TRC was neither here nor there, located somewhere between the islands of the past and an imagined future integration – integration for the races, of course, but also integration for South Africa itself within both the continent and the larger world from which it had been severed through years of cultural and economic boycotts.”<sup>71</sup> With no template on how to proceed and what to expect, the TRC sprang from “the morality as a people” and reflected a cultural interest in realising the common



---

<sup>69</sup> Jennifer Harvey posits that: “In the challenge coming out of apartheid and birthing a new civic society, (a) it was not feasible to imagine one could prosecute and punish all the perpetrators for their gross participation in human rights violations; (b) layers of secrecy and lies made getting to the truth of the past virtually impossible without significant cooperation from perpetrators; (c) learning such truth was perceived as one of the most important needs of victims if they were to become full participants in a new civic community; and (d) the possibility of massive social violence (civil war even) threatened at every turn in the transition to a ‘new South Africa’ such that some type of honest, collective, and public contending with the past had to take place if nationhood was to have any hope of success.” See J. Harvey, *Dear white Christians: For those still longing for racial reconciliation*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014, 91.

<sup>70</sup> T. S. Maluleke, “Truth, National Unity and Reconciliation in South Africa: Aspects of the emerging theological agenda”, *Missionalia* 25(1), 1997, 60. Also see A. Boraine, J. Levy and R. Scheffer (eds.), *Dealing with the past: Truth and reconciliation in South Africa*, Cape Town: Idasa, 1993; K. Asmal, L. Asmal and R. Roberts, *Reconciliation through truth: A reckoning of apartheid’s criminal governance*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1996, 11.

<sup>71</sup> C. M. Cole, *Performing South Africa’s Truth Commission: Stages of transition*, Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010, Preface and Acknowledgments.

humanity (ubuntu) of the people of South Africa.<sup>72</sup> Coupled with what is described as an international “fetishisation,” the South African commission became one of the most ambitious projects of its sort ever undertaken.<sup>73</sup>

With much fanfare, skepticism and pointed opposition the TRC started its work in 1996. The commission was divided into three sub-committees. This included a) the Committee on Human Rights Violations; b) the Committee on Amnesty; and c) the Committee on Reparations and Rehabilitation. The initial plan was that these committees would hold simultaneous hearings around the country during the two years of operation. Due to the public nature of its work, it was the Committee of Human Rights Violations that attracted the most attention when it started its work. This commission was entrusted to hear the stories of victims to determine whether gross violations of human rights had occurred.<sup>74</sup> It took the testimonies of more than 21,000 victims and witnesses – 2,000 were selected to appear in public hearings. The hearings received extensive media coverage. In the process, the weekly Truth Commission Special Report became South Africa’s most watched news show.<sup>75</sup> This was in line with the TRC’s mandate to promote national reconciliation through providing ordinary South Africans (who were neither perpetrators nor victims of gross violations of human rights) with the opportunity to reflect on their past and future through the publicity around the TRC.<sup>76</sup>

The most innovative – and yet also the most controversial aspect of the TRC’s work – was its power to grant amnesty for gross violations of human rights. The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act made provision for the granting of amnesty of

---

<sup>72</sup> K. Moodley, “African Renaissance and Language Policies in Comparative Perspective,” *Politikon* 27, 2000, 3.

<sup>73</sup> Doxtader, *With faith in works of words*, 5.

<sup>74</sup> According to the *Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act*, no. 34 of 1995, a gross human rights violation is defined as the “violation of human rights through the killing, abduction, torture, or severe ill treatment of any person ... which emanated from conflicts of the past ... and the commission of which was advised, planned, directed, commanded, or ordered by any person acting with a political motive”.

<sup>75</sup> Hayner, *Unspeakable truths*, 28.

<sup>76</sup> Hendrikson, *A journey with a Status Confessionis*, 147.

persons who made full disclosure of all the relevant facts. The amnesty provision stated that:

In order to advance reconciliation and reconstruction, amnesty shall be granted in all respect of acts, omissions and offences associated with political objectives and committed in the course of the conflicts of the past. To this end, Parliament under this constitution shall adopt a law determining a firm cut-off date..., and providing for the mechanisms criteria and procedures, including tribunals, if any, through which such amnesty shall be dealt with at any time after the law has been passed.<sup>77</sup>

In his critical assessment of the amnesty provision, Richard Wilson argues that the post-ambler's "amnesty provisions were the only indispensable and necessary part of the process of national unity and reconciliation". In his words, "reconciliation was the Trojan horse used to smuggle an unpleasant aspect of the past (that is, impunity) into the present political order, to transform political compromises into transcendental moral principles."<sup>78</sup> It is for this reason that the TRC legalisation was often described as weak, in some ways favouring the perpetrators at the expense of victims.<sup>79</sup> After the granting of amnesty to key political and army figures, the fear of prosecution and condemnation among many perpetrators resided. Instead of coming forward and disclosing, many decided not to apply for amnesty. As a consequence, many of the crimes committed during apartheid were never revealed. In total there were 7,115 applications for amnesty, 4,500 were rejected, and another 145 were granted partial amnesty.<sup>80</sup>

The Committee on Reparations and Rehabilitation was tasked with determining how each victim should be compensated and make recommendations to the president in an

---

<sup>77</sup> Doxtader, *With faith in works of words*, 215.

<sup>78</sup> R. A. Wilson, *The politics of truth and reconciliation in South Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 99, 97.

<sup>79</sup> T. S. Maluleke, "Truth, National Unity and Reconciliation in South Africa. Aspects of an Emerging Agenda", *Missionalia* 25(1), 1997, 59-86, 63

<sup>80</sup> Van der Borgh, "Reconciliation in the public domain", 420.

endeavour to restore the human and civil dignity of such victims. Whereas the Committee on Amnesty had the power to grant amnesty, the Committee of Reparations and Rehabilitation, which dealt with reparations for victims, could only make recommendations to either the president or a parliamentary standing committee. In this context, the TRC had the mandate to provide amnesty to perpetrators but was only mandated to make recommendations for the provision of reparations for victims. In Maluleke's view, beyond the complex arguments about whether the TRC ought to have been given more judicial "teeth" so that it could adopt a prosecution-centred approach, a blanket amnesty approach, etc., there was the feeling that as things stood, the scales were tilted slightly in favour of the perpetrators of apartheid atrocities. Indeed, the very clause of the interim constitution that gave rise to the TRC referred mainly to amnesty and not reparations.<sup>81</sup>

### 5.3.3 Religious symbolism and the TRC

The central aim of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act was to promote national unity and reconciliation. While the detail of this mandate remained vague, the legislation charged the TRC to facilitate consultations that would contribute to the public's ability to understand and redress apartheid atrocities as well as working towards national reconciliation. This was set against notions of "vengeance" or "justice" in a judicial sense. Notwithstanding the religious underpinnings of this approach, the establishment of the TRC, as John Allen observes, had very little to do with religious ideals. Rather "it was rather the providential outcome of realpolitik, which reflected a convergence of pressures from three directions: idealistic human rights activists within the ANC, frightened generals of the old order, and nongovernmental lobby coordinated by the man who was to become Tutu's deputy in the commission."<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, under the

---

<sup>81</sup> Maluleke, "Truth, national unity and reconciliation in South Africa", 67.

<sup>82</sup> J. Allen, *Rabble-rouser for peace: The authorised biography of Desmond Tutu*, Johannesburg: Rider Books, 2006, 344.

leadership of Desmond Tutu the religious character of the commission became a distinctive feature. The prominence of religious, especially Christian, leaders was not random. Here one would have to come to terms with the role of Christian activists (including the commissioners) in the struggle against apartheid. However, Maluleke explains that the commissioners were not appointed as church representatives, rather as individuals who proved their worth in the struggle against the injustices of apartheid. In his words, "We must never forget that the TRC is a juridical entity with a political rather than a spiritual or theological agenda ... It is therefore erroneous to assume that the presence of church people in the commission means that the church is represented in it or that its objectives are spiritual and theological."<sup>83</sup> Notwithstanding Maluleke's observation, the language and conceptualisation of the TRC was largely inspired by Christian principles. De Gruchy remarks that TRC's mode of "operation sometimes resembled a pastoral counselling chamber presided over by a father confessor rather than a court of law chaired by a judge."<sup>84</sup> The chairperson, Desmond Tutu was always dressed in purple clerical robe and clearly acting as a religious figure. Moreover, public hearings sometimes resembled a church service more so than a judicial proceeding. Alex Boraine, who served as vice-chairperson of the TRC, remarks that from the beginning it was clear that there would be both praise and criticism for how Tutu handled public hearings. Tutu's wearing of clerical dress, offering prayers and often using Christian metaphors became a cause for concern for some who preferred a more forensic approach to public proceedings.<sup>85</sup> Nevertheless, in responding to criticism, Tutu insisted that President

---

<sup>83</sup> Maluleke, "Truth, national unity and reconciliation in South Africa", 69.

<sup>84</sup> S. De Gruchy, "From Church Struggle to Church Struggles", In: De Gruchy, *The church struggle*, 226; Cole's perceptive book on the TRC provides the reader with a detailed account of the different sensory elements in the process, See Cole, *Performing South Africa's Truth Commission*, Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010.

<sup>85</sup> A. Boraine, *A country unmasked: Inside South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 266.

Mandela was acutely aware that he (Tutu) was an archbishop when he appointed him chairperson of the commission.<sup>86</sup>

The firm emphasis on the religious (especially Christian) aspects of the TRC should have been expected. In Piet Meiring's words,

The South African community is by and large a religious community. The vast majority of South Africans belong to one of the Christian denominations or to the Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Bahai, Jewish or African traditionalist communities...the influence of the churches and other faith communities is still a force to be reckoned with. From the onset, the faith communities were involved in discussing the possibility of a truth commission and eventually in the drafting of the TRC Act. Workshops and conferences to further the aims of the TRC and to identify the churches' and other communities' role in the process were the order of the day. And when the TRC hearings started, the local churches were the staunch co-workers of the Commission, helping to disseminate news, to encourage victims and perpetrators to approach the TRC and to act as facilitators and spiritual guides throughout the life of the Commission.<sup>87</sup>

The development of a TRC "liturgy" that set the pattern for public hearings is set against this background. This included an "order of worship" that that consisted of: the singing or hymns, prayers (interdenominational and inter-faith), scripture readings in many languages, the lighting of candles and the presenting of olive branches. In this context, Archbishop Tutu, understanding the spiritual needs of victims and the audience, made

---

<sup>86</sup> Boraime, *A country unmasked*, 101.

<sup>87</sup> P. Meiring, "Pastors or lawyers? The role of religion in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission Process", *HTS Theological Studies*, 58(1), 2002, 332.

ample use of prayers not only to open and close meetings but to guide the process through sometimes difficult periods.<sup>88</sup>

### 5.3.4 The framing of reconciliation at the TRC

In all probability, the notion of the TRC was borrowed from the Roman Catholic model of penance, confession, and absolution. In this context, the very notions of “truth” and “reconciliation”, underscored in the name of the commission, are central elements in the Christian tradition. Fundamental to the work of the commission was to establish the truth about the past. Meiring notes that the Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar, in introducing the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act to Parliament, highlighted the inextricable link between truth and search for genuine reconciliation.<sup>89</sup> In this context, Anthea Jeffery raises serious criticisms on the difficulty of not only establishing the “truth” but also in the TRC’s handling of the “truth”.<sup>90</sup> Meiring’s interpretation of the “truth” and how it was dealt with at the TRC is quite perceptive. In his view:

The quest for truth also had a deeper side to it. Searching for the truth, in the tradition of all religions, is a spiritual exercise. Finding the truth goes well beyond establishing historical and legal facts. It has to do with understanding, accepting accountability, justice, restoring and maintaining the fragile relationships between human beings, as well as with the quest to find the Ultimate Truth, God Himself. Leading the nation on this road indeed posed a huge challenge to the faith communities in the country. The search for truth needed to be handled with the greatest sensitivity. Would that not be the case, the nation could bleed to death. But if we succeeded, it would lead to a national catharsis, peace and reconciliation, to the point where the truth in all reality sets

---

<sup>88</sup> Meiring, “Pastors or lawyers?”, 332-333.

<sup>89</sup> P. Meiring, *Chronicle of the Truth Commission*, Vanderbijlpark: Carpe Diem, 1998, 12-14.

<sup>90</sup> A. Jeffery, *The truth about the Truth Commission*, Johannesburg: South African Institute for Race Relations, 1999, 13.

one free.<sup>91</sup>

The work of the commission was further complicated by linking truth-seeking with reconciliation. Megan Shore explains that, on their own, these concepts are quite difficult to comprehend. Not only was the relationship between “truth” and “reconciliation” expressed in the name of the commission, but it was also publicised in the commission’s slogan, “Truth, the Road to Reconciliation”.<sup>92</sup> Meiring remarks that the rather naïve expectation from the onset of TRC’s work is “that once we have welcomed truth in at the front door of our house, reconciliation would slip in by the back door.”<sup>93</sup> However, there were instances of reconciliation between perpetrators and victims, but for the most part, this cases was not indicative of the broader quest for national reconciliation. Part of the problem was defining what exactly was meant by reconciliation. This was much easier to define on an individual basis but what exactly this meant on a societal level remained elusive.

The lawyers, jurists and politicians were much more grounded and less starry-eyed their interpretation of what reconciliation meant within the context of the TRC. People did not kill each other and for them that was enough. However, people like Desmond Tutu and some of the other religious leaders favoured a loftier ideal. In Meiring words:

When they spoke about reconciliation they clothed it in religious terminology. Referring to Paul’s Second Letter to the Corinthians, it was often said that only because God had reconciled us to Him by sacrificing his Son Jesus Christ on the cross, true and lasting reconciliation between humans became possible (2 Cor 5:17-12). Trying to define reconciliation, references were often made to the shalom, the peace that God alone could provide. Psalm 85: 10-14 was often quoted. In similar fashion, spokespersons for the other faith communities used

---

<sup>91</sup> Meiring, “Pastors or Lawyers?”, 336.

<sup>92</sup> Shore, *Religion and conflict resolution*, 107.

<sup>93</sup> Meiring, “Pastors or Lawyers?”, 337.

deeply religious terminology, referring to the deepest sources of their beliefs, when they joined in the debate.<sup>94</sup>

The different parties did reach consensus on the fragility and costliness in working towards reconciliation. Also that it would be nearly impossible refer to reconciliation without taking seriously the issue of justice, accountability and restitution. In this context, Tutu emphasises the need to reach into the “spiritual wells of our different religious traditions” to address the challenge of healing and nation building. In his view, the Christian tradition has “a special responsibility” because of the way Christian theology was used in the justification of apartheid.<sup>95</sup>

### 5.3.5 Narrative and the TRC

The place of narrative is crucial in trying to understand the inner logic of TRC. Here the public hearings of the Committee of Human Rights Violations are of particular importance. For Russel Botman and Robin Petersen: “While the importance of narrative has been a central issue in much contemporary theology and ethics, this theory is rarely demonstrated with as much power as it is at the TRC hearings.”<sup>96</sup> Victims of apartheid were encouraged to tell their stories. In being encouraged to share their stories of pain and suffering, victims routinely used overtly Christian terminology to describe their situation as well as how they dealt with their loss. In the context of dealing violence committed against an individual, or dealing with a loss, Lyn Graybill posits that “it is important that victims be allowed to share their stories; survivors often feel misunderstood and ignored, their sacrifice unacknowledged, their pain unrecognised, and their identity destroyed.”<sup>97</sup> In addition, narrative also relates to the construction of a common memory of the past for

---

<sup>94</sup> Meiring, “Pastors or Lawyers?”, 337-338.

<sup>95</sup> D. M. Tutu, “Foreword”, In: H. R. Botman and R. M. Pietersen (eds.), *To remember and to heal: Theological and psychological reflections on truth and reconciliation*, Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1996, 8.

<sup>96</sup> Botman and Petersen, “Introduction”, *To remember and to heal*, 12.

<sup>97</sup> L. S. Graybill, “South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Ethical and theological perspectives”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, 12, 1998, 48.

victims, perpetrators as well as bystanders. For Graybill, where common memory is lacking, where people do not share in the same past, there can be no real community, and where community is to be formed common memory must be created. In this context the TRC provided the victims, perpetrators as well as bystanders with the opportunity to participate in each other's humanity in story form.<sup>98</sup> Kader Asmal, Louise Asmal and Suresh Roberts posit that through the stories coming from the TRC, South Africans were confronted with the unwelcome truths in order to "harmonize incommensurable world views" so that conflicts and differences stand "at least within a single universe of comprehensibility."<sup>99</sup> In this context, working towards reconciliation requires that there is general agreement between both sides as to the wrongs committed. In the framework of the TRC, the danger of perpetrators not coming forward threatened that of the large parts of the narrative remained untold.

### 5.3.6 Forgiveness and Repentance at the TRC

The logic of the TRC confessional process was based on the notion that the perpetrators repent their sins and victims offer forgiveness, leading to reconciliation between individuals and ultimately the nation at large. Tutu encouraged this process and had implored perpetrators to apologise publically and accept the forgiveness he hoped would be forthcoming. It is important to note that an apology or remorse was not a prerequisite for the granting of amnesty. This leads Graybill to question the TRC's emphasis on forgiveness. With so much emphasis on forgiveness, not forgiving was not given the space it deserved. The reality as she further explains is that none of the victims could be compelled to forgive any more than perpetrators could be forced to repent. As a reconciling figure Tutu did much in terms of encouraging forgiveness and repentance to take place but in reality this was not a legislative requirement. At the same time it could

---

<sup>98</sup> Graybill, "South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission", 49.

<sup>99</sup> K. Asmal, L. Asmal, and R. S. Roberts, *Reconciliation through truth: A reckoning of apartheid's criminal governance*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1996, 46.

not be realistically expected that victims would be ready to forgive even when they were asked to do so. Tutu emphasised this point more than once.<sup>100</sup> The TRC hearings illustrated that perpetrators often did not always express remorse for the wrongs committed. At the same time the victims also did not always express forgiveness.<sup>101</sup> Peter Storey does not view the lack of contrition when it comes to showing remorse of many amnesty applicants as a particular problem. In his opinion, forced repentance would devalue those moments of apparently genuine repentance that often took place. Thus, whether amnesty applicants were remorseful or not, at the very least disclosure meant an acknowledgement of the truth of what actually happened.<sup>102</sup>

### 5.3.7 The notion of guilt at the TRC

The TRC operated from the premise of original sin. This is rooted in the idea that everyone is bears some responsibility for what happened – there are obviously varying degrees of guilt that need to be considered. In the South African context, everyone was implicated in the crime of apartheid. Thus, when appearing before the TRC, both sides (in defence or defiance of the system) were required to disclose violations of human rights committed. In other words, no moral distinction was made between the violence used to maintain, and the violence employed to oppose apartheid. This particular aspect has been severely criticised by some sectors of society, particularly those who committed human rights violations in the name of the liberation movement. Those in the ANC believed that their struggle was a moral one against an unjust system and for this reason they discouraged their members from seeking amnesty. As a response Tutu threatened to resign from the

---

<sup>100</sup> Harvey, *Dear white Christians*, 92.

<sup>101</sup> For a detailed discussion on the aspects of remorse and forgiveness at the TRC see, P. Gobodo-Madikizela, *A human being died that night: A story of forgiveness*, Cape Town: David Philip, 2003; S. L. Kobe, "The Relationship between Remorse and Offering Forgiveness: Selected Case Studies from the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission", Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of the Western Cape, November 2014.

<sup>102</sup> P. Storey, "A different kind of justice: Truth and reconciliation in South Africa", *The Christian Century*, 114, 1997, 793.

TRC, if the ANC members tried to exempt themselves from the provisions of the legislation requiring all individuals involved to apply for amnesty in order to avoid prosecution. The ANC later announced that it would no longer discourage its members from applying for amnesty. However, the ANC's insistence on fighting a just war persisted, but at this point the TRC leadership had already resolved that the issue did not concern the morality of politically motivated offences, only whether an applicant could be held criminally or civilly liable for their actions. This was affirmed by Boraine, who stated that, "No matter how just the cause may be, if there are violations of human rights, the liberation movements must accept responsibility for them."<sup>103</sup>

On the notion of guilt at the TRC, Christian tradition applied, in which each person is responsible for the way society conducts itself. In this context the faithful take upon themselves the guilt of crimes that they did not necessarily commit. Although many whites did not directly engage in acts of crimes against black people, they are nonetheless implicated as supporters or beneficiaries of the National Party government. In this sense the TRC had particular significance for those who maintained that they were not aware of the misdeeds committed in their name. Mahmood Mamdani explains that there may have been few perpetrators but that there are many who benefitted from apartheid.<sup>104</sup> However, Graybill observes that due to the very nature of the commission, ordinary whites were simply "let off the hook". Because the hearings focused on atrocities, crimes of torture and murder, usually at the hands of the police, it was easy for ordinary whites to simply say, "Well, I never did anything like that, I have nothing to apologise for."<sup>105</sup> On this issue Maluleke notes that:

On the whole, it appeared that while black people are following the proceedings of the TRC with a touch of curiosity, many white people appear to

---

<sup>103</sup> South African Press Association, "TRC Members Not Morally Neutral: Tutu", 7 March 7, 1997.

<sup>104</sup> M. Mamdani quoted in A. Krog, "The Parable of the Bicycle", *Mail & Guardian*, 7 February 1997. <https://mg.co.za/article/1997-02-07-the-parable-of-the-bicycle>, [assessed 15 August 2017].

<sup>105</sup> Graybill, "South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission", 54.

treat TRC proceedings with disdainful apathy. While white amnesty applicants have been steadily appearing before the TRC's Amnesty Committee, white people in general are still conspicuous by their absence and disinterest. Surely, the TRC is not of concern only to the perpetrators of gross human rights violations and their victims. It should be a truly national issue, able to touch the conscience of the entire nation.<sup>106</sup>

In an effort to draw the population as a whole, the TRC later in December 1997 established a register of reconciliation that members of the public could sign. This was done as way of expressing regret at failing to prevent human rights violations and to pledge commitment to a future South Africa in which human rights abuses will not be tolerated.

### **5.3.8 The churches and their involvement at the TRC**

Even with the contribution of Christian theological symbols to guide the proceedings at the TRC, the response of the churches was minimal. Formal responses came early on from the Research Institute on Christianity in South Africa at the University of Cape Town, the Faculty of Theology at the University of the Western Cape and the church leaders from the SACC.<sup>107</sup> The responses from individual denominations were quite weak. Where and when such specific replies to the TRC happened, they were at the request of individual congregations, individual ministers or by highly specialised groupings, with very little coordination or cooperation. Etienne de Villiers makes the point that TRC faced a particular difficult challenge in getting NGK involved. In his view the TRC could only function successfully if the NGK and other Afrikaner churches supported the process. In his words: "If the political parties of the Afrikaner, the Afrikaans newspapers, and, in particular, the Afrikaans churches withdraw their support and encourage Afrikaners to

---

<sup>106</sup> Maluleke, "Truth, national unity and reconciliation in South Africa", 65.

<sup>107</sup> Graybill, "South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission", 56.

refuse any co-operation with the TRC, the TRC will surely not succeed in its objectives.”<sup>108</sup> Despite this appeal most white churches, particularly the Afrikaner churches, did not directly participate in the process. Among other churches, the Salvation Army and the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) were the first national church bodies to make official submissions to the TRC. Graybill notes that Salvation Army admitted that during apartheid it had chosen to be silent on the injustices that were committed. On the other hand the AFM confessed that it had failed in its duty to question the system and pledged to become a more faithful watchdog to make sure that history does not repeat itself.

In November 1997 more churches responded to the invitation for a special hearing of the faith communities extended by the TRC. With the opening of this special hearing in East London, Tutu warned that no church in South Africa could claim a perfect record regarding opposing apartheid and all churches would, therefore, need to confess their own shortcomings. Over the course of three days, the TRC heard the confessions of various Christian denominations as well as confessions from the Muslim, Hindu and Jewish communities, who in varying degrees apologised for not doing enough with regard to opposing apartheid policies. The most self-critical submission came from the SACC. Notwithstanding the SACC’s public opposition to apartheid over many years, for which the state often targeted it, it nevertheless expressed some regrets. Brigalia Bam, the General Secretary, of the SACC, confessed that the SACC did not do enough to seek out the victims of apartheid, but relied, in the main, on for people to come to it for assistance and aid.<sup>109</sup>

What may be described as one of the most significant developments at the special hearings for the faith communities came from the NGK. However, as Graybill observes, the NGK submission was a disappointment because the NGK moderator said very little about the

---

<sup>108</sup> E. de Villiers, “The Challenge to the Afrikaans Churches”, In: H. R. Botman and R. M. Pieterse (eds.), *To remember and to heal: Theological and psychological reflections on truth and reconciliation*, Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1996, 151.

<sup>109</sup> Graybill, “South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission”, 57.

past and how the NGK theology lent credibility to apartheid; rather the focus was on the present need for reconciliation. “Ironically (though not surprisingly), the denomination that was most explicit in the theological justification for apartheid and support of the National Party’s policies was the church body that could find the least for which to apologize.”<sup>110</sup> In reflecting on the role of the churches in the TRC process, Maluleke posits that there nothing to suggest that the churches were opposed to or highly critical of the commission. Neither was there a lack of practical suggestions on what the church should do. However, what is also evident is the lack of an enthusiastic, well thought through coordinated response equal to the national significance of the TRC itself.<sup>111</sup> For this reason, the churches’ role in TRC process was less than adequate.

### 5.3.9 The TRC in perspective

The TRC’s framing of the reconciliation discourse placed much emphasis on the acknowledgement of history as means of establishing a shared truth. However, as Audrey Chapman observes:

What seems appropriate in theory may not be feasible in practice or may be at least very problematic to achieve. Truth commissions, including the TRC, typically function in situations where the legacy of conflict has resulted in deep social divisions and sharply conflicting and contested versions of the past. In such situations, it is difficult for any single body to succeed establishing a widely accepted version of the truth of historical events and the chain of responsibility for them or promoting reconciliation among antagonists or contending groups, let alone both. Moreover, the immediate requirements of these two goals may be in conflict. While truth finding and the formulation of a shared history are prerequisites for long-term nation building, the process may

---

<sup>110</sup> Graybill, “South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission”, 57.

<sup>111</sup> Maluleke, “Truth, National Unity and Reconciliation”, 66-67.

not be conducive for promoting reconciliation, at least in the short term.<sup>112</sup>

Further complicating the work of the commission, as Megan Shore observes, is the tension that exists between the different interpretations of reconciliation itself. In Shore's view, the "greatest" contributing factor to this tension is the reality that the TRC had no consensus on the definition of reconciliation. Furthermore, "during the actual functioning of the process, there was no attempt to provide a commission-recognised definition of the term."<sup>113</sup> The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act itself states that the overall objective of the commission is to promote national unity and reconciliation, but the act fails to define what reconciliation entails. It does not specify a series of activities intended to contribute directly to the process of reconciliation. The legislation does not identify the parties that are to be reconciled. Here one needs to consider whether the commission was intended to focus on reconciliation between individuals, races, contending political organisations and other actors. Nor did it offer mechanisms to evaluate the contribution of the TRC to reconciliation.<sup>114</sup> Part of the problem stemmed from the role of the Christian symbols in shaping a particular sense or operational understanding of reconciliation. Kader Asmal observes that the "overly Christian or religious emphasis on the idea of reconciliation" as highlighted in the TRC proceedings caused much controversy.<sup>115</sup> Whatever the merits of such objections, it was ultimately a Christian understanding of reconciliation that was pursued. This was due in large part to the leadership of Archbishop Tutu and other clergy, all of whom were committed Christians who insisted on an explicitly religious approach to reconciliation.<sup>116</sup> According

---

<sup>112</sup> A. R. Chapman, "The TRC's approach to promoting reconciliation in the human rights violations hearings", In A. R. Chapman and H. van der Merwe (eds.), *Truth and reconciliation in South Africa. Did the TRC deliver?* Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008, 45.

<sup>113</sup> Shore, *Religion and conflict resolution*, 108.

<sup>114</sup> Chapman, "The TRC's approach to promoting reconciliation in the human rights violations hearings", 46.

<sup>115</sup> K. Asmal, L. Asmal, and R. Roberts, "Afterword", *Reconciliation through truth. A reckoning of apartheid's criminal governance*, i.

<sup>116</sup> Chapman, "The TRC's approach to promoting reconciliation in the human rights violations hearings", 47.

to the TRC Final Report, this factor created much confusion between what may be considered a religious as opposed to a political understanding of reconciliation. The TRC Final Report refers to “the potentially dangerous confusion between a religious, indeed Christian, understanding of reconciliation, more typically applied to interpersonal relationships, and the more limited, political notion of reconciliation applicable to a democratic society.”<sup>117</sup> As a consequence, the commissioners and those directly involved in the facilitation of the TRC often pursued very different approaches to reconciliation. Chapman observes that:

Depending on who was taking the initiative, the public interface and sections of the final report of the commission alternatively conveyed religious and secular perspectives. Some of the commissioners clearly vested reconciliation with religious content. Those with religious backgrounds, particularly ... Archbishop [Tutu], linked or equated reconciliation with interpersonal forgiveness. At other times the TRC put forward a more political and judicial concept of reconciliation. Neither statements at public hearings nor in the media or the text of the TRC report makes an effort to integrate or harmonise the very different conceptions of reconciliation. The dominant role of Archbishop Tutu meant that the commission frequently communicated a message that linked reconciliation with healing and forgiveness.<sup>118</sup>

An awareness of these different interpretations of reconciliation was already observed as early as 1994. At the conference entitled, ‘The South African Conference on Truth and Reconciliation’, organised by Alex Boraine. Richard Goldstone in his address to the conference noted that, “on the one hand there is the vital legal underpinning of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission without which such a commission could not succeed and would not exist. On the other hand there are philosophical, religious and moral aspects

---

<sup>117</sup> TRC Final Report, Vol. 1, Ch. 5, 108.

<sup>118</sup> Chapman, “The TRC’s approach to promoting reconciliation in the human rights violations hearings”, 47.

without which the commission would be an empty legal vessel, which would do a great deal of harm and achieve nothing."<sup>119</sup> In Goldstone's view both "streams" to reconciliation was necessary for the success of the commission. He was optimistic that the mandate of the commission with regard to reconciliation would become clearer as the commission progressed and that they would merge in the end. This did not happen. Instead the lack of conceptual clarity meant that the commissioners were left to provide a particular (oftentimes religious) interpretation of reconciliation.<sup>120</sup> This is not to say that all non-religious, especially legal scholars, were opposed to the idea. Like Goldstone, Dullah Omar, a lawyer and Minister of Justice at the time, also supported the idea of bringing a religious understanding of reconciliation into the equation. At the same time people like Jakes Gerwel, the Director-General of the Office of the State President, warned not to misrepresent the TRC as a search for the holy grail of spiritual reconciliation, but instead to appreciate it first and foremost as a secular pact, a political agreement, that confirmed the latent national unity that has been present since the Union of South Africa in 1910.<sup>121</sup>

The discourse on reconciliation and how the concept is understood in the context of the TRC is really a discussion on whether the commission was a religious or a political instrument. Dirkie Smit highlights that the TRC was intended to be a political and legal, and not necessarily religious or spiritual undertaking.<sup>122</sup> Smit remarks that the commission's mandate clearly reflects the view of juridical undertaking rather than a spiritual or Christian one. The commission should thus be seen in the light of the negotiated settlement and not necessarily from the perspective of the religious pursuit of reconciliation. In doing so, Smit may be correct in cautioning against misrepresenting the

---

<sup>119</sup> R. Goldstone, "To remember and acknowledge: The way ahead", In: A. Boraine and J. Levy, *The healing of a nation?* Cape Town: Justice in Transition, 1995, 120.

<sup>120</sup> Shore, *Religion and conflict resolution*, 121.

<sup>121</sup> J. Gerwel, "National reconciliation: Holy grail or secular pact?", In: C. Villa-Vicencio and W. Verwoerd (eds.), *Looking back, reaching forward: Reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa*, Cape Town: Cape Town University Press, 2000, 277-286.

<sup>122</sup> D. J. Smit, "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Tentative religious and theological perspectives", *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 90, 1995, 14.

TRC as something other than a juridical and public instrument. As Piet Meiring observes, given the people who were charged to lead the TRC process it was only a natural consequence that reconciliation would be interpreted from a religious perspective.<sup>123</sup> Thus, by having religious leaders lead the process and by making reconciliation a focal point, it was only natural that the TRC would take on a religious character.<sup>124</sup> De Gruchy posits that “the TRC vision arose out of religious and specifically Christian conviction and was shaped by the Christian doctrine of reconciliation. The debate about reconciliation within the TRC and the wider South African public would undoubtedly have been different if the Commission had been chaired by a judge rather than an archbishop, by a politician rather than a pastor and father confessor.”<sup>125</sup> For the most part, the concepts of forgiveness, confession, and reconciliation were far more at home in the religious sphere as opposed to political discourse. In this context, those responsible for appointing the TRC leadership had to be aware that process would take on a religious character. This may be problematic for various reasons, but at the same time, it created a space for South Africans to express themselves in ways that they may have been more familiar with.

Systematic reflection on the theological, moral and religious questions on the TRC seems to be lacking. On this point, Maluleke’s warns that the TRC presents an opportunity to assess what exactly is meant when concepts such as “reconciliation,” “truth” and “forgiveness” are invoked. In most cases, South Africans were urged to support the TRC process in various ways. Some theologians, he suggests, go “overboard” in singing the praises of both the TRC and government. In his words: “It is one thing to acknowledge the need for national healing – even reconciliation or national unity – but not to probe whether the processes, strategies, discourses, gesticulations, and pseudo-theologies [reconstruction] currently in circulation are conducive to genuine national healing and

---

<sup>123</sup> P. Meiring, “Reconciliation: Dream or reality”, *Missionalia*, 2 (2), 1999, 242.

<sup>124</sup> Tutu, *No future without forgiveness*, 71-7; A. Borraine, *A country unmasked*, 360-361; De Gruchy, *Reconciliation*, 41-3.

<sup>125</sup> De Gruchy, *Reconciliation*, 41.

genuine reconciliation is another.” Thus, if national healing, unity, and reconciliation are indeed crucial for the people of South Africa, then sharp, thorough, deep and honest theological reflection is needed. For Maluleke, as the TRC process unfolded it became clear that the victims of apartheid are once again in a disadvantaged position. In light of this reality, the calls to embrace reconstruction and transformation may not be in the best interest of those most in need.<sup>126</sup> Dirkie Smit’s assessment is quite illuminating. He argues that:

In reading many of the religious, theological and spiritual reactions already available...It seems that most of them reflect these ideas. Remembrance is essential; the truth must be told; guilt must be confessed; the perspective of the victim is important; reconciliation must be sought; the church is also guilty; the truth is complex. Yet, I also find it somewhat troubling to read some of these reactions, particularly in the way they give their almost unqualified blessing to every single detail ... Even if the Christian church and theology support the broad process and the idea of the Commission itself, it looks rather too much like a (new) religious sanctioning of the state’s entirely political and judicial proposals in a way that is not going to assist the state.<sup>127</sup>

In this context, the church needs to realise that its pastoral task will continue long after the political and juridical process has been completed.

## 5.4 Closing reflections

This chapter underscores the steady movement of reconciliation as a theological concept used by Christian churches and theologians, into a key notion in the political discourse in the transition towards a democratic state structure – from a theological to a multi-disciplinary symbol. This approach only became evident after the negotiated settlement

---

<sup>126</sup> T. S. Maluleke, “Dealing lightly with the wounds of my people: The TRC process in theological perspective”, *Missionalia*, 25(3), 1997, 341-342.

<sup>127</sup> Smit, “The Truth and Reconciliation Commission”, 15.

reached during the period from 1990 and 1994 in South Africa. This prompted the recognition of the need for a reconstruction of society and social development. However, this required the need for coming to terms with the apartheid past (including amnesty), for national reconciliation and nation building. This was expressed (and legitimised) theologically in diverse ways, including the emergence of a theology of reconstruction, but especially through engagements with the proceedings of the TRC. Drawing on Abelard's moral influence theory, rhetorically, this approach is aimed at calling for social responsibility and against a privatisation of religion after the advent of democracy. Here one needs to acknowledge the multi-layered nature of the reconciliation symbol and what it means for a democratic South Africa. A diversity of role-players have attributed to the reconciliation symbol, bringing with them a variety of meanings, including proposals to strip reconciliation from its theological fetters. This variety of meanings makes it difficult to bring together, to harmonise and reconcile. Nevertheless, what ties these varying perspectives together is the recognition that reconciliation is a necessary requirement for processes of social transformation and moral regeneration of South Africa. However, the concern with the moral influence theory is that it reduces the work of Christ on the cross to a private affair, a subjective matter, thereby undermining the objective reality of divine reconciliation. In doing this, it seems incapable of appreciating the theological richness of previous approaches, thus failing to grasp the existence of evil and the significance of Christ's work on reconciliation in conquering such evil.

## 6. Conclusion

### 6.1 Recapitulation

The strategy proposed for this study is that there are at least three distinct approaches in response to the question: *How has the symbol of reconciliation been understood in Christian theological literature emanating from the South African context between 1968 and 2010?* As a background to these approaches, in Chapter 2, “The symbol of reconciliation in Christian theology”, I provided a brief survey of reconciliation (or atonement) as a central tenet of the Christian faith. This is of particular importance because essentially the Christian Gospel is about overcoming alienation and estrangement between God and humanity. In this context, the Christian tradition portrays Jesus Christ as the mediator of the broken covenant between God and humanity. Christian reflection on the work of Christ is traditionally discussed within the context of a theology of reconciliation. I mentioned that unlike the “person of Christ” in which the ecumenical councils formally stated their position, the question regarding Christ’s work on atonement does not have a singular ecumenical reference point. This makes it particularly difficult to highlight any singular position as the traditional (Nicene) Orthodox reference point. The consequence is that Christ’s work on reconciliation (or atonement) has been understood in very different ways. To delineate the discussion, I used Gustaf Aulén’s *Christus Victor* typology to offer a history of the interpretation of atonement, at least until 1930 when this book was published. In doing so, I underscore what Aulén refers to as the three main “types” of Christ’s work on atonement. These three main “types” provide the background to three approaches to the discourse on reconciliation in South Africa.

The term “reconciliation” was at the heart of the church struggle against apartheid. It is for this reason that it came under close scrutiny in Christian theological reflection at least since 1968. Such theological controversies had to do with the search for appropriate theological models and root metaphors. Reconciliation offered one such concept, but

“ecclesial unity”, “liberation”, “justice”, “nation-building”, “human dignity”, “reconstruction” offered alternatives. How, for example, is reconciliation related to liberation theologically and methodologically? Should justice and liberation follow upon reconciliation or vice versa? How is reconciliation between different social groups related to the reconciliation in Jesus Christ? What connotations are attached to the symbol of “reconciliation”? I argued that while there may well be a consensus in theological publications on the question what reconciliation entails, the controversies over the symbol of reconciliation suggest that at least three additional layers of meaning may be identified in the Christian discourse on reconciliation. In this context, it was argued that reconciliation lack a fixed or singular meaning lending credence to the idea that it is best conceived as an essentially contested concept. From this vantage point, I provided an overview of the three approaches to the discourse on reconciliation and the context from which it emerged.

*a) Justice through reconciliation in Jesus Christ*

In Chapter 3, the approach identified as “Justice through reconciliation in Jesus Christ” (drawing especially on the Anselmian or penal substitutionary theory) was discussed. In this approach it is assumed that the reconciliation of humanity with God in Jesus Christ implies a ministry of reconciliation in a country divided by race, class, and culture, thus necessitating a concern for social justice. This particular approach employs what I referred to as a “deductive logic”, moving from reconciliation with God to the church’s ministry of reconciliation in society. Here the fruits of reconciliation in South Africa are contingent upon reconciliation with God – it is assumed that the message of reconciliation has been entrusted to the church as the Body of Christ. For example, in this respect, the *Belhar Confession* suggests that the church is to embody reconciliation among its members. It further asserts that reconciliation must be understood as a gracious gift from God through the blood of Christ. Also, it calls the church into understanding its own reconciliation and its place in God through the Body of Christ. It further asserts that the church is called to

take up the ministry of reconciliation to the point where it is believed to be the responsibility of the church. Thus, the church needs to act as a reconciled community reflecting love and peace among people and establishing visible signs of God's kingdom within the context of the divisions in society. However, the focus on the ministry of reconciliation in the church transcends the noble idea of merely helping people to "get along". Here the assumption is that no lasting solution to social conflict can be found without addressing the deep roots of such conflict. This social conflict is traced directly to humanity's alienation from God and can only be overcome through God's gracious forgiveness of sins through Christ. In other words, the focus of the church must remain on reconciliation with God. Otherwise, too much emphasis on reconciliation in society without reconciliation with God will continue to be inauthentic, shallow, misplaced, allowing the space for renewed conflict. In this sense, this approach goes beyond the requirements for social cohesion and remains firmly rooted in reconciliation with God through God. In other words, God's reconciliation in Jesus Christ becomes the basis for Christians to reject any social system that assumes the fundamental irreconcilability of people. It was argued, however, that through using the "deductive logic" one runs the risk of using abstract theological language that only focuses on the church more than social needs.

*b) Justice and reconciliation after liberation*

In Chapter 4, the approach identified as "Justice and reconciliation after liberation" (drawing especially on the *Christus Victor* theory) was discussed. Here I described how reconciliation was understood in the context of liberation theology, especially in the *Kairos Document* and in comments on reconciliation in the context of Black Theology. This approach is associated with churches or theologians who see the need to address situations of conflict in society. Here the need for political, economic and cultural liberation was emphasised. Those involved assumed that social justice can only follow upon the liberation from apartheid and that reconciliation is only possible on the basis of

(following) justice. They employ what I referred to as an “inductive logic” where the situations of conflict are rooted in human alienation from God and where social conflict forms the starting point for the ministry of reconciliation. This view suggests that reconciliation has to be understood in the context of both God’s work of creation and salvation, given that what is at stake is the tension between Creator and creature, which has emerged because of captivity to the principalities and powers of this world (Colossians 1: 18-23). The “inductive logic” further suggests that not only human beings or human society, but the whole of creation is included in God’s work of reconciliation in Christ – the need for a wider frame of reference follows the argument that any breach in a relationship has wider implications than only the two parties concerned. If such a breach has almost cosmic ramifications, the final resolution of such conflict has to take into account the widest possible scope of the problem. In this context, reconciliation between two individuals is only possible if the whole of that society is reconciled with itself. In other words, everything is included in God’s work of reconciliation in Christ. God’s cosmic reconciling activity precedes and provides the framework within which God’s reconciliation of humanity occurs. It is suggested that this approach is significant because through it the Christian message of reconciliation in Christ is rediscovered through engaging with social problems such as social and economic inequality and the need for restitution, especially in the context where there is a history of social injustices. However, I argue that those using the “inductive logic” as an approach to the discourse on reconciliation are confronted with the danger of self-secularisation, of reducing the Christian confession to nothing more than an example of religious affiliation that may be tolerated as long as its particular claims are not foregrounded. The obvious danger, as may be the case with the *Kairos Document*, is one of being socially relevant without having anything distinct to offer.

*c) Reconstruction requires national reconciliation*

In Chapter 5, the approach identified as “Reconstruction requires national reconciliation” (drawing especially on Abelard’s moral influence theory) was discussed. Here I described the steady movement of reconciliation as a theological concept used by Christian churches and theologians, into a key notion in the political discourse in the transition towards a democratic state structure. In other words, the movement of reconciliation as theological to a multi-disciplinary symbol was discussed. This approach only became evident after the negotiated settlement reached during the period from 1990 to 1994 in South Africa. This prompted the recognition of the need for the reconstruction of society and social development. However, this required coming to terms with the apartheid past (including amnesty), for national reconciliation and nation building. This was expressed (and legitimised) theologically in diverse ways, including the emergence of a theology of reconstruction, but especially through engagements with the proceedings of the TRC of South Africa. Rhetorically, this approach is aimed at calling for social responsibility and against a privatisation of religion after the advent of democracy. However, in this approach the biblical message of reconciliation is taken out of context and reduced to matters directly related to the social transformation and the moral regeneration of South Africa.

## **6.2 Reconciliation in Christian soteriology**

One may suggest that the three approaches to the discourse on reconciliation are concerned with the search for appropriate theological models and root metaphors within the framework of Christian soteriology. In this context, the use of metaphor is an important element in the interpretation of Christ’s atoning work – this includes His life, ministry, death and resurrection. In the biblical roots and the subsequent history of Christianity, God’s work often invites a diversity of metaphors that describe experiences of what may simply be called “salvation” or a sense of “comprehensive well-being”. Here

it is important to appreciate the richness of metaphors and especially their roots within a particular *Sitz-im-Leben*. These metaphors often relate to specific predicaments in which humans longed for “salvation” or “comprehensive well-being”. The Christian discourse on salvation emerges in cases where suffering and anxieties over potential suffering are not only serious, but where there seems to be no other way of addressing such suffering. Here the way in which human beings have collectively been trapped in violent societal structures is typically interpreted in terms of the category of (original) sin, that is, in terms of the alienation that emerged between God and humanity.<sup>1</sup> The sources of suffering often cannot be disentangled from one another. It should be made clear, however, that many of the challenges we currently face are linked to the inefficiencies deeply embedded in social structures of South Africa. In the biblical roots and the subsequent history of Christianity we find numerous examples where “salvation”, from experiences of suffering are documented. Such salvific experiences may be expressed in a rich array of metaphors leading to a variety of soteriological concepts that follow from reflection on such metaphors. By utilising a soteriological map developed by Ernst Conradie, the point is to highlight the core insights of all three types of atonement that Aulén analysed in order to highlight its significance for the contemporary discourse on reconciliation.<sup>2</sup>

*a) Salvation as God’s victory over the forces of evil, death and destruction*

There are numerous situations where one may be faced with a predicament in which there seems to be no light escape. In this context many bear evidence that they were rescued from this predicament, that the forces of evil have been conquered. The Bible has many examples where the “victory” is ascribed to God’s involvement. For example, a military threat is averted through political diplomacy or a victory on the battlefield; a drought or famine is averted through an alternative food supply; after a period of political

---

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Conradie, “Towards an ecological reformulation of the Christian doctrine of sin”, *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 122, 2005, 4-22.

<sup>2</sup> E. M. Conradie, “The salvation of the earth from anthropogenic destruction: In search of appropriate soteriological concepts in an age of ecological destruction”, *Religion and Theology: A Journal of Contemporary Religious Discourse*, 13(1), 2006, 114.

oppression, a day liberation dawns where the power of the unjust ruler is ended. In all these situations the predicament is intolerable and has to be overcome. These consequences may follow directly or indirectly from particular actions. It may be the result of one's own action, or someone else's or both – the result of societal structures. It could also be the product of pain and suffering embedded in nature and exacerbated through human action. Here the situation demands an immediate remedy. In this case, it may be helpful but not sufficient to experience solidarity and companionship amidst suffering. Here a victory of some sort is required. In this context, the symbol of the cross is considered significant but not enough here. The victory has to be more than a moral victory or a new vision. Here the consequences of evil that are the cause of the suffering have to be negated. Conradie mentions that:

When being rescued is experienced in such a situation, it may be ascribed to one's own efforts, to commitment and dedication, to human wisdom, ingenuity or technology, to fortune, to spiritual forces or whatever. It may also be ascribed, at a more ultimate level, to God's presence and involvement in history. The categories of 'redemption' or 'salvation' are often used to capture the thrust of such salvific experiences. One may also speak of being rescued from danger, liberation from oppression and a victory that has been achieved over the forces of death, destruction and evil.<sup>3</sup>

Strictly speaking, this is the main thrust of Aulén's retrieval of the *Christus Victor* tradition. Here the resurrection of Christ is a significant symbol because it symbolises the power of God to address any situation, including conquering death. Conradie states that "the emphasis on a victory over evil brings Oscar Cullman's well-known image from World War II to mind. With the resurrection of Christ, the decisive battle ('D-Day') in the war

---

<sup>3</sup> Conradie, "Healing in soteriological perspective", 9.

against sin and evil has been achieved. Although the war is still continuing, the final victory (V-Day) is assured.”<sup>4</sup>

There are several contemporary theological movements in which the significance of such an array of soteriological concepts is emphasised. Here the *Kairos Document* and the subsequent Kairos movements are of particular importance. In more general terms “liberation” theologies (and Black Theology in particular) have called for liberation from political, racial and economic oppression. Feminist theologies have called for liberation from patriarchy. African theologies also are attracted to the idea of victory over the evil forces that threaten overall well-being.<sup>5</sup> Whether liberation is the most appropriate metaphor to be employed in this regard cannot be taken for granted. There may be a need, as Villa-Vicencio and others proposed, to move from “liberation” to a new vision. Again, whether that vision is necessarily “reconstruction” is also not to be taken for granted.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, whenever an immediate threat has been averted, there are still dangers that threaten the well-being of communities. The challenges of post-apartheid South Africa underscore this point. There is thus a need to address the very roots of such evil and establish measures that would limit the recurrence of such problems. Conradie critically observes that it is not clear whether such experiences of redemption can be ascribed to the work of the Holy Spirit. He asks: “How does God’s work here relate to our work or is reference to God’s involvement merely a more metaphoric way of referring to human emancipatory praxis?” In this sense, it may be important whether such notions of redemption could indeed be understood as Christian? In other words, how are they related to the core Christian symbols of incarnation, cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ?<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the *Kairos Document*, and other initiatives using an “inductive logic” are confronted with the danger of self-secularisation, of reducing the Christian confession to

---

<sup>4</sup> Conradie, “The Salvation of the earth from anthropogenic destruction”, 120-121.

<sup>5</sup> Kärkkäinen, *Christ and reconciliation*, 380.

<sup>6</sup> C. Villa-Vicencio, *A theology of reconstruction: Nation building and human rights*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

<sup>7</sup> Conradie, “The salvation of the earth from anthropogenic destruction”, 123.

nothing more than an example of religious affiliation that may be tolerated as long as its particular claims are not foregrounded. This results in initiatives that may be socially relevant without having anything distinct to offer.

*b) Salvation as reconciliation between God and humanity and on that basis within the Body of Christ and between humans*

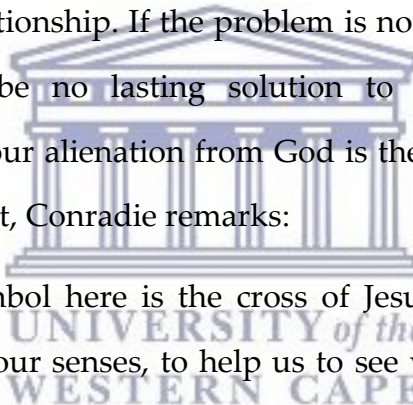
In some cases it is important to address not only the consequences but also establish the root causes of the problem. Here one may consider the numerous examples in the Bible, in the subsequent history of Christianity and from everyday life where a predicament has to be addressed at its very roots. One may consider criminal and civil court proceedings where the truth has to be established before justice can be served. There are also situations in which conflict between people has emerged. There may be various reasons why the conflict is there in the first place and in many cases the parties concerned share in the guilt, albeit not equally. The obvious solution would be to terminate the relationship but this is not always possible. Here it would be helpful if those involved acknowledge (through regret, signs of remorse and confessing their guilt) their role in damaging the relationship and offer compensation without making further accusations. This may encourage the other party to reciprocate. Conradie mentions that the only lasting solution in this case would be a word of unconditional forgiveness, which is a crucial way of addressing evil at its very roots. In his words, “unlike condoning someone, forgiveness is an action in which one indicates to someone else that the continuation of this relation is more important to the one who forgives than the real damage done by the one who is forgiven ... Forgiveness is the only way in which a vicious spiral of violence may be broken.”<sup>8</sup> Hanna Arendt comments that forgiveness “is the only reaction that does not merely react but acts anew

---

<sup>8</sup> Conradie, “The salvation of the earth from anthropogenic destruction”, 124.

and unexpectedly, unconditioned by the action which preceded it and therefore freeing from its consequences both the one who forgives and the one who is forgiven.”<sup>9</sup>

There are somewhat similar situations of conflict where whole groups of people may be involved, for example imminent threats of war between countries, rebellion and ethnic violence. In some cases the situation may have deteriorated significantly and where an act of forgiveness may not suffice given the mistrust that exists. What is required in this context is a mediator who can help start a process of reconciliation. This mediator should have the trust of the parties involved and be able to identify the root causes of the problem. In addition, the mediator should help uncover the injustices and help find an amicable solution out of the conflict. At a more ultimate level, the problem may be understood in terms of our alienation from God – enmity between God and humanity, characterised by a broken relationship. If the problem is not addressed, if the relationship is not restored, there will be no lasting solution to other predicaments that are experienced. In other words, our alienation from God is the root cause of irreconciliation. In response to this predicament, Conradie remarks:



The most important symbol here is the cross of Jesus Christ. It continues to shock us, to bring us to our senses, to help us to see where religious zeal may lead to. The innocent one has been brutally executed. It brings a lasting moment of catharsis. The guilty may be pardoned. The debt has been paid. Forgiveness is possible. Reconciliation has been achieved. The mediator is sacrificed his life for the sake of peace. Healing becomes possible through the wounded healer. A new day has dawned.<sup>10</sup>

Because forgiveness does not by itself lead to reconciliation, it has to be embedded in a complex and reciprocal interaction between human beings and God. Here sin is not merely condoned (which would be to condone injustice), but the long-term impact of

---

<sup>9</sup> H. Arendt, *The human condition: A study of the central dilemmas facing man*, Garden City: Doubleday, 1959, 216; Also quoted in Conradie, “The salvation of the earth from anthropogenic destruction”, 124.

<sup>10</sup> Conradie, “Healing in soteriological perspective”, 12.

human sin is addressed in such a way that reconciliation, healing and peace become possible. Conradie mentions that: “Christians typically find the clue to such reconciliation in the cross and not so much the resurrection of Jesus Christ.”<sup>11</sup> This emphasis on the cross is of particular importance when observing the approach of especially the *Belhar Confession*. This is in contrast to the *Kairos Document* where the emphasis is more on the resurrection, symbolising the victory over the evil forces. In the context of the cross, the Anselmian or penal substitutionary theory comes to mind. Conradie remarks that various metaphors may have been used to explain how such forgiveness and reconciliation is indeed possible on the basis of what Christ has done. This includes the use of the cultic image, suggesting Jesus Christ has brought a “sacrifice” on behalf of humanity to God – a sacrifice that is commensurate with the severity of humanity’s rebellion against God. Some may use legal images to suggest that Jesus Christ has taken himself (as a substitute) the appropriate punishment that the judge directed in his sentence on humanity. In other words, Jesus died in our place.<sup>12</sup> It should be noted that there are serious theological problems associated with the use of these images. Some of them are raised in Aulén’s critique of the legal order of the Anselmian theory.<sup>13</sup> Conradie goes further, highlighting that the cluster of metaphors of salvation are often confused and conflated with one another, to the extent where their metaphorical roots are no longer clear. This is particularly the case of attempts to explain the significance of the cross “for us and our salvation” through categories such as “forgiveness”, “reconciliation”, “sacrifice”, “satisfaction” and penal substitution. The mixing of metaphors is particularly evident concerning the notion of “forgiveness” – which may be understood as amnesty or legal pardon, an interpersonal word of forgiveness or the cancellation of monetary debt (“guilt”). The difficult task of unravelling the significance of such metaphors is addressed in the context of theories of atonement. In Protestant theologies, atonement is typically

---

<sup>11</sup> Conradie, “The salvation of the earth from anthropogenic destruction”, 125.

<sup>12</sup> Conradie, “The salvation of the earth from anthropogenic destruction”, 126.

<sup>13</sup> Aulén, *Christus Victor*, 143-159.

understood in a juridical context, while forgiveness for sinners is subsequently understood forensically. This tends to portray God as a God of law before being a God of love and fails to do justice to the more personal and relational aspects of forgiving and wrongdoing.<sup>14</sup>

The significance of the juridical emphasis on the forgiveness of sinners is its emphasis on the diagnosing the root causes of our estrangement from God and responds to sin at its roots through the good news of the justification of sinners through God's grace. This is the lasting significance of the positions of Anselm and Luther and many evangelical theologies of atonement. However, more is needed. Conradie warns that the emphasis on the roots of sin should not be reduced to personalist categories. A more comprehensive notion of God's justice is required in order to emphasise God's concern to re-establish just rule in a world corrupted by human sin.<sup>15</sup> Colin Gunton seems to agree. He offers a creative reinterpretation of a juridical view of atonement on the basis of "the justice of God".<sup>16</sup> Within the context of the Anselmian theory, Gunton remarks that it was the duty of the ruler to maintain order in society without which society would collapse.<sup>17</sup> In this sense God does not so much demand satisfaction for sin because God was personally offended, but because of the disruptive consequences of sin in society.<sup>18</sup> God acts as a judge not as much to punish sinners but from the vantage point of unwillingness to allow creatures to destroy themselves.<sup>19</sup> What is needed is to create a new dispensation, the way of the cross, which would satisfy the ruler as being appropriate to re-establish order in society. God does not desire punishment, but the justice of God calls for the eschatological transformation of the whole created order. This is what Gunton refers to as God's loyalty to creation.<sup>20</sup> Here there is a fundamental asymmetry between divine and human action,

---

<sup>14</sup> Conradie, "The salvation of the earth from anthropogenic destruction", 127-128.

<sup>15</sup> Conradie, "The salvation of the earth from anthropogenic destruction", 128.

<sup>16</sup> Gunton, *The actuality of atonement*, 87.

<sup>17</sup> Gunton, *The actuality of atonement*, 89.

<sup>18</sup> Gunton, *The actuality of atonement*, 95.

<sup>19</sup> Gunton, *The actuality of atonement*, 92.

<sup>20</sup> Gunton, *The actuality of atonement*, 103.

an unbridgeable gulf between the work of Christ through which God reconciled the world to Godself (2 Corinthians. 5: 19) and the Spirit's ministry of reconciliation through us. Thus, the notion of the justice of God goes beyond the narrow personalist concept of righteousness through legalistic pardoning of sin and succeeds in integrating all three models of atonement quite neatly.

*c) Salvation as moral transformation*

I have highlighted the need to confront the consequences of evil. It may also be necessary to address the root causes of evil to eradicate it. Eradicating evil may indeed be evasive, if not impossible. The persistence of racism in South Africa may serve as a good example here. It thus becomes necessary to tolerate the presence of evil. In most cases, any attempt to eradicate evil only creates more evil through the instruments that are used. It then becomes a question of how evil may be limited to prevent the situation from deteriorating in future. In this sense, Conradie may indeed be correct in stressing that a new beginning (for instance, the democratic South Africa) does not guarantee that evil will not emerge again.<sup>21</sup> In reality, the state of the country, over 20 years into democracy, leaves much to be desired. The persistence of racism, rampant corruption in the public and private sectors to name but a few, confirms this assertion. It is, therefore, necessary to reflect on appropriate guidelines to safeguard society against future evil.

There is, of course, no guarantee that evil will ever be brought under control. History has many examples indicating that the more radically this is done, the more dramatically evil may manifest itself in other forms, including in what is supposed to be good and in the apparatus set up to repress evil. It is therefore wise to reckon with a much wider compass of latent evil. Evil is more evasive, more widespread and less fathomable than one may wish to admit.<sup>22</sup> In the biblical roots and the subsequent history of Christianity, there are numerous examples where the importance of minimising injustice, conflict, and violence is

---

<sup>21</sup> Conradie, "Healing in soteriological perspective", 14.

<sup>22</sup> Conradie, "Healing in soteriological perspective", 15.

recognised. Here the examples of prophets, judges, kings, priests, saints and martyrs etcetera serve as an apt example. Moreover, the Christian symbol of the incarnation, life, and ministry of Jesus Christ deemed the most important in this regard. The example set by Jesus of Nazareth is celebrated and glorified by his followers. What is at stake here is his vision for a new social order, labelled the coming reign of God, based on solidarity with the marginalised and care for the victims of society. The inspiring example of love, even to the point of death, as demonstrated in the life of Jesus, evokes a similar response from humanity. In Conradie's words:

His imaginative example of the first concrete steps which may be necessary to actualise something of this coming reign now already is significant here. This emerged from his ministry to the sick, the helpless, lepers, prostitutes, sinners, tax collectors and soldiers. However, there is also a sense in which suffering in this world cannot always be avoided. Here notions of solidarity in suffering (the suffering servant), kenosis, lament and consolation are crucial. In the biblical texts, this is expressed both Christologically and pneumatologically (the groaning of the Spirit in Romans 8). In addition, one may consider the apostolic admonitions and guidelines for Christian living.<sup>23</sup>

This emphasis on inspiring examples for Christian living is typical of many modern theologies, possibly because it eschews intellectual questions regarding the resurrection and cultural resistance against the bloodiness of the cross. Here Abelard's moral influence theory of the subjective appropriation of Christ's atonement is often emphasised. Furthermore, Friedrich Schleiermacher's view that redemption consists in the transmission of the God-consciousness of Jesus to later believers to Albert Ritschl's understanding of the ethical significance of the proclamation of God's reign is emphasised. There is a tendency in such accounts of salvation to focus on subjective feelings of guilt and underplay the objective disruption of the social order through human evil – sometimes

---

<sup>23</sup> Conradie, "The salvation of the earth from anthropogenic destruction", 131.

liberation from oppression and victory over evil is required first to re-establish a just social order.<sup>24</sup> In South Africa, the emergence of a theology of reconstruction after the fall of apartheid may serve as such a notion of salvation. Here the focus is on reigning in the latent forms of evil, to express an appropriate vision for building a free, democratic dispensation in the company of people from other faiths and worldviews, calling for a sense of solidarity for those experiencing victimisation.

### 6.3 Integrating the three approaches to reconciliation?

The approaches discussed have particular strengths and weaknesses, thus, highlighting the need for a more integrated approach. In this context, one would have to consider the relative-adequacy of these approaches. Moreover, no one model truly captures the theological breadth of Christ's atoning work. Here one is confronted with the limited adequacy of theological models to do justice to the diverse social contexts in which they exist. Generally, the range of soteriological concepts present in the discourse on reconciliation allows people to use whatever concepts they deem appropriate to address particular concerns. Firstly, in the *Belhar Confession* (drawing especially on the Anselmian or penal substitutionary theory) the focus is on addressing the root cause of social conflict. Here social conflict is traced back directly to our alienation from God. This, in turn, can only be overcome through God's gracious forgiveness of sins through Christ. Reconciliation in society without reconciliation with God is deemed inauthentic, shallow and misplaced, allowing the space for renewed conflict. In other words, God's reconciliation in Jesus Christ becomes the basis for Christians rejecting any social system that assumes the irreconcilability of people. In this approach, one runs the risk of using abstract theological language that only focuses on the church more than social needs. Secondly, in the *Kairos Document* (drawing especially on the *Christus Victor* theory) the need for political, economic and cultural liberation is emphasised. In this approach, social

---

<sup>24</sup> Conradie, "The salvation of the earth from anthropogenic destruction", 132.

conflict forms the starting point for the ministry of reconciliation. Reconciliation is understood in the context of both God's work of creation and salvation, given what is at stake is the tension between Creator and creature, which has emerged because of captivity to the principalities and powers of this world (Colossians 1: 18-23). God's cosmic reconciling activity precedes and provides the framework within which God's reconciliation of humanity occurs. In other words, the Christian message of reconciliation in Christ is rediscovered through engaging with social problems such as social and economic inequality and the need for restitution, especially in the context where there is a history of social injustice. In this approach, one runs the risk of self-secularisation, of reducing the Christian confession to nothing more than an example of religious affiliation that may be tolerated as long as its particular claims are not foregrounded. Thirdly, during the transitional period (drawing especially on Abelard's moral influence theory), the need for the reconstruction of society and social development was emphasised. This included coming to terms with the apartheid past including working towards the realisation of national reconciliation and nation-building. Rhetorically, this approach is aimed at calling for social responsibility and against the privatisation of religion. The main concern with this approach is that the biblical message of reconciliation is taken out of context and reduced to matters directly related to issues of social transformation and moral regeneration.

Following Aulén's analysis, this study suggests that the three approaches address the evil consequences of human sin (God's victory over evil, based on the message of resurrection), the roots of such evil in human sin (sinners are forgiven by God through grace, manifested in cross of Jesus Christ) and a way of life for the present in order to map a better future (following Christ's moral example, redemption is depicted as an achievement that human beings can reach themselves). Here one would have to consider whether an integration of these soteriological concepts would be appropriate, also for the discourse on reconciliation? After all, the history of the Christian tradition indicates that the symbols of the life, cross, and resurrection of Jesus Christ were integrated with one

another in order to present a narrative whole.<sup>25</sup> In this sense, it would be problematic to emphasise a single approach at the expense of other existing approaches. Also, no one-size-fits-all approach can ever capture the theological breadth of Christ's atoning work. Respectively, we have used soteriological concepts such as forgiveness, justice, liberation, and reconstruction, and reconciliation among others, to better recognise and appreciate the message of salvation. However, in emphasising Aulén's analysis and applying these models to the South African context, one would need to come to terms that a focus on the forgiveness of sins in Christ (Anselmian or penal substitutionary theory) has not yet brought an end to injustice. In the same way liberation (drawing especially on the *Christus Victor* theory) from social oppression also does not necessarily translate into the end of injustice. Those proposing theologies which are more liberal in its orientation (drawing especially on Abelard's moral influence theory) also need to be reminded that knowledge and moral appeals alone is not sufficient in addressing the deep-rootedness of suffering. In this sense, the social roots of evil must be recognised. The realisation of the good relies on more than just a mere focus on the ideal moral example. In this context, it is clear that in order to make progress on the challenge of reconciliation in South Africa, one would have to go beyond the neat compartmentalisation of the various approaches. In other words, one would need an integration of the three approaches to reconciliation. This may very well lead to the distorting of soteriological metaphors and their implied *Sitz-im-Leben*. At the same time, it may also broaden what may otherwise be considered contrasting soteriological positions. This is often the case in South Africa where, for example, reconciliation and justice are often used in oppositional terms.<sup>26</sup> The same could be said, about liberation and reconstruction.<sup>27</sup> Instead, what I am proposing here is a broadening of our local understanding of these soteriological metaphors, thereby highlighting their theological relatedness beyond the false dichotomies that are often emphasised. However,

---

<sup>25</sup> Conradie, "The salvation of the earth from anthropogenic destruction", 133.

<sup>26</sup> M. Volf, "Forgiveness, reconciliation and Justice: A theological contribution to a more peaceful social environment", *Journal of International Studies*, 29 (3), 2000, 869-872.

<sup>27</sup> Maluleke, "The proposal for a theology of reconstruction: A critical appraisal", 252-256.

here one would need to be cautious not to blur the distinct character of the three approaches.

## 6.4 The quest for reconciliation deferred?

More than 20 years after the TRC had started its work reconciliation remains a contested concept, and the progress in the reconstruction of society had fallen short in many areas.<sup>28</sup> Along with the legacy of apartheid, the democratic dispensation has brought with it an array of new challenges.<sup>29</sup> Among other things, rampant corruption in the public and private sectors has undermined much of the progress made in the short democratic history of the country.<sup>30</sup> In this context, the ruling ANC's performance as the champion of the aspirations of the majority of South Africans has been more than disappointing. In the absence strong ethical leadership, the ANC has progressively become the fiefdom of crude political entrepreneurs, the corrupt and the cynically ambitious. As the ruling political party, the longer the ANC continues on the trajectory of patronage politics and the abuse of incumbency the more harm will be done – thus relegating the ideals and aspirations on which the democratic dispensation was founded. Though the ANC still dominate the political landscape, the challenges to its electoral power are already starting to take shape.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, today it would be fair to say that the quest for reconciliation still forms part of the public discourse in South Africa, albeit in a way more hidden from

---

<sup>28</sup> J. Kollapen, "Reconciliation: Engaging with our fears and expectations", In: F. Du Toit and E. Doxtader (eds.), *In the balance: South Africans debate reconciliation*, Johannesburg: Jacana, 2010, 23.

<sup>29</sup> See for instance, X. Mangcu, *The state of democracy in South Africa*, Scottsville: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press, 2008; E. Mckaiser, *Run racist run: Journeys into the heart of racism*, Johannesburg: Bookstorm, 2015.

<sup>30</sup> See Pieter-Louis Myburgh's recent exposé on the level of corruption between government officials and those in the private sector. P-L. Myburgh, *The republic of Gupta: A story of state capture*, Cape Town: Penguin Random House, 2017.

<sup>31</sup> The ANC's relatively poor electoral performance in South Africa's 2016 municipal elections, especially in its traditional urban strongholds, is an indication that its traditional support base no longer believes in the values espoused by the party or they may be looking somewhere else by voting for opposition parties. Although the ANC is still by far the strongest political party in the country, its electoral performance is at its lowest point since its democratic victory in 1994.

public attention. Moreover, the concept has lost its premier status as a guiding vision for social transformation in South Africa. Along with this, the legacy of Nelson Mandela and his vision is being contested more than ever before. Notwithstanding his status as the father of the nation and chief reconciler, it is now not uncommon for black people to talk about Mandela as the one who “sold out”. Such views are prompted by the notion that under his leadership the (over)emphasis on reconciliation and forgiveness did very little to disrupt the socio-economic vestiges of apartheid. Here forgiveness and reconciliation, without addressing the root causes of injustice are often cited as a concern.

In the meantime, many young South Africans have become disillusioned, even cynical about the state of the nation. This scepticism is best expressed in the tension between the work of the TRC and the reality that South Africa remains one of the most (if not the most) unequal country in the world.<sup>32</sup> This is hardly surprising given the social divisions, marked especially by race and class, which continue to characterise the country. Such divisions are monitored through the annual publications produced by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (SA Barometer Survey). From this it is evident that South Africans continue to associate strongly with identity groups based on language, ethnicity and race. More recently, the Diagnostic Report released by the government’s National Planning Commission acknowledged that the country remains a “deeply divided society”. These divisions were ascribed to economic underperformance and deeply entrenched patterns of historic privilege and deprivation. This is further aggravated by high unemployment, low quality of education for blacks in particular, inadequate infrastructure, significant spatial development challenges, a resource-intensive and unsustainable growth path, an ailing public health system unable to cope with the national disease burden, uneven public sector performance, and corruption. In response to such divisions, the government’s National Development Plan for 2030 recognises the need to prioritise reconciliation, social cohesion and nation-building in order to strengthen the

---

<sup>32</sup> Conradie, *Reconciliation*, 65; Kollapen, “Reconciliation”, 24.

social fabric of the country.<sup>33</sup> In the meantime, the lack of expectation and cynicism has often turned to anger and violence. The recent spate of student and public service protests in the country are good examples. These protests often accompany views expressing disenchantment with democracy in the country. In this context, many understand democracy primarily in instrumental terms, as a political form through which inequality is to be curtailed and essential services, such as housing, water and food, are to be made available. This understanding of democracy, together with the disparity between what many believe, is, and what ought to be, leaves South Africa's democracy vulnerable should socio-economic inequalities continue.<sup>34</sup> It is for this reason that the quest for reconciliation gets less attention than what some believe it deserves. In fact, some question whether reconciliation should be prioritised at all.<sup>35</sup> Hence the question, does reconciliation matter? In this context, one would have to once again (re)consider, as Dirkie Smit did in the 1980s, whether the reconciliation symbol has the potential to transform society.<sup>36</sup> Since the term needs constant clarification, it often loses its power as a symbol. A symbol is precisely something that is self-evident and needs no explanation – it grips the imagination. It is exactly for this reason that some often find it necessary to talk about “true”, “genuine” or authentic reconciliation, thereby implying that they reject a notion of reconciliation considered “cheap” or “inauthentic”. If anything, the question whether reconciliation has a role to play in addressing some of the most difficult challenges facing us at present would have to be addressed. The assumption that it lacks the incentive to do this could very well be contingent to a secular (political) as opposed to a theological understanding of reconciliation's potential.

---

<sup>33</sup> The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, Barometer, Online: <http://reconciliationbarometer.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/2011-SA-Reconciliation-Barometer.pdf> [Accessed 12 August 2017].

<sup>34</sup> Butler, *Contemporary South Africa*, 216.

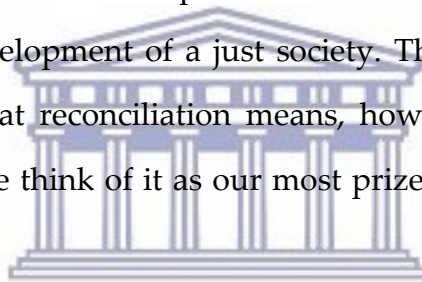
<sup>35</sup> Harvey, *Dear white Christians*, 5

<sup>36</sup> Smit, “The symbol of reconciliation and ideological conflict”, 88.

## 6.5 The quest for reconciliation as a shared dispute

Fanie du Toit and Erik Doxtader underscore the persistent nature of reconciliation as a shared dispute and the challenges it brings. In their words:

There is a good chance that reconciliation was a necessary condition for the negotiated revolution that ended apartheid *and*, that at the same time, it directed us away from, if not distracted us from, some of South Africa's most pressing problems. It is possible that the TRC taught us a great deal about reconciliation's value *and*, at the same time, did not teach us a great deal about how to carry on the process ourselves. Today we have likely grown tired listening to the debates over reconciliation's promise *and yet*, at the same time, we still hear the commission's profound claim that reconciliation is fundamental for the development of a just society. These ambiguities make it difficult to agree on what reconciliation means, how it works and why it is important. Sometimes we think of it as our most prized idea, the next moment as cheap deception.<sup>37</sup>



It is for this reason that some speak of reconciliation as a secular, political process instead of the spiritual, religious process, as the event of the TRC seems to have been.<sup>38</sup> Others dismiss the "spiritualisation" of reconciliation because in their estimation the Christian notion of reconciliation simply sets the bar too high. They simply refer to a more modest notion of reconciliation. Villa-Vicencio remarks that this involves

...pardon, mercy, understanding and a willingness to seek ways to live with adversaries, despite past scars that refuse to go away. It involves political common sense rather than religious magnanimity; clear-headedness rather than heroism; responsible living rather than monk-like self-denial. It involves

---

<sup>37</sup> F. Du Toit and E. Doxtader (eds.), *In the balance: South Africans debate reconciliation*, Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2010, ix.

<sup>38</sup> C. Villa-Vicencio, *Walk with us and listen: Political reconciliation in Africa*, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2009.

treating others in the kind of way we would like them to treat us. We do not necessarily have to forgive one another in order to live together in peaceful-coexistence. We do not have to respect one another and establish certain economic, social and political ground rules that enable this to happen. This level of political realism may be the only realistic political option we have.<sup>39</sup>

In some respect Villa-Vicencio echoed what Jakes Gerwel raised a few years earlier when he warned that a “spiritual” or the theological understanding of reconciliation creates a utopian dream that contradicts what human beings are able to achieve. In his view the spiritualisation of reconciliation poses the risk of “pathologising” a nation in relatively good health by insisting on the perpetual quest for the “Holy Grail” of reconciliation. Gerwel further maintained that the framing of reconciliation in the context of “love” and “forgiveness” take us back to “primitive” notions not suitable for modern societies. And that “mechanisms of solidarity” of contemporary South Africa are no longer “love for neighbour” but rather “commitment to consensus-seeking, cultivation of conventions of civility and respect for contracts.”<sup>40</sup>

There are others, like Boesak and DeYoung who insist on a more “radical” notion of reconciliation.<sup>41</sup> For them the discourse on reconciliation can only be sustained if shallow or cheap forms of reconciliation are contrasted with what they describe as “radical reconciliation”. Here the tension between cheap and radical reconciliation is related to a tension embedded in the very nature of the discourse, which, Boesak and DeYoung believe should be returned to its biblical (theological) roots – biblical reconciliation is radical reconciliation.<sup>42</sup> In their estimation, the reconciliation promoted through social

---

<sup>39</sup> C. Villa-Vicencio, “Reconciliation in Bloemfontein”, unpublished paper, University of the Free State, February 25, 2011, 1.

<sup>40</sup> J. Gerwel, “National reconciliation: Holy grail or secular pact?”, 283-286.

<sup>41</sup> A. A. Boesak and C. P. DeYoung, *Radical reconciliation: Beyond political pietism and Christian quietism*, Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2012; Boesak maintains this position in a recently published book. See, A. A. Boesak, *Pharaohs on both sides of the blood-red waters, Prophetic critique on empire: Resistance, justice, and the power of the hopeful sizwe – A transatlantic conversation*, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2017, 159-161.

<sup>42</sup> Boesak & DeYoung, *Radical reconciliation*. 154.

cohesion polarises the notions of justice and peace, whereas justice and peace are inextricably linked together in biblical reconciliation. In their words biblical reconciliation consists of the following: Firstly, “The God of justice calls for a love that transforms relationships, societies, indeed the world, so that justice and peace can embrace (Psalm 85: 11). *Reconciliation without social justice, equity, and dignity is not reconciliation at all.* Reconciliation and social justice are two sides of the same biblical coin.”<sup>43</sup> In this context, reconciliation is more than just political accommodation that accommodates some at the expense of others. For Boesak and DeYoung the mechanisms of solidarity promoted by those who propagate political reconciliation has failed – this, they maintain is simply not enough. In contrast, “radical reconciliation questions the assumption that justice can be served, social contracts honoured, and solidarity enacted through politics and policies grounded in a neoliberal capitalism whose very survival depends on the exclusion of the powerless, the exploitation of the poor, and the nurturing of inequality the scale of which is devastatingly clear in South Africa.” Secondly, in their view forgiveness entails more than just forgetting or moving on. “Forgiving is not forgetting, but holding the memory as Holy before God, so that the victim is honoured and the atrocity is never repeated again. *Reconciliation is holding the memory holy before God as a means of responding to God’s demands for justice for the vulnerable and the powerless, the neglected, and the excluded.* There is nothing sentimental about it.” Thirdly, Christian reconciliation is radical, costly reconciliation that can only take place between equals. This calls for addressing systemic injustices and the reordering of social structures. Importantly, this also calls for the transformation of the heart and mind. In their view, this does not oppose the call for justice. Instead, through this reconciliation is sustained. The essential point for both personal and societal reconciliation is the restoration of justice, equity, and dignity. They point that “*radical reconciliation means that the deeply personal does not cancel out the thoroughly systemic*”. Fourthly, there is a need to oppose unreal or idealistic notions of biblical reconciliation. In this, they oppose the more modest approach posited by Villa-Vicencio in his search for

---

<sup>43</sup> Boesak & DeYoung, *Radical reconciliation*. 154.

political reconciliation.<sup>44</sup> In their words, “reconciliation makes it incumbent on us to change this situation by liberating the global poor, and radically so.”<sup>45</sup> Finally, they posit that “reconciliation emerges from the margins and not from the centers of political or religious power.”<sup>46</sup> In this context the voices from the margins invigorate the discourse on reconciliation, calling those in authority to join the process meant to “re-humanise” all the children of God.<sup>47</sup> Ultimately, for them, there is a place for secular (political) reconciliation. As the “litmus test of a successful political transition and peace endeavour” as Villa-Vicencio observes, there is certainly a place for it.<sup>48</sup> Given the fragility of the country’s transition, one could even argue its necessity. However, Boesak and DeYoung contend that a Christian understanding of reconciliation demands more. In their words:

We are saying that Christians are called as agents of reconciliation, that that reconciliation is radical, and that the demands of that radical reconciliation should be made applicable to the political, social, and political realities within which they live and work. As such, Christians are suspicious of reconciliation as pure political accommodation, which secures only the world of the powerful, distrustful of a minimalist process that does not make compassionate justice and transformation the heart of the endeavour.<sup>49</sup>

The idea of equating the reconciliation concept with the political settlement strips the word of its deeper theological meaning, thus prompting the need to reaffirm the theological roots of the discussion. Notwithstanding its shortcomings, Dirkie Smit reminds us that: “The Christian church has naturally been in the business of truth and

---

<sup>44</sup> Villa-Vicencio, *Walk with us and listen*, 2.

<sup>45</sup> Boesak and DeYoung, *Radical reconciliation*, 155.

<sup>46</sup> Boesak and DeYoung, *Radical reconciliation*, 155.

<sup>47</sup> Boesak and DeYoung, *Radical reconciliation*, 154-155.

<sup>48</sup> Villa-Vicencio, *Walk with us and listen*, 2.

<sup>49</sup> Boesak and DeYoung, *Radical reconciliation*. 156;

Elsewhere, Boesak posits that, “Reconciliation is not just secular political settlements. It is about ‘healing’. It is not the Christian understanding of reconciliation that confuses the issue.” See Boesak, *The Tenderness of Conscience*, 178.

reconciliation, guilt and forgiveness from its beginnings. This is our job, the industry we work in. This is the reason for our existence."<sup>50</sup> This makes reconciliation and the quest for conceptual clarity more important in future.

## 6.6 Navigating the discourse on reconciliation in South Africa

Navigating the discourse on reconciliation, one would have to ask whether indeed the Christian Gospel offers hope in a country such as ours. Gregory Jones reminds us that "the restoration of our communion with God requires something beyond my repentance, beyond my initiative or any human initiative, but not beyond God the Father's gracious will for communion with Creation."<sup>51</sup> In this context, one would have to come to terms with the distinction between the church's ministry of reconciliation and what Christ has done outside (*extra nos*) and on behalf (*pro nobis*) of us, and not only in us and through us (*in nobis*), once and for all (the *ephapax* of Rom 6: 10).<sup>52</sup> At this point, we need to recognise that what holds the ecclesial community together is not a common moral activity but the fundamental asymmetry between divine and human action underscored by the work of Christ through which God reconciled the world to himself (2 Corinthians 5: 19) and our ministry of reconciliation. John Webster posits that:

The church, therefore, lives in that sphere of reality in which it is proper to acknowledge and testify to reconciliation because we have been reconciled; in which it is fitting to make peace because peace was already made; in which it is truthful to speak to and welcome strangers because ourselves have been spoken to and welcomed by God, and so have become no longer strangers but fellow-citizens.<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>50</sup> Smit, "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission", 3.

<sup>51</sup> G. Jones, *Embodying forgiveness: A theological analysis*, Grand Rapids, MI: WB Eerdmans, 1995, 18; Also quoted in Conradie, "Reconciliation as a guiding vision", 77.

<sup>52</sup> Conradie, "Reconciliation as a guiding vision", 77.

<sup>53</sup> J. Webster, "The ethics of reconciliation", In: C. Gunton (ed.), *The Theology of Reconciliation*, 120; Also quoted in Conradie, "Reconciliation as a guiding vision", 77.

In this context, Volf's cautionary remark reminds us, however, that final reconciliation is not the work of human beings but is attributed to the new beginning offered by the Triune God.<sup>54</sup> Emphasising Christ's atoning work in its proper Trinitarian perspective helps widen the multifaceted meaning of reconciliation. In the South African context, this has particular relevance for healing and the bringing together broken relationships. In the context of all the soteriological metaphors discussed above, reconciliation has the potential of being the most inclusive and comprehensive. Ross Langmead remarks that the comprehensive potential of reconciliation includes "cosmic reconciliation, the Hebrew notion of *shalom*, the meaning of the cross, the psychological effects of conversion, the work of the Holy Spirit, the overcoming of barriers between Christians, the work of the church in the world, peace-making, movements towards ethnic reconciliation and the renewal of ecological balances between humanity and its natural environment."<sup>55</sup> In all of these examples, the most important facet of reconciliation is undoubtedly the motif of restoring broken relationships.

Wolfhart Pannenberg underscores the goal of reconciliation as the restoration of the sin-broken fellowship of humanity with God, the source of life. This does not mean human relationships are relegated from this equation. In fact, filial human relationships are positively affirmed by God. However, through the affirmation of human relationships independent from God, human beings run the risk of being separated from God. In Pannenberg's words:

In the process the creaturely independence of humans had to be, not set aside, but renewed. It had been eliminated by the bondage of sin and by death, though sin had deceived us by picturing an autonomy in full possession of life that it would make it possible for us to attain. If, however, our reconciliation to God is to renew us in independent existence, to free us for the first time for true

---

<sup>54</sup> Volf, *Exclusion and embrace*, 110.

<sup>55</sup> R. Langmead, "Transformed relationships: reconciliation as the central model for mission", *Mission Studies* 25. 2008, 5-20, 6.

independence, this cannot come solely from the Father, nor can it be achieved solely by the sending of the Son into this world. It must happen on our side as well.<sup>56</sup>

In other words, “this taking up is not merely in the sense of something that happens to them from outside but as a liberation to their own identity, though not in their own power. This takes place through the Spirit. Through the Spirit reconciliation with God no longer comes upon us solely from outside. We ourselves enter into it.”<sup>57</sup> On this point, Christoph Schwöbel’s formulation is to the point. In his view, “the gift of the Spirit places the life of believers in a twofold horizon: it bridges the gulf between the past death and resurrection of Christ and the present of the life of believers, and makes the eschatological horizon of the ultimate future already present for believers as a transforming power which includes them and the universe in relationship to the love of God in Christ.”<sup>58</sup> So, whatever else Christ’s atoning work may be about, its central focus is the restoration of broken relationships. This is not just a past event but an ongoing process through the work of the Holy Spirit. Here Paul Fiddes uses the example “forgiveness”, not just as the “cancelling of debt” but moreover as the restoration of a broken relationship leading to a new covenant-based relationship of mutual love and commitment.<sup>59</sup> In this context, one may suggest that the theological perspectives provide not only inspiration but also underscore the accountability of Christians to continue engaging in the ministry of reconciliation in church and society. God has reconciled the world to himself in Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit; this means that South Africans (and Christians in particular) should continue working towards reconciliation irrespective of the social markers that continue to divide us. The cross and the resurrection of Jesus Christ provide hope that injustices and enmity,

---

<sup>56</sup> W. Pannenberg, *Systematic Theology*, Translated by G. W. Bromiley, Vol. 2, New York: T & T Clark, 2004, 449-450.

<sup>57</sup> Pannenberg, *Systematic Theology*, 449-450.

<sup>58</sup> C. Schwöbel, “Reconciliation: From biblical observations to dogmatic reconstructions”, In: C. Gunton (ed.), *The theology of reconciliation*, London: T & T Clark, 2003, 20.

<sup>59</sup> P. Fiddes, *Past event and present salvation: The Christian idea of atonement*, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1989, 15.

even death and destruction, do not have the final word. Desmond Tutu cogently reminds us that God's forgiveness yields the imperative to forgive one another and furthermore, that the grace bestowed on those who receive it simply has to be shared with others.<sup>60</sup>

In the deepest theological sense of the word, reconciliation is best conceived as an elusive mystery, a dream that cannot be fathomed or achieved. It is what may sometimes be referred to as an eschatological reality. However, this should not allow anyone to domesticate the vision of reconciliation. In Conradie's words:

It is precisely this vision, juxtaposed with current realities, that provides the source of hope, inspiration and dedication to engage in the ongoing process of reconciliation, precisely in the midst of enmity, faction fighting and structural violence. If this eschatological vision of reconciliation is retrojected into the distant past, one can indeed do justice to the 're-' in reconciliation: to be together *again* - even where no such togetherness existed in the past.<sup>61</sup>

Taking Aulén's typology into consideration, the *Belhar Confession* as one of the theological texts discussed in this study represents the most complete account of Christ's atoning work and its implications for the church. Article 3 of the confession states that:

We believe that God has entrusted the church with the message of reconciliation in and through Jesus Christ, that the church is called to be the salt of the earth and the light of the world, that the church is called blessed because it is a peacemaker, that the church is witness both by word and by deed to the new heaven and the new earth in which righteousness dwells (2 Cor. 5:17-21; Matt. 5:13-16; Matt. 5:9; 2 Peter 3:13; Rev. 21-22).

[We believe] that God's life-giving Word and Spirit has conquered the powers of sin and death, and therefore also of irreconciliation and hatred, bitterness and enmity, that God's life-giving Word and Spirit will enable the church to

---

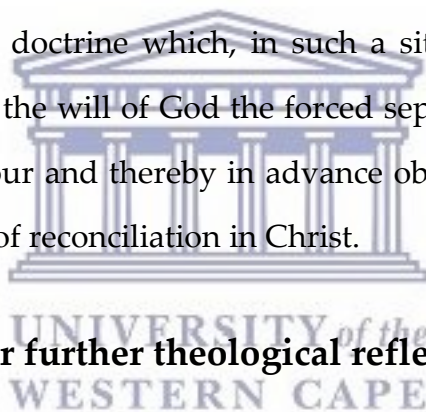
<sup>60</sup> Tutu, *No future without forgiveness*, 218-220.

<sup>61</sup> Conradie, "Reconciliation as a guiding vision", 78.

live in a new obedience which can open new possibilities of life for society and the world (Eph. 4:17–6:23, Rom. 6; Col. 1:9-14; Col. 2:13-19; Col. 3:1–4:6);

[We believe] that the credibility of this message is seriously affected and its beneficial work obstructed when it is proclaimed in a land which professes to be Christian, but in which the enforced separation of people on a racial basis promotes and perpetuates alienation, hatred and enmity; that any teaching which attempts to legitimate such forced separation by appeal to the gospel, and is not prepared to venture on the road of obedience and reconciliation, but rather, out of prejudice, fear, selfishness and unbelief, denies in advance the reconciling power of the gospel, must be considered ideology and false doctrine.

Therefore, we reject any doctrine which, in such a situation, sanctions in the name of the gospel or of the will of God the forced separation of people on the grounds of race and colour and thereby in advance obstructs and weakens the ministry and experience of reconciliation in Christ.



## **6.7 Towards an agenda for further theological reflection on reconciliation**

The discourse on reconciliation continues to provoke an array of responses. It tantalises and annoys, refusing to be quantified, adequately explained or named. It is elusive and for now at least, beyond conceptual grasp. Moreover, as a theological discourse, it refuses to go away. It is for this reason that we need to ask what specific contribution Christian theology can make given the new challenges that have emerged. Here I identify at least three areas where theological engagement will be crucial.

Firstly, there is no shortage of calls for justice within the South African context. Such calls seek to address a number of concerns that are widely recognised. In this context the title of John de Gruchy's significant contribution, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice* is illuminating. The advantage of this, as Van der Borgh observes, is that there is broad consensus that

reconciliation will only succeed if it includes the notion of restoring of justice. As a concept, restorative justice has deep biblical roots that could be helpful in articulating an alternative to neoliberal capitalist approaches to life and reconciliation in South Africa.<sup>62</sup> Despite an almost overwhelming emphasis on justice in the South African context, there is a curious lack of theoretical reflection among scholars on the notion of justice, at least in the fields of philosophy, ethics, religion, and theology. The word appears very often, of course, but typically as something self-evident, given the urgency of the issues addressed. It is almost as if there is some hesitation to theorise on justice in case this may create the impression of a distancing, objectivising, cold, all too rational approach, removed from the heat of the contestation.<sup>63</sup>

Secondly, Van der Borghht refers to “the embodiment of reconciled diversity of people in faith communities”.<sup>64</sup> Here the issue relates to how the diversity of peoples, cultures, ethnicities, and national identities is celebrated, and at the same time the unity of the faith as expressed in common Scriptures, common confessions and common rituals can be lived out? In other words, how can this be realised in the now and not as explained in *Ras Volk en Nasie* as an eschatological reality? Van der Borghht reminds us that “Sunday morning is the most segregated hour”, not only prompting the need to address the issue of confessional differences but moreover, the matter of socio-cultural identities. In this context, faith communities that provide examples of embodied reconciliation may have enormous potential for contributing to reconciliation in divided societies – where societies, like South Africa, tend to be split along the lines of race, ethnicity and class.<sup>65</sup>

Thirdly, if reconciliation is to be taken seriously by blacks, the need for a “reparations” paradigm would have to be addressed. Given the actual situation in which we find

---

<sup>62</sup> Van der Borghht, “Reconciliation in the public domain”, 426.

<sup>63</sup> This particular issue is already being explored in one of the post-graduate modules convened by Ernst Conradie and myself at the University of the Western Cape. The lack of conceptual clarity is explored in the Course Outline of the Ethics 735 module offered in the second semester of 2017.

<sup>64</sup> Van der Borghht, “Reconciliation in the public domain”, 426.

<sup>65</sup> Van der Borghht, “Reconciliation in the public domain”, 426.

ourselves – with our history of inequality, unaddressed violence, oppression, subjugation for which whites who have benefitted have yet to apologise, never mind make meaningful repair. On this basis, to presume that interracial relationships are even desirable for blacks is highly problematic. A focus on a “reparations” paradigm requires us to ask the question that seems unthinkable to many whites: that without repentance and more visible efforts to make meaningful repair, why would whites even assume reconciliation to be desirable or beneficial to blacks? In my estimation, blacks have more pressing concerns than merely focusing on their proximity to whites. These are but some of the issues that need to be addressed if reconciliation is to once again occupy the position as a guiding vision for South Africa.



## Bibliography

- Adam, H. and Moodley K. *The Negotiated revolution: Society and the politics in post-apartheid South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1993.
- Alberts, L. and Chikane, F. (eds.). *The Road to Rustenburg: The Church looking forward to a new South Africa*. Cape Town: Struik Christian Books, 1991.
- Allen, J. *Rabble-rouser for peace: The authorised biography of Desmond Tutu*. Johannesburg: Rider Books, 2006.
- Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo*, trans. A Clergyman. Oxford and London: John Henry and James Parker, 1958.
- Arendt, H. *The Human Condition: A study of the central dilemmas facing man*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1959.
- Asmal, K., Asmal, L. and Roberts, R. *Reconciliation through truth: A reckoning of apartheid's criminal governance*. Cape Town: David Philip, 1996.
- Augustine, *Contra Faustum* 14.4, trans. Richard Stothert, The Fathers of the Church Database, Online: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/140614.htm> [Accessed 1 October 2014].
- Aulén, G. *Christus Victor: An historical study of the three main types of the idea of the atonement*. London: SPCK, 1931.
- Balcomb, A. *Third way theology: Reconciliation, revolution and the reform in the South African church during the 1980s*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1993.
- Balia, D. M. *Christian resistance to apartheid: Ecumenism in South Africa 1960-1987*. Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1989.
- Barth, K. *The doctrine of reconciliation*, trans. G.W. Bromiley, 2nd ed. London: Continuum Books, 2004.
- Beyerhaus, P. *The Kairos Document: Challenge or danger to the church?* Cape Town: Gospel Defence League, 1987.

- Biko, S. "Black Consciousness and the quest for a true humanity". In: B. Moore (ed.). *Black Theology: The South African voice*. London: C. Hurst, 1973.
- Biko, S. *I write what I like: A selection of his writings*. London: Bowerdean, 1978.
- Boesak A. A. and DeYoung C. P. *Radical reconciliation: Beyond political pietism and Christian quietism*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books 2012.
- Boesak, A. A. *Black and reformed: Apartheid liberation and the Calvinist tradition*. Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1984.
- Boesak, A. A. *Farewell to innocence: A socio-ethical study on black theology and black power*. Johannesburg: Raven, 1977.
- Boesak, A. A. *Pharaohs on both sides of the blood-red waters, Prophetic critique on empire: Resistance, justice, and the power of the hopeful sizwe – A transatlantic conversation*. Oregon: Cascade Books, 2017.
- Boesak, A. A. *Running with horses: Reflections of an accidental politician*. Cape Town: Joho Publishers, 2009.
- Boesak, A. A. *The Tenderness of Conscience: African Renaissance and the Spirituality of Politics*. Stellenbosch: Sun Media, 2005.
- Boff, L. *Passion of Christ, passion of the world: The facts, their interpretation, and their meaning yesterday and today*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987.
- Boraine, A. *A Country unmasked: Inside South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Boraine, A., Levy, J. and Scheffer, R. (eds.). *Dealing with the past: Truth and reconciliation in South Africa*. Cape Town: Idasa, 1993.
- Borer, T. *Challenging the state: Churches as political actors in South Africa, 1980-1994*. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1998.
- Bosch, D. J. "The church as an alternative community", *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 13, 1975, 3-11.

- Botha, C. J. "Belhar: a century-old protest". In: G.D. Cloete and D.J. Smit (eds.). *A Moment of truth: The Confession of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984.
- Botha, J. and Naudé, P. *Good news to confess: The Belhar Confession and the road to acceptance*. Wellington: Bible Media, 2011.
- Botman, H. R. and Petersen, R. M. (eds.), *To remember and to heal: Theological and psychological reflections on truth and reconciliation*. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1997.
- Botman, H. R. "The church partitioned or the church reconciled? South Africa's Theological and historical dilemma", In: W. E. Van Vught and G. D. Cloete (eds.). *Race and reconciliation in South Africa: A multicultural dialogue in comparative perspective*. Maryland: Lexington Books, 2000.
- Boyd, G. A. "Christus Victor View", In: J. Beilby and P. R. Eddy (eds.). *The nature of the atonement*. Illinois: IVP Academic, 2006.
- Brown, M. R. *Kairos: Three prophetic challenges to the church*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990.
- Brümmer, V. *Atonement, Christology and the Trinity: Making sense of Christian doctrine*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.
- Burger, C. "Reformed liturgy in the South African context", In: L. Vischer (ed.). *Christian worship in Reformed Churches past and present*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003.
- Butler, A. *Contemporary South Africa*. Hampshire: Pelgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Challenge Magazine* 20: Mandela's Challenge to the Church. Speech at the Centenary Celebration of the Free Ethiopian Church of Southern Africa, December 14, 1992, 1992.
- Chapman, A. R. "The TRC's approach to promoting reconciliation in the human rights violations hearings", In: A. R. Chapman and H. Van der Merwe (eds.). *Truth and reconciliation in South Africa. Did the TRC deliver?* Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
- Chidester, D. *Religions of South Africa*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

- Chidester, D. *Shots in the streets: Violence and religion in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Chikane, F. "Foreword", In: I. J. Mosala and B. Tlhaqale (eds.). *The unquestionable right to be free: Black Theology from South Africa*. New York: Orbis, 1986.
- Chikane, F. *No Life of my own: An autobiography*. Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1988.
- Chipenda, J. B., Karamaga, A., Mugambi, J. N. K. and Omari, C. K. (eds.). *The church of Africa: Towards a theology of reconstruction*. Nairobi: AACC, 1991.
- Christian Institute of South Africa, *Director's report for the period August 1, 1973 to July 31, 1974*. Johannesburg: Christian Institute of South Africa.
- Cochrane J. R. and West G. "War, remembrance and reconstruction", *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 84(9), 1993, 25-40.
- Cole, C. M. *Performing South Africa's Truth Commission: Stages of transition*. Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010.
- Cone, J. H. *A Black Theology of liberation*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 2010.
- Cone, J. H. *Black theology & black power*. New York: Seabury Press, 1969.
- Conradie, E. M. "Healing in soteriological perspective", *Religion and Theology*, 13(1), 2006, 3-22.
- Conradie, E. M. "Reconciliation as one guiding vision for South Africa? Conceptual analysis and theological reflection", In: E. M. Conradie (ed.). *Reconciliation, a guiding vision for South Africa?* Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2013.
- Conradie, E. M. "The Salvation of the earth from anthropogenic destruction: In search of appropriate soteriological concepts in an age of ecological destruction," *Religion and Theology: A Journal of Contemporary Religious Discourse*, 13(1), 2006 111-140.
- Conradie, E. M. "Towards an ecological reformulation of the Christian doctrine," *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 122, 2005, 4-22.
- Cyprian of Carthage, *Treatises*, 8.5, trans. R. E. Wallis, The Fathers of the Church Database, Online: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/050708.htm> [Accessed 1 October 2014].

- De Gruchy, J. W and De Villiers, W. B. (eds.). *The Message in perspective: A Book about "A Message to the People of South Africa"*. Johannesburg: SACC, 1969.
- De Gruchy, J. W. and Villa-Vicencio, C. (eds.). *Apartheid is a heresy*. Cape Town. David Philip, 1983.
- De Gruchy, J. W. "Christianity in twentieth-century South Africa", In: M. Prozesky and J. W. De Gruchy (eds.). *Living faiths in South Africa*. London: C. Hurst, 1995.
- De Gruchy, J. W. "From Cottesloe to the road to Damascus: Confessing landmarks in the struggle against apartheid". Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the Theological Society of Southern Africa held at the University of Port Elizabeth, 29-31 August 1990. In: G. Loots (ed.). *Listening to South African Voices: Critical reflection on contemporary theological documents*. Theological Society of Southern Africa: Woordkor, 1990.
- De Gruchy, J. W. "Grappling with the colonial heritage: The English speaking churches under imperialism and apartheid", In: R. Elphick and R. Davenport (eds.). *Christianity in South Africa. A political, social, and cultural history*. Cape Town: David Philip, 1997.
- De Gruchy, J. W. "Political Landmarks and the response of churches in South Africa, 1936-1994". *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*. 118, 2004, 3-26.
- De Gruchy, J. W. "The church and the struggle for South Africa", In: B. Tlhagale and I. J. Mosala (eds.): *Hammering swords into ploughshares: Essays in honour of Archbishop Desmond Tutu*. Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1986.
- De Gruchy, J. W. "The contest for Reformed identity in South Africa during the struggle against apartheid", In: M-A. Plaatjies-Van Huffel and R. Vosloo (eds.). *In Reformed Churches in South Africa and the struggle for justice: Remembering 1960-1990*. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2013.
- De Gruchy, J. W. *A theological odyssey: My life in writing*. Stellenbosch: Sun Media, 2014.
- De Gruchy, J. W. *Liberating reformed theology: A South African Contribution to an ecumenical debate*. Cape Town: David Philip, 1991.
- De Gruchy, J. W. *Reconciliation: Restoring justice*. London: SCM Press, 2002.

- De Gruchy, J. W. *The church struggle in South Africa*, London: SCM Press, 2004.
- De Gruchy, S. "From church struggle to church struggles", In: J. W. de Gruchy with S. de Gruchy, *The church struggle in South Africa*. London: SCM Press, 2004.
- De Villiers, E. "The challenge to the Afrikaans churches", In: H. R. Botman and R. M. Pietersen (eds.). *To remember and to heal: Theological and psychological reflections on truth and reconciliation*. Cape Town: Human Rousseau, 1996.
- DeYoung, C. P. "Christianity: Contemporary expressions", In: M. D. Palmer and S. M. Burgess (eds.). *The Wiley-Blackwell companion to religion and social justice*. Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell. 2012.
- DeYoung, C. P. "Reconciliation in the empire: Real, radical, revolutionary", In: A. A. Boesak and C. P. DeYoung (eds.). *Radical reconciliation: Beyond political pietism and Christian quietism*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2012.
- Dillistone F. W. *The Christian understanding of atonement*. London: James Nisbet, 1967.
- Doxtader, E. "Reconciliation in a state of emergency: The Middle Voice of 2 Corinthians", *Journal of the Study of Religion* 14 (1), 2001, 51-59.
- Doxtader, E. *With faith in the works of words: The beginnings of reconciliation in South Africa, 1985-1995*. Cape Town: David Philip, 2009.
- Du Toit, F. and Doxtader, E. (eds.). *In the balance: South Africans debate reconciliation* Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2010.
- Dubow, S. *Apartheid: 1948-1994*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Durand, J. J. F. "Crisis in the Dutch Reformed Church", In: G. D. Cloete and D. J. Smit (eds.). *A moment of truth: The confession of the Dutch Reformed Mission*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984
- Engdahl, H. S. A. *Theology in conflict: Readings in Afrikaner theology*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2006.
- Fairweather, E. R. (ed. and trans.). *A scholastic miscellany: Anselm to Ochom*. Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1956.

- Fiddes, P. *Past event and present salvation: The Christian idea of atonement*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1989.
- Fortein, E. "Allan Boesak and the Dutch Reformed Mission Church between 1976-1990", In: M-A. Plaatjies-Van Huffel and R. Vosloo (eds.). *Reformed Churches in South Africa and the struggle for justice: Remembering 1960-1990*. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2013.
- Frostin, Per. *Liberation theology in Tanzania and South Africa: A first world interpretation*. Lund: Lund University Press, 1988.
- Gathogo, J. "Black theology of South Africa: Is this the hour of paradigm shift?", *Black Theology: An International Journal*. 5(3), 2007.
- Gaum, L. and Gaum, F. *Praat verby grense*. Cape Town: Umuzi, 2010.
- Gerhart, G. M. *Black Power in South Africa: The evolution of an ideology*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1978.
- Gerwel, J. "National reconciliation: Holy grail or secular pact?", In: C. Villa-Vicencio and W. Verwoerd (eds.). *Looking back, reaching forward: Reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa*. Cape Town: Cape Town University Press, 2000.
- Giliomee, H. *The Last Afrikaner leaders: A supreme test of power*. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2012.
- Goba, B. "Corporate personality: Ancient Israel and Africa", In: B. Moore (ed.). *Black theology: The South African voice*. London: C. Hurst, 1973.
- Goba, B. "The Black Consciousness movement: Its impact on Black Theology", In: I. J. Mosala and B. Tlhagale (eds.). *The unquestionable right to be free: Black Theology from South Africa*. New York: Orbis, 1990.
- Goba, B. "The role of religion in promoting democratic values in the post-apartheid era: A personal reflection", *Journal of Constructive Theology*, 1(1), 1995.
- Goba, B. *An agenda for Black Theology: Hermeneutics for social change*. Braamfontein: Skotaville, 1988.
- Gobodo-Madikizela, P. *A human being died that night: A story of forgiveness*. Cape Town: David Philip, 2003.

- Goldstone, R. "To remember and acknowledge: The way ahead", In: A. Boraine and J. Levy (eds.). *The healing of a nation?* Cape Town: Justice in Transition, 1995.
- Göranzon, A. B. O. "The prophetic voice of the SACC after 1990 – Searching for a renewed Kairos", Unpublished PhD. Dissertation. University of the Free State, 2010.
- Graybill, L. S. "South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Ethical and theological perspectives", *Ethics & International Affairs*, 12(3), 1998, 43-62.
- Green, J. B. and Baker, M. D. *Recovering the scandal of the Cross: Atonement in New Testament and contemporary contexts*. Cumbria: Paternoster Press, 2000.
- Gunton, C. E. *The actuality of atonement: A study of metaphor, rationality and the Christian tradition*. Edinburgh: T & T. Clark, 1988.
- Harvey, J. *Dear white Christians: For Those still longing for racial reconciliation*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014.
- Hayner, P. *Unspeakable truths: Transitional justice and the challenge of truth commissions*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Hayner, P. "Same species different animal: How South Africa compares to truth commissions worldwide", In: C. Villa-Vicencio and W. Verwoerd (eds.): *Looking back reaching forward. Reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa*. London: Zed Books, 2000.
- Hendriksson, L. *A Journey with a Status Confessionis: Analysis of an apartheid related conflict between the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, 1982-1998*. Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Missionary Research, 2010.
- Hofmeyer, J. W., Millard J. A. and Froneman C. J. J. *History of the church in South Africa: A document and source book*. Pretoria: Unisa, 1991.
- Hopkins, J. *Companion to the study of St. Anselm*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1971.
- Howarth, D. R. "Black Consciousness in South Africa: Resistance and identity formation under apartheid domination", Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, University of Essex, 1994.

- Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, *Confronting exclusion. Time for radical reconciliation. SA Reconciliation Barometer Survey: 2013 Report*. Cape Town, South Africa, 2013.
- International Commission of Jurists (eds). *The trial of Beyers Naudé: Christian witness and the rule of law*. London: Search Press, 1975.
- Irenaeus. *Against heresies*, Book II, 14.7, trans. Alexander Roberts and William Rambaut, The Fathers of the Church Database, Online: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0103214.htm> [Accessed 1 October 2014].
- Jeffery, A. *The truth about the Truth Commission*. Johannesburg: South African Institute for Race Relations, 1999.
- Johnson, S. *Strange days indeed: South Africa from insurrection to post-election*. London: Bantam Books, 1994.
- Kane-Berman, J. *South Africa: The method in the madness*. London: Pluto Press, 1978.
- Kärkkäinen, V-M. *Christ and reconciliation: A constructive Christian theology for the pluralistic world*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2013.
- Kelly, J. N. D. *Early Christian doctrines*. London: A & C Black, 1968.
- Kinghorn, J. "Modernization and apartheid: The Afrikaner churches", In: R. Elphick and R. Davenport (eds.). *Christianity in South Africa: A political, social & cultural history*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1997.
- Kinghorn, J. "On the theology of Church and society in the DRC", *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 70, 1990, 21-36.
- Kollapen, J. "Reconciliation: Engaging with our fears and expectations", In: F. Du Toit and E. Doxtader (eds.). *In the balance: South Africans debate reconciliation*. Johannesburg: Jacana, 2010.
- Kritzinger, J. N. J. "Black theology: A challenge to mission", Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of South Africa, 1988.
- Krog, A. "The Parable of the Bicycle," *Mail & Guardian*. 7 February 1997, <https://mg.co.za/article/1997-02-07-the-parable-of-the-bicycle>.

- Landman, W. A. *A plea for understanding: A reply to the Reformed Church in America*. Cape Town: NG Kerk-Uitgewers, 1968.
- Langmead, R. "Transformed relationships: Reconciliation as the central model for mission", *Mission Studies*, 25, 2008: 5-20
- Leonard, G. S. D. (ed.). *The Moment of truth: The Kairos Documents*. Pietermaritzburg: Ujamaa Centre for Biblical and Theological Community Development and Research, University of Kwazulu Natal, 2010.
- Lochman J. M. *Reconciliation and liberation*. Belfast: Christian Journals Limited, 1980.
- Loubser, J. A. *The apartheid Bible: A critical review of racial theology in South Africa*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1987.
- Lückhoff, A. H. *Cottesloe*. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1978.
- Maimela, M. R. "Black Consciousness and white liberals in South Africa", Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, University of South Africa, 1999.
- Maimela, S. and Hopkins, D. *We are one voice: Black Theology in the U.S.A. and South Africa*. Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1989.
- Maimela, S. *Proclaim freedom to my people*. Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1987.
- Maluleke, T. S. "Dealing lightly with the wounds of my people: The TRC process in theological perspective", *Missionalia*, 25(3), 1997, 324-343.
- Maluleke, T. S. "Truth, national unity and reconciliation in South Africa: Aspects of the emerging theological agenda", *Missionalia* 25(1), 1997, 59-86.
- Maluleke, T. S. "The proposal for a theology of reconstruction: A critical appraisal", *Missionalia*, 22(2), 1994, 254-258.
- Mamdani, M. "A diminished truth", In: W. James and L. van de Vijver (eds.). *After the TRC: Reflections on truth and reconciliation in South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip, 2000.
- Mamdani, M. "Reconciliation without justice", *Southern African Review of Books*, 46, 1996.
- Mangcu, X. *The state of democracy in South Africa*. Scottsville: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press, 2008.

- Martin, R. M. "Center of Paul's theology", In: G. F. Hawthorne, R. M. Martin and D. G. Reid (eds.): *Dictionary of Paul and his Letters*. Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1993.
- Martin, R. M. *Reconciliation: A study of Paul's Theology*. Atlanta: John Knox Press.
- McCarthy, C. "A Response [to Bible and Reconciliation]", In: M. Hurley (ed.). *Reconciliation in Religion and Society: Proceedings of a Conference Organised by the School of Ecumenics and University of Ulster*. Belfast: Institute for Irish Studies, 1994.
- McGrath, A. E. *Christian Theology: An Introduction*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1994.
- McKaiser, E. *Run racist run: Journeys into the heart of racism*. Johannesburg: Bookstorm, 2015.
- Meiring, P. "Pastors or lawyers? The role of religion in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission process", *HTS Theological Studies*, 58, 2002, 1.
- Meiring, P. "Reconciliation: Dream or Reality", *Missionalia*, 27(2). 1999, 328-339.
- Meiring, P. *Chronicle of the Truth Commission*. Vanderbijlpark: Carpe Diem, 1998.
- Migliore, D. L. *Faith seeking understanding: An introduction to Christian theology*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991.
- Mofokeng, T. A. *The crucified among the crossbearers: Towards a black christology*. Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1983.
- Mokgoebo, Z. E. "Broederkring. From 1974 to ....?", In: S. P. Govender (ed.): *Unity and Justice. The witness of the Belydende Kring*, Braamfontein: Die Belydende Kring, 1984.
- Moodley, K. "African renaissance and language policies in comparative perspective", *Politikon* 271, 2000, 103-115.
- Moore, B. (ed.) *Black theology: The South African voice*. London: C. Hurst, 1973.
- Moore, B. "What is Black Theology?", In: B. Moore (ed.). *Black Theology: The South African voice*. London: C. Hurst.
- Moore, B. "Black theology: In the beginning", *Journal for the Study of Religion*, 4(2), 1991.
- Mosala, I. J. *Biblical hermeneutics and Black Theology in South Africa*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989.

- Mosala, I. J. "Spirituality and struggle: African and black theologies", In: C. Villa-Vicencio and C. Niehaus (eds.), *Many cultures, one Nation: Festschrift for Beyers Naude*. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1995.
- Motlhabi, M. (ed). *Essays in Black Theology in South Africa*. Johannesburg: University Christian Movement, 1972.
- Motlhabi, M. B. G. *African theology/Black theology in South Africa. Looking back, moving on*. Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2008.
- Mozley, J. K. *The doctrine of the atonement*. London: Gerald Duckworth, 1953.
- Mugambi, J. N. K. *From liberation to reconstruction: African Christian theology after the cold war*. Nairobi: East Africa Educational, 1995.
- Mushete, N. "The History of theology in Africa: From polemics to critical irenics", In: K. Appiah and S. Torres (eds.). *African theology en route*. New York: Orbis, 1979.
- Myburgh, P-L. *The republic of Gupta: A Story of state capture*. Cape Town: Penguin Random House, 2017.
- Naidoo, I. *Island in chains: Ten years on Robben Island*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982.
- National Conference of Church Leaders in South Africa, "Rustenburg Declaration". 1990.
- Naudé, P. J. *Neither calendar nor clock: Perspective on the Belhar Confession*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010.
- Ngcokovane, C. *Demons of apartheid*. Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1989.
- Niebuhr, H. R. *The kingdom of God in America*. Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1959.
- Nürnberg, K. and Tooke, J. (eds.) *The Cost of reconciliation in South Africa: National Initiative for Reconciliation Reader 1*. Cape Town: Methodist Publishing House, 1988.
- Pannenberg, W. *Systematic theology*, Translated by G.W. Bromiley, Vol. 2. New York: T & T Clark, 2004.

- Pauw, J. J. C. "Anti-apartheid theology in Dutch Reformed Family of Churches: A depth-hermeneutical analysis", Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2007.
- Peter Abelard, *Ethics: Book I*, trans. P.V. Spade. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 1995.
- Phiri, I. and Gathogo, J. "A reconstructive motif in South African Black Theology in the twenty-first century", *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 36, 2010, 2.
- Phiri, I. *Proclaiming political pluralism: Churches and political transition in Africa*. London: Praeger, 2001.
- Plaatjies-Van Huffel, M-A. "The Belhar Confession: born in the struggle against apartheid in southern Africa", *Studia Historicae Ecclesiasticae*, 39(1), 2013, 185-206.
- Plaatjies-Van Huffel, M-A. "Reading the Belhar Confession as a historical text", In: M-A. PlaatjiesVan Huffel and R.Vosloo (eds.), *The Reformed Churches in South Africa and the struggle for justice*. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2013.
- Posel, D. "The language of domination, 1978-1983", In: S. Marks and S. Trapido (eds). *The Politics of race, class and nationalism in twentieth century South Africa*. New York: Longman, 1987.
- Price, R. M. *The apartheid state in crisis: Political transformation in South Africa, 1975-1990*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Prozesky, M. "Can Christians overcome apartheid: An evaluation of the "Statement of Affirmation of the National Initiative for Reconciliation", *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 54, 1986.
- Rand, B. (ed.). *The classic moralists: Selections illustrating ethics from Socrates to Martineau*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909.
- Randall, P. (ed.). *A taste of power. The final co-ordinated Spro-cas report*. Johannesburg: Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society, 1973.
- Randall, P. (ed.). *Apartheid and the church. Report of the Spro-cas church commission* Johannesburg, Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society, 1972.
- Regehr, E. *Perceptions of apartheid: The churches and political change in South Africa*. Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1979.

- Renwick, R. *Unconventional diplomacy in Southern Africa*. London: Macmillan, 1997.
- Robinson, L. E. "The influence of social context on a theology of reconciliation: Case studies in Northern Ireland", Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2011.
- Ryan, C. *Beyers Naudé: Pilgrimage of faith*. Cape Town: David Philip, 1990.
- Schleiermacher, F. *The Christian faith*, trans. J. Y. Campbell, ed. H. R. Mackintosh and J. S. Stewart, English translation of the 2nd ed. (1821; repr.) Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1928.
- Schrire, R. A. *Adapt or die: The end of white politics in South Africa*. London: Hurst and Company, 1991.
- Schwöbel, C. "Reconciliation: From biblical observations to dogmatic reconstruction", In: C. E. Gunton (ed.). *The theology of reconciliation*, London: T & T Clark, 2003.
- Scott, W.B. *What about the Cross? Exploring models of the atonement*. New York: iUniverse, 2007.
- Serfontein, J. H. P. *Apartheid change and the NG Kerk*. Emmarentia: Taurus Publishers, 1982.
- Shore, M. *Religion and conflict resolution: Christianity and South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.
- Sjollema, B. *A First Answer to comments received after the decision by the WCC Executive to support organizations combatting racism*. Geneva: WCC, 1970.
- Smit, D. J. "Reformed Confession and ecumenical reception?: On the Confession of Belhar and reconciliation", In: R. Vosloo (ed.). *Essays on being reformed: Collected Essays 3*. Stellenbosch: Sun Media, 2009.
- Smit, D. J. "The symbol of reconciliation and ideological conflict", In: W. S. Vorster (ed.). *Reconciliation and construction*. Pretoria: Unisa, 1986.
- Smit, D. J. "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Tentative religious and theological perspectives", *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 90, 1995, 3-15.
- Smit, N. O'Brien, F. E and Meiring, P. G. J. *Stormkompas*. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1981.
- Sölle, D. *Christ the representative*. London: SCM Press, 1967.

- South African Press Association, "TRC members not morally neutral: Tutu," 3. 1997.
- Soyinka, W. *The burden of memory, The muse of forgiveness*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Stadler, A. "Anxious radicals: SPRO-CAS and the apartheid society", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2(1), 1975, 102-108.
- Storey, P. "A different kind of justice: Truth and reconciliation in South Africa", *The Christian Century*, 114(9), 1997.
- Strassberger, E. *Ecumenism in South Africa 1936-1960*. Johannesburg: SACC, 1974.
- Suggit, J. "Kairos: The wrong way on the right road", *Journal of Theology in Southern Africa* 58, 1987, 70-74.
- Tertullian 1922, *Concerning the resurrection of the flesh*, trans. A. Souter. London: SPCK.
- The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation Barometer, Online: <http://reconciliationbarometer.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/2011-SA-Reconciliation-Barometer.pdf>.
- Thomas, D. G. *Councils in the ecumenical movement in South Africa, 1904-1975* Johannesburg: SACC, 1979.
- Tlhagele, B. and Mosala, I. (eds.). *Hammering swords into ploughshares: Essays in honour of Archbishop Mpilo Desmond Tutu*. Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1986.
- Torrance, J. B. "South Africa today: The Kairos debate: Listening to its challenge", *Journal of Theology of Southern Africa*, 55, 1986, 42-45.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Final Report 1998, Vol. 1, Ch. 5.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report Vol. 1, 1998. Cape Town: Juta Press.
- Tshaka, R. S. "The black church as the womb of black liberation theology?: Why the Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa (URCSA) is not a genuine black church?", *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies*, 71, 2015. Online: <http://www.hts.org.za/index.php/HTS/article/view/2800> [Accessed 21 December 2017].

- Tshaka, R. S. and Mafokate, K. M. "The continued relevance of Black Liberation Theology for South Africa today", *Scriptura*, 105, 2010, 532-546.
- Tutu, D. M. "Foreword", In: H. R. Botman and R. M. Pieterse (eds.). *To Remember and to heal: Theological and psychological reflections on truth and reconciliation*. Cape Town: Human Rousseau, 1996.
- Tutu, D. M. *Hope and suffering: Sermons and speeches*. London: Collins, 1983.
- Tutu, D. M. *No future without forgiveness*. London: Random House, 1999.
- Van der Bent, A. J. (ed) *World Council of Churches' Statements and Actions on Racism 1948-1979*. Geneva: WCC, 1980.
- Van der Borgh, E. A. J. G. "Reconciliation in the public domain: The South African case", *International Journal of Public Theology* 9(4), 2015, 412-427.
- Van der Borgh, E. A. J. G. "Unity that sanctifies diversity: Cottesloe revisited", *Acta Theologica*, 31(2), 2011, 315-328.
- Van der Merwe, J. "The Dutch Reformed Church from *Ras, Volk en Nasie* to *Kerk en Samelewing*: The struggle goes on", In: M-A. Plaatjies-Van Huffel and R. Vosloo (eds.): *Reformed churches in South Africa and the struggle for justice: Remembering 1960-1990*. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2013.
- Van der Water, D. P. "The legacy of a prophetic moment: A socio-theological study of the reception and response to the Kairos Document amongst churches, faith-communities and individuals in South Africa and within the international ecumenical community, focussing on the English-speaking churches in South Africa with special reference to the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa", Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Natal, 1998.
- Vellem, V. S. "The Symbol of liberation in South African Public Life: A Black theological perspective", Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, University of Pretoria, 2007.
- Villa Vicencio, C. "Reconciliation in Bloemfontein", unpublished paper, University of the Free State, February 2011
- Villa-Vicencio, C. *A Theology of reconstruction: Nation building and human rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

- Villa-Vicencio, C. *The Art of Reconciliation*. Östervåla: Life & Peace Institute, 2002.
- Villa-Vicencio, C. *Walk with us and listen: Political reconciliation in Africa*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2009.
- Villa-Vicencio, C. "South Africa's churches: After resistance...?", *Christianity and Crisis*, 52(2), 1992, 35.
- Villa-Vicencio, C. *Trapped in apartheid: A socio-theological history of the English-speaking churches*. New York: Orbis, 1988.
- Volf, M. *Exclusion and embrace: A theological exploration of identity, otherness, and reconciliation*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1996.
- Volf, M. "Forgiveness, reconciliation, and justice: A theological contribution to a more peaceful social environment," *Journal of International Studies*, 29 (3), 2000, 861-877.
- Vosloo, R. "Christianity and apartheid in South Africa", In: E. K. Bongmba (ed.). *The Routledge companion to Christianity in Africa*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Walshe, P. "Christianity and the anti-apartheid struggle: The prophetic voice within divided churches", In: R. Elphick and R. Davenport (eds.), *Christianity in South Africa. A political, social, and cultural history*. Cape Town: David Philip, 1997.
- Walshe, P. "Church versus state in South Africa: The Christian Institute and the resurgence of African nationalism", *Journal of Church and State*, 19(3), 1977, 457-479.
- Walshe, P. "Christianity and democratisation in South Africa: The prophetic voice within phlegmatic churches", In: P. Gifford (ed.). *The Christian churches and the democratisation of Africa*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Walshe, P. *Prophetic Christianity and the liberation movement in South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1995.
- Walshe, P. *Church versus state in South Africa: The case of the Christian Institute*. New York: Orbis, 1983.
- Weaver, J. D. *The non-violent atonement*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001.
- Weber, O. *Foundations of dogmatics, vol. 2*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1983.

Webster, J. "The Ethics of Reconciliation", In: C. Gunton (ed.): *The theology of reconciliation*. London: T & T Clark, 2003.

Wilson, R. A. *The politics of truth and reconciliation in South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Wright, D. F. "The atonement in reformation theology", *European Journal of Theology*, 8 (1), 1999.

