"ARCHITECTS OF OUR OWN DESTINY"
(Thabo Mbeki, 2001)

PROFILING OPPORTUNITIES FOR RECONCILIATION AND RESTORATIVE JUSTICE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMME IN MITCHELL'S PLAIN.

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that this work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Social Science in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Cape Town. It is my own unaided work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation of the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signed by candidate

SIGNATURE *DATE 05 September 2005*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has been a long time in coming to completion and as I write these words I am still not confident that the entire project will be complete by the due date.

It is with absolute faith in God that I have persevered in this struggle to develop what I believe to be great opportunities for the Anglican Church in Mitchell's Plain to work alongside its congregations in becoming "Architects of our own destiny", to quote President Mbeki.

It is to the people of Mitchell's Plain, and particularly to the congregation at Christ the Mediator Church Portland, that I owe a deep appreciation for accepting me as their third Rector and for working with me to bring about great change in the lives of so many: children, the youth, newlyweds, single parents, young men and women; the ones who held on to their marriages despite the social pressures that now indicate a trend away from marriage; the aged, those dears who met in the church hall every week, leaving their cryptic messages and ending their meetings with the great Wesleyan hymn, "God be with you till we meet again". I was never sure what they meant, because this was also the hymn they sang at every funeral service for one of their friends who had passed on. What an extraordinary privilege it was to be with that congregation for nine years! I thus offer them my sincere thanks, especially to Shirley Judd, Clive and Serena Karsten, Brian and Geraldine February, and Lydia and Errol Veldsman.

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that the people in Mitchell's Plain had in the Church to provide leadership at a stage in their development when the focus of the Government was on them. To them I thus offer my deep appreciation.

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ABSTRACT

By the time that President Thabo Mbeki announced in his State of the Nation address to the South African Parliament on 02 February 2000, that Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha in the Western Cape would be the focus of the Presidential Urban Renewal Programme, Mitchell's Plain had been in existence for 25 years. By this time [2000], the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) had completed most of its work and 'reconciliation' had become probably the most talked-about concept in the country.

Chapter One contextualises the South African government's Reconstruction and Development Programme, specifically its formation, implementation and results, and examines the role played by religion in the lives of the people who had been moved to Mitchell's Plain. Chapter Two discusses the heritage of the Coloured people of Mitchell's Plain, in the context of constructing an identity that will restore both dignity and self-respect and looks at space as a consequence of the reality of the inhabitants of Cape Town and their move to Mitchell's Plain. The role of culture, as referred to in the work of Athol Fugard (especially in his play *People are Living There*) is mentioned to explain how the Group Areas Act (1950) forever changed the lives of the people of Cape Town.

Chapter Three considers the opportunities that exist for the local church, using the context of urban renewal to bring about social development in the lives of its congregants. In this regard, the chapter examines where the people of Mitchell's Plain came from originally, by narrating the story of a Gloria Kube who lived in Loader Street, Cape Town, before forced removals took her to Mitchell's Plain. In Chapter Four reconciliation is profiled as a project that led to the healing of the wounds of a nation devastated by apartheid, and that instilled hope in a people who, by 1994, had reached a point of desperation and hopelessness. The concluding chapter five follows with recommendations for Christ the Mediator Anglican Church, Portland, Mitchell's Plain.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
CRC	Coloured Representative Council
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
DRMC	Dutch Reformed Mission Church
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
GNU	Government of National Unity
ICT	Institute for Contextual Theology
IDASA	Institute for Democracy in South Africa
ISRDS	Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy
ISDS	Integrated Sustainable Development Strategy
LP	Labour Party of South Africa
MPDF	Mitchell's Plain Development Forum
NGK	Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SACOD	South African Congress of Democrats
SACP	South African Communist Party
SACPO	South African Coloured People's Organisation
SAIC	South African Indian Congress
REC	Reformed Ecumenical Council
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDF	United Democratic Front
URP	Urban Renewal Programme
WARC	World Alliance of Reformed Churches
WCC	World Council of Churches

INTRODUCTION

The thesis is about the role of the Coloured people in the Western Cape. The question it is answering is: can the indigenous people of Cape Town, become a proud people and a part of the one united nation of South Africa? This is addressed broadly initially, and then focused on the life and work of Gloria Kube, and the life and work of the Anglican Church in Portland, Mitchell's Plain as reference points. A subsidiary question is; can the Anglican Church in Portland Mitchell's Plain support its congregation become architects of their own destiny?

Since 1994 Coloured people as a group, have not given any indication of their own worthiness and their place in SA society. They have not shown that they have been liberated from the shackles of the past. As far their involvement in the Church and especially in the Anglican Church in Cape Town is concerned however Coloured people have been part of the denomination since the first Bishop arrived in 1852. In Mitchell's Plain Coloured people both lay and ordained have been at the forefront of the leadership of the denomination and have been leading against apartheid. These are the people who can take the lead to bring about Reconciliation in Mitchell's Plain.

The thesis profiles the involvement of the Church with Coloured people throughout their trials and tribulations and their ability to survive. They have not suffered the same fate as have the original Khoi-Khoi who within a century of the arrival of the Dutch was extinct.

Chapter One contextualises National Reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa. Focusing the RDP (1994) and GEAR (1996) initiatives in Mitchell's Plain against the backdrop of an earlier context (1950s and 1960s) of the Anglican Church's involvement with Coloured people. The search for identity and an end of ambiguity is discussed in "A Coloured heritage in search of social reconciliation" (Chapter Two). The paper places people first and the stories of those who have suffered and experienced the pain of one of the pillars of

apartheid, the Group Areas Act (1950) is related by the writing of Gloria Kube as former resident of Loader street Cape Town. In Chapter Three, Kube's story provides a focus for the politics of urban renewal and highlights the spatial enforcement of racist policies to separate people.

The role of the Church as an ecumenical body has been a great force in South African society. Not without its own ambiguities, the church has struggled with its mandate to be the agents of reconciliation and justice in the country. Chapter four investigates the Church's role as an agent for justice and reconciliation. The watershed conferences of Cottesloe (1960) in the aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 and the Rustenberg Conference (1990) resulting in the confession of guilt of complicity to apartheid on behalf of the Dutch Reformed Church by Prof. W. Jonker. In Chapter Five the reconciling and restorative work of the Anglican Church in Mitchell's Plain; specifically the work at the Church of Christ the Mediator in Portland is highlighted. The strengths of the congregation as a "social field" are tested against the theory of Gunderson. Three case studies of severe trauma in the community of Eastridge, caused by gangs resulting in violent deaths of Michael Miller and three years old Chantine Veldsman are used to illustrate the title "Architects of our own destiny". The title is developed as a Leitmotiv for "reconciliation and justice". The paper concludes with recommendations to the Church in Mitchell's Plain to lead the community as agents for reconciliation and justice.

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CHAPTER ONE

The Context of National Reconciliation

1.1 Introduction

In 1994, subsequent to the first democratic elections in South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) adopted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as its primary policy framework and thus as a benchmark for the new South African government. The RDP document "is the result of many months of consultation within the ANC, its Alliance partners and other mass organizations in the wider civil society" (RDP, 1994: preface). It was realised through "consultation, debate and reflection" on the needs in the country after the devastation caused by apartheid and on what the new government could achieve. According to former President Nelson Mandela, the RDP was and will remain the legislative policy of the South African Government.

Apartheid left behind a nation, which has been described as the most unequal in the world and based "on systematically enforced racial divisions in every sphere of our society". In addition, "segregation in education, health, welfare, transport and employment left deep scars of inequality and economic inefficiency" (RDP, 1994: 2).

This situation was clearly in need not only of strong legislative policies (such as the RDP) but – on a deeper national level – also of reconciliation: "[R]econciliation is something that is pertinent in every human community where alienated and estranged people cry out for healing and a reason to hope" (De Gruchy, 2002: 12). Reconciliation has been contested and debated with acute interest in South Africa. The need for reconciliation for it has roots in the history of South Africa, since the Union of South Africa (1910) first excluded Blacks through its constitution.

> Both British colonial policy and Afrikaner nationalism were premised on the separation of the white settler from black indigenous communities.

> Following the Anglo-Boer War, every effort was made by the British colonial authorities to reconcile the two settler communities in a united white nation. Blacks were excluded by the Constitution of the Union of South Africa in 1910, and subsequently systematically deprived of their land and rights (de Gruchy, 2002: 31).

In response to this exclusion of Blacks; the ANC was formed in 1912.

> [It] sought to unite all blacks, irrespective of ethnic background, in the struggle against their exclusion and deprivation. After centuries of gestation scarred by violent conflict, 'two nations' were thus born. Ever since then the fundamental 'national question' facing South Africa has been around the relationship between them, with the 'white nation' seeking to be exclusively European, and the 'black nation' seeking to build an inclusive African identity. Apartheid was the logical outcome of the first; the struggle for liberation and non-racial democracy was the evitable project of the second (de Gruchy, 2002: 31).

The chapter furthermore continues to contextualise the RDP, by examining its formation, implementation and results.

1.2 Political Reconciliation and the RDP

The manner in which the ANC-led 'Government of National Unity' (GNU)[1] implemented the process of nation building since 1994, has been admired worldwide. Most countries across the globe, particularly those who have been through painful changes, as well as those who are still engaged in resolving

[1] The 'Government of National Unity' is a concept that came into being in 1994 . This was the first government in which all political parties were represented in the cabinet. Since the second democratically elected parliament in 2000 the concept has faded

conflicts, regard South Africa as a model for political and social reconciliation.[2] For many people in South Africa, however, the concept and practical implication of political and social reconciliation are not clear at all; in fact, there are considerable disagreements between people of different race groups, and even among people of the same race group about Reconciliation. In other words, the people of Mitchell's Plain will understand and experience Reconciliation very differently to the people of Hout Bay. The reason for this lies in the apartheid past and is historical: Although both communities lived with apartheid until 1994, their experiences were very different, and thus their experience of Reconciliation will, in turn, be markedly different too. (Boraine, 2000)

In an attempt to bring about some kind of National Reconciliation in South Africa, the GNU established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Which became internationally renowned because of its commitment to finding out the truth about events that had taken place during the previous political dispensation, and its desire to bring about National Reconciliation in the country? The accolades that the TRC received were similar to that which the country received for its relatively smooth transition from apartheid to democracy.

Although the South African TRC was not the first truth commission in the world [it was preceded by truth commissions in countries such as Poland, Argentina and Brazil], it was significantly different from the others. The difference between the TRC in South Africa was the emphasis that was placed on National Reconciliation as opposed to only finding out the truth about past abusive events as was the case in other countries (Villa-Vicencio & Verwoerd, 2000).

It is commonly agreed, however, that Reconciliation of the kind needed in South Africa would not be easy. Many in the country had no experience of it and could not

[2] The concept of South Africa as a so-called 'rainbow nation' dates from this period too. This phrase refers not only to the integration of the many race groups in the country, but also to the idea that the country is that fairytale land 'at the end of the rainbow', where people lived together in peace and harmony. Even if reality falls far short of this ideal, it is still a goal to which the country can aspire.

understand that their lives could be justly restored. Many victims of apartheid, prefer Retributive Justice rather than Reconciliation. The TRC however proceeded along an uneven path which was not easy, with a focus of the Reconstruction of South African society. (Villa-Vicencio & Ngesi, 2003, Boraine, 2000).

Whilst National Reconciliation is an uneven path and a difficult process,, it is vitally important for Nation Building in South Africa. The RDP, which is very similar to the Freedom Charter [hereinafter referred to simply as 'the Charter'], adopted by the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955, (Styles, 1989) is based on six basic principles:

1. An integrated and sustainable programme .
2. A people driven process.
3. Peace and security guaranteed for all people.
4. Nation building encouraged.
5. Reconstruction and Development linked.
6. Transformation of South Africa into a fully democratic country.

The implementation of these principles became the task of an RDP office which was based in the office of the Deputy President, then Mr. Thabo Mbeki, and the Minister designated with the task was Mr. Jay Naidoo.

Within a short period of three years the government found that the process of Reconstruction and Development in the country was not moving as fast as was expected and shifted the work of RDP to line function departments responsible for Nation Building. This move retarded the implementation of the RDP.

1.3 Implementation of RDP principles

The decision of the government to move the implementation of the RDP to its line function departments resulted in two things. Firstly, it moved the implementation of objectives away from the people, their civil society organisations and their churches. Secondly, no visible implementations could be seen by the people and most of the line function departments were unable to manage the implementation of the programme. Except for housing, water and electricity although selectively no implementation took place..

Perceptions on the side of the people, the beneficiaries, and the poor, were that the RDP process had stopped because of the pressure of globalisation, and because of South Africa's need to interact globally lest the country was left behind.

It would appear that these perceptions were well founded. The government seemed to do a turn about when it subsequently introduced a Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) programme in order to respond to globalisation.

The impact of globalisation had its effects on the South African situation. It was acutely felt particularly in the job market. Having to deal with unemployment which was one of the legacies of apartheid, the government wanted to ensure that employment was provided for those who were unemployed. However it was in this area of open trade relations with countries such as China, India, and Malaysia that local companies could shed jobs and continue to trade with minimum employees. Imported good from these countries are also cheaper and are imported for without the high cost of labour.

However, in its ten year review, the government reported successes in the areas of housing, water, electricity, land restitution and land redistribution, through the implementation of RDP aims, although some departments showed only marginal improvements.

The government did not admit to the nation however that an agreement made in 1993 to "accept a secret $850 million from the IMF to help tide the country over balance payment difficulties" (Terreblanche, 2002:96), would retard the implementation of the RDP. The loan was given on condition that a "'Statement on economic policies' [was] agreed [to] with the IMF, [which committed the GNU] to a neo-liberal, export-oriented economic policy, and a 'redistribution through growth' strategy" (Terreblanche, 2002:96). Since signing the Statement on economic policies;

> "it has become evident that, once the ANC began to move down the prescribed road, it became more and more difficult for it to address the systematic *inclusion* of the poorer half of the population through meaningful poverty alleviation programmes" (Terreblanche, 2002:98).

The government report card indicates a phenomenal success to the point where a comparison between the new South Africa and the former apartheid regime was not possible.

> So great are the differences between the apartheid state and the democratic state that direct comparisons are often impossible. The official statistics of the past also underestimated the impact of apartheid on the majority of South Africans, amongst other things by excluding the so-called "independent" Bantustans (GCIS, 2004: www.gcis.gov.za).

Despite the challenges faced by the government and despite the marginal successes of the departments of government in implementing the key principles of the RDP, the ten year review does show what had been achieved.

Table 1 below summarises the progress made by government in terms of access to clean water, electricity, schooling, housing and water-borne sewage.

Table 1: Broadening Access to Social Services*

From the Census	1996	2001
Households with access to clean water	80.0%	85%
Households using electricity for lighting	57,6%	69,7%
People who have completed Grade 12 schooling	16,3%	20,4%
Households in formal housing	57,5%	63,8%
Households with chemical or flush toilets	50,5%	51,9%

Source: (GCIS, 2004: www.gcis.gov.za)

Table 2 below summarises the improvements made with regard to water, electricity, housing, land redistribution and land restitution.

Table 2: Output of Government Social Programmes

From department reports	1994-1998	1999-2002	Since 1994
Water:			
People gaining access via community programmes	3,0m	5,4m	8,4m
Electricity:			
Grid connections	2,3m	1,5m	3,8m
Housing:			
Subsidised houses built or under construction	0,74m	0,72m	1,46m
Land Redistribution:			
Hectares distributed	0,44m	1,36m	1,8m
Households in transfers	30,061	107,417	137,478
Land Restitution:			
Claims lodged	68,878		68,878
Claims settled	3,964	32,525	36,489
Hectares restored	297,396	273,836	571,232

Source: (GCIS, 2004: www.gcis.gov.za)

Despite these improvements, the majority of the people were still living in poverty. And the views of Terreblanche appear to be the real situation of the poor. Civil society organisations and churches were critical of the government's performance regarding the RDP, pointing out that the government had failed to implement most RDP objectives.

In response to such criticism, the government boasted of its successes;

> Since 1994, in line with the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), government has set out to dismantle apartheid, social relations and create a democratic society based on equity, non-racialism and non-sexism. New policies and programmes have been put in place to dramatically improve the quality of life of all the people (GCIS, 2004: www.gcis.gov.za accessed November 2004).

According to the government report, the results were the poorest where the objective required the involvement of non-government agencies. By apportioning blame in this way, the government failed to articulate how the "outside agencies" were the problem or whether the systems within government were the problem. The most significant failure was in the area of employment or unemployment. This goes to the heart of the matter and one of the fundamental reasons for the RDP.

The context for Reconstruction and Development was poverty from which the new democratic government wanted to rescue the majority of South Africans. It would appear however those decisions made in November 1993 was the great stumbling block for poverty alleviation programmes as articulated by Terreblanche (2002). Both the RDP and the subsequent GEAR did not make the any significant contribution to the alleviation of poverty.

What is required is a move away from the gripped of the giants of globalisation the IMF and the World Bank. The poor cannot become "architects of their own destiny" (Mbeki, 2000) on Social and Welfare grants. Effective plans have to be made to make poverty redundant. Merely challenging the poor to become 'architects of their own destiny', was futile and insulting, if it was not accompanied by clear developmental programmes. The solution may well lie in the creation of the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) and the Urban Renewal Programme (URP). (Nattrass, 1996)

1.4 Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy and the Urban Renewal Programme tools for National Reconciliation

In the year 2000, President Mbeki announced that the South African government had drafted and designed the ISRDS and the URP as key programmes to alleviate poverty and improve the lives of the nation's citizens. Both programmes emphasise sustainability, quality, institutional integration, decentralisation of local government,

and project-based interventions in targeted spaces to catalyse change. The ISRDS and the URP used different terminology to the RDP, but their intentions were similar. (Mbeki, 2000: www.gcis.gov.za)

Similarly to the RDP, the ISRDS and URP also focussed on improving the socio-economic infrastructure, encouraging human development: local economic development, increasing delivery and implementation by local government and strengthening the criminal justice system.

The government's intention in announcing the ISRDS and URP was to bring about a more focussed Reconstruction and Development programme and in so doing facilitate the increased involvement of religious and civil society organisations who are working closely with the communities. It is my contention that such organisations can become agents of *social* reconciliation in those areas of the Western Cape where Urban Renewal is to take place. This is particularly relevant in Mitchell's Plain, where religious and civil society organisations have always played a role in the over thirty years of its existence.(Mbeki, 2000:www.gcis.gov.za)

1.5 Mitchell's Plain: A Space for Social, Political, Interpersonal and Theological Reconciliation

According to government statistics, the province known as the Western Cape has a population of 3.9 million people, of which 54% are Coloured people; in other words, it has the highest population of Coloured people in the country. The Western Cape is also the second most urbanised province in the country. (www.statssa.gov.za)

In 1961 the apartheid government enforced the Group Areas Act (1950) in the Western Cape, and forcibly removed thousands of Black Cape Town citizens to Khayelitsha and over 30,000 Coloureds to Mitchell's Plain. This amounted to the most severe state-sanctioned form of violence meted out to the people of the Western Cape.

> Apartheid was by its own nature violent with its implements being the structures of group areas, forced removals, restrictions on travel, enforced poverty, plus reduced access to health, education and welfare facilities (Skinner, 1998: 10).

Although all the apartheid legislation has been repealed since 1994, and although South Africa has thus been without legislative apartheid for ten years, the difficulty that the government faces remains that of restoring to the people that which was removed from them during the five decades of apartheid. In other words, Reconciliation has to be seen as a concrete way of dealing with the past atrocities by using the tools made available by the government, such as the URP. In this way, Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha can become the places where reconciliation and healing can happen in a very practical way.

It is my contention in this thesis that the hurts caused to the people of Mitchell's Plain by the Group Areas Acts (1950) can be healed when the people are given the choice of confronting the past through a process of storytelling in which they speak of their past hurts. Part of the process of Reconciliation can be to travel to the places where they were born so that closure can be brought to the past. The healing that will be achieved will release energy so that Mitchell's Plain can be claimed as their own and Developed for the use of this and future generations. When the past hurts have been buried new life can be instilled.

The Church should be prominent in assisting in the Reconciliation process. The theology of Reconciliation can be implemented here in very practical terms building on the experiences of Spiritual Reconciliation.

1.6 People of Mitchell's Plain: The Role of the Church

The section that follows investigates the role of Religion in the lives of the people who were forcibly resettled in Mitchell's Plain. Having previously been moved from the districts around the City Bowl of Cape Town, to areas on the Cape Flats [i.e. Bonteheuwel, Manenberg and Athlone] and finally to Mitchell's Plain. Mitchell's Plain became the final settlement area for the displaced people of Cape Town.

The ancestors of the Coloured people, had similar problems of settlement. They were unsettled with the arrival of European settlers in 1652. Missionaries, who supported the colonialists, sought to convert the local people to the Christian faith. In addition, they propagated the belief that the settlers were superior to indigenous people and in fact that the latter were 'non-entities'.

The suffering of thousands of South African citizens who were made stateless by apartheid legislation was described by Archbishop emeritus Desmond Tutu as follows:

> The unnecessary and untold suffering that apartheid inflicted on many of God's children was not because a potentially good policy went awry or because black family life was systematically undermined by the migratory labour system because of a 'mistake'. They flowed from a basic premise that those at the receiving end of (the) policy were not quite as human as those who made laws for them, pushing them beyond their frontiers, into homelands or locations, into inferior schools and hospitals, unskilled jobs and segregated teams (Tutu, quoted in Davenport and Saunders, 2000: xi).

Religion played a major role in helping people through the harsh realities of apartheid legislation, discrimination and oppression. Two major faiths were prominent amongst the people of Cape Town, namely, Islam and Christianity. The Anglican Church was amongst the Christian denominations that came to the Cape with the European settlers. However, the Christian denomination that would have the most long-lasting influence on Cape society, settlers and local inhabitants alike, was the DRC, which was first officially established in Cape Town in 1694 (Shell, in Elphick and Davenport, 1997: 269).

The DRC became the first independent Church in the Cape, after it had gained its autonomy from the Church in Holland in 1824. A major concern to the Church was interracial relationships. The historic stance of the Church was that Christian baptism was the criterion for Church membership and not race. "Baptism theoretically rendered all distinctions void", according to de Gruchy (1979:7). Which meant that by the nineteenth century, no distinctions of race in Church or Society was valid. This was however not accepted by the majority of the DRC leadership and by 1857 "separate parallel congregations were formed", leading to the eventual formation of Mission or daughter churches for different racial groups [i.e. Africans, Indians and Coloureds]. In 1881 the first Mission church was established for Coloured people (De Gruchy, 1979:8).

In making these decisions, theology was not the prime criterion for establishing community life. Political, Social and Economic concerns, particularly those of the white settlers, together with the need to dominate Cape society, reinforced racial separation.

1.7 Theological Space in the Cape

Despite racial discrimination, the indigenous people of the Cape became members of the DRC, albeit of a separate daughter church. The first congregation was

established in Long Street Cape Town, and three other congregations were formed in Wynberg, Wellington and Zuurbraak in the Southern Cape.

When the National Party took office in the Cape Parliament in 1948, the issue of race was a top priority for the new government. In drafting the legislation that would ensure the complete separation of the racial groups in South Africa, the government relied on the proposals of academics such as Alfred Hoernle, professor of philosophy at Witwatersrand University, and theologians, amongst which were D F Malan and Dominee Koot Vorster, a former moderator of the DRC and brother of President B J Voster (Davenport and Saunders, 2002).

The DRC, which had white congregations across the country, favoured the proposals of Hoernle. His recommendations were consequently accepted as solutions to the problem of race in South Africa. According to Hoernle, "segregation was just, but only if it was total" (Davenport and Saunders, 2000: 682). Although this was impossible in the sense that the justification for segregation was countered by arguments that did not support segregation based on race, Afrikaner DRC theologians accepted Hoernle's ideas. They agreed that a non-racial society, in which race was not a determining factor, was impossible in South Africa. In this way, they manipulated theology and used scripture to justify their stance, and supported the government of South Africa in drafting its apartheid legislation.

1.8 Religious Involvement in South African Society

Midway through the 1900's, the world view on the role of religion in society was changing. As world society became more and more developed, and more and more secular, religion was shunted into the realm of the spiritual and thus the domain of the Church. This shift seemed to indicate that theology had no role in politics, economics or civil society. The prevalent view was that religion was no longer an important force in world society. In South Africa, however, this was not the case; here, the role of religion and of religious communities became more prominent as

the fight against apartheid intensified. The religious community with the support of civil society and anti-apartheid groupings worked actively and fearlessly for an end to apartheid. By the mid 1980's, a new theological paradigm had taken root in the churches. Churches made the decision "to stand prophetically in the public square" (Boesak, 2005: 9).

The involvement of religious groupings and the Church in the struggle for a democratic South African nation became prominent at the same time as religious involvement and Christian theology in more affluent nations moved to the periphery of societal activity. In contrast, South African society did not become secularised and religion remained an integral part of society (Villa-Vicencio & Ngesi, 2003).

1.9 Legislation entrenching Apartheid

Various racial and discriminatory Acts were passed from 1948 onwards. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1948 was the first apartheid legislation enacted by the National Government. It had been drafted in collaboration with the Afrikaner churches and theologians. The churches, apparently aware of the inevitable mixing of blacks and whites in their search for employment in the cities, "sought to cooperate with other forces in the political task of transforming society" (Kinghorn, 1997: 140).

They held the view that the races had to be kept separate in all spheres of life, even in the area of personal relations: Intimate sexual relations between blacks and whites thus had to be prohibited. According to Kinghorn, theologians had long prepared themselves for this legislation. Work on proposals on the social transformation of society had already started in 1930. In 1939, a University of Stellenbosch theologian D Lategan laid the ground rules for key apartheid legislation, when he said the following:

> The policy of segregation as advocated by the Afrikaner and his Church is the holy calling of the Church to see to the thousands of poor whites in the cities who fight a losing battle in the present economic world. This policy entails the removal of unhealthy slums, and the creation of healthy suburbs where sound Christian family can be developed. The application of segregation will furthermore lead to the creation of separate healthy cities for the non-whites where they will be in a position to develop along their own lines, establish their own institutions and later govern themselves under the guardianship of whites (Kinghorn, 1997: 141).

Herein lay the tenets of the legislation that was to follow, viz. the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1948) and the Immorality Act (1949). In his statement Lategan, also, planted the seed for the Group Areas Act (1950): writing about slum clearance as well as the formation of "healthy cities for non-whites". He foreshadowed the creation of places like Mitchell's Plain.

The involvement of Afrikaner churches in the transformation of South African society went further than mere suggestions on possible legislation. As Kinghorn (1997:141) put it, "the role of Afrikaner churches went deeper than political activism". In his view, the soul of the Afrikaner was mobilised, in that the churches "nurtured the underlying values of Afrikaner society. Two core values were stressed: the family and hierarchical authority" (1997: 141). Moreover, by ensuring that these values applied only to whites and Afrikaners, theologians laid the foundation for the subsequent persecution of all opponents of the apartheid system.

The involvement of religious organisations and the Church in South African society is evident from the developments described above. It was mainly the DRC who, since the 1880's, had devised ways of determining how South Africans could or could not live. Apartheid or separate development was the subject of numerous discussions and debates at the synods of the DRC. In 1948, when the NP came to

power, it entrenched apartheid throughout the country and made it a system of government. (Bredekamp, 1995)

1.10 The Church of England (Anglican)

The DRC was not, however, the only Church active in the country. The Church of England was active in the Cape at the same time as the DRC. Known as the Anglican Church, their initial aim was to minister to the British colonial authorities and to the army. Although its congregation was primarily British, its first sanctuary was the Dutch Reformed Groote Kerk in Adderley Street, Cape Town, indicating a close working relationship between the two denominations. The growth of the Anglican Church was sporadic, disjointed and haphazard until the arrival of Robert Gray in 1848. He was the first Anglican Bishop of Cape Town.

When Gray arrived in Cape Town, the ministry was serving expatriates and no work was being done amongst the local Coloured people. Their situation was of no importance to the first Anglican missionaries, who had come from England to preach the gospel in Africa, and "not unnaturally interpreted it from out of their own experience" (Suggit, 1995: 28).

Gray, however, soon came to understand the local situation and began to steer the Anglican Church into a direction where it would minister to the Coloured people. He acknowledged that "the understanding of the gospel is always conditioned by the experience of the community (people) in which it is proclaimed and of individual believers in their life and worship" (Suggit, 1995: 28). Gray thus recognised that the gospel was contextual. Despite this understanding, the Anglican Church in the 1800s did not allow the local context and experience of the Coloured people to influence it in any way. The first missionaries were only interested in the British way of life and "believed that it was their British form of the gospel, which they were to bring to the benighted heathen of Africa" (Suggit, 1995: 30).

The missionaries found it difficult to accept that the local people could have their own unique faith in and beliefs about God, and preached the gospel from an exclusively British perspective, pretending that Cape Town was an English town. However churches were established to take forward the missionary zeal of the Church and the ministry attracted local people to this way of Christianity.

1.10.1 Anglican Churches in the Sacred Space of Cape Town

In Cape Town itself, in addition to the St. Georges Cathedral, there are six Anglican churches; almost every suburb, from Sea Point to Simonstown, has its own English church (Gibson, 1900: 6). Accompanying Bishop Robert Gray, [who was consecrated Bishop on the Feast Day of St. Peter, June 29 1847] on his arrival in Cape Town was the Reverend Henry Douglas, who "immediately began work in what was called the Rogge Bay area" (Tattersall, 1948: 5). The Rogge Bay area was populated with Coloured Capetonians who worked in white households and in the port of Cape Town, as fishermen, stevedores, and as fish factory workers..

1.10.2 St. John the Evangelist Church Waterkant Street

Douglas was licensed by Bishop Gray as "Priest in Charge of the district of St. John's" (Tattersall, 1948: 5) and started his work in a store on the corner of Bree and Prestwich Streets. The geographic space of the parish was between Strand Street in the west and the sea in the east. Its southern and northern boundaries were Adderley Street, or the Heerengracht as it was called in 1848, and de Smidt Street (Tattersall, 1948).

St. John the Evangelist Church was the first Anglican Church of the Coloured People of Cape Town, although it had not been built exclusively for them. The clergy also ministered to business people and government officials, described by the Tattersall as "the people living in dignified old houses built in the old Dutch style and living in

the streets round about Adderley Street, Loop Street, Buitengracht Street and Burg Street" (1948:10). In addition, St. John's Church "was a haven for the poor fisher folk who lived around Sea Street, Fish Lane, Progress Lane, Waterkant Street, Michau Street, Jarvis Street, Riebeeck Street, and Prestwich Street" (1948: 11).

It was the Coloured people of the District of St. John's, however who were the strongest and most committed supporters of the church and who made the most use of the ministry of the Anglican clergy:

> No branch of the church's work gives more encouragement, and more amply repays toil than this; and that no people are more true and affectionate in their allegiance to those who seek their spiritual welfare than the Coloured race, among whose ancestors were those who were once the possessors of that part of South Africa which is now included in the Diocese of Cape Town (Gibson, 1900: 28).

St. John's Church [see Appendix for photograph of the church building] was consecrated by Bishop Robert Gray on St John's Day 1859 [27 December] and built on a site on the corner of Waterkant and Long Street, in the heart of the City of Cape Town. This extended the so-called sacred space of the city, which had started in the store on the corner of Bree and Prestwich Street. It became a sacred space for the fishermen and women of Cape Town. In the neighbourhood of the church resided "persons who are employed on the wharves, the boatmen, and others connected with the shipping of the port, while the lodging houses to which the sailors usually resort when on shore are nearby, all of them close at hand" (Gibson, 1900: 28). All of them were enlisted by the clergy, who ministered at the Church, to help with the building of the church and its maintenance.

The indigenous inhabitants of the District of St. John's included large numbers of Africans and Muslims. The ministry of the clergy was extended to benefit all the poor, and a vibrant mission to Muslims was carried on by the clergy.

> The church was also involved in providing spiritual and pastoral support to inmates of the Breakwater Convict Station, which was located in the parish, in the area of the present-day Victoria and Alfred Waterfront. This convict station "provided the labour for the building of the Breakwater which Mr Gladstone [the governor] had urged as a need for the protection of Cape Shipping in 1846" (Tattersall, 1948: 10).

The sacred space of this part of the City of Cape Town was thus extended to the notorious Breakwater convict station by the Rector of St. John the Evangelist Church, Thomas Browning. In 1869, Browning took up residence in the parish at 44 Bree Street, and immediately "began his apostolic labours" (Tattersall, 1948: 10). The ministries of the clergy from this church influenced every aspect of the lives of the indigenous people. In addition to giving spiritual and pastoral care, the church was also involved in their education, health, welfare and employment.

It is not surprising that the Reverend Thomas Browning felt the strain of his apostolic labours in providing a ministry to the New and Old Somerset hospitals in addition to the Breakwater Convict Station, the Church, and the school. Towards the end of his forty years service in South Africa, Browning (who was at that stage a Canon [an advisor to the Bishop]), wrote in his annual report: "My work is so overwhelming that one man cannot undertake it" (Tattersall, 1948: 12).

Browning was joined by the Reverend Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot, who took services at St. John the Evangelist Church from 1871 to 1874.

According to Tattersall, Lightfoot was a man of great missionary zeal with a passion for the Muslim people of Cape Town; he consequently focused on converting Muslims to Christianity. He was the driving force behind establishing the first Mission church for the Anglican Communion to be run by the indigenous people of Cape

Town. Lightfoot found a site for the second Anglican Church in Cape Town on the Table Mountain side of Bree Street. The site was dedicated to St. Paul in 1880. A number of people from the St. John the Evangelist congregation subsequently followed Lightfoot to St. Paul's: "Many of those baptised in the early years in St. John's became the enthusiastic supporters of the later famous Archdeacon at St. Paul's" (1948: 11). At the time, however, the congregation did not follow Lightfoot because he was famous, but because in the St. Paul's congregation they were given leadership opportunities, and because their skills of carpentry, bricklaying, masonry and decorating were acknowledged and put to good use. St Paul's Church was consecrated by Bishop Robert Gray on the feast of St. Paul [25 January] in 1880.

1.10.3 St. Paul's Church at 186 Bree Street, Cape Town

St. Paul's Church became a haven for those who were referred to by colonial historians as 'Mosbequers'. Mosbequers were the descendents of the Mozambican slaves who had been brought to the Cape by the settlers in the 1860s.

Lightfoot pioneered the work amongst these people who later became the parishioners of St. Paul's Church in Bree Street. He was the one who, in addition to spiritual pastoring, worked amongst the poor to ensure that their education, housing and health conditions were improved.

In 1861, when an epidemic of measles broke out in Cape Town, Lightfoot is described as "characteristically active in visiting the sick" (Barnett-Clarke, 1908: 10), as he had done previously during the small pox epidemic of 1858.

Lightfoot's worked was done primarily in the Bo-Kaap area of Cape Town, an area whose inhabitants have always been [and are still] predominantly Muslim. The Cape Town municipal authorities blamed the small pox epidemic on the Malays, because they had so many casualties (Barnet-Clarke, 1908). Lightfoot not only worked with the sick and buried the dead, but also petitioned the authorities for better health

services and better housing and even started a school. In a letter to the Warden of St. Augustine's College in England, the theological college where Lightfoot trained for the priesthood, he wrote about his work and the premises that he found for the school:

> I became a tenant of a large room, previously used as a timber store (in upper Buitengracht Street) some distance from the Cathedral and Parish School, and close to a district thickly populated with Mohammedans [Muslims] and heathen [Africans]. This I sought to have fitted up as a school-chapel. (Barnet-Clarke, 1908: 113)

Lightfoot subsequently started a day school in the facility in order to exert a wholesome influence on the Coloured children (Barnet-Clarke, 1908: 113). The children who attended the school came from the streets surrounding the building in upper Buitengracht Street. Many of them were Muslims and, from the description of Lightfoot, obviously poor: they were "clad in scanty and ragged garments" (Barnet-Clarke, 1908: 113).

He enlisted help from the community to assist him in teaching these children. In response to the increasing attendance of older Muslim girls, he even engaged the services of a school mistress, and "subsequently I obtained as [a] master an excellent young man, a Coloured native of the Cape" (Barnet-Clarke, 1908: 113) to assist with the teaching. The school proved very popular amongst the community, and the numbers of pupils averaged 110 attendees a day.

St. Paul's Mission Church in Bree Street was given its name by the Anglican Church authorities because the ministry was exclusively active amongst Coloured people, both Muslim and Christian. By naming it a 'Mission Church', the Anglican Church in effect adopted the same approach as the DRC, which had also established mission churches amongst the Coloured people. Unlike the DRC, however, the Anglican Church argued that their intention was not to keep the races apart, as racial

Ross spoke plainly about the conditions under which the poor people of Cape Town were living in the 1860s:

> We see the hungry children, the empty larder, the beggarly array of household furniture, and family rags, which go to make up the maddening goods, whereby human cattle are driven to their tasks (Barnet-Clarke, 1908: 123).

The conditions are described as being so vile that they in fact prevented people from working for the pay they received:

> The prickly heat which stings them all over, is the sense of their own incapacity to earn the fair amount of wage for which they would willingly give their labour, and not a revolutionary stimulus to anarchy and blood (Barnet-Clarke, 1908: 123).

The above descriptions paint a picture of a people who were subjected to poverty but did not seek recourse in anarchy or bloodletting, but rather wanted to be employed gainfully in order to eat and survive. Ross appealed to those who are powerful and well-off:

> Profane not that dear word [homes] by applying it to the miserable cellars and kennels, which encircle the base of Lion's Head. Call not that a home where you cannot stand upright, or keep the elements at defiance; where, huddled in one wretched room you may see parents, lodgers, children, and vermin battling for a warmth which is denied to empty stomachs, where the common decencies of life are absent, and where habits of improvidence, engendered by lavish ancestors, and exacting landlords, serve to accomplish what a heritage of pauperism

> and of ignorance has but too faithfully inducted (Barnet-Clarke, 1908: 124).

The conditions in which the poor lived were clearly appalling, and thus it came as no surprise that the small pox epidemic of 1859 and the subsequent measles epidemic of 1861 had a particularly severe impact among the poor because of their unsatisfactory health and housing conditions.

One hundred and forty years later, a similar scenario of poverty is playing itself out in Mitchell's Plain. Although the political situation today is dramatically different, and although the social and economic situation of many have changed, for the people of Tafelsig, the housing and the heath situation is still crying out for attention.

1.11 Conclusion

By the year 2000, the concepts of 'National Reconciliation' and 'Nation Building' were already a part of the nation's vocabulary. The country was celebrating its fifth birthday as a democracy. President Thabo Mbeki became President after serving as deputy President with President Nelson Mandela during the preceding five years. In his opening address to Parliament in February 2000, President Mbeki outlined the progress that had been achieved by the government. Mbeki traced what had taken place in the country since 1990 He claimed that the government was entitled to boast about what had been achieved in ten years.

> Surely, Madame Speaker, we are entitled to make the claim that, as a people, both black and white, we did, in a mere decade, carry out a multi-faceted task whose accomplishment speaks highly of the capacity of our people and all humanity to achieve results which can only be described as good and noble (Mbeki, 2000: Opening of Parliament address)

In the same speech in 2000, the President announced the decision of government to implement an URP. Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain were identified as the two areas in the Western Cape. Initially, it appeared that the RDP had finally come to an end and that the URP was to replace it. It emerged, however, that the URP was not replacing RDP but was started as a targeted approach for the implementation of RDP objectives, focussing on specific areas in the country.

The first colonialists and settlers encountered the indigenous people of Cape Town. These were engaged for their labour, livestock and land. The Colonialists neglected and refused to recognise the existing religious practices of the indigenous people. Indigenous people were thus regarded as unbelievers who had to be converted to Christianity. The DRC the first independent Church to be established in the Cape, was prepared to convert indigenous people to Christianity, but not recognise them as equals to European settlers.

It is sobering to note that poverty was the curse of the people of Cape Town. To this was added alienation, lack of citizenship, illness and disease, inadequate housing and under paid work. The journey of the people of Cape Town was filled with suffering which despite expectations to the contrary theology could not eradicate.

The theological context provide a backdrop for the heritage of the Coloured people of Cape Town, whose offspring would be moved to Mitchell's Plain when it was developed as a Group Area resettlement in the late 1960s. The next chapter describes some of the social heritage of the people of Mitchell's Plain.

CHAPTER TWO

The People of Mitchell's Plain: A Coloured Heritage in Search of Social Reconciliation

2.1 Introduction

The decision by the government in the year 2000 to afford Mitchell's Plain Urban Renewal status was viewed with very mixed emotions by the inhabitants of this sprawling township, the second largest in the country after Khayelitsha. It also raised a number of questions. Some of these relate to the reason why Mitchell's Plain had been created in the first place. For the people who had been moved two or three times previously, from one area to another on the Cape Flats, the move to Mitchell's Plain was for most an unhappy one. Many were aware of the hurts of the past and asked whether these hurts would ever be healed. This chapter examines the heritage of the Coloured people of Mitchell's Plain, in the context of constructing an identity that would restore their self-respect and dignity.

2.2 Finding the Social Heritage of Mitchell's Plain in Coloured Identity

The social heritage of the people who were ultimately relocated to Mitchell's Plain in the middle of the 20th century has its origins in the people who were indigenous to the Cape when the first settlers arrived in 1652. Their history, however, dates back long before the arrival of the Dutch settlers. When the Dutch arrived they encountered a tribe of herders who were known as the Khoi-Khoi over the next century; this tribe disappeared and was assimilated with others tribes:

> By the middle of the nineteenth century, the separate identity of the Khoi-Khoi had begun to disappear through admixture with other elements, both within the (Cape) Colony and on the frontiers. (Davenport & Saunders, 2000: 33)

They became known as the Cape Khoi. Over the years, they formed a hybrid community resulting from intermingling "with the surviving community of Free Blacks and the ex-slaves after the emancipation legislation of 1828-33". (Davenport & Saunders, 2000: 33) During this period, the Griqua became part of this community too, until all of them were lumped together under the label 'Cape Coloured People'. This label was formalised during the apartheid years. (Davenport & Saunders, 2000)

Contrary to common belief, Cape Town's Coloured people did not only live in District Six. It is more accurate to say that their homes were found all around the City, including along the Atlantic Seaboard and on the slopes of Table Mountain. During the 1800s, the metropolitan area of Cape Town was divided into numbered and named Districts, hence the name District Six. Others were St. John's District, the Bo Kaap District, and the Roggebaai District. Woodstock and Salt River together were known as District Seven. It was in these districts and from Green Point and Sea Point that the people who later became known as the Coloured people emerged.

It was in these areas where they were educated, politicised, and socialised. Here they developed their culture and became the communities which made up the political, social and religious entities of the Coloured people. They were not however a people who isolated themselves from other people but intermingled with other cultural groups and races resulting in an admixture which became peculiar to Cape Town.

The intermingling was across political, social and religious boundaries. Coloured people had the franchise since 1853 "when a new constitution was agreed upon between the Cape legislature and the Imperial Government" (Daveport & Saunders, 2000:104) They later exercised their political power with some voting for the different political parties [i.e. the Liberal Party, and the United Party] whilst others were members of the SACPO, the ANC, and the SACP.

In 1956 Coloured people were removed from the Common Voters roll and the Nationalist government under the leadership of Dr. Verwoerd established a Department of Coloured Affairs in 1959. In addition a Council for Coloured Affairs, with the intention that the Council would advise the government. The Council received a hostile reception, so hostile was the [Coloured] community to the Council that no Coloured opposition candidates stood for election (Davenport & Saunders, 2000).

Coloured people continued to raise opposition to being excluded from political power despite attempts by the Nationalist government to appease them. In 1968 the government abolished the Council for Coloured Affairs in favour of "a completely segregated political system" (Davenport & Saunders, 2000:437). This was named a Coloured Representative Council (CRC). The LP known to have opposed the government's policy for Coloured People took part in a general election in order to break the system. On 24 September 1969, 48.7 per cent of those who voted supported the LP.

From 1948 to 1990, the entire period of apartheid in South Africa the majority of Coloured people opposed government legislation. This did not mean however that when they could exercise political power after the demise of apartheid they would exercise that power as a homogeneous group. The freedom to vote for the political party of their individual choice that baffled many social analysts, amongst who is James (1996). The question was: did Coloured people vote as a group or as individuals? Since the vote is secret it is difficult to determine whether there is a voting pattern amongst Coloured people. However in places where the majority of Coloured people live it was possible to see how people voted. It still did not clear up the matter as to whether people voted as a group identified as Coloured people or as individuals who claim no identity attachment.

2.3 Coloured Identity in Voting Trends

The issue of Coloured identity has been much debated and discussed since South Africa became a democracy in 1994. The voting trends of the Western Cape were particularly relevant in this regard:

> In the run-up to the 1994 national elections (Coloured) identity gained political salience as its bearers began to increasingly reassert [their] particularity and voiced their rejection of an ANC-governed post-apartheid state (Hendricks, 2001: 29).

The results in the Western Cape's provincial elections meant that the ANC did not have the necessary majority to form the Provincial Government. More specifically, in the first national elections in 1994, the NP surprisingly received the most votes from the voting public in the Western Cape, even though it was the NP that entrenched apartheid and thus oppressed the Coloured community.

> The coloured community gave 68 percent of its vote to the NP, 25 percent to the ANC, five percent to the DP and less than one percent each to the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the Inkatha Freedom Party (James, 1996: 39).

In the second national elections in 1999, the Western Cape voted for the NNP [who had emerged from the old NP].And in the local elections of 2000, the votes went to the merged NNP and the DP, who together had formed the DA. In the 2004 national elections the majority votes in the Western Cape Province went to the ANC, which had in the meantime formed an alliance with the NNP after the latter had broken away from the DA. The Western Cape was the only province in the country to vote substantially in favour of the NNP, although the party was ultimately in third place behind the ANC and the DA respectively.

The voting trends summarised appear to indicate which way Coloured People of Mitchell's Plain voted. It is further significant that, immediately prior to the local elections in 2000, the government decided to embark on an URP in Mitchell's Plain. If their intention had been to encourage voters to support the ANC, it did not have the desired effect. The voting trends in the Western Cape were attributed to the "political conservatism of the working class Coloured communities in the Western Cape" (Erasmus, 2001: 19). This led to much discussion and analysis by political commentators, social analysts and election observers about who the Coloured People were actually identifying with.

Ironically, this seem to indicate that the majority of Coloured people do not identify themselves as Black, yet they were not spared the viciousness of apartheid., Africans, Coloureds and Indians [collectively known as Blacks]

> were harassed and persecuted by race laws and colour bars, were subjected to paternalistic and exploitative treatment by the public service and police, and were hustled in and out of their homes under the Group Areas legislation as if they were so many pieces of filth (James, 1996: 40).

Given this context, why did these people vote in the way that they did? According to James (1996), it was because the ANC did not endear itself to Coloured people:

> Let it be said that in party political terms the choices available (to Coloured people) were confusing, culturally dense and complicated. On the one hand, the ANC was familiar only to a relatively small section of Coloured leadership; it did not penetrate very deeply into the soul of the people (James, 1996: 40).

On the other hand the manner in which the UDF was dismantled by the ANC in 1990 confirmed the suspicions amongst the Coloured people that the ANC had "imminent

disregard for the things that coloured activists look upon as important" (James, 1996:40).

The UDF was formed in the 1980s as a united democratic front against apartheid. It had majority support from the Coloured people of the Western Cape and was led by ANC members amongst which were Dullah Omar, who became the Minister of Justice (1994), Cheryl Carolus who was a Member of Parliament (1994) and subsequently South African Ambassador to London, and Trevor Manuel, Minister of Trade and Industry (1994) and subsequently Minister of Finance. It had the support of the ANC whilst the latter was banned from activities in the country but was closed down by the ANC soon after that organisation had been un-banned in 1990.

Others regarded the voting trends of the Coloured people as racist, because they had voted for the former oppressor. Whether this was in fact the case would be difficult to substantiate though. As Rasool pointed out:

> The National Party (NP) understood well that a long history of racial practice could not easily be erased from the coloured community. The NP knew that racism had not been an unstratified and equally applied practice in South Africa. In fact the party used the historically unequal administration of racism to win support (Rasool, 1996: 55).

Other commentators felt that the election results showed that Coloured people did not show their blackness or African-ness.

> For many South Africans this meant that Coloured people did not vote as 'black' or 'African' and thus cannot be considered as such. Interestingly, black Africans who aligned themselves with those political parties (other than the ANC) have not had their blackness and/or African-ness questioned (Erasmus, 2001: 19).

The voting patterns of Coloured people seemed to not prove much about their identity. The way those who voted since 1994 voted, does not indicate that Coloured people vote as a homogeneous group. Analysts seemed to be applying standards to Coloured people that are not applied to others in the black collective. Voting patterns seem to indicate that Coloured people are portraying a part of themselves that is struggling with identity, the struggle between being part of the black collective or as a separate exclusive identity.

2.4 The Struggle for Coloured Identity

The uncertainty about the 'blackness' or 'African-ness' of Coloured people, has been a matter of concern since the days of colonialism and slavery. Coloured people have effectively been regarded as non-entities with no culture, traditions or ancestry. The fact that Coloured people have, on the contrary, developed an identity, born out of their hybrid nature, has not been recognised by successive government authorities. This lack of acceptance has caused many in the Coloured community to lead lives of uncertainty, their identity open to ridicule and misconceptions by other South Africans. The problem seems to be the acceptance of Coloured identity in its own right.

Coloured identity "has been negatively defined in terms of 'lack' or 'taint' or in terms of a 'remainder' or 'excess' which does not fit a classificatory scheme" (Erasmus, 2001: 17). It has also been spoken of in negative terms, thereby associating it with immorality, sexual promiscuity, illegitimacy, impurity and untrustworthiness. These associations have meant that "identifying as Coloured is linked to feelings of shame and discomfort" (Erasmus, 2001: 17).

It is my contention that Coloured identity would first have to be accepted as an identity in its own right by Coloured people themselves, and secondly given its rightful place in the nation. Rediscovering, claiming and owning this identity would result in more openness to other South African and African cultures, which would

liberate a people who have until now been held captive by the negativities attached to their identity. It would change how Coloured people interact with fellow citizens and become part of their consciousness and their way of life; this development "is at the heart of national reconciliation" (De Gruchy, 2002: 31).

Identity is unquestionably an important aspect of being and of the way of life of communities and individuals. This is particularly the case of people, who have constantly been reminded that they are a non-people, without a history, ancestry or heritage. Coloured people have had to hear statements such as:

> Coloureds don't know where they come from. We know where we come from. Whites know where they come from. But these Coloureds don't know whether they are black or white. (Ntshoko, in Erasmus, 2001: 18).

These emotional and hurtful statements have not only been made by Whites, but also by those [i.e. Blacks] whose ancestors are the same as those of the Coloured community, and even by Coloured people themselves. Marike de Klerk, the wife of the former apartheid President F W de Klerk, on hearing in the 1980's that her son had befriended a Coloured young woman, "described Coloured people as 'a negative group', 'the leftovers', and as 'a people that were left after the nations were sorted out'" (Erasmus, 2001: 18).

These are harsh words meted out to an entire people, many of whom have in fact lived together with Afrikaners for a long time and have adopted their way of life. Her husband F W de Klerk has since his former wife made the derogatory statements, admitted in his autobiography that his people, the De Klerks, had as an ancestor a Coloured woman, who was the mother of his great-grandfather:

> *Interessantheidshalwe kan ek dalk ook noem dat hierdie einste Susanna die dogter was van Diana van Bengale, 'n Indiese slavin wat*

> *in 1667 aan die ene Augustin Boccart verkoop is. Susanna is nogtans saam met haar pa (Detlef Bibault) se wettige (en wit) kinders deur sy Hollandse vrou, Willemyntjie de Wit, blykbaar sonder enige probleme of diskriminasie grootgemaak. Susanna is in 1711 met Willem Odenthal getroud en was die ma van Engela Odenthal, wat op 7 April 1737 met my regsstreekse voorouer, Barend de Klerk, in die huwelik getree het. Dit was 'n deel van my stamboom waarvan ons nie gepraat het – en waarvan ek nie geweet het nie – toe ek 'n kind was.* (De Klerk, 1998: 24)
>
> [For interest sake I want to mention that the selfsame Susanna was the daughter of Diana of Bengal, an Indian slave who was sold in 1667 to one Augustin Boccart. Susanna lived with her father (Detlef Bibault) and was brought up with his legal (and white) children by his Dutch wife Willemyntjie de Wit, seemingly without any problems of discrimination. Susanna was married to Willem Odenthal in 1711 and was the mother of Engela Odenthal, who on 7 April 1737 was married to my immediate grandfather, Barend de Klerk. This was part of my family tree of which nothing was mentioned and of which I knew nothing since I was still a child.] (De Klerk, 1998: 24).

Given this ancestry and the close relationships between Afrikaner settlers and Coloureds, it is difficult to understand the reason for the hostility towards Coloured people. The reason might be a wish to deny the hybrid nature of Coloured identity. Coloured identity is not a category that is midway between whiteness and Africanness, which had been the perception of early colonialists and apartheid legislators, and furthermore supported by DRC theologians. The middle people status afforded to Coloured People "was given institutional expression in the ambiguous position of the racial policies of United Party (UP) segregation, Verwoerdian apartheid and [P W] Botha's tri-cameralism" (Erasmus, 2001: 18).

Coloured identity was not the construction of segregationists and racists, but more correctly the development of cultural formations that "were formed in the colonial encounter between colonialists (Dutch and British), slaves from South and East India and from East Africa, and conquered peoples, the Khoi and San" (Erasmus, 2001: 21). The result of this mixture was a cultural formation that is "instantly recognizable, and which is not racial but cultural, which once fused and translated acquire a specific cultural meaning" (Erasmus, 2001: 21).

It is clear from these views that Coloured People are no different from any of the other people that make up the South African nation. Their culture and identity need to be affirmed, which is a task that can be ably facilitated by religious institutions and the Church, and should be an integral component of Urban Renewal.

2.5 Re-claiming Coloured Identity in Social Reconciliation

Re-claiming one's identity is an essential part of the quest for reconciliation and restoration, which in the case of the majority of the people who live in Mitchell's Plain will be "an authentic movement toward [their own] liberation" (Harding, 1983: xii). It will mean that they will take their rightful place within South African society and have the freedom to be who they are, whilst recognising and owning the historic contributions that they have made to the Western Cape.

In the previous chapter, we focused on the Church which has always stood alongside Coloured people of Cape Town. It is thus, firstly, in an ideal situation to facilitate an authentic movement towards liberation in collaboration with local government. Secondly, the Church may be able to facilitate a move away from the 'victim mentality', which is so evident amongst the Coloured people of Mitchell's Plain. Thirdly, it may improve the self-respect and pride that was eroded during the long years of the struggle against apartheid. Fourthly, it can encourage the growth of political tolerance, which has escaped the people of Mitchell's Plain for the more

than thirty years, and lastly, it can facilitate the building of relationships across the various cultural identities in the Western Cape.

The Church is well placed as a trusted agency amongst the people to heal the distrust and alienation among members of the community. There is a common view that in a divided society, such as South Africa was for decades, people identify primarily with their own ethnic group rather than a nation. "In a survey conducted by Idasa, only 13% of South African citizens in 1994 identified themselves as "South Africans". Most people chose instead a wide range of racial, linguistic and religious identifications" (Villa-Vicencio & Ngesi, 2003: 273).

The Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) survey mentioned above indicates that the Coloured people are not the only grouping in the country that is struggling to establish an identity, but that it is a broad-based phenomenon. The struggle for identity for the people of Mitchell's Plain can only happen if their story is told. It is a story that is filled with promises made and broken simultaneously. It is also a story that inflicted hardship and pain and resulted for many in premature deaths. The story is contextualised by the racial laws inflicted on people who were not white. One of the pillars of apartheid legislation is the Group Areas Act (1950) from within which Mitchell's Plain was created.

The next section looks at space as a consequence of the reality of the inhabitants of Cape Town and their move to Mitchell's Plain. The role of culture and particularly of the work of Athol Fugard, as expressed in his play *People are living there* (1960) is used to explain how the Group Areas Act (1950) forever changed the lives of the people of Cape Town.

2.6 The Group Areas Act (1950)

Inhabited space is the topic of *People are Living There* one of four plays written by the South African playwright Athol Fugard. Fugard was born in the Karoo, a semi-

desert region of the Eastern Cape, in the village of Middleburg, on 11 June 1932. At the age of three he moved to Port Elizabeth with his parents. Port Elizabeth consequently became his home, and it is here, in Port Elizabeth, that three of his four plays are set: Although Fugard (1968), in the foreword of his collected plays described this city in an uncomplimentary way he nonetheless regards it as his home:

> [Port Elizabeth is] an almost featureless industrial port on the Indian Ocean. It is assaulted throughout the year by strong south–westerly and easterly winds. Close on half a million people live here – black, white, Indian, Chinese, and Coloured (mixed-race). It is also very representative of South Africa in the range of its social strata, from total affluence on the white side to the extremist poverty on the non-white. I cannot conceive myself as separate from it. (Fugard, 1978: vii)

Parallel to Cape Town, Port Elizabeth already had a number of interracial zones before the advent of the Group Areas Act (1950). It is the break-up of this racial harmony after 1950 that Fugard engages in his plays. *People are Living There* is the one play by Fugard that is not set in Port Elizabeth, however. The writer furthermore calls it an "aberrant work" (1978: xi), because "it was written more directly from life than any of the other plays" (1978: xi). The life experiences he refers to are his experiences of working as a "clerk in the Native Commissioner's Court in Johannesburg" and living "in the Braamfontein rooming–house that provides the setting for *People are Living There"* (1978: xi).

In terms of the experiences of the people who were encountering the onslaught of apartheid and separate development in the 1960s, however, the work is not aberrant. On the contrary, it is very true to life. Fugard, in his attempts to understand the South African policy of apartheid, uses his pen and the space of literature, to describe the everyday lives of South Africans whether they lived in places like Port Elizabeth, Braamfontein or Cape Town. Hence, coming from the need to celebrate

life in the midst of poverty and degradation, we hear Mildred Constance Jenkins, one of the three women who feature in Fugard's plays, exclaim:

> There must be something we can do! Make a noise! ... Lest they forget, as the monument says. I can still do that. I'll make it loud, make them stop in the street, Make them say: People are living there! (1978: 167).

The plight of the people who were removed from their places of birth is often so desperate and hopeless that they think nothing can be said or done. The exclamation by Mildred might have been echoed, too, by those who were on the receiving end of the Group Areas Acts (1950) in Cape Town. Fugard's three other plays express more directly the harsh realities of those who were forced to live in slums and degradation. Fugard's personal story and his struggles with the apartheid government tell of the opposition by playwrights and other cultural artists towards the government of the day and the call for a cultural boycott of South Africa. Fugard was convinced that the separation of audiences in theatres imposed by theatre managers, before it actually appeared on the statute books, had to be opposed. Hence he contacted overseas colleagues and writers, especially in London, to insist that their work had to be performed to racially mixed audiences and certainly not to exclusively white audiences. The moves by the apartheid government to entrench segregation resulted in very harsh measures.

Everywhere in the country, cultural, social, political and religious space was being violated by these forced removals. The violation of cultural space provoked strong protests from playwrights and actors.

> Theatre has a role to play, [and] there is nothing John Balthazar Vorster [the Prime Minister] and his cabinet would like more than to keep us isolated from the ideas and values current in the Free Western World (Fugard, 1978: xix).

Fugard and other South African writers were clear that "embodied beings" (Foster, 1997: 1) were responsible for the terrible situation in which South Africa found itself.

> The issue is people – it's the fact that men can be good that the good must be sustained and that it's almost impossible to imagine a situation on this earth where it is harder to survive with any decency than here and now in S.A. [South Africa]. I can't think of any moral dilemma more crucifying than this one – to destroy the evil at the cost of what little good there is or to seem to accommodate the evil by sustaining the good. I am sure I do not know. I don't think I ever will (Fugard, 1978: xix).

Fugard aptly described the general situation in South Africa in the 1960s.

2.7 The Story of the Group Areas Act (1950) in Cape Town

The story of Mitchell's Plain is a story of the implementation of the Group Areas Act (1950) by means of forced removals of the Coloured people from several districts of Cape Town and elsewhere in the Peninsula. The removals affected areas like District Six, Woodstock, Tramway Road (Sea Point), Mowbray, Rondebosch, Claremont, Harfield Road (Claremont) and Simonstown. Most of these people were moved to Mitchell's Plain from 1966 onwards. These were not the first forced removals in the Cape: During the Anglo-Boer War in 1901, a Bubonic Plague hit Cape Town, which gave government authorities an excuse to remove Africans from the City. The Africans were not, however, the source of the disease:

> The disease (Bubonic Plague) was carried by fleas on rats in the hay that was imported from Argentina to feed British horses (Bickford-Smith, 2001:17).

The dock workers whose work it was to remove the hay from the vessels were African workers, who thus became the first casualties of the dreaded plague. As a result, African workers were then blamed by health officials for spreading the disease, and the Public Health Amendment Act (1897) was used to "force African workers into locations" (Bickford-Smith, 2001: 18). These effectively became the first forced removals from Cape Town. The story also confirms that African people were indeed part of the people who originally lived in Cape Town, dispelling the myth "that Africans are newcomers to Cape Town" (Bickford-Smith, 2001: 18). Africans became part of Cape Town with the arrival of slaves from Madagascar and east Africa according to Davenport & Saunders (2000).

The removal of Coloured people to Mitchell's Plain was a continuation of the oppression that had already been meted out to their ancestors from the time when the colonialists first arrived at the Cape. It furthermore continued to destroy the heritage of the people, primarily by destroying their houses. In the case of District Six several hundred houses were demolished after the people were removed from the area. The undeclared intent of apartheid legislation was to remove all traces of the past and the heritage of people who were not white. The conscious and deliberate intent was to move all Coloured people from the City centre to less attractive areas, resulting in restricting their movements to these group areas. They could only come into the City to work in the factories and retail stores. Permits had to be obtained to attend activities [i.e. concerts and receptions] and events [i.e. public meetings] which before the Group Areas Act (1950) was implemented in Cape Town "was accessible to them, and which were traditionally multi-racial" (Davenport & Saunders, 2000: 438).

Although the Group Areas Act (1950) took away these residential areas from the Coloured people of Cape Town, the same areas were proclaimed Coloured labour preference areas. Practically, this meant that Coloured work seekers were to be employed in preference to Africans. This was also the case in places such as Port Elizabeth, where Africans were clearly in the majority. Consequently, this led to

further divisions between Africans and Coloureds, and created mistrust and guilt between them. These divisions became so entrenched and built up so much animosity that now, after more than ten years of democracy some Coloured people blame their unemployment on the creation of an unrestricted job market. The labour preference areas had, after all, disappeared along with the demise of apartheid when apartheid laws were repealed in February 1990.

Clearly, though, both Coloureds and Africans experienced the suffering of forced removals. The question to be considered now is how the Church can bring about reconciliation in a town that had been created through apartheid.

2.8 Achieving Reconciliation in Mitchell's Plain

The Church would be more likely to succeed if it were to accept its responsibility in achieving Reconciliation among Coloured congregations in Mitchell's Plain. This will mean appropriating Reconciliation theologically, interpersonally, socially and politically, and recognising that it has to be brave enough to facilitate Reconciliation amongst its people. Interpersonal reconciliation will help people to recover their self-respect. Zimitri Erasmus (2001: 16) calls for "an alternative understanding in order to make possible the re-imagination of Coloured identities."

In re-imaging and de-stigmatizing Coloured identity, four challenges have to be met, according to Erasmus (2001). Firstly, it must be accepted that Coloured identities are not about 'race mixtures'. Attempts to define Coloureds in this way would buy into the notions of 'race purity' that, according to Erasmus, can be traced back to 19th century European eugenicists.[3] Erasmus' view is that all cultural formations actually borrow from other cultural forms, and thus "all identities are automatically culturally hybrid" (2001: 16).

[3]. According to the Oxford dictionary, eugenists are those who belief in producing human offspring of fine production. In other words producing a pure race by not mixing with other races e.g. Europeans mixing only with Europeans.

The second challenge is to clarify that Coloured identities are distinguished not merely by cultural borrowing per se, but by borrowing and creating under the very specific conditions of creolization. In her use of the word 'creolization', Erasmus is drawing on the work of Edouard Glissant, who engages critically with the ideas of negritude and Afrocentrism. 'Creolization' refers to "cultural creativity under conditions of marginality" (Erasmus, 2001: 16) and involves the construction of identity from certain elements of ruling and powerful cultures, as well as from those of inferior rank. Although apartheid legislation racialised identities, Coloured people themselves have been responsible for developing an identity which gave meaning to their everyday lives (Erasmus, 2001: 16).

Thirdly, is the recognition that, according to Erasmus, the "colonial racial hierarchy" is "central to the 'process of creolization" (Erasmus, 2001: 16). In terms of this colonial hierarchy, there were three classes of people: Whites at the top, Coloureds in the middle, and Africans at the bottom. Given the ramifications and repercussions of such classification, it is understandable that Coloureds held onto their advantageous middle position, rejecting any association with Africans and Africa. Moving away consciously from the privileged middle position is important in this third challenge. It means moving away from 'colonial racial hierarchy which plays no role in a non racial society.

Fourthly, in post-1994 South Africa, the context of identity politics requires a move away from the tendency to assign moral authenticity or political credibility to 'blackness' or 'African-ness', particularly where it is defined in simplistic or reductionist terms, according to Erasmus (2001: 17). This can be practically affected through what Erasmus refers to as reflexive political practice which involves "remembering and acknowledging the past – colonialism, slavery, segregation and apartheid – with its wounds and contradictions, and acknowledging its power in shaping the present" (2001: 17).

This fourth challenge found an echo among many who had gone through Black Consciousness, a philosophy propagated and popularised by Steve Biko, who died in police custody on 12 September 1977. Identification with the Black cause and with Africa was portrayed by Biko as part of personal liberation from the shackles of racist identification. Wilson summarised Biko's philosophy as follows:

> There stirred within his own consciousness the germ of an idea. This was to flower into a student movement which conscientised blacks to analyse their socio-political condition by recognising that they could be their own liberators through resisting their oppression with a different mental attitude. It was this attitude that became known as 'Black Consciousness' (Wilson, 1991: 23).

This consciousness, and the concomitant identification with who one is as a person and within a community, produced such slogans as "I'm black and I'm proud".

Acknowledging their past is, however, not only a project for Coloured people in their quest for social reconciliation. It is a matter of deep importance for the new democratic state as it develops its own South African identity. It is clear from the above that, being a Coloured person in the new South Africa and in Mitchell's Plain involves the recovery of self-respect in order to be part of the new South African nation.

2.9 Conclusion

The question raised earlier remains unanswered, viz. why the Coloured people would vote in favour of the oppressor party that forcibly removed them from their homes. Even the irony of giving the ANC the vote by default because the NP formed an alliance with the ANC remains an irony. Could it be that Coloured people have gone through so much hurt and denial in two centuries that within their consciousness and inherited memory their remains distrust? It would appear that

having researched the social history of the hybrid people, despite the hardships experienced, community was formed. This chapter has also identified the challenges faced by the Church in healing the wounds of the past, alleviating poverty and facilitating economic growth. The Church has an important role to play in bringing about Reconciliation as it walks alongside those who are struggling for an identity and assisting the people reclaim their heritage.

The next chapter presents the journey of the Coloured people from Cape Town to Mitchell's Plain through the stories of those who undertook this journey.

CHAPTER THREE

Cape Town to Mitchell's Plain: Space for Urban Renewal

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the social heritage of the people of Mitchell's Plain was outlined. To summarise briefly, they are a people whose ancestors (the Khoi Khoi) had lost their unique and separate identity by the middle of the nineteenth century as a result of intermingling with whites and freed Black slaves (Davenport & Saunders, 2000). At that time, they became known as the Cape Khoi. They subsequently intermingled with free Blacks who were in the Cape Town area and with Black slaves who were freed after emancipation legislations were implemented between 1828 and 1833. Around that time, they were first referred to as the Cape Coloured People, a label that was formalised by the apartheid legislation after the NP government came into power in 1948 (Davenport & Saunders, 2000).

This chapter looks at the place from which the people were moved during the forced removals of the 1950s and 1960s. In order to concretise our findings, we focus on the story of Gloria Kube, who was living in Loader Street, Cape Town in the Bo Kaap District.

The Group Areas Act (1950), introduced by Dr. Dönges in 1950, to empower the Government to proclaim residential and business areas for particular race groups, incorporated much of the machinery devised for the restriction of Asians under the Smuts government's Asiatic Land Tenure Act (1946) (Davenport & Saunders, 2000).

Throughout the 1950s, residential and cultural apartheid increased. Davenport & Saunders (2000) report as follows:

> During Strijdom's Ministry [Strijdom succeeded Malan in 1954], residential apartheid began to affect all 'non white' groups, even

> Africans living in those few suburbs like Lady Selborne, Pretoria, where they could still own property in spite of the Urban Areas Act (Davenport & Saunders, 2000: 396).

According to Davenport and Saunders (2000), the Cape Town City Council refused to attend a meeting of the Group Areas committee in August 1956, because of the many Coloured homes and institutions that would have been affected by proposals to zone the whole of the Table Mountain area to the west of the suburban railway line from Cape Town to Muizenberg for white people. The City Council refused to attend the meeting because they did not want to be party to implementing the Group Areas Act (1950) as required by the National government.

In terms of the legislation, municipalities were expected to supervise the removals. The City Council of Cape Town refused to perform this role out of protest for the removing of Coloured councillors from the City Council through the Group Areas Act (1950).

Due to opposition from the City Council, and the citizens of Cape Town the Act was only implemented in Cape Town in the early 1960s:

> In 1960 – in the middle of a national State of Emergency [which followed the disaster at Sharpeville on 21 March in which 69 people were killed] – the government announced more white areas. The white areas cover[ed] the most valuable property of the inner city and the mountain slopes of the Peninsula (Bickford-Smith, 2001: 24).

When the Act was eventually implemented, it meant that the Coloured people had to leave areas such as District Six and Kalk Bay, which they particularly resented. The driving force behind the implementation had been "white local authorities or pressure groups" (Davenport & Saunders, 2000: 397): "Thus the removal of Coloured people

from the centre of Paarl to the area of the Berg River, was endorsed by the white Ratepayers' Association" (Davenport & Saunders, 2000: 397).

No one living in South Africa, whether benefiting from apartheid or being discriminated against because of it, could claim that they had not been affected. The Group Areas Act (1950) was for many in the country, and particularly in the Western Cape, a most "crucifying" evil that had to be destroyed. It was devastating to Cape Town because the entire City's vibrancy was destroyed when District Six was entirely demolished.

Consistent opposition to it and increased civil protest eventually resulted in victory in 1990 when the legislation was repealed by the same government that had created it. But the intervening forty years had changed the shape of geographical spaces in Cape Town. The lived in space of for example District Six, was reduced to barren space, to a memorial for all the displaced people in the country. The implementation of the Act left behind disrupted homes, destroyed communities and demolished buildings. This disaster could only be inflicted by people who were determined to hold on to political power and who could not accept that others who were not white were capable of inhabiting space and when given the opportunity and the removal of racial discrimination would support the building of a united nation.

3.2 Space, Place and Race

It is thus my contention that space as 'embodied space' in other words space as lived in and developed by communities of people, was racialised by apartheid. Don Foster in *Space, Place and Race* (1997) presents four ways of looking at "the notion of space in relation to racism" (1997: 1).

Firstly, space becomes significant because we are embodied beings, by which Foster means that "we take up spaces, locate and distribute ourselves in particular places, and use bodied space for purposes of control and influence" (1997: 1).

Secondly, "space denotes a point of view which makes embodied space important" (Foster, 1997: 2). The view that people have of the everyday and what happens to them is because of the geographic space they occupy. Identities are formed as a result of the debates and arguments that take place within the inhabited space.

Thirdly, space is related to time:

> Space and time as analytical categories are not easily divorced. The postmodernist term "globalisation" for instance refers to new configurations of space-time linkages. In dwelling on space, we should not neglect its intertwined connections with time (Foster, 1997: 2).

In terms of the discussion in this section of the paper the changes that have taken place in South Africa since 1994 presents new opportunities for life in inhabited space for example in Mitchell's Plain.

Fourthly,

> A distinction may be drawn between [the] material and discursive aspects of space: structures and significations. The analytical distinction may be artificial since it is more likely that such dimensions should be regarded as "both/and" rather than "either/or". For example, a boundary may be held to be physical and symbolic rather than as either real or imagined (Foster, 1997: 2).

In the case of Mitchell's Plain it is both/and, the structures that was put in place mostly houses, but also schools, community centres, shopping malls and churches were designed within the symbolism of apartheid. It is this that has to be engaged so that the inhabited space i.e. Mitchell's Plain can be owned by the inhabitants as space which they embody and from which they can determine their own destiny.

All four of the abovementioned notions of space were played out in Cape Town by the implementation of the Group Areas Acts (1950). In the creation of the Act the intention of the spatial planners was that by manipulation of space, society can itself be modified, this was however not the case.

An investigation of the position of Coloured People in South African society over the past thirty or more years, show that in political, economic, and social spheres Coloured people had lost their limited, second class constitutional incorporation with the ruling Whites.(Adhikari,2002)

A study by Western (1981) shows that much of the erstwhile economic and social overlap of Coloured people with White people had been eroded by apartheid legislation. At the same time [as] Coloureds were being distanced in social relations, their place in spatial relations was changing, from limited overlap with Whites in residential areas to distanced ghettoization (Western, 1981: 6). From this it can be inferred that space was used not to modify Coloured relations but to ghettoize it, in other words it was social change for the worst not for the good.

There can be no doubt that within the space of human social relations Coloured people were severely affected by the social engineering of apartheid. Although, as mentioned earlier, the roots of segregation date back to the arrival of the first settlers in 1652, it was primarily the rigid implementation of apartheid which determined the shape, the space and the place of Cape Town. Bickford-Smith summarises these developments as follows:

> It is clear that segregation and removals were a reality in Cape Town long before the apartheid policy was formulated. But what was new about apartheid? The Population Registration Act of 1950 officially divided South Africans into four groups: 'whites', 'coloureds', Asians' and 'Natives' and required them to register accordingly. Other laws

> aimed to segregate schools and universities, political organisations, buses and trains and taxis, ambulances and hospital wards, sport and music, restaurants and theatres, parks and beaches, benches and public toilets, libraries and post offices, even graveyards. The Group Areas Act of 1950 aimed to stop mixed residential areas in South African cities. From 1951 government took control of all property transfers and changes of occupancy that went across racial lines (Bickford-Smith, 2001: 22).

Before 1948, Cape Town could claim to be the least racially segregated city in the country (Western, 1981). The 42 subsequent years of racial, spatial and social division have, however, significantly changed these dynamics in Cape Town. Present-day Cape Town has very little left of the racial mixing that occurred before 1948, and "in remaking the city, apartheid has also remade Cape Town's citizens. There is a complex and inextricable link between a person's identity and his or her place" (Western, 1981: 6).

The above discussion leads to the question as to the success of apartheid planners in creating an apartheid city. Was apartheid indeed successful in creating an apartheid city in central Cape Town and on the Cape Flats? Bickford-Smith answers this in the affirmative:

> It looks like it, if you take the road or the railway line from the city centre past District Six and Ndabeni, onto the Cape Flats, past Langa to Crossroads and Khayelitsha (Bickford-Smith, 2001: 26).

If you changed lines in Salt River and boarded another train, you could find yourself in Mitchell's Plain, where the impact of apartheid legislation would be starkly apparent. For those who were moved from Cape Town to Mitchell's Plain it was not only an environmental change but a complete change of community life. In the City

they could walk to their places of work and shops were on most street corners. In the new place things were very different and for many unfriendly and hostile.

3.3 From Cape Town to Mitchell's Plain

Most of the people who were relocated to Mitchell's Plain in the 1960's had been living in the City of Cape Town and the surrounding areas for many generations. They lived in the districts near the centre of Cape Town, e.g. in the Bo-Kaap on both sides of Signal Hill, [the one side is in the Schotsche Kloof area and the other from Ocean View Drive to Beach road Sea Point, including Tramway Road], in District Six, Woodstock, Salt River, Windemere (now known as Kensington), Elsies River, Goodwood, Mowbray, Rondebosch, Claremont, Bishopscourt, and Simonstown. Some of the spaces they lived in have been completely demolished (such as District Six, and Tramway road), whereas others were renovated, leaving no trace or very little trace of what the spaces were like before the forced removals (i.e. Loader Street, Goodwood, Mowbray, Rondebosch, and Claremont).(Bailey, 1995)

Areas in the central city, such as the space from Long Street and Strand Street to the Waterfront and along Signal Hill, including Loader Street, and Somerset Road, were inhabited by the Coloured people of Cape Town. Many of these, as was explained in Chapter Two, were artisans: tailors, carpenters, brick-layers, plasterers, cooks, childminders and musicians. Others worked as fishermen or labourers in the docks. Most of the homes and dwellings which these people called home were completely removed or changed. This meant that many of those who were born and who lived in the area until 1966 were unable to locate their place of birth.

Sadly, this makes it very difficult to tell their stories. Not only have the houses of their forefathers been demolished, but documentary evidence is hard to come by too. Their situation is similar to the experience of the slaves' centuries earlier. Rayda Jacobs (1998), in her novel *The Slave Book*, presents her case for remembering the lives of the slaves, by researching documents relating to the sale of slaves. In her

endeavours she found relatively few historical records. The records of the slaves was the property of their owners and the ruling authorities and it was not in their interest for these records to survive.

> Recorded history has been predominantly the preserve of the conqueror and it is this condition which has been conventionally sanctioned as paramount and universal (Gqola, 2001: 45).

It is important therefore for those who are still able and alive and who have the memory of the past, to tell their stories. One such story is the story of Loader Street, Cape Town, as told by Gloria Kube, which is presented in the next section.

3.4 From Loader Street via Manenberg to Mitchell's Plain

One of the first areas in Cape Town from which the Coloured people were forcibly removed was from Loader Street: The area is situated above the Port of Cape Town and is adjacent to the City Centre and across Strand street from the Malay quarter. All the Coloured and Indian inhabitants some of whom were born there were expelled in 1966. The area became one of the examples of renovation as White people of middle and upper strata moved into the area and transformed it into a luxury upper class area. The area now boasts late 20th century renovations with a name which hints at the original inhabitants – The Cape Quarter.

The people who were removed from the area did not leave behind of their stories and very few accounts of the removals of those who lived in Loader Street are available, except for a few individual and rather rudimentary conversations that took place between friends. Gloria Kube, lived at No. 67 Loader Street, in a block known as "the Building", which had several apartments. The Kube family of six people lived in a one-bedroom apartment (Kube, 1996).

The story of Kube is a story about her life in Loader Street as told to a friend, Ruby Hill. Hill insisted that Kube tell the story so that future generations would benefit from it. For Kube, however, the process of telling the story was a struggle:

> Why bother to write this? Would people really be interested? You are digging up old bones, people said. But my grandchildren don't know and my youngest, who wasn't born at the time, doesn't know. My eldest, who spent five years of his life with us in Loader Street, maybe does not remember (Kube, 1996: 1).

In July 1966, Kube and her family were removed to Manenberg, on the Cape Flats. In her own words she described how her life and that of the community had changed:

> My whole life became changed! There was change. Not just for me, but in all the people. What they took away they can never give back to us again. (weeps). Oh! I want to cry so much, all over again... I cannot explain how it was when I moved out of Cape Town and I came to Manenberg. In those days I didn't know why they chuck us out. What did we do that they chuck us out? (Field, 2001: 11)

The move was too great a shock for Gloria's mother, who fell ill and had to be carried out from the building in Loader Street. She died six months later. In Manenberg, their new house was slightly bigger than the apartment they had in Loader Street, but there were other problems such as the use and cleaning of the communal toilet and the use of a water tap which was placed in the back yard of the houses for the use of several families:

> [T]hey gave us a sitting room, a kitchen, and a bedroom. But we had to share one tap and one toilet. The one tap was in the yard, there were no kitchen taps in the kitchen. Two families had to share that one tap.

> There was always an argument, as we used to clean the toilet and they did not (Kube, 1996: 29).

Gloria had lived in Loader Street with her parents, her sister, and an aunt and an uncle: "*Ons het lekker gebly maar die group het gekom en ons geseparate* [We lived happily but the group [referring to the Group Areas Act (1950)] came along and separated us]" (Kube, 1996: 7). Like a number of women and men from Loader Street, Gloria's father too worked in the docks i.e. the Cape Town seaport. Women worked in the fish factory and in the harbour cleaning fish for many from the community who came daily to the harbour for fresh fish:

> My father used to work in the docks before he became a lift attendant. In the docks, he was a labourer, just before the War ended. [Second World War 1939] From the terrace of our building we saw the war ships coming in to Table Bay and into the docks (Kube, 1996: 11).

The people of Loader Street appeared to have had a great affinity for the sea, perhaps indicative of their ancestral connection to the indigenous 'Cape Khoi' who had inhabited the area when the first colonialists landed in Cape Town. Gloria's mother was a housekeeper, thus continuing the tradition of those women who did not work in the docks. Housekeepers worked as so-called 'chars' in white households, and numerous encounters and much socialisation among whites and Coloureds took place as a result. It was not surprising that Gloria herself worked as a nanny after leaving school at the age of thirteen, having completed Standard Four.

The story of Kube shows the journey of forced removals of Cape Town's people. From Manenberg, the family moved to Mitchell's Plain "because we wanted a better upbringing for our children. There was better accommodation in Mitchell's Plain" (Kube, 1996: 17). The move from Manenberg was by choice however the choice could only be made within the areas classified for "Coloured" habitation by the Group Areas Act (1950). They could not choose to move back to Loader Street.

The pain of moving from Loader Street via Manenberg to Mitchell's Plain never left Kube. She tried to find consolation in the memories of the past, and struggled to come to terms with the lack of community cohesion that she left behind in Loader Street. She was removed from the area where people of different faiths, [i.e. Christian and Muslim] and of other denominations and religions, had formed community, and which was devasted by the removals of 1966. Kube struggled to find happiness and echoed this in her story:

> It's been a varied existence from Loader Street to Mitchell's Plain. But staying in Loader Street it was happy times. I enjoyed that (Kube, 1996: 18).

Kube clearly identifies with the place where she was born and where she lived during her childhood years. Moreover, this place provides the context for her identity as a Coloured person, an identity of which she is proud and which she openly contributes to the new South Africa:

> But I'll tell you one thing – I'm proud I'm a Coloured. A so-called 'Coloured' person. So-called? So-called? Ya, because you don't call people 'Coloured' people any more. No, there are no whites, no blacks, no Coloureds. We're just South Africans (Kube, 1996: 47).

In addition to giving up their homes, the people who lived here also said goodbye to their places of worship, culture and entertainment. What had to be given up and left behind amounted to a complete destruction of everything that the people had lived for. New life had to start in the new place Mitchell's Plain. For Kube and her family the prospect was a better life and better conditions for her family to grow up in. But the desires of a changed life was not realised. Mitchell's Plain needed to be embodied by people who collectively would seek to be architects of their own

destiny. This was to prove a great challenge to all who were resettled to Mitchell's Plain.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has specifically examined the space that the City of Cape Town occupied in the broader South African landscape through tracing the removal of the people who lived in the Loader Street area, through the story of Gloria Kube. It is clear that human intent is evident in the history of the City and in the orchestration of the everyday interactions of the people. It is, however, not only the normal activity of daily interactions the crisscrossing of boundaries and the community cohesion that existed that is witnessed when discussing the everyday activities of the people of Cape Town. It is also, significant to point out how those in power, both the early colonialists and the later segregationists, controlled and legislated the way of life of the people of Cape Town.

As we have seen, although segregation was not new in 1948, what was new was the way in which the NP government devised and implemented its own unique system of racial segregation. The entire country was divided into racial areas in terms of the Group Areas Act (1950), and its implementation was particularly severe in the City of Cape Town. Cape Town was remoulded by apartheid legislation, resulting in severe upheaval of the everyday lives of the predominately Coloured majority of the City.

The people's involvement in faith or religious space, cultural space, and social and political space, gave Cape Town a unique community. Interactions with these spaces appear to be commonsense for the inhabitants of a City. This commonsense position however did not apply to apartheid. In the numerous crisscrossing of the boundaries of religious and faith spaces, and of cultural, social and political spaces, a powerful force of survival was developed. It is this force which must be called upon to make Urban Renewal a reality, alleviating poverty and resulting in nation building.

The victory can become real for the people of Mitchell's Plain, if they are assisted to overcome the racism and the stigma with which Mitchell's Plain was originally created. It is my contention that the Church, as the most trusted and frequented institution of the people, can facilitate this process. The chapter that follows thus investigates the role of the church as an agent for reconciliation and restorative justice.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Struggle of the Church in South Africa 1960 - 1990

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the role of the Church as an ecumenical body from 1960 to 1990, supported by a discussion of De Gruchy's concept of an ecumenical [4] Church in South Africa. The chapter looks at how the Church changed in the 1960s in response to the events of Sharpeville (March 1960) and the Cottesloe Consultation (November 1960), resulting in the DRC's expulsion from the World Council of Churches. The remarkable transformation of Beyers Naude is analysed, through his involvement in the Cottesloe Consultation and his departure from the DRC. In the penultimate section of the chapter, we examine the Rustenberg Conference of November 1990 as a call for negotiation, reconciliation and change,

4.2 The Struggle of the Church in South Africa

Churches who were involved in the struggle for liberation had great difficulty dealing with their counterparts, Churches, who were supportive of apartheid. In other words, the Churches that resisted apartheid found it difficult to interact with those Churches who had supported these policies. As De Gruchy put it, "some churches in South Africa were so closely identified with the apartheid regime that they provided it with moral as well as theological justification" (De Gruchy, 1995: 19). This dichotomy became particularly relevant after the apartheid laws were repealed in 1990, and the Churches that had been in favour of apartheid wanted to proceed with life as if apartheid never existed and without any form of restoration with regard to the people who had suffered under apartheid.

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[4] By ecumenical de Gruchy is referring to churches and Christians 'who consciously seek to be united in faith and witness in response to the ecumenical mandate of the gospel and the needs of the world both Locally and globally" (De Gruchy,1995:12).

How were the Churches to approach the transitional phase in the 1990s, which included negotiations about a new dispensation in South African politics? Were the churches to suddenly become one united *kuriaken* (that which belongs to the Lord), and forget the great divisions that had been caused by the churches that had supported apartheid? Could the need for reconciliation and restoration be ignored because of the common conviction that 'God through Christ had reconciled the world' and would thus ultimately heal all wounds in any case? The road ahead for the Churches in South Africa was unclear. Many in the Churches could not imagine life without the struggle for democracy and freedom from racism. The South African ecumenical church had walked a long and difficult path with their congregations after they had formed themselves into an ecumenical church, "a community of churches and Christians who were united in witness to the gospel of Jesus Christ, around a common cause that of the elimination of apartheid" (De Gruchy, 1995:12). The South African ecumenical church although part of the world wide World Council of Churches focussed its attention entirely on the fight against apartheid.

4.3 The Ecumenical Church of Liberation

The ecumenical church in South Africa was formed in the 1960s in order to act as a united front in the fight against apartheid. This creation, however, was not unique to South Africa. In Latin America, from the mid 1960's to the 1970's, an ecumenical church had been formed too around liberation theology. In the Latin American experience, it had been theologians and clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, amongst whom were Leonardo Boff, Oscar Romero and Dom Helder Camara, who spearheaded an ecumenical movement in Brazil.

The South African situation was influenced and supported by the World Council of Churches (WCC) which, since its inception in 1948, had had South African Churches as members. The first assembly of the WCC took place in Amsterdam (The Netherlands) in 1948, and its founding statement brought together the work of two ecumenical missionary organisations: the one dealt with matters of Life and Work

whilst the other was concerned with Faith and Order matters in the World Church (*oikomene*). The founding statement of the WCC reflected the uniting of the two missionary societies, the members Churches were asked to commit themselves to Jesus Christ in renewed efforts to be witnesses to Christ in how they lived and to speak boldly against race discrimination, cruelty and terror.

The founding statement of the WCC gave impetus to member churches to show concern for the effects that discrimination had on their members. This .placed the South African DRC, on a collision path with the world body and with its local ecumenical partners.

4.4 The South African Ecumenical Church

In 1948 the South African, member Churches of the WCC were split. In the same year the Afrikaner NP became the ruling party in the South African government. The race issue had already been a concern in the political scene of the country since the 1930s. In 1948, the government of DF Malan became the first "fully bilingual government in the history of the Union (of South Africa) and the first to consist of Afrikaners only" (Davenport,& Saunders, 2000: 377). It was this government which, with the assistance of the DRC, a member of the World Council of Churches, "showed from the start that it intended to check and eliminate the trends towards inter-racial integration" (Davenport & Saunders, 2000: 378).

The role played by the DRC in supporting institutionalised racism and discrimination was enough proof to lead to its dismissal from the WCC in the aftermath of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. The events at Sharpeville did not only lead to the expulsion of the DRC from the WCC, but it initiated some important and far-reaching changes in the country's history. The events at Sharpeville on 21 March 1960 warrant particular mention in this chapter, because they were such an important part of the story of the struggle of the ecumenical Church in South Africa.

4.4.1 The Sharpeville Massacre 1960

What happened on March 21 1960 in Sharpeville was a watershed event in South Africa. A protest march organised by the PAC with the intention that marchers would hand in their passes at the Sharpeville police station, in Johannesburg went horribly wrong. The PAC was formed in April 1959 after tensions began to emerge in the ANC in 1952. These tensions had been evident particularly among the ANC Youth League. Prominent members of the faction within the youth league included "the scholarly yet retiring Robert Sobukwe, who insisted that Africa was for the Africans but added that everybody who owes his loyalty to Africa should be regarded as such", Potlako Leballo, "a talented public orator", and Peter Raboroko "who had dreams of an African cultural renaissance" (Davenport & Saunders, 2000: 412).

During a congress held by the PAC, Robert Sobukwe emerged as chairman and Potlako Leballo as secretary. The ANC responded to the formation of the PAC by calling for demonstrations against the pass laws which required all African people to carry passes or face imprisonment if stopped by a policeman, as a show of support for the ANC. The ANC proposed that the demonstrations should take place on 31 March 1960. The PAC in response called for demonstrations to take place on 21 March 1960. The purpose of the PAC march was not dissimilar to that of the ANC. PAC members were asked to march to the nearest police station and hand in their passes. It was thus that demonstrators converged on the Sharpeville police station on 21 March 1960.

As marchers converged on the Sharpeville police station to hand in their passes police opened fire on the protesters. The police version of what took place on that day indicated that they perceived that the large crowd were impatient and were threatening to break down the fence around the police station. Panicking a policeman opened fire and pandemonium eschewed resulting in the deaths and injuries.

In the aftermath of Sharpeville, both the ANC and PAC were banned. As a result, angered residents of the townships around Durban and Cape Town took to the streets. The government was thrown into an even deeper crisis and amidst an outcry from the world community implemented a so-called state of emergency in the townships where protest marches had been organised.

Sharpeville created a crisis of phenomenal proportions in South Africa and it raised the struggle against apartheid to such a level that it would finally come to an end three decades later.

The DRC had supported the government in its actions and was successful in persuading white people to do the same. However, one of the former moderators of the DRC, Beyers Naude, was profoundly affected by of the events of 21 March 1960.

4.4.2 Beyers Naude and the Consultation at Cottlesloe, Johannesburg

Beyers Naude was a conservative minister in the DRC. In 1960, he was ministering to a white conservative community in Potchefstroom, a town two hours drive from Johannesburg. He could not have been steeped deeper into everything that was Afrikaner and apartheid, which makes his turn away from it somewhat remarkable. It is particularly noteworthy in view of the fact that he had turned away from everything that he had been taught and had held sacred, that he discovered that there was another truth other than the one that he had been taught by his parents, his school and his church. This truth was to be found in the fact that all people were equal in the eyes of God and a person's pigmentation could not be a determining factor in how that person is to live.

The events of Sharpeville were seen by Naude as a threat to the missionary role of the church. He had no appreciation of the real issues at stake or the reasons behind the increasing protests of black people around the country. It would appear that,

during this time, Naude was still completely blinded by, on the one hand, the propaganda of the apartheid government and, on the other, by the stanch of the DRC in supporting the government. In the aftermath of the events at Sharpeville, on 21 March 1960, Naude wrote the following in his church newsletter, defending the church:

> The NG Kerk stands condemned before the whole world as a church which has neglected its Christian calling with regard to the non-whites, which has not done enough to plead for their legitimate needs. It is clear that the NGK [DRC] has a great responsibility to correct the outside world's twisted image and to convince overseas churches of the sincerity of our intentions and the scriptural basis of our standpoint (Ryan, 1990: 53).

By the time the Cottesloe Consultation took place in November 1960, the churches were deeply divided on the reasons for the protests that had gripped the country and the state of emergency that had been declared by the government. The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Joost de Blank, a representative of the Anglican Church in South Africa, was outraged by the events at Sharpeville. Relations were further strained when the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Ambrose Reeves, in whose Diocese Sharpeville was located, left the country to inform the world community of the real situation that had transpired in Sharpeville.

When Reeves did return to the country in June 1960, he was deported to England by the SA government. This put relations between the government and the Anglican Church at an all time low. Archbishop de Blank called on the World Council of Churches to expel the DRC from its membership. The Archbishop described the events around and after Sharpeville as "the gravest crisis in the history of South African churches, and declared [that] black protests were directed not only against the government but at the churches [referring to the DRC] which supported its race policies" (Ryan, 1990: 56).

The Archbishop's open attack on the government and the DRC, and his request to the WCC caused a relationship crisis between the English speaking churches and the Afrikaans speaking churches. The Archbishop did, however, receive a favourable response from the WCC who agreed to send Dr. Robert Bilheimer, a Reformed Church theologian to effect the healing of the rift between the Churches caused by the events at Sharpeville.

The outcome of the WCC's 'mission of fellowship' by Dr. Robert Bilheimer, was a meeting of church representatives , the 'Cottesloe Consultation'. During his visit to the country, Bilheimer met with representatives of the DRC and with Archbishop Joost de Blank. Beyers Naude was part of the delegation of DRC ministers who met with Bilheimer in April 1960. It was decided that a consultation would be held with all WCC member churches in South Africa which the DRC agreed to attend. The consultation took place in Cottesloe outside Johannesburg in November 1960.

The decisions of Cottesloe were put into a report which subsequently elicited more reactions than did the actual consultation, which lasted for a week. For many representatives of the DRC, this was the first time that they had spent significant time with the black ministers who were representing their denominations.

The Cottesloe Report, which reached consensus on rejecting the compulsory segregation in church and called for the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act (1950), was rejected by Prime Minister Verwoerd. The DRC delegation to the consultation was told to distance itself from the report. Naude however had committed himself to the declaration of Cottesloe and stood by his commitment, despite being asked by others also in the DRC delegation to change his stanch.

His insistence that church segregation was wrong and that the Mixed Marriages Act (1950) should be repealed led to a devastating storm from which Naude would not emerge unscathed. The DRC and Naude's own congregation turned against him

and Naude and his colleagues were called to support the DRC and the government or leave the Church.

Naude now had to fall back "on the central force in his life: obedience to Christ and His message" (Ryan, 1990: 41). As he later admitted, he asked himself many probing and difficult questions: Where was the message of Christ in what he was being ordered to do by all around him and by all who mattered to him? Where was the reconciliation that was so badly needed? Could some justice be brought to the situation that was confronting him? To use Naude's own words:

> I felt I had been struggling for a long time. I asked myself: "How long are you going to remain silent and fearful?" Eventually I came to the point where I said I can't continue to live this way. It is impossible. How will I live? What will I preach? ... How do I justify this kind of duplicity? I realised I would have to live a life of hypocrisy and deviousness. I felt it was not possible. But [I] realised on the other hand the price one would have to pay (Ryan, 1990: 62).

The impact of Sharpeville and the subsequent events in the country thus led to Naude's decision to leave the DRC, and thus the position of Moderator of the Transvaal Synod, and to start a new life. More remarkably, he inspired and convinced other Christian Afrikaners to join in the fight against apartheid. He formed the Christian Institute (CI) which was launched on 15 August 1963. According to De Gruchy, the launch of the CI and the report of the Cottesloe Consultation "signalled the beginning of the church struggle against apartheid (2002: 33).

The way in which the South African ecumenical Church responded to the events of Sharpeville also created a stronger bond between the Churches in their anti-apartheid work. It helped to encourage some Afrikaner theologians to break ranks with the DRC and seek reconciliation with Christians in the ecumenical fold who were continuing the Church struggle against apartheid. This intensified over the next

two decades. During this period, a number of key conferences and seminars focussed on the role of the ecumenical church in its plight to bring about the end of apartheid.

For the next thirty years the Church in South Africa intensified its opposition to apartheid after Cottesloe with the support of White DRC ministers who had joined Naude in the CI. Reconciliation between the Churches remained difficult and could not be actively pursued until after all the laws which upheld apartheid had been repealed in 1990. One of the conferences that took place in November 1990, was the National Conference of Church Leaders, which met in Rustenberg.

4.5 The Rustenburg Conference: A Call for Negotiation, Reconciliation and Change

Rustenburg is a town in Gauteng, which caught the attention of the world's religious fraternity when it was chosen as the place for the National Church Leaders Conference in 1990. The town gave its name to the declaration, which would inform the World that most South African Churches had declared apartheid, the legislative policy of the NP led government of South Africa, a sin.

The Rustenberg conference was significant in a number of ways, as will be explored below, ranging from

1. its choice of co-chairs,
2. the preparatory meeting,
3. the four day conference itself, which took place in November 1990, and
4. the subsequent declaration.

Firstly the choice of co-chairs was significant because for the first time in the history of the Church in SA, the General Secretary of the SACC, Frank Chikane, was asked to chair a meeting with Louw Alberts a physicist and a prominent DRC elder, one

black and the other white. Secondly, the preparatory meeting was significant because for the first time since Cottesloe members of the DRC sat in the same discussions with members of other churches. Thirdly the four day conference was a turning point because it was here that the DRC publicly confessed the sins of apartheid and here the first steps of reconciliation between the Churches was taken. Fourthly, the declaration of Rustenberg gave a blueprint of how local churches could be involved in reconciliation and nation building.

After Cottesloe (1960) Rustenberg was the next significant event in the life of the ecumenical church in South Africa and happened at a time of great significance to the country and to the Church. It had its genesis in the Christmas 1989 address by President F W de Klerk in which the president had called on the Church in South Africa "to formulate a strategy conducive to negotiation, reconciliation and change" (Alberts and Chikane, 1991: 14).

This request from then-President De Klerk was received with much scepticism from the ecumenical church. Most viewed the call as highly political, and the representatives of churches in the Black communities were uncomfortable with the relationship between the NP government and the DRC.

Ironically, De Klerk called for a strategy that would be conducive to reconciliation in addition to negotiation and change. When he did so, there was an air of expectation that the apartheid government might be making a significant announcement regarding its legislative policy of apartheid. But that was only to follow two months later. At the time, most in the churches were sceptical and reluctant to be drawn into any situation that might retard the end of apartheid rule in South Africa.

De Klerk's call was viewed with scepticism and his use of the word reconciliation was perceived as threatening. However, Church leaders were nonetheless called together to discuss his call. Present at the meeting were representatives of the DRC who were meeting with the rest of the Church fraternity in South Africa for the first

time since the Cottesloe Consultation. Effectively, what had been formed in the preparation for the Rustenburg Conference was the following:

> a most controversial partnership [between] men of God from totally opposite ends of the South African socio-political spectrum. Not since the Cottesloe Consultation in the 1960s has the Church been presented with so significant a challenge to rediscover its calling and to unite Christian witness in a changing South Africa (Alberts and Chikane, 1991: 15).

Seen as the next significant Church event since the Sharpeville massacre and the Cottesloe Consultation, the Rustenburg Conference had its own profound impact on South African society as it sought to move away from apartheid oppression.

4.6 The Confessions at Rustenburg

The Rustenburg conference was couched in worship: Morning worship sessions set the tone for the presentation of papers and discussions that would follow during the rest of the day. Each of the worship leaders and the presenters of discussion papers reminded the participants of the theme of the conference. In the opening worship, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, set the context for the conference. He spoke of the absurdity and silliness of God and went on to set the scene for the assembled gathering by putting the South African situation into a global context. Tutu in his address turned to the new path that South African had been set on through a God of surprises, who was at work in the country. Having set the context for the conference, globally, locally, and prophetically, Tutu as the speaker at the opening worship also set the tone. This filled the conference participants with expectation, despite the apprehensions of many who had gathered.

As has been indicated earlier the Cottesloe consultation (1960) resulted in a complete break between the DRC and most English speaking churches. The

churches that were united in witness and action against apartheid refused to have any dealings with the DRC, and these included the Mission churches in the Reformed family of churches. It was therefore of phenomenal significance that representatives of the DRC were present and also participating at the Rustenburg conference.

Professor Willie Jonker, a professor of theology at the University of Stellenbosch, known as the home of Afrikaner theologians and politicians, delivered an address under the theme "Understanding the Church Situation and Obstacles to Christian Witness in South Africa" (Jonker, 1991: 87). In his address, Jonker remarked on the significance of the occasion. He was very aware of the theme that had been given to him, and he spoke positively about the obstacles in the way of Christian witness in South Africa. He mentioned that a major obstacle for many at the conference was apartheid and that various racist policies of the apartheid government had caused divisions amongst the Churches and its members.

Jonker was very aware that:

> The divisions within the Church [in South Africa] are, to a large extent, linked to the socio-political situation in our country. The racial issue, the friction between the races and the system of apartheid, have created new forms of division and have aggravated existing divisions between and within our Churches (Jonker, 1991: 88).

As far as Jonker was concerned, apartheid had made a united witness of the Church impossible. The socio-political situation in the country together with the wide-scale racial segregation had left a chasm between whites and Blacks which even the Church could not breach because the DRC churches too benefited from the status quo:

> The Churches in our country have become deeply divided by their differences about apartheid. The support of the Afrikaans Churches for the cultural and economic emancipation of the Afrikaners, and later also of the policy of apartheid, was a major cause of tension between them and the English Churches (Jonker, 1991: 90).

This tension had its genesis in the 1930s when the DRC distanced itself from the South African Council of Churches. It broke down completely after the Cottesloe Consultation in the aftermath of the events at Sharpeville. The 1980s came with increased opposition by the anti-apartheid churches towards increased repression by the apartheid state. This led to a shift in the stance of the DRC. The Mission Churches in the Reformed family, with the support of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the Reformed Ecumenical Council, pressurised the DRC to change from its support for apartheid and the apartheid state.

There could be very little doubt to those assembled at Rustenberg that the DRC had turned a corner and was heading back to the fellowship of the other Churches in South Africa, after what Jonker had said. Not only were those in the DRC who had taken the step to announce apartheid a sin vindicated in their actions, but so were those who had left the DRC after Cottesloe, some of whom had formed the Christian Institute (CI) under the leadership of Beyers Naude.

However, Jonker had not yet reached the point which changed the title of the Rustenburg Conference to The Conference of Confessions. He appealed to the Conference to take "a major step towards mutual trust and acceptance", continuing as follows:

> In the final analysis only the Holy Spirit can give us the confidence to forgive and accept one another. On the human level, the DRC can do little more than to acknowledge its guilt and ask for forgiveness and acceptance. Without that, mutual trust cannot be restored. We cannot just continue as if nothing has

> happened between us. The wounds inflicted by apartheid and racism are still there. The broken relation between the Churches cannot be healed by synodical decisions alone. An experience of reconciliation is necessary to enable us to come to a united witness (Jonker, 1991: 92).

With these words Jonker set in motion theological reconciliation for the Churches gathered at Rustenburg. It would also act as an example, for future use by Churches, who were at the forefront of nation reconciliation and nation building. Aware nonetheless that reconciliation operates on many levels, i.e. personal, interpersonal, theological and political, Jonker took the opportunity to confess to the sin of personal, interpersonal, theological and political support of the heretical policy of separate development and apartheid.

> I confess before you and before the Lord, not only my own sin and guilt, and my personal responsibility for the political, social, economical, 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 Afrikaner people as a whole (Jonker, 1991: 92).

The confession by Jonker was supported by the delegation of the DRC. Dr Pieter Potgieter, moderator of the DRC, spoke on behalf of the delegation, which identified themselves fully with the confession made by Jonker on their behalf.

The confession by the DRC and its acceptance by most of the representatives of the conference set in motion a path for Christian witness in South Africa. Whatever the intentions of the organisers were in responding to the call by F W de Klerk, they could not have expected what ultimately happened at Rustenberg. The healing process amongst the churches was phenomenal, and set the Churches on a clear path to reconciliation.

4.7 Conclusion

The Rustenburg Conference of National Church Leaders was a watershed experience in the history of the Church in South Africa. The Conference, gave South Africa its first concrete example of public confession and theological reconciliation. By bringing together the Churches who were anti-apartheid and those who were supporting apartheid, the Conference set the Churches on a path towards healing and reconciliation. The Conference instilled new hope in the country, and set the scene for the Churches to play a significant role both during the transition period and in the new democratic South Africa.

The Rustenburg Conference, was a prime example of theological reconciliation, and led the way for the Church's involvement with government in bringing about national reconciliation and nation building. It gave practical expression to the theological concept of reconciliation, and was discussed through four stories that of:

1. Sharpeville Massacre of 1960,
2. The involvement of Beyers Naude,
3. The Cottesloe Consultation and
4. The confessions at the Rustenburg Conference of 1990.

In the concluding chapter of this thesis the process of reconciliation and restorative justice as tools for urban renewal in Mitchell's Plain is discussed and recommendations made for how this role can be done in a local congregation. The local congregation is that of the Anglican Church of Christ the Mediator in Portland, Mitchell's Plain.

Chapter Five

Christ the Mediator Anglican Church Portland Mitchell's Plain – a Centre for Reconciliation and Restorative Justice

5.1 Introduction

In his book "Through our Long Exile" Kenneth Leech (2001) presents a context for the role that space plays in the lives of those who experience poverty and a lack of development. For Leech, questions relating to space and place are "dynamic": this dynamism is to be found in a space which "is a scientifically measurable location", and in the interactions of how humankind interpret the space to create a place in which they exercise their everyday life (Leech, 2001: 7). In the chapter that follows this definition and understanding of space and place is applied to Mitchell's Plain and specifically Christ the Mediator Anglican Church in Portland. It traces the Anglican Church starting in Westridge in 1975 and in Portland in 1980.

Secondly the chapter looks at Theological Reconciliation and Restorative Justice as concepts for the role of the Church in Mitchell's Plain as an agent of Reconciliation and Restorative Justice. These are tasks that are not easy and cannot succeed if they are done only at a primary level, or at the level as a conviction of faith. In other words Reconciliation has to be practical and be expressed in the here and now of the everyday experience of the people. Hence the practitioners of Reconciliation have to be open to the secondary levels of Reconciliation, namely the Social and Political aspects of life. These two levels of Reconciliation are discussed in the chapter.

It is through the interaction on the secondary level of Reconciliation that the strengths of a congregation (Gunderson 1997). emerge. The strengths are gained by a congregation almost unconsciously as they live out their faith in the greater community. These stand them in good stead when they are confronted by trauma as

was the case in December 1998 and in June 1999 for the people of Buick Crescent. The tragic story of the people of Buick Crescent highlights the traumas of the people of Mitchell's Plain and emphasises the role that the church can play in reconciliation and restorative justice.

5.2 Pioneers in Mitchell's Plain

The Anglican Church started a missionary district in Westridge, in 1975, known as the missionary district of Mitchell's Plain. In 1980 it was given the status of a Parish and Christ the Redeemer Church became the Parish Church. In South Africa the word parish effectively describes a congregation, unlike in England and elsewhere in the Anglican Communion, where the term is used to demarcate a municipality. In 2004 the term was replaced with *pastoral charge* indicating the pastoral ministry conducted by a priest in a specific geographical area.

The Anglican Church however was not the only church to start ministry in Mitchell's Plain when the first inhabitants arrived. Other Christian denominations and other faiths also started their missionary endeavours. In most cases the work was not new, whilst the area had just been newly built and the first five hundred houses were being occupied, the faith groupings in effect accompanied their members to Mitchell's Plain, thus not starting new ministries but continuing ministries which was started elsewhere.

Religious communities were offered sites for religious use, at the same time as the houses were being offered for sale to the new citizens. This was in line with the grand plan of apartheid that Coloured people be settled in an area large enough to take an initial 250,000 houses and where human development, cultural upliftment, education advancement and social aspirations could be lived out according to apartheid legislation.

Five years after starting the work in Westridge, the Anglican Church expanded its work to Portland, the second largest suburb in Mitchell's Plain, namely at Christ the Mediator Church. This particular ministry was in effect to cover the new areas that have been added to Westridge, i.e. Portland, Eastridge, Beacon Valley, Tafelsig, Rocklands, Lentegeur and Morgenster. The ministry was conducted in the area east of Eisleben Road, with its southern boundary the False Bay coast and its Northern boundary the R300 motorway. In 1998 Christ the Mediator Church had a membership roll of five thousand families, with a church attendance of between 800 and 1000 worshippers every Sunday. It is this church that has most displayed the potential of becoming a centre for Reconciliation and Restorative justice.

5.3 Reconciliation as a Christian Conviction

At the heart of the Christian tradition is a conviction that Christians claim along with St. Paul "That 'God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself' and that this is the point of departure for understanding its meaning [reconciliation]" (de Gruchy, 2002: 17). Understanding the meaning of this phrase for the Church is as important as making that understanding known to those who do not have a similar faith and to sceptics within its rank. As a statement of faith, reconciliation can be appropriated by believers as a reality and in expectation of things to come as in "eschatological fulfilment" (de Gruchy, 2002: 17).

However, this cannot be done as if all adhere to this conviction, because there are many sceptics who do not. They would hasten to point out that the world is not in a state of peace and tranquillity where all are at peace and live harmoniously together. Sceptics would point out and rightly so that in most parts of the world there is strife and turmoil and violence and that the world is greatly different from the way the message of reconciliation is pronounced in the Christian scriptures. In the Mitchell's Plain situation sceptics would ask, how Christians can so easily apply the biblical narrative? Applying the biblical narrative to this situation might be inappropriate.

According to de Gruchy, whilst it might be appropriate to speak of reconciliation as a God given Christian concept and theologically claim that 'God will reconcile the world to himself, within time, it is not so acceptable to impose this theology on political discourse. He points out that to impose a theological concept on political discourse is not only inappropriate but can be counter productive. Therefore theological language cannot be uncritically imposed on political discourse.

Christian reconciliation has to be translated into practice taking into account the political and social realities for the local Church to play an effective role in social and political reconciliation. The Church has to appreciate that theological reconciliation which is faith based cannot be imposed on social and political reconciliation which involves people of other faiths and religions. How then does the local Church facilitate a promise that has to be fulfilled in reality?

Firstly, reconciliation has to be understood on two levels i.e. a primary and secondary level. The primary level is expressed in the scriptural conviction based on eschatological fulfilment, it is invisible and very difficult to demonstrate and is expressed in the other worldly form. In other words the primary level of reconciliation is Spiritual and best left to the individual's relationship with God. It is a faith practice exercised in a way of life which is based on prayer and worship. The primary expressions of reconciliation, are found in the faith practices of Christian churchgoers, in worship and liturgy, and in the confessions of faith. This expression makes it easy for most Christians to hold onto the conviction that 'through Christ God has reconciled the world.' The understanding and practice of this level of Reconciliation is an important base for religious Christians. From this foundation they are able to be involved in the practical and secondary level of Reconciliation.

Secondly, reconciliation is played out within a secondary level of social and political realities, in this instance people participate in "acts of love, the pressure to free the oppressed, the healing of the sorrowful and sick, the reconciliation of enemies,

support of justice in hope of the kingdom of God" (de Gruchy, 2002: 19), hence according to de Gruchy: there is a need to distinguish between the two levels.

The secondary expression of reconciliation is located where the social and political aspects of life interact and interrelate. This is the challenge for the local church. It is in the secondary expression that the reality of suffering is experienced and where the local church has to make real its conviction that 'God in Christ is reconciling the world to himself'. The challenge to the local Church is to engage in the social and political activities in public life and thereby make real the hope of reconciliation at the primary level.

From this position of theological reconciliation the Church is vital to the debate on National Reconciliation in South Africa. It is also, however, as agent of reconciliation and restorative justice that the Church has to be at the forefront of facilitating reconciliation at the local level and with other organisations of the state and civil society to encourage restorative justice. At some point in the lives of those who have lost so much during apartheid, relationships have to be restored: relationships with other communities, relationships with families, relationships with the rest of the nation and with the Church. The task for the local Church is a big one, but also very important.

The vast congregation of Christ the Mediator displayed every aspect of life in Mitchell's Plain which challenged the church to move from what Gunderson (1997) describes as private and personal spirituality and which according to de Gruchy is the primary level of Reconciliation to the secondary level of Reconciliation or as far as Gunderson is concerned to be involved "in the many social factors that affect community life" (1997:19).

5.4 The Strengths in Congregations

This is challenge is reflected in congregations who see their role as different from passive followers of the spiritual dimension of the Church. The functioning of congregations as far as Gunderson is concerned is like that of a "community within a larger community, forming, nurturing and challenging individuals to participate with other humans in social networks" (1997:19). It is this ability that the congregation has to interact across the social and religious networks in Mitchell's Plain that gives the Church a unique ability to effect Reconciliation amongst people who yearn for healing and justice.

In the neighbourhoods of Mitchell's Plain the congregation goes about its activities of "weaving the roots of community" not in a mechanical way according to a set pattern of things that have to be done within a specific time, but through consistent actions and reactions to the everyday experiences they are confronted with and which they respond to as challenges to their faith. The congregation going about its life in the community in this way takes the sacred into the hard realities of life in the community. Hence as Gunderson (1997) reminds the space where these take place "is sacred ground on which we move with humility and a sense of awe". (1997:22) Gunderson (1997) envisions congregations using the phenomena which medical doctors describe as "fields" and conclude that "a congregation is a social field to which people find themselves drawn and sometimes held in relationship to others and to a sense of reverence and possibility – faith." (1997:20)

Using this description Gunderson (1997) describes the congregation as a field:

- which has influence and thus the capacity to nurture meaning and shape behaviour.
- of activity where faith is experimented with and tested with others who are both similar and diverse.

- "of coherence that awkwardly finds its way in to language, rituals, and practices that help mark its boundaries, entry points and exits". (1997:20)
- that within the broader understanding of relationships brings meaning to those relationship irrespective of the identities – husband, sister, child citizen, carpenter, and physician – of those relationships.
- that is not in itself a natural point of connection, but a gathering where meaning in terms of faith can be found.
- Where God and God's creation – humankind, interact and find relationship.

The abovementioned components are expressions of the secondary level of Reconciliation which the members of Christ the Mediator Church embarked upon. The leadership of the church developed a series of activities and worship services to enhance the strengths of the congregation, and which instilled the foundations of the primary level of Reconciliation. The activities prepared the congregation for the role they played as agents of the secondary level of Reconciliation.

In the process the congregation developed strengths which was used when they were challenged by trauma and turmoil. Despite the enormity of the traumas, it could be faced because they had learnt to internalise the eight strengths that Gunderson (1997) expresses as that which gives life to a community or congregation. These eight strengths are presented in three sets:
The first set is to:

- accompany
- convene
- connect

The second to:

- provide sanctuary and context, and

The third to:

- bless, pray and persist

These are the practical outflows of both the spiritual and the social aspects of Reconciliation. Using these strengths the congregation helped the community become architects of their own destiny.

5.5 The Challenge of Urban Renewal

The challenge to the Church to become part of Urban Renewal was taken up by the congregation of Christ the Mediator Church. In 1998 the congregation embarked on a visioning exercise. The exercise took the form of an all day workshop in which the church council engaged in worship and discussion which led to the formulation and the establishment of twelve [12] commissions. Each of the commissions dealt with a different aspect in the life of the congregation:

1 A Young people's commission
2 Pastoral Care and Evangelism
3 Education and Training
4 Worship and Liturgy
5 Social Responsibility
6 Buildings and Properties
7 Finance
8 Fundraising
9 Communications and Media
10 Administration
11 Eastridge outreach
12 Beaconvalley outreach

The commissions involved a hundred and twenty [120] members of the congregation. Out of this number, chair-people, secretaries, facilitators, and organisers, were specifically trained to take on the role of leadership within the specific tasks assigned to them. Each commission had a purpose and a set of strategies on how they would reach the purpose. For example the purpose of the Worship and Liturgy commission states:

> The Commission for Worship and Liturgy is to carefully consider, plan and effectively execute all plans relating to worship and liturgy in this congregation. (Reports of commissions, 2001, unpublished)

The Worship and Liturgy commission also discussed their role of enhancing the primary level of Reconciliation and making real the biblical narrative that 'God will reconcile the World to Godself, within time'. This was seen as the foundation for all activities of the other commissions.

One of the strategies of the commission was to arrange a programme entitled - Healthy Family Relationships.

The programme was arranged after the congregation heard from parents and children about the pressures on family life and the struggles that families face. In response to this a programme was developed around a theme for each week of Healthy Family Relationships Month. These themes were:

Recognising Family
Valuing the individual in the family
Building relationships in the family
Celebrating family

During the month the young people in the congregation had their own discussions on the theme and arranged a video screening of a programme entitled - *When sex isn't love*, to which young people in the community not members of the congregation were invited. An evening programme was similarly arranged for single parent families, families where the spouses are divorced, widowed families, [meaning families where one of the spouses had died], and families headed up by teenagers. There was a case in the community when both parents had died, one in a motor car accident and the other who committed suicide, and the children were left to fend for

themselves. In another incident a single mother of three children died leaving a nineteen year old to care for the family. Through the commissions, meetings, seminars and church services the congregation was constantly developing their strengths and discovering their changing role in the community. The congregation changed from being the passive recipients of ministry to being active participants in both the spiritual and social aspects of community life.

Whilst the role of the Church in Mitchell's Plain, was not a new one, it was a different one from the way in which the Church performed its role before 1990.The 1990s witnessed a church in which congregations were actively part of voicing an opposition to apartheid, through the strengths they had gained by interacting with the community.

However for those who were being led to focus on private and personal spirituality at the exclusion of community involvement with the social and political aspects of life, their experience despite living in the same geographic space would have been very different. The New Apostolic Church which has a big following in Mitchell's Plain, and which in fact have the biggest church building for its members in the Western Cape, in Mitchell's Plain, would only participate in any activities with the congregation of Church the Mediator Church, if the activities were clearly of a spiritual nature, like a church service.

In practical terms this meant that the Christian community in Mitchell's Plain had different experiences of being Church and for those congregations who were exposed to new ways of creating community the challenge was not only to expand the strengths within their own community but also amongst the other Christian communities in Mitchell's Plain. In this way the congregation which was allowed the freedom to grow would build on its experiences and its strengths. These are the ones who will affect the changes required in the community in post apartheid Mitchell's Plain.

The aspects of reconciliation and the strengths of the congregation mentioned earlier, were greatly tested when a section of the community and of the congregation of Christ the Mediator Church were forced into turmoil in December 1998. The tragic story of the community in Buick Crescent, Eastridge aptly illustrates the practical aspects of a congregation, creating opportunities for community building.

5.6 A Tragic Story

The story of the people of Buick Crescent is a tragic story of twenty families who are members of Christ the Mediator Church. The families had come from District Six, Manenberg, and Elsies River and were resettled in Eastridge and specifically in Buick Crescent. They created community in a relatively short space of time. Despite the cruelty of another removal there were certain positive advantages for them. These included being next door neighbours to each other, in the Crescent and having a common affiliation to the Anglican Church. The twenty families joined the same congregation, although they had the choice of five other Anglican congregations in Mitchell's Plain as well as travelling to the churches in the areas from which they were moved. In a remarkable way the people of Buick Crescent carried with them a thread of belonging, which was rediscovered when they created community in Buick Crescent.

Over time they created opportunities for the protection of their children. The younger ones who were too young to attend school were cared for by a mother who was home during the day. Activities such as soccer games and other sporting activities were arranged for school going children after school as well as homework sessions conducted by high school learners. Most evenings those who worked in Cape Town's industrial areas and in the clothing factories of the City, frequented each others homes for some sort of relaxing activities and on Sunday mornings they would walk across the AZ Berman Road, one of the many four lane roads in Mitchell's Plain with their children for the Sunday Eucharist service at Christ the Mediator Church.

Here they would meet the wider community and friends from other neighbourhoods, the adults would escort their children to the Church hall for Sunday School and return to the Church which seats five hundred people, for the Eucharist. For the people of Buick Crescent this seemly blissful continuum would soon be disrupted. As they were preparing to end another year in the struggle to restore relationships, tragedy struck on 16 December 1998.

Michael Miller the twenty seven year old son of one of the members of the congregation, a married father of a one year old child, was shot and killed. Michael's role of peace maker was rewarded with his murder. He tried to stop a fight taking place in the Crescent, between two young men. His brother, Ricardo, who was a witness to his brother's murder, was also subsequently shot, as witnesses to Michael's murder were being hunted down for fear that they would testify at the trial of the murderer.

The congregation in Buick Crescent rallied to support the Miller family by firstly, arranging for a safe home for Ricardo, so that he would be protected and kept in safety. This was possible because of the networks within the congregation. Secondly they lobbied the other residents in the Crescent and together they appealed to the municipality to put in speed bumps in the road that connects the Crescent to the rest of the neighbourhood. This was needed because those who came for the witnesses to Miller's murder used the drive-by shooting method. The method was successfully used in Mitchell's Plain streets which were built for easy thoroughfare from one neighbourhood to the other.

The perpetrators would drive along the street looking for who they were targeting and return driving at high speed and shoot at their target. Through the people interactions with the Ward councillor of the area they made their request to the municipality.

Thirdly, they arranged for the adult men of the community to join up with the neighbourhood watch group. The men patrolled the Crescent daily and kept the community alert to untoward activity in the Crescent, activities that they deemed might put the people in danger. For six months the measures that the congregation had put in place appeared to be successful until June 1999

5.7 Tragedy Strikes Again

Saturday 12 June 1999 was a warm winter's day the children of Buick Crescent were playing in the street, during the late morning just before noon, as was usual in the Crescent. Chantine Veldsman a three year old was playing with her young friends, under the caring eye of a young neighbour, Jerome, who could not play with the other young men because he was wheel chair bound and so performed the role of carer of the younger children.

Tragedy struck that Saturday afternoon when a masked gunman walked towards the young Chantine pointed his gun at her and shot her through the head. The injuries that she sustained left very little chance of survival for the child. The neurosurgeon who was in charge of the team who tried to save the child's life said the following:

> The bullet penetrated through the base of the skull, through the brain and out on the side of the head (Own Correspondent, The Star, 15 June 1999).

A life support system kept Chantine alive for two days during which time the church focussed their prayers on Chantine and on the two other young men who were wounded, one fatally by the same masked gunman that Saturday afternoon.

Sunday June 13, 1999 was a day unlike any other. The community at Christ the Mediator Church, was shattered in that they had to deal with another tragedy, having six months earlier buried a youth leader. What had happened to reconciliation?

"What kind of community were we building in a neighbourhood where our children, girls and women were not safe", the people asked, addressing their questions to God in the form of prayers.

On Monday afternoon 14 June 1999 the priest of the church visited with the family at the hospital. The visit was to prepare the family for the bereavement which was to follow. That evening as the family and their priest gathered round the bed, they had hope that a miracle would save Chantine and that the violence which had gripped Mitchell's Plain would not claim another victim. Their hopes were in vain, when the registrar of the Red Cross Children's hospital asked the priest for assistance. He shared that nothing more could be done for young Chantine and asked that the priest request the mother and grandmother of the child to say their farewells.

> At 8.10pm [on Monday 14 June 1999] minutes after the ventilator and heart and lung machines shut down, the latest victim of the senseless Cape Flats conflict, an innocent child [Chantine Veldsman] who was just starting her life, was dead. Her mother, Christel Veldsman, screamed: "not my baby...God, I did nothing wrong. I want my child back" (Own Correspondent, The Star, 15 June 1999)

The Veldsman family are members of the close knit community of Buick Crescent and one of the twenty families who are members of Christ the Mediator Church. The child was treasured by all who knew her, she attended the Thursday morning service at the church, with her grandmother on occasions when the grandmother was off work and so she became known to the larger church congregation. Was Chantine Veldsman's death another one of the statistics of the murder rate in Mitchell's Plain? Would life continue to be cheap in Mitchell's Plain because of the manner in which it was created? These questions go deep into the experience of the people who have consistently weaved together and who have deepened their roots in Mitchell's Plain.

The aftermath of Chantine's tragic death was a remarkable example of community strength. As a community they arranged the funeral service, organised the burial, facilitated the grieving process, arranged an exhibition showing Chantine's room, and have since organised an annual memorial service. These are examples of community strengths being played out by a traumatised community. As the people of Buick Crescent went about dealing with their grief, their hurt and their anger, the strengths that they had built up were evident.

These were clearly visible as the family of young Chantine went about arranging her funeral. They were accompanied by the leaders of the community from the time of the shooting to the burial. They convened in the family home every evening until the burial took place, "to bless, pray and persist" (Gunderson, 1997:22) they persisted with prayers weekly for the first month and after the burial they met once a month from September 1999 to June 2000.

On the anniversary of the death of Chantine Veldsman, June 14, a memorial service was held in Christ the Mediator Church. The memorial service became an annual event as the Church provided sanctuary and context for the bereaved family and the community of Buick Crescent.

Another remarkable thing that came out of the tragic death of the three year old Chantine Veldsman was the press coverage her death received. The local press, particularly the Cape Times and the Cape Argus covered the story for a period of two weeks from 12 June 1998 to 29 June 1999 highlighting the situation in Mitchell's Plain. The context of turmoil in Mitchell's Plain was however published in the community newspaper, Plainsman. In a front page article of the Plainsman, de Bruin (1999) compared the death of Chantine Veldsman and other children to the situation in Mitchell's Plain in 1994.

5.8 Tragedy at Five Year Intervals

In April 1994 South Africans voted for a democratic government, signalling the beginning of the age of reconciliation in South Africa. The people of Mitchell's Plain were as much part of the euphoria that was taking place in the country. During the same time however another horror was playing itself out in the town. A person who was named the station strangler, because he trapped his victims, mainly young boys between the ages of eight years and twelve years, at railway stations in Mitchell's Plain, was on a killing spree. Five years later [1999] the situation in Mitchell's Plain was reported as "scenes hauntingly reminiscent of five years ago when the Station Strangler wielded terror on the Cape Flats" (de Bruin, 1999, Plainsman, 1). What reminded the journalist of the situation five years earlier was the way the Mitchell's Plain people had again come together to support a traumatised family. Chantine Veldsman's death had focussed the City's attention on the plight of young girls who it appeared to the community were targeted by evil forces in their midst and murdered.

While Chantine was fighting for her life in the Red Cross Children's hospital on Sunday 13 June 1999, six year old Veronique Maans went missing from her Freedom Park home, a section of Tafelsig in Mitchell's Plain. A search was conducted everyday for twelve days for the missing child. On the first day the search was conducted in the areas surrounding the child's home, in Freedom Park, Lost City, Silver City and Mitchell Heights all sections of Tafelsig. Then followed a door to door search conducted by the neighbourhood watch group in the areas of Tafelsig, which included a search in the Swartklip bushes. The bushes surround the Denel arms manufacture factory in Swartklip, nestled between Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha .(Plainsman, 1999:3)

The neighbourhood watch group also searched the Wolfgat nature reserve, which is adjacent to the False Bay coast. On the third day the neighbourhood watch group was joined by the South African Police Services (SAPS) who carried out

intense searches for the next nine days. The family was briefed daily by SAPS and given whatever information concerning the searches, which new areas were covered and what new information had been received. (Plainsman, 1998:3)

In dealing with her grief Christel Veldsman, the mother of Chantine Veldsman, on hearing about Veronique's disappearance reached out to the Maans family and accompanied them making inquiries by going from house to house in the Freedom Park. In turn the Maans family attended the prayers services that were held for Chantine and which were then branched out to include Veronique Maans and other missing or murdered children.

In the case of Veronique Maans the hope that the family and the community had for her return alive was dashed when boys on their way from playing soccer came across her lifeless body:

> Just before 6pm [on Sunday 24 June 1999], Veronique's body is [was] found in a shallow grave in a sand dune adjoining Mitchell Heights by teenage boys on their way home after playing soccer (de Bruin, 1999:3).

The trauma of Buick Crescent was thus extended to Freedom Park and so was the strength of the community as they shared in the search for Veronique's body. From within their own deep pain they shared and found comfort in sharing the grief of loss experienced by another family in the larger community.

These tragic stories of trauma and pain gave the community of Buick Crescent and the larger community at Christ the Mediator Church opportunities for the practical expression of the strengths that have been built over ten years. These strengths are the contribution that Church congregation make to the greater community in

places like Mitchell's Plain. It is what they bring to Urban Renewal and which encourages reconciliation and restorative justice.

5.9 Restorative Justice a part of Reconciliation

The Church in South Africa is no stranger to the debate of reconciliation and restoration. In the aftermath of the TRC, particularly, much has been discussed concerning justice, and a number of interrelated justices can be identified. In a situation like that of South Africa, which has to confront so many new issues, almost simultaneously, the notion of justice is particularly difficult to define. Justice is about what is required within the situation of reconstruction and development (Villa-Vicencio, 2004).

Restorative justice appears to be one of several justices which includes: *retributive justice, deterrent justice, compensatory justice, rehabilitative justice, and exonerative justice* that is closest to reconciliation and which, when exercised, will bring about wholeness and healing. As such, it is also the kind of justice that the Church can facilitate within communities. According to Villa-Vicencio it is not an alternative to an established justice system but seeks to regain some of the dimensions which have been neglected by a justice system and helps with a more complete understanding of justice.(2004:34):

> It asserts an inclusive and holistic notion of justice, refusing to reduce justice to retribution, while recognising the need to hold perpetrators accountable for crimes committed. (Villa-Vicencio, 2004: 34)

This form of justice is about helping those who have been involved in a particular offence, which has caused the breakdown of relationships. Restorative justice seek to collectively assist both the victim and the perpetrator, to deal with the future effects and implications of a committed offence. It is about the restoration of the human worth and dignity of people,

particularly those "which requires the emergence of a social order that provides for the basic needs of all citizens". (Villa-Vicencio, 2004: 34) In this form of justice the emphasis would be on bringing together both victim and perpetrator and try to bring about a condition in which both will be able to speak and listen in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, with a vision for their future life together or otherwise.

Restorative justice is thus the kind of justice that will help local communities come to terms with their past hurts and guilt, as they deal with the three interrelated steps of restorative justice:

1. upholding the basic rules of human decency;
2. healing resentment and meeting, as far as realistically possible, the legitimate claims of victims and survivors; and
3. re-building trust and relationships between former victims and perpetrators.

These steps of restorative justice are the guidelines for the church's role in bringing healing and reconciliation to the too often traumatised people of Mitchell's Plain. Restorative justice is a logical out come of Reconciliation and the Church can assist in bring about Reconciliation and Restorative Justice to Mitchell's Plain.

5.10 A Centre for Justice and Reconciliation

The Church in Portland has recognised that reconciliation and restorative justice can play a great role in the Urban Renewal node in Mitchell's Plain. They also know that for some this would not be easy, but for others it would be the beginning of a new life and the start of a new journey of hope. They had hope that the laws of the country that had resettled them in Mitchell's Plain would be a thing of the past and this was now the case. They hoped that they would be able to put their fragmented lives together and this is to a large extent a process that the Church has given context

and sanctuary too, but that needs to be pursued. Given its track record in being alongside communities and nurturing communities to life that leads past present hurts and turmoil it can become a reality in Mitchell's Plain. However it will only be a reality if the Church abdicates its control over the activities of the congregations in favour of allowing congregations to enter into the ministry from within their own strengths.

The story of the people of Buick Crescent highlighted the continuing need for personal and social healing. It also presented the great need that exists for the restoration of humanity within the communities of Mitchell's Plain where respect for human life had reached a very low ebb. They do however portray the potential that exists among the people who in their struggle for personal and social healing make themselves vulnerable in order to achieve the greater good of restored lives.

This concluding chapter has presented the present day plight of the people of Mitchell's Plain, through the tragic story of the twenty families of Buick Crescent. The manner in which they struggled with the pain and accompanied others experiencing similar pain is an example of the strengths which a community and more specifically a congregation brings to a fragmented society in need of reconciliation and restorative justice. But is reconciliation possible in Mitchell's Plain? Is the reconciliation that is needed in the greater community of Mitchell's Plain different from that of a congregation?

In this section a case is presented based on the work of Gunderson (1997) which claims that a congregation does have the components which can have great influence in bringing reconciliation to social communities. However it seems to be missing on closer examination. It appears to be church idealism when compared with the experience of local communities and their struggle to survive. Whilst evidence has been found that the church congregation appears to have a greater control over the way they respond to personal and interpersonal trauma on the one

hand. On the other hand the bigger struggles and trauma resulting from past legislation and being reconciled appear not to be as easy.

At the congregation level it is possible to ensure that personal and interpersonal relationships can be restored. In other words a fierce argument between next door neighbours about the behaviour of the children in the street can be relatively easily dealt with, in most cases by a third party acting as peacemaker. This is tangible and practical likewise when marriages show signs of estrangement, the couple can also be brought together for a series of conversations about their relationship. So too family squabbles, e.g. between parents and children can also be resolved relatively successfully and easily. That is not to say that these encounters are of no depth hence it can be easily resolved, on the contrary it also has its elements of difficulty which normally bring the problem to surface in the first instance. In these examples however, reconciliation can be achieved in simple form and in relatively quick time. It is the bigger isolations and alienations which are more difficult to solve.

5.11 Conclusion

A recurring thread in this thesis has been the alienation and isolation that was experienced by the people who moved to Mitchell's Plain. The creation of the town produced challenges for reconciliation which have gone so deep that it appears to have gone into the way of life of the people, right into the soul of the people. How else can the horrors that have taken place in Mitchell's Plain be explained?

In the thirty years of its existence the people of the place have had to face challenges that can be compared with some of the world's most intense disasters, e.g. ethnic cleansing in the Balkans [Europe]. Mitchell's Plain has had to face poverty and deprivation, murder of their children, especially girls, although the Mitchell's Plain Station Struggler targeted only boys, youth have been attracted to gangs and became the capital of the phenomenon – gangsterism in the Western Cape. Their women have been raped and the aged of Mitchell's Plain have been

robbed of their pension payments by unscrupulous money lenders. The place has the largest users of drugs and increasing incidents of HIV amongst high school girls. Political leadership have been negligent and as far as most people in the area are concerned non existent.

This very bleak picture of Mitchell's Plain shows that the place requires a change in its soul, which can be found no where else than in and amongst its people. The housing estates which spread across the length and breadth of the area with all the good intensions of planners and designers cannot provide the forgiveness, healing and reconciliation and justice for a place in need of reconstruction. Safe spaces have to be created in the area where groups of people can congregate to start the cleansing process and healing the soul of Mitchell's Plain. These safe spaces can be created in Church buildings used primarily for worship on Sundays.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Contextual Theology was described by Suggit (1995) as follows: "the understanding of the gospel is always conditioned by the experience of the community (people) in which it is proclaimed and of individual believers in their life and worship" (1995:28) This is the only way in which Theology can be contextual and through which the Church is able to interact with the rest of society.

Contextual Theology is also about the experience of the people where they 'live and have their being'. The conclusion that have been reached in this project is that the Coloured people who have been shunted about by the political situation in the Western Cape from when the first settlers came to the Cape have survived to be a proud people. They are a people who are ready to be assisted by their lifelong partner the Church to truly become architects of their own destiny.

The post apartheid situation in South Africa has come with a renewed call to the Church in the country to implement that which it has been striving for during the painful years of apartheid. Having successfully brought about a confession by the DRC for its complicity to apartheid, the Ecumenical Church in South Africa has placed itself again in a unique position to bring about reconciliation and restorative justice.

This paper has profiled the role of the Church in working with Coloured people and discussed the way in which the Church has responded to the pain and oppression that apartheid had inflicted on the people. The paper find enough experience for the Church to play a meaningful role in the reconstruction and development of the people who live in Mitchell's plain.

The underlying thread throughout the thesis is the role of the Church in reconciliation and restorative justice which is clearly identified in the story of the Rustenberg Conference of 1990. The Rustenberg Conference was a blueprint for the Churches

who want to be involved in the reconstruction of communities and to effect reconciliation at the local congregation level. The Church can recovered it role and be an agent for reconciliation and restorative justice at the local congregation level.

The tragic stories of the people of Buick crescent and Freedom Park, which is the concluding stories in the paper, opens up the deep hurt of the people of Mitchell's Plain. In its young life of thirty years the people have been thrown into circles of despair every five years. Whilst this has been going on the Church generally has continued to minister as if all was reconciled or pretending that the way the people are struggling for survival is of their own creation. What is happening in Mitchell's Plain is that the soul of the place has been affected through its original creation and until the strengths of congregations are acknowledged reconciliation and restorative justice will remain distant.

The Church therefore is again called upon to walk alongside the people of Mitchell's Plain and this time to ensure that relationships with other communities, relationships with families, relationships with the rest of the nation and with the Church are encouraged. This is a big task for the local Church, but a very important one.

The congregation of Christ the Mediator Church has shown in the last twenty five years that it is possible to rise above oppression and isolation that comes with living in an apartheid created town. Having been empowered by their sense of community and having claimed their identity as citizens in South Africa, the congregation have laid the seeds for addressing the issues of justice which have been part of their existence. Their experience in dealing with the victims of gangsterism and violence empowered them to take on the issues of reconstruction and development through the urban renewal programme.

It is recommended that Christ the Mediator Church create a Centre for Justice and Reconciliation. The experience gained by the lay leaders in the congregation can assist in the programming of various programmes and seminars. A leaders training

workshop should be arranged to equip the leaders in the different subjects i.e. theological reconciliation, restorative justice, identity, racism, reconstruction and development.

Already commissions have been established in the congregation these commissions can form the core of the leadership who develop programmes. The focus should be on renewal under the theme "Architects of our own destiny".

This paper has researched the role that the Church and particularly the DRC and Anglican Church has played among the Coloured people of Cape Town. The Church has persisted in walking alongside of its congregations it is now recommended that this role be performed within the opportunities afforded by the URP and the new democratic political environment that South Africa finds itself in. This is a role that the Church should not allow to be usurped by other social and political entities but rather that the Church should seek to be in partnership with these other groupings for the benefits of the people of Mitchell's Plain. The partnership arrangement would not be new to the Church as it was successfully done in the 1980s when the Church joined anti-apartheid groups in opposing apartheid.

The Church is thus, firstly, in an ideal situation to facilitate an authentic movement towards liberation in collaboration with local government. Secondly, the Church may be able to facilitate a move away from the 'victim mentality', which is so evident amongst the Coloured people of Mitchell's Plain. Thirdly, it may improve the self-respect and pride that was eroded during the long years of the struggle against apartheid. Fourthly, it can encourage the growth of political tolerance, which has escaped the people of Mitchell's Plain for the more than thirty years, and lastly, it can facilitate the building of relationships across the various cultural identities in the Western Cape.

A successful partnership between Church, Social, Political and Economic entities will result in empowered people who will reclaim their identity and become "architects of their own destiny".

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Appendix

Appendix One	The Freedom Charter Source: Styles, D. 1989. Understanding the Freedom Charter
Appendix Two	St. John's the Evangelist Church Waterkant Street, Cape Town Source: Tattersall, R. 1948. Centenary of the Parish of St. John the Evangelist Cape Town. Church Publication.
Appendix Three	Interior of St. John's Church Waterkant Street, Cape Town. Source: Tattersall, R. 1948. Centenary of the Parish of St. John the Evangelist Cape Town. Church Publication.
Appendix Four	St. Mark's the Evangelist Church, District Six Source: Schoeman, C. 1994:59 District Six The Spirit of Kanala
Appendix Five	Housing in Westridge, Mitchell's Plain. Source: Suttner, H. & Adams, H. 1988:66. William Street District Six.
Appendix Six	In Memory of Chantine Veldsman Source: Esau, M. 1999. Poster created for Funeral Service.

Appendix A

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

as adopted at the Congress of the People on 26 June 1955

THE PREAMBLE

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people;

That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

That only a democratic state, based on the will of the people can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex, or belief;

And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white, together equals, countrymen and brothers adopt this **FREEDOM CHARTER**. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes, here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of all the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities, shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

All people shall have equal rights to use their own language and to develop their own folk culture and customs;
The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;
All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans shall be restored to the people;
The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;
All other industries and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;
All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;
The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;
Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work the land;
All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;
People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without fair trial;
No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;
The courts shall be representative of all the people;
Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-educaton, not vengeance;
The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;
All laws which discriminate on the grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children.

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from country to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officials and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and woman of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space shall be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventative health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished and new suburbs built where all shall have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettoes shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation not war;

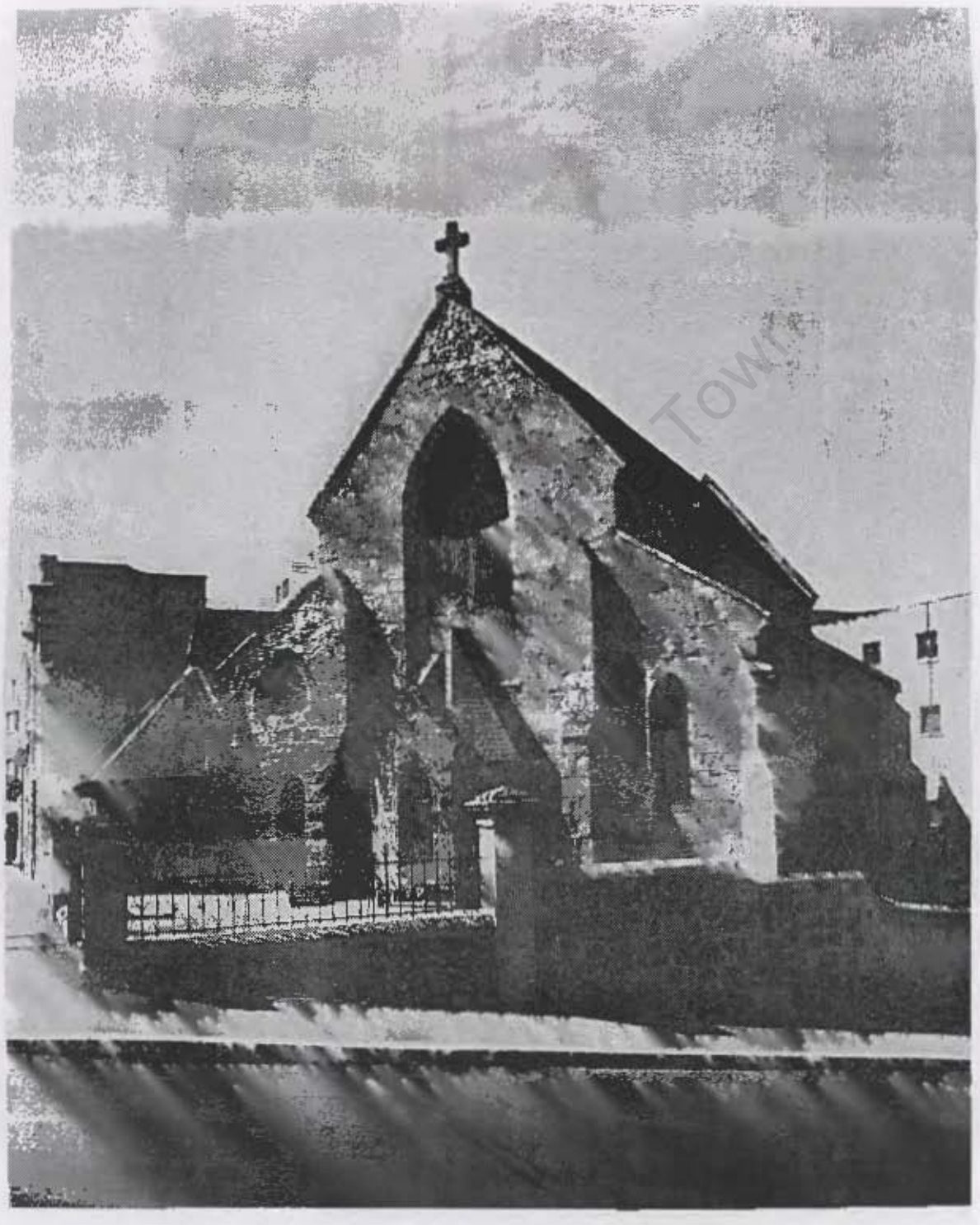
Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

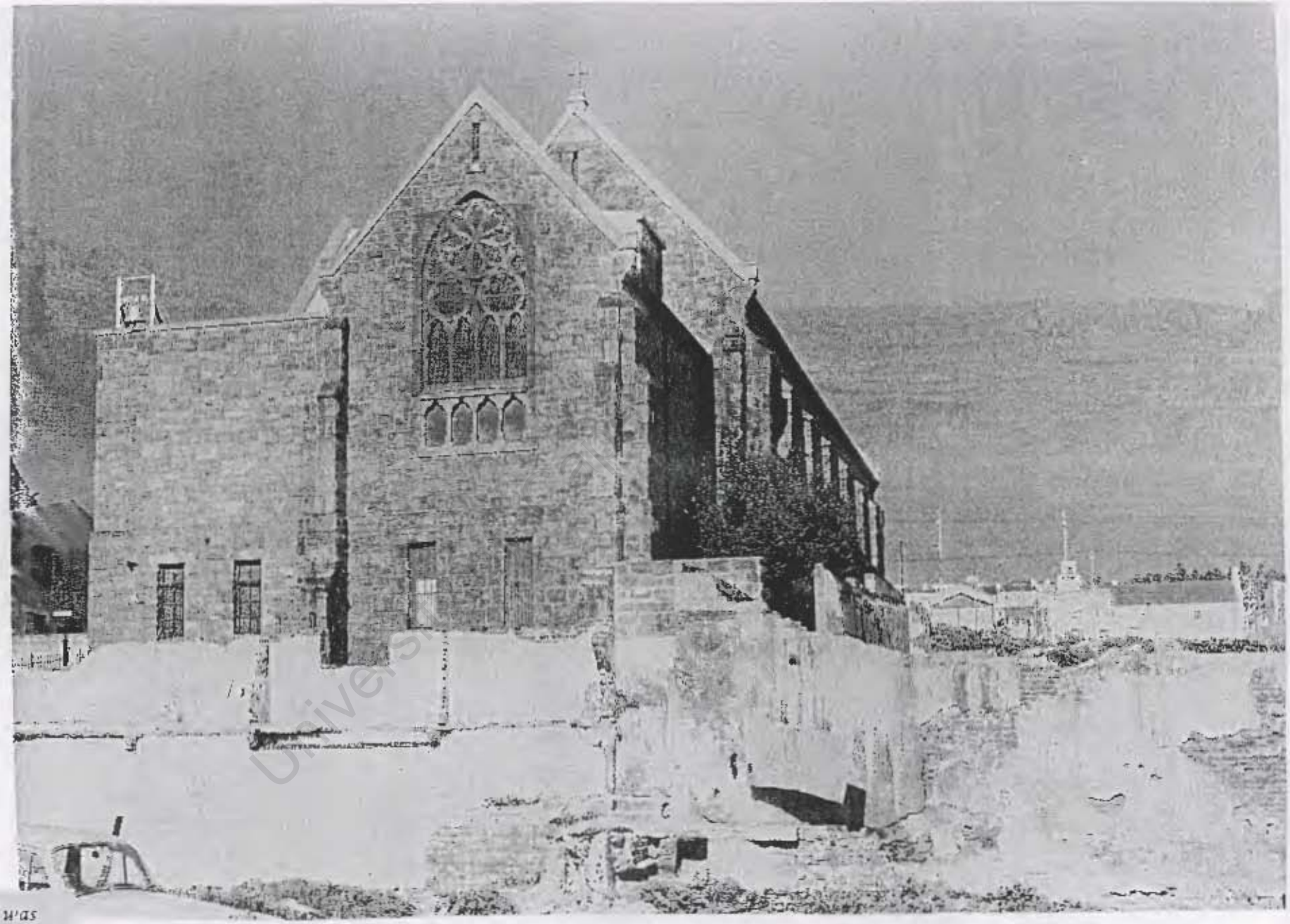
The people of the protectorates Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

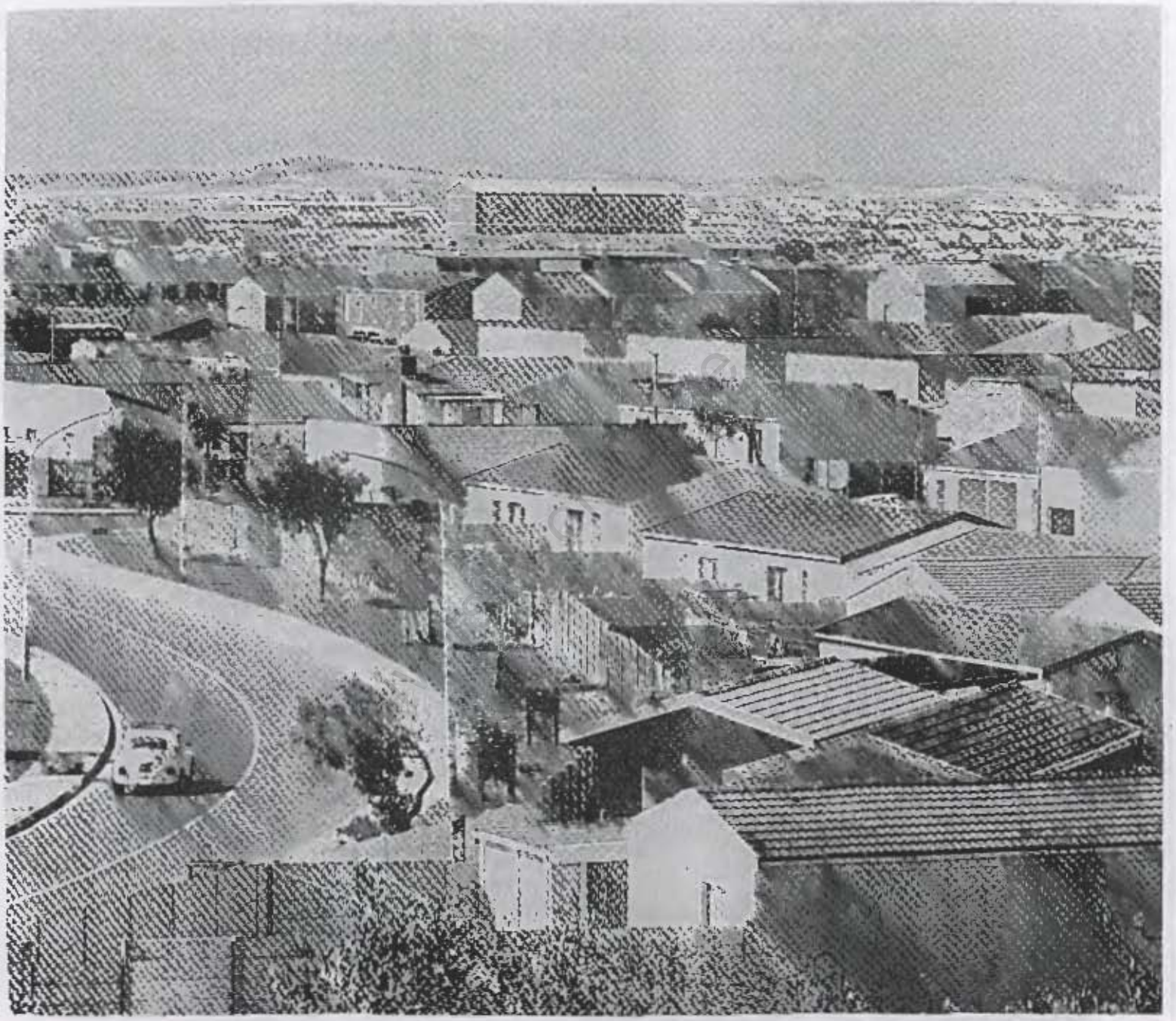
Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

"THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."





St Mark's-on-the-Hill was built in 1887 and still stands. This photograph was taken in 1976.



CHANTINE VELDSMAN

Born 20 August 1995

CAPE ARGUS

She would have been four on August 20. A child starting out her journey of discovery, playing in the street, friendly with neighbours, loved by young and old. Protected by mother, grandmother, uncles, grandfather, friends, protected by the street.

But not on 12 June 1999. Playing with other little friends protected by Jerome. A coward, a person who has turned in on himself and his people, gunned her down, brutally, cold-bloodedly.

On June 14 she died.

On August 20 there will be no celebration for a fourth birthday, only the pain, only bereavement, only the memory, only anger.

Why the children? Why Chantine? Why Veronique? Why Matthew? Why the pain? Why us?

– *Matthew Esau*

'I just want to say one thing to this killer: the water you drink is my child's blood, the meat you eat is my child's flesh.' – *Christel Veldsman, mother*