

A SUMMARY OF REPARATION AND REHABILITATION POLICY, INCLUDING PROPOSALS TO BE CONSIDERED BY THE PRESIDENT

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SECTION 1: REPARATION AND REHABILITATION

1 Why Reparation?

Thousands of people have been severely affected by the conflicts of the past. If we are to get over the past

and build national unity and reconciliation, we must make sure that people who suffered gross human rights abuses are acknowledged by providing them with reparation.

These measures cannot bring back the dead, or adequately compensate for pain and suffering, but they can improve the quality of life for victims of gross human rights violations and/or their dependants. The Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation (the Committee) has developed reparation policy proposals.

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2 What does "reparation and rehabilitation" mean?

"Reparation and rehabilitation" are words to describe what can be done to help victims overcome the damage that they suffered, to give them back their dignity and to make sure that these abuses do not happen again. Although this could include money, a financial payment is not the only form of reparation and rehabilitation that the Committee recommends. The Committee looked at individuals, communities and the nation as a whole when making recommendations to achieve reparation and rehabilitation.

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3 The Importance of Reparation

There are several reasons for providing reparation. It is important that we know what these reasons are, so that we can understand why people will receive reparation.

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3.1 The Moral Basis for Reparation

- Victims of gross human rights abuses have the right to reparation and rehabilitation because of the many different types of losses they have suffered.
- Victims need to be compensated in some way, because the amnesty process means they lose the right to claim damages from perpetrators who are given amnesty.
- The present government has accepted that it must deal with the things the previous government did and that it must therefore take responsibility for reparation.

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3.2 The Legal Basis for Reparation

The TRC was set up by an Act of Parliament, the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act. This Act says that the TRC must aim to:

- make proposals for measures that will give reparation to victims of human rights violations; and
- rehabilitate and give back the human and civil dignity of people who suffered human rights violations.

The Act also says that the Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation must recommend to the President ways of assisting victims. It is the President and Parliament, and not this Committee, who will decide what to do and how to do it. The recommendations from the Committee will be in the Final Report sent to the President after the Commission has completed its work.

The Committee is making recommendations which deal with interim reparation. **Interim Reparation** is for people who need immediate assistance because of the gross human rights violations they suffered.

The Act requires the President and the Ministers of Justice and Finance to establish a President's Fund. Victims who qualify for assistance will be paid from this Fund.

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4 How did the Committee prepare its Proposals?

4.1 Information Collection

The Committee collected information from many different places to make these proposals. Victims and survivors, people who made statements to the TRC, representatives of non-governmental organisations and community-based organisations, faith communities and academic institutions were all consulted by the Committee. Consultative workshops were held throughout the country. All the information collected by the Committee helped it to:

- find out the harm that was suffered;
- find out what the needs and expectations of victims are;
- work out ways to identify and help victims in immediate need; and
- make proposals for long term measures for reparation and rehabilitation.

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4.2 Principles

The Committee based its work on a number of principles. These principles helped the Committee to develop proposals which aim to bring about healing and reconciliation.

- **Development centred**

A development-centred approach means that individuals and communities are helped to take control of their own lives. It is very important to provide individuals with knowledge and information about available resources and to help them use these resources in the way that benefits them most.

- **Simple, Efficient and Fair**

Proposals for reparation and rehabilitation need to be simple, efficient and fair. This means that the available resources will be used in a way which gives the most benefit to the people who receive them.

- **Culturally Appropriate**

The services that are developed as a result of the proposals for reparation and rehabilitation should be sensitive to the religious and cultural beliefs and practices of the community.

- **Community-based**

Community-based services and delivery should be strengthened and expanded to have a lasting effect on communities.

- **Capacity Development**

Community resources which are developed should focus on local capacity building as well as the delivery of

services.

- **Promoting Healing and Reconciliation**

The activities that come out of these proposals should aim to bring people together and to promote understanding and reconciliation.

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SECTION 2: GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE PROPOSALS

1 When will Reparation be made?

The Act provides for two stages in the process of Reparation and Rehabilitation. These are:

- Interim Reparation; and
- Final Reparation Measures.

Interim Reparation is reparation which can be made until the government introduces the Final Reparation Measures. This is for people who are in urgent need of reparation because of the gross human rights violations they suffered.

The **Final Reparation Measures** will be included in the Report which goes to the President once the Commission has completed its work. They will be put in place by Parliament after there is agreement on them. The most important focus of the Final Reparation Measures is restoring the dignity of victims and survivors.

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2 Who will receive Reparation and Rehabilitation?

Only people who:

- made statements to the Commission; or
- where referred to in someone else's statement

can be considered for reparation.

Reparation will be given only to those formally declared victims by the Commission. The Commission will decide if someone is a victim by looking at all the information they have on the gross human rights violation suffered by that person. It may be possible, in certain circumstances, that the relatives and dependants of victims will also qualify for reparation.

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SECTION 3: REPARATION AND REHABILITATION PROPOSALS

The Committee has proposed a Reparation and Rehabilitation Policy that has five parts.

1. Interim Reparation

2. Individual Reparation Grants (IRG)
3. Symbolic Reparation, Legal and Administrative measures
4. Community Rehabilitation Programmes
5. Institutional Reform

It is important to remember that these proposals will be sent to the President. It is the President and Parliament who will decide what to do with the proposals, and how to implement them.

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1 INTERIM REPARATION

Interim Reparation is to help victims who are in urgent need because of the gross human rights violation they suffered. Victims will be helped to get access to the services and facilities they need. There is limited money available for this kind of assistance.

Benefits

If individuals are found to be victims **and** they are in urgent need, they will be entitled to the following:

- To be referred to appropriate services (government, non-government and/or private sector). This will depend on the type of need that they have.
- Victims may be given **limited** financial assistance in order to get to or to pay for services. This will be where free services or goods are not available. The relatives and dependants of a victim may also be able to get this kind of assistance, in certain circumstances.

The following sections give details of proposals from the Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation which will be sent to the President for decision and implementation. These are proposals for the Final Reparation Measures and will be in the report sent to the President when the Commission has finished its work.

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2 INDIVIDUAL REPARATION GRANT (IRG)

Policy

This is a special individual financial grant scheme. It is proposed that each victim of gross human rights violations, as decided by the Commission, will receive a financial grant which will be paid out over a period of six years.

The Individual Reparation Grant is a financial payment to acknowledge the suffering caused by a gross human rights violation. The IRG will also provide information and advice so that victims can obtain services and establish a reasonable standard of living.

The proposed IRG will be paid to each victim to meet the needs which they have identified, such as medical, education and housing needs. If the victim is dead, this grant will be paid to those dependants and/or relatives who have applied for reparation.

Who can apply for the IRG?

Only victims and relatives or dependants who have been identified by the Commission and who have applied for reparation will be eligible for the IRG.

If the victim died as a result of the violation, the relatives and/or dependants **at the time of the victim's death**, will be able to apply for the IRG.

What is the IRG?

The IRG will be calculated according to a formula. This formula will take the following factors into account:

- ease of access to services and facilities; and
- a daily living costs subsidy based on the socio-economic circumstances of the applicant, including:
 - the number of dependants and/or relatives, and
 - differences in the living costs in rural and urban areas.

The proposal from the Committee is that each victim who qualifies for the IRG will get an amount between R17 000 and R23 000 each year for 6 years. **Please remember that this a proposal to the President. The President and Parliament will make a decision on this proposal.**

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3 SYMBOLIC REPARATION, LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES

Reason

The Committee has made several proposals for symbolic reparation and other measures, which will help in legal and administrative matters. Symbolic reparation is to help communities remember the pain and the victories of the past. This could include setting aside a day for national remembrance and reconciliation as well as the building of memorials and monuments.

The Committee has also proposed that steps are taken to help individuals to obtain death certificates, to sort out outstanding legal matters and to clear criminal records.

Symbolic reparation measures will restore the dignity of victims and survivors of gross human rights violations.

Beneficiaries

Victims identified through the TRC process, their families and communities at local, provincial and national levels will benefit from these measures. There will therefore be benefits which are for individuals only, as well as benefits which will be for the community and the nation.

Benefits

3.1 Individual Benefits

The following services could be made available:

- **Issuing of Death Certificates**

Many people who made statements to the Commission said that they did not have death certificates for their relatives who had died or been killed.

- **Exhumation, Reburials and Ceremonies**

People who died during the conflicts were often buried in unmarked graves, and their relatives were not present at the burial. It is important for these bodies to be given a proper burial. The costs of the reburial and ceremonies will be taken from the IRG.

- **Headstones and Tombstones**

Relatives of people who died want their loved ones to have headstones or tombstones. The cost of these will come from the IRG.

- **Declarations of Death**

People who disappeared need to be formally declared dead.

- **Clearing of Criminal Records**

Many victims have criminal records because of their political activities. A criminal record may have serious consequences. It is therefore important that political activities are no longer seen as criminal.

- **Resolving outstanding legal matters related to the violations**

Legal processes which affect people now, and which are related directly to the gross human rights violations suffered by victims, need to be resolved.

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3.2 Community Benefits

Local and provincial authorities, with civil society structures, could take responsibility for implementing the following measures:

- **Renaming of Streets and Facilities**

The renaming of streets and public buildings will help us remember individuals and events which are important to a community.

- **Memorials/Monuments**

The building of memorials and monuments will commemorate the victories and the conflicts of the past, and will help to make sure that the abuses people have suffered do not happen again.

- **Culturally appropriate Ceremonies**

The needs of the community must be taken into account when ceremonies are held. It may be that ceremonies such as cleansing ceremonies are needed by communities.

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3.3 National Benefits

National benefits will need to be implemented by the relevant Ministries, together with civil society structures.

The following measures are proposed:

- **Renaming of Public Facilities**

Public buildings and structures need to be renamed in honour of individuals and past events.

- **Monuments and Memorials**

National monuments and memorials should be built. These will remind people of the things that happened in the past, and help make sure that abuses do not happen again.

- **A Day of Remembrance and Reconciliation**

A national day of remembrance and reconciliation will remind people of the struggles and pain of the past, and help to bring about reconciliation, so that we are able to move forward from the past into the future.

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4 COMMUNITY REHABILITATION

Introduction

These are proposals for setting up community-based services and activities which can promote the healing and recovery of individuals and communities affected by human rights violations. It is important that communities which have been affected by gross human rights abuses also benefit from reparation and rehabilitation measures. It is not enough to provide individual victims with resources and services, because this does not deal with the effects of gross human rights violations on the community as a whole. The Committee has therefore recommended that rehabilitation programmes are set up at both community and national levels.

These rehabilitation programmes should aim at developing and promoting reconciliation within communities.

The following programmes have been based on the needs expressed by those people who made statements to the TRC. They include programmes for health care (both physical and mental), education and housing.

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4.1 Health Care

A number of programmes have been proposed by the Committee to deal with the many people who have suffered. These programmes cover a wide range of different services and offer specific solutions to the

problems experienced by different groups.

- Young people have become used to using violence to resolve conflict. The youth were involved in violent activities to bring about political change. Now that political change has occurred, a programme should be developed that is aimed at bringing the youth back into education and work programmes. High schools, universities, technikons and sports bodies would be involved in the delivery of this programme.
- Many people in South Africa have been driven from their homes by political conflict. People who have been forced to flee their homes often suffer emotional and psychological problems, as well as unemployment and difficulties caused by living in a strange place. A programme should be developed which will help resettle displaced communities.
- Victims and survivors of gross human rights violations have many physical and emotional needs. People with different skills, working at local clinics, are in the best position to help those who have suffered gross human rights violations.
- Perpetrators and their families also need to be brought back into normal community life. Systems need to be set up to help individuals and their families come to terms with their violent past and to learn new ways of resolving conflict non-violently.

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4.2 Mental Health Care

Mental health programmes form part of social and economic development. Programmes dealing with suffering should be linked to existing developmental projects.

Community based interventions

- Support groups to assist victims and survivors should be established. These groups should be able to keep themselves going and be based within the community. Facilitators from the community would be trained in counselling. The support group method represents a cost-effective, accessible and non-threatening way in which people can receive counselling.

Life skills Training

- Victims of human rights abuses can be assisted in developing life skills. This will help them deal with the suffering they have experienced. Members of the community could be trained in a variety of skills so that they can assist victims of human rights abuses. These skills could include how to manage a crisis, how to be aware of what people have suffered, counselling skills for people using alcohol or drugs and counselling of people who have suffered gross human rights abuses.

Specialised Services

- A national strategy to train counsellors to help people who have suffered or committed gross human rights violations should be developed.

Family Based Therapy

- The impact of gross human rights violations on the family is often underestimated. Health care workers should be able to help the family as a whole.

Training of Community-based Counsellors

- Community-based counsellors should be trained to assist people who have suffered gross human rights violations, and to help people who have experienced a painful or traumatic event.

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4.3 Education

Assistance for the Continuation of Studies

- The establishment of Community Colleges and Youth Centres is important and necessary so that the youth can become active members of their communities.
- Adult Basic Educational Programmes (ABET) should be established to meet the needs of youth and adults who have lost education opportunities due to human rights abuses.

Building and Improvement of Schools

- It is important that demolished schools should be rebuilt as soon as possible.

Special Educational Support Services

- Education programmes should include remedial and emotional support. Remedial support helps people who have learning problems.
- Education facilities should provide skills-based training courses which will respond to the needs of mature students. These courses would help students to find employment.

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4.4 Housing

- Housing projects should be started in communities where the gross violation of human rights has resulted in the mass destruction of property or forced people to flee their homes.

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5 INSTITUTIONAL REFORM

One of the tasks of the TRC is to make proposals on institutional, legislative and administrative measures to prevent human rights abuses from happening in the future. These proposals will include measures which will promote good governance, accountability and the prevention of human rights violations in civil society and the state. The Committee's recommendations in the area of institutional reform will be included in the Final Report of the TRC.

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SECTION 4: IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS AND RESPONSIBILITY

Please remember that the proposals discussed in this document have not yet been agreed to. They are proposals to the President and to Parliament for programmes to help those who suffered gross

human rights violations. The President and Parliament will decide whether to implement these programmes and how this will be done.

1. President's Fund

The President's Fund is responsible for carrying out the proposals and recommendations that are agreed to by the President and Parliament. It will work closely with the relevant government ministries and departments at national, provincial and local government levels.

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POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR URGENT INTERIM REPARATION MEASURES

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A. PREAMBLE

The Reparation and Rehabilitation Policy guidelines promotes a development centred approach. It is firmly grounded on the quest for reparations which will be sustainable. The proposal is for reparations which will benefit not only individual survivors of human rights violations as defined by the National Reconciliation Act of 1995 but all the communities whose dignity was destroyed through a systematic machinery of human rights violations and state neglect.

Recalling the Interim Constitution and specifically where it refers to the need for understanding and not vengeance, the need for reparation and not retaliation and the need for ubuntu and not victimisation,

Understanding the negotiated settlement and context which led to the Interim Constitution stating that, in order to advance reconciliation and reconstruction, amnesty will be granted in respect of acts, omissions and offences associated with political objectives committed in the course of the conflicts of the past,

Acknowledging the pain, anguish and loss suffered by victims of human rights violations in the past,

Maintaining that an important element of justice is restoration, restitution and reparation, whether there is punishment or not and that victims of human rights violations have an inalienable right to fair and adequate reparation and rehabilitation, especially in a context where provision is made for amnesty,

Realising the distinct need for urgent interim reparation in cases where the victims are unable to wait for the final outcome and recommendation of the TRC.

Confirming that the measures of urgent interim nature as recommended and subsequently implemented, will not exclude victims to be considered as part of the final reparation recommendations made to the President at the end of the TRC, and similarly will consideration under one category of UIR policy does not preclude a victim from being considered under other categories,

Believing that the need to grant reparation to victims is one of urgency and that it will contribute to the building of a new and just moral order,

The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee propose that the measures, principles as outlined in the UIR Policy framework form the first steps to making adequate and fair reparation and rehabilitation to those victims as described by the Act and towards furthering reconciliation and national unity.

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B. CONTEXT - THE ACT AND URGENT INTERIM REPARATION

The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (no. 34 of 1995) allows the TRC to make recommendations to the President in so far as measures of Urgent Interim Reparation (UIR) are concerned. These should be recommendations as to appropriate measures of reparations to victims of gross human rights violations. The recommendations can only be made for people who have been referred to the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (RRC), by the Committees for Human Rights Violation and Amnesty. Ultimately the President will consider these recommendations with Parliament and decide in which way to implement them.

The policy recommendations, as outlined in this framework, will provide the guidelines according to which recommendations for specific victims will be considered.

Key considerations in the Act

1. Appropriate measures

*"the Committee may make recommendations (to the State President) which may include urgent interim measures ..., as to **appropriate measures** of reparation to victims;" Section 25(b)(1)*

The following measures should:

- Begin to restore a sense of dignity to victims of gross human rights violations.
- Relate to the loss suffered by victims.
- Relate to the socio-economic context of victims.
- Relate to the cultural context of victims.
- Relate to the capacity of the government, attendant ministries and civil society to implement policy recommendations.

These measures demand:

- The individualised (idiographic) details of each person found to be a victim.
- The details should be a true reflection of a victim's situation.
- The joint committee's approval and support of the said measures (see point 3, page 5).

2. Access to UIR

***"Applications for Reparation.** Any person referred to the (RRC) Committee in terms of section 25(a)(l) may apply to the Committee for reparation ..."* Section 26 (1)

Only those victims referred by the Human Rights Violations Committee and/or the Amnesty Committee have access to UIR. Direct applications or referrals from other sources may not be considered.

The Commission will make decisions and recommendations as to which victims qualify for UIR, based on a standardised assessment.

3. Consideration and implementation

***"Parliament to consider (policy) recommendations with regard to reparation of victims.** The joint committee may also advise the President in respect of measures that should be taken to grant urgent interim reparation to victims."* Section 27 (4) Section 4(f)(ii)

Policy recommendations will be considered by a joint committee appointed by parliament for the purposes of considering matters referred to it in terms of the Act. Decisions made will then have to be approved by Parliament, before being implemented by the President.

Definition of terms

1. Reparation

According to the Act reparations can include any form of

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- compensation,
- ex gratia payment,
- restitution,
- rehabilitation or
- recognition.

2. Urgency

In terms of the mechanisms of the Commission and its mandate to investigate individual cases of gross human rights violations, establishing the identities of victims of gross human rights violations [victim findings, referring victims to the RRC Committee, making recommendations and implementation] it is unrealistic to imagine that provisions of reparation will materialise and be implemented in less than two years.

The legislation has taken cognisance of the fact that in the interim some victims might, as a result of the violation, remain to live in a severe state of suffering. This two(2) year period could be fatal, or irreversibly damaging to individual victims. UIR concerns these type of victims who have accessed the Commission.

The seriousness of the suffering is therefore the only justifiable criterion for which to grant UIR. Thus Urgent Interim for the Commission, denotes:

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- The seriousness of an individual victim's suffering.
- The need to shorten the time to implement service provision.

3. Victims

Victims include:

a) Persons who suffered harm in the form of...

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- physical injury
- mental injury
- emotional suffering
- pecuniary loss
- substantial impairment of human rights

...as a result of a gross violation of human rights; or as a result of an act associated with a political objective for which amnesty has been granted; or as a result of such person intervening to assist persons contemplated (above) who were in distress, or to prevent victimisation of such person.

b) Such relatives or dependants of victims as may be prescribed.

C. POLICY FRAMEWORK

The proposed policy framework focuses on five (5) categories of measures according to which UIR should be granted to victims as defined in the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (No. 34 of 1995).

The 5 categories deal with very seriously affected victim's rights to urgent interventions with regard to

- emotional suffering and pain,
- medical care and assistance,
- material or financial need and limitations,
- access to and continuation of education and
- the duty and obligation to remember (symbolic measures and interventions)

The policy framework provides the measures that should be regulated in order to deal effectively with each category of urgent interventions. In each category the criteria for victims who will be considered for the measures, as well as the envisaged methods of provision, need to be considered.

All the envisaged methods of provision or implementation assumes the establishment of UIR Desk at a national level devolving to provincial and local levels. A recommendation as far as the administration / implementation body is concerned, follow after the discussion of the different categories of UIR measures. [see E. Operational Issues]

EMOTIONAL INTERVENTIONS		
Measures	Criteria	Provision
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emotional support to be facilitated through a support structure which is consistent with the victims <i>preference</i> and is considered by the RRC Committee to be an <i>appropriate, accountable, accessible and good quality</i> service. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those victims whose emotional quality of life has been and continues to be, severely affected as a result of the violation. [Severity is understood as a state of debilitation of emotional and social functioning such that the individuals quality of life has been affected by the violation, and realistically will remain unchanged in the future, unless some form of emotional 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Once the individual has been confirmed to be a victim according to the parameters of the Act, an initial assessment follows through the use of the UIR Form. • The UIR Desk will be responsible for the implementation and arrangement of full assessments of the individual's present emotional state by mental health workers. Based on the recommendations of the assessment, referral to services which are considered appropriate, accessible and of high quality will follow. • A network audit of existing credible support services will be forwarded to the UIR Desk by the RRCC. • The competence of those supplying services will be assessed by the RRC Committee, bearing in mind that if a need is considered to be urgent the best quality services is needed. If a need is urgent it also implies that the traditional support structures (eg family, etc.) available to the individual have not prevented the need from becoming critical, thus an alternative, additional, specialised form of emotional intervention is necessary. Nevertheless, at all times, these formal services will be complemented by the informal support structures (e.g. family, caregivers and community support services like priests) available

- intervention is undertaken.]
- Those victims who have been orphaned as a direct result of the violation and have inadequate material support to meet their immediate emotional needs.

- to the individual at the time.
- Relevant support services include both the services provided by individuals and organisations on a voluntary basis, as well as formal and existing private and state provided services.
 - Provision should also be made for providing the transport costs of volunteers to be paid when providing services to those needing urgent intervention. *[The first services to be utilised will be services offered by individuals and organisations who are willing to provide their services free of charge to the victims.]*

MATERIAL INTERVENTIONS

Measures	Criteria	Provision
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The granting of financial aid in the form of a lump-sum or pension payment and/or ensuring that the lost or diminished pension rights are re-established and/or payment or facilitation to ensure the clearing of outstanding debts linked to the violation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those victims, both young and old, who are terminally ill and/or frail and will not survive beyond the life of the TRC. • Those victims who have been orphaned as a result of the violation and have inadequate material support. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Once the individual has been confirmed to be a victim according to the parameters of the Act, an initial assessment follows through the use of the UIR Form. • Provision will be made through the UIR Desk for the victim to be assessed by two independent medical practitioners, or by a medical practitioner designated by state who will either certify that the individual is terminally ill or will probably not survive the duration of the TRC. • Those who qualify for the granting of financial aid will be eligible for a pension or a lump-sum payment. The regional UIR Desks facilitate such payments after assessing the requests. • The RRC Committee will recommend to the UIR Desk that the structure of payments be standardised. • The UIR desk will take appropriate action to re-establish lost or diminished pension rights. • The UIR Desk will consider the payment of debts or clearing of outstanding payments where appropriate. Cases where the individual had sought justice in the past and the present costs have significant impact on the material life of the individual and their dependants, will be prioritised. • Those who are categorised as orphans due to violation and qualify for financial aid will receive special maintenance grants. A standardised structure for payments will be developed in conjunction with relevant

		ministries. The programme will particularly serve those orphans under the age of 18 but could be extended up to the age of 21 for those still studying.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The facilitation of emergency shelter 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Those victims, and their dependants, who as a result of the violation have no fixed home or shelter. Those victims who have been orphaned as a result of the violation and are in particularly dire living conditions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Once the individual has been confirmed to be a victim according to the parameters of the Act, an initial assessment follows through the use of the UIR Form. Those who are in need of emergency shelter will be placed in short term shelter, or renovations can be facilitated in the homes if the needs are urgent. Another option would be to facilitate placing of individuals as urgent priority on the various government housing programmes. The programme will be administered by the UIR Desk.

MEDICAL INTERVENTIONS

Measures	Criteria	Provision
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Medical support to be facilitated through a medical support structure which is consistent with the victim's preference and is considered by the RRC Committee to be an appropriate, accountable, accessible and good quality service. Medical interventions will be provided for debilitating 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Those victims, both young and old, who are terminally ill and/or frail and will not survive beyond the live of the TRC. Those victims, who are physically disabled as a result of the violation Those victims suffering from a debilitating physical condition such that the independent social functioning is markedly impaired and/or victims who cannot function independently and/victims who are a significant burden on caregivers and their quality of life has been severely affected by the violation. This situation and/or condition will realistically remain unchanged in the future unless some form of medical intervention is undertaken. Those victims who have been 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Once the individual has been confirmed to be a victim according to the parameters of the Act, an initial assessment follows through the use of the UIR Form. Provision will be made through the UIR Desk for the victim to be assessed by two independent medical practitioners or by a designated state medical practitioner who will certify that the individual is terminally ill, disabled, suffering from a debilitating condition or will probably not survive the duration of the TRC. The practitioners will make recommendations for medical interventions and any other measures to be undertaken. A network of medical services will

<p>conditions and provision of medical equipment.</p>	<p>orphaned as a result of a violation and have inadequate material support to meet their immediate needs.</p>	<p>be established through the UIR Desk.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The competence of those supplying services will be assessed by the RRC Committee, bearing in mind that if a need is considered to be urgent the best quality services is needed. Medical support will be appropriate, accessible and of good quality. • Medical services include both the services provided by individuals and organisations on a voluntary basis, as well as formal and existing private and state provided services. • Provision will also be made for the reimbursement of transport costs of volunteers incurred providing services to those needing urgent intervention. <i>[The first services to be utilised will be services offered by individuals and organisations who are willing to provide their services free of charge to the victims.]</i> • Limited payment according to a standardised structure will be made for medical interventions which will improve or cure debilitating conditions, for prosthetic procedures and instruments which will improve the life of the victim significantly.
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SYMBOLIC INTERVENTIONS

Measures	Criteria	Provision
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Measures to expedite existing matters of urgency. <i>[For example, the issuing of death certificates, clearing of victims names especially those with criminal records or considered to be informants, visiting the places where violations took place or sites of burial, writing letters to government departments and lawyers and taking appropriate action to expedite cases and payments, declare a person dead and settle legal procedures and problems.]</i> • Exhumations and reburials. (individual/collective) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those victims, both young and old, who are terminally ill and/or frail and will not survive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Once the individual has been confirmed to be a victim according to the parameters of the Act, an initial assessment follows through the use of the UIR Form. • The victim will have to be assessed by either two independent medical practitioners or by a

<p>Tombstones and shrines. (individual/collective)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitation of feedback on cases under investigation. • Facilitation of public acknowledgements and apologies. • Victim-offender mediation 	<p>beyond the life of the TRC.</p>	<p>designated state medical practitioner, who will certify that the individual is terminally ill or will probably not survive the duration of the TRC.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The UIR Desk will arrange for exhumations, reburials and the purchase of tombstones as recommended by the RRC Committee. Prescribed payment will be made available for such procedures and actions. • Public acknowledgements and apologies will be facilitated through the RRC Committees in consultation with the HRV Committees. • Victim-offender mediation will be co-ordinated at a regional level through an audit of relevant credible support services as provided by the regional RRC Committee.
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EDUCATIONAL INTERVENTIONS

Measures	Criteria	Provision
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational support to be facilitated through the granting of financial assistance or bursaries for the completion of studies at senior secondary or tertiary level. • Facilitation to access and utilise free primary and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those victims, and dependants of victims, whose senior-secondary or tertiary studies have been interrupted as a result of the violation and for whom future prospects for education will be jeopardised unless urgent intervention, (financial or otherwise), is undertaken to ensure they continue studying. • Children who are victims or dependants of victims, who qualify for free (primary and secondary) education but are not aware or failing to take advantage of such education. • Those victims who have been 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Once the individual has been confirmed to be a victim according to the parameters of the Act, an initial assessment follows through the use of the UIR Form. • The UIR Desk will facilitate educational assistance through the writing of letters and liaison with educational institutions (e.g. arrange for a child to receive specific education through a government school or welfare grant) to ensure appropriate referral occurs for those who qualify for such education. In most instances that free or funded educational support should be obtainable. • The UIR Desk will facilitate access to existing bursary and financial aid schemes for those victims qualifying for senior secondary or tertiary education as

<p>secondary education.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilitate access to special education, particularly for those disabled either physically or mentally as a result of the violation. 	<p>orphaned as a result of the violation and have inadequate material support or social structure to ensure that they are receiving adequate education.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Those victims who have been physically or mentally disabled as a result of the violation and require specialised education. 	<p>specified in the first measure. If this fails, payment for studies in the form of bridging funds will be considered according to a standardised and limited rate. Payment will be dependant on the student's performance.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> For orphans requiring assistance, the UIR Desk will ensure that the individual receives education through available bursaries, state-aid or supplement studies through the granting of funds for studying according to a limited and standardised rate. Facilitate urgent access to special schools.
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D. PRINCIPLES

Policy makers shall prepare a programme of reparations, taking into account the following principles:

- i) **Redress**, which is the right to fair and adequate compensation.
- ii) **Restitution**, which is the right to the re-establishment, as far as possible, of the situation that existed for the beneficiary prior to the violation.
- iii) **Rehabilitation**, which is the right to the provision of medical and psychological care and the fulfilment of significant personal and community needs.
- iv) **Restoration** of dignity, which could include symbolic forms of reparation; and
- v) **Reassurance** of non-repetition, which is the creation of legislative and administrative measures, which contribute to the maintenance of a stable society and the prevention of the re-occurrence of human rights violations.

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E. OPERATIONAL ISSUES

Basic premises

UIR Policy Framework

- The UIR policy framework constitutes the different options to be considered when making recommendations to the UIR Desk. The framework will be regulated through normal legal and parliamentary processes, after a public information and consultative process.

Who will implement the individual recommendations?

- Recommendations for specific measures of UIR will be implemented by the UIR Desk (constituted outside existing TRC structures). The suggestion is for this to be constituted in office of the President.
- Implementation can include an individual assessment interview (see measures)

Who will be considered?

- A person will only be considered for UIR once the person has been formally found to be a victim of gross human rights violation as defined by the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act and referred to the RRC committee by either **Amnesty** or **HRV** committee.

How will they be identified?

- A possible UIR candidate will be identified through the Section 4 Hook Questions of the Human Rights Violation Committee Protocol. The information department and HRV Committee will be asked to expedite the finding process by the RRC.
- In the case of Amnesty referrals (where finding has already been made) an RRC form will be used.
- All people to be considered for UIR measures will fill out a UIR Information form for a second assessment.

How will recommendations be made?

- Regional RRC's will make preliminary recommendations which will be ratified by the national RRC committee and then forwarded to the TRC for referral to the administration body/ UIR Desk.

Monitoring the implementation process?

- The TRC will monitor the implementation of the UIR measures through its representatives in the administration body. This structure can form the basis of a long term monitoring body of the final recommendations as submitted to the President at the end of the life of the Commission.

How will pre-September '96 statements be dealt with?

- RRC staff will work through all statements submitted to the TRC in order to identify the deponents to receive UIR Information forms.
The answers to the "expectation" question in the first protocol and the "outcome" and "expectation" questions in the second protocol, as well as the witness audits drafted after a public HRV hearings, will be used to make a decision as to who will receive a UIR Information form. This information is to be drawn from the database and considered on a regional level by the RRC co-ordinators as well as the RRC commissioners and committee members. The Information Systems Manager is in the process of constructing an RRC information page which will collate all the RRC related information from the different versions of the protocol. The names of those to receive an UIR information form will be forwarded to the RRC administrator and added to the national UIR victim list. The normal UIR form forwarding procedures can be followed. Working through the backlog should be completed by the end of 1996.

RRC Information Instruments (UIR)

Information gathered on the HRV/TRC protocol as entered on the TRC database will be used as the basis for information for all victims referred to the RRC Committee. This will standardise and

centralise all information gathered by TRC for each victim and will facilitate the preparation of the final report. The RRC committee will use the following two information instruments to gather the necessary information from a victim, in order to make an informed recommendation based on the UIR policy framework.

- *Hook questions in the HRV/TRC protocol (Section 4)*

The aim of these questions are merely to identify deponents, if they are found to be victims, who will be considered for reparation recommendations in terms of the Urgent Interim Relief measures.

UIR Form

This form will confirm whether a victim qualifies for UIR. It will also assess and establish the specific needs of the victim in this regard. The form has been developed in accordance with the assessment questions for the different categories of UIR measures. The form must be oathed by victim before returning to the TRC.

Envisaged RRC (UIR) Information Flow

1. The HRV/TRC protocols will be registered and will follow the normal processing of the current information. The data processors will enter the answer to section 4 question free flow on the data base.
2. The RRC administrator will on a weekly basis call up all the new processed statements from the database, assess and identify the deponents that qualify to receive a UIR Information form.
3. The names of all these deponents and their case numbers will be forwarded to the Regional Information Managers who will prioritise the processing and verifying of these statements.
4. If a positive victim finding in step 7 (Regional pre findings meeting) is made the Information manager will forward the name and contact details of the deponent to the RRC Administrator.
5. The RRC Administrator will add the name to the victim(UIR) list.
6. The RRC Administrator will then forward a UIR Information form to the victim.
7. The regional RRC committee should create capacity within the committee to deal with the UIR forms and subsequent recommendations manually. This will entail staff reading through each form and in terms of the promulgated UIR regulations making a recommendation. [culminating in a Regional RRC UIR meeting making recommendations to be forwarded to the national RRC meeting for ratification.]

The recommendation, with a copy of the UIR form will then be forwarded to the TRC for acceptance and transferred the UIR Administration Body.

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F. OUTSTANDING ISSUES FOR TRC DISCUSSION

Severe ill treatment and Political objective

In order to make adequate and comprehensive recommendations for both UIR and long-term measures of reparation and rehabilitation, the violations suffered and the outcomes of those

violations must be taken into consideration. In this regard the RRC committee is dependant on a consistent interpretation of the concepts of severe ill treatment and the political objective provision from the HRC and Amnesty Committees. The RRC policy formulation and recommendation processes will be served if these definitions can be finalised as soon as possible.

Redress and Fair compensation

The RRC committee made a principle decision to include the possibility of pension and/or lump-sum payments to victims of gross human right violations as a measure of reparation. This decision is based on the internationally accepted principle of a victim's right to compensation and reparation. This debate needs to be facilitated at TRC level and brought to conclusion. It would be naïve to include this as a possible measure, when pursuing processes of public consultation, if there is not an acceptance that this will form part of final policy frameworks as recommended by the TRC. (cf attached example of graphical representation of compensation figures).

Victim definition

The description according to the Act includes relatives and dependants (Section 1 (xix) c). The current TRC/HRV protocol does not solicit adequate information in this regard. Thus the people who are found to be victims may differ from those who directly suffered violations and deponents who testified as witnesses. A common understanding on who will be considered victims, and relatives or dependants is urgent. As all victims have to be referred to the RRC committee via the Amnesty committee or the HRV committee, this definition should already impact on the decisions taken there in terms of findings.

Exiting the TRC

The processes that deal with people found to be victims of gross human rights violations according to the Act, and qualify for UIR are being established. However, attention should be given to those people who exit the processes of the TRC not having been found victims. This in itself if not sensitively handled can constitute another traumatic experience.

This issue needs to be considered and formalised at TRCI level. A referral system to organisations or agencies who can provide alternative relevant services needs to be established.

UIR and long term RR policy

The precedent that the UIR policy framework will set with regards to the final RR policy framework should be considered and discussed. Because of the basic philosophy underlying all reparations the final policy framework cannot fundamentally differ from the UIR framework. Hence the UIR framework discussed in this document should serve as the basis on which the final policy will be formulated.

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TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

OUTDSHOORN POST-HEARING COMMUNITY PROGRAMME

Prof Meiring opened the proceedings with prayer.

DR RAMASHALA: Before we begin I would like to introduce my colleagues on the panel.

My name is Mapula Ramashala, Commissioner and Committee Member for the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee, Western Cape.

Ms M Mkize, Chairperson of the Committee and Commissioner for the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee;

Ms Mary Burton, Commissioner, Member of the Human Rights Violations Committee;

Prof S Magwasa, Committee Member of the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee, Kwazulu Natal;

Ms Glenda Wilscott, Commissioner and Member of the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee, Western Cape;

Prof Piet Meiring, Member of the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee, Gauteng.

I would like to recognise the Mayor, if he is in the audience and really thank you Mr Mayor, really thank him and Council and the other members of the Oudtshoorn Steering Committee for helping organise the past three days.

If you have not had the opportunity to visit the Museum please find the time. It is a wonderful documentation of the history of Oudtshoorn during the

conflict. It is documentation and history about which we

should be proud and it is very important that our children be exposed to that history.

That history was put together by members of the community of Oudtshoorn. It is by no means complete. There will be additions to that and additions to that, representing all sectors of the Oudtshoorn community who were involved during the struggle.

Last night we had a wonderful blessing service and for that too we are grateful.

What I will do, in just a few minutes, is to give a background on our programme today. These are not hearings in the traditional HRV context. They are a follow up of the HRV hearings and focus on, not only the mobilisation of the community toward the healing process, but to listening and getting input from the community about the reparations process which will be described by the Chairperson a little later.

The Oudtshoorn community was probably one of the most devastated in the country during the conflict and I just want to go over some highlights of what happened in this community. These are highlights to give us context and to give us a good understanding so that we may appreciate what we need to do from now on.

Between 1960 and 1971, this period was characterised by segregation and influx control, particularly through the Group Areas Act. These apartheid laws led to

the removal of thousands of Coloureds and Africans from town. The influx control measures further restricted African influx to the area and targeted, in quotation marks,

"illegal Africans for deportation to the homelands".

The Groups Areas Act was applied to Oudtshoorn on the 21 February, 1961. This enabled the Town Council to embark on a protected process of removals, particularly from the north end. The notion of slum clearance was also used. At least 400 properties were identified as slums. The Town Council began building new houses in Bridgeton to accommodate some of those removed.

By December 1961, 325 families had been moved to Bridgeton. The process of demolitions, slum clearance and removals continued until 1969, when an area known as Suikerbult was finally cleared by the Divisional Council.

A final burst to resistance to removals occurred in Deyselsdorp, a small community several kilometres outside of Oudtshoorn, which experienced violent conflict during removals in 1971.

The majority of Africans in the Oudtshoorn area lived in a shanty town, called Klippias Eiland. Those living in town were forced to move to his camp. Klippias Eiland consisted entirely of corrugated iron and wood shacks in which over 300 families lived.

On April 7, 1966 a new township of Bonguletu was proclaimed, permitting the destruction of Klippias Eiland and the removal of Africans to the new area. Bonguletu homes were built by the residents themselves with their own materials and some donated by the Municipality.

As Oudtshoorn fell within the Coloured preference policy area Africans faced, particularly, severe forms of control of their activities and their access to

Oudtshoorn. The Pass Laws were strictly policed by zealous officials. There was a compulsory registration at the Labour Bureau, trading rights were denied because and I quote: "Natives can be more easily served by European businesses in town".

In 1973 the Karoo Bantu Administration Board took over control of Bonguletu from the Oudtshoorn Municipality.

This was soon followed by a series of rent increases, some of them a 100% increase for Bonguletu residents, as well as monthly levies for children who lived with their parents and for lodgers. Even the Oudtshoorn Municipality criticised the Karoo Bantu Administration Council, stating that, and I quote: "It could not find any justification for the increase in the fees, taking into consideration that no improvements were made by the Bantu Council."

Political activity arose earnestly in the 1970's. Some of the rising political consciousness backed to Oudtshoorn from different areas of the country, including the Eastern Cape.

Racism was rife in an incredibly way during that period. For example racial segregation meant that Bridgeton residents had to obtain permits to visit relatives and family members who lived in Bonguletu.

Oudtshoorn also achieved not a variety in the national press in the late 1970's and early 1980's when numerous racial incidents appeared to mark Oudtshoorn as the most conservative Cape Town area. This pedigree of

racial incidents included:

1. Coloured pupils were refused to use an empty school in Oudtshoorn, because it

was in a white section of town;

2. The Town Council refused to grant a permit to coloured cricketer, Godfrey Malgas, to play at a Municipal Sports Ground;

3. Pianist, John Theodore, a Coloured from Oudtshoorn could not play before his own coloured friends in the town's 'white only' theatre, because the Municipality would only give permission for the parents to attend;

4. A church minister barred coloured mourners from the funeral service of their white farmer boss. A church minister said the church council had taken a policy decision not to allow coloureds into the church, of all places.

5. The Congo Caves were racially segregated in terms of entrance fees, tours and facilities, and so forth and so forth.

Between 1973 and 1983 there was a growth of community organisations. A lot of activity resulted in the politicisation of the area. Those in leadership positions for example like Reggie Oliphant experience constant police harassment and arrest.

1985 was marked by a political storm. In April 1985 open political conflict broke out. Students at Fisikele School were detained. A school boycott ensued. A total of 155 students were arrested and charged with public violence.

On the 2 of May 1985 the SADF troops moved into Bonguletu with the SAP. Almost ten people were shot in Bonguletu around this time, including ten year old, Sipiwe Nonomba, who lost an eye.

On the 17 of June, while police were removing belongings of Warrant Office Ngoma three children were shot dead at the house. They were Andile Majola, Fisile Hamse and Patrick Madikani. Several other youths were seriously injured, including Golile Loak.

These deaths set in motion escalating conflicts between residents and anyone seemed to be working with the state. All black police were driven out of the townships, during this period.

Police shootings continued. Saamstaan Newspaper alleged that in 1985 at least 600 people were injured with bird shot.

1986 was marked by more deaths, trials and detention without trial and it saw the ongoing conflicts with police, mass detention and trials, with two significant deaths.

During 1987, 1988 there were new forms of repression through the now infamous kits constables. The first two special kits constables were introduced to Oudtshoorn in October 1986 and during 1987 a further 14 kits constables were sent to Bonguletu to police the area. That created for quite a bit of instability and destabilisation of the area. The actions of the kits constables proved to be the law unto themselves.

Between 1987 and January 1988 at least six activists

were injured by kits constables. A remarkable series of incidents, involving the kits constables was recorded by police themselves in the Bonguletu Police Station in their Incident Book. My colleague, Mary Burton, will talk further about this.

So, in a sense, the Oudtshoorn Area, in particular the black and coloured areas were devastated during this period. One need only look at the residential area differences. One cannot help feeling a sense of sadness that vast amounts of resources were utilised in the name of controlling people, while the development

of people and the education of children were in the back burner.

The Commissioners and Committee members visited Bonguletu this morning. We started our trip first with joviality, in a sense of humour when we were in the van. We came back quite sad, devastated and angry. Angry, realising that the resources of this rich country of ours were wasted and not used to develop all portions of the community.

Today is not the traditional HRV hearing. It is the first process toward engaging the community of Oudtshoorn toward healing and eventually toward reconciliation. I am saying healing first, because we have to take care of the pain first, but we also have to take care of the quality of our lives. And I know that throughout the hearings and in the statements made the people in the most disadvantaged of these areas have talked about improving the quality of their lives in their communities.

The procedures today follow the schedule that I will

describe. We will hear first from Ms Mary Burton who will give us feedback about the kinds of gross human rights violations that have been presented by the Truth Commission. Then will follow Ms Mkize who will talk about the process of reparations and rehabilitation, the primary work of our Committee and we will place into context our thinking about a policy toward addressing those people who suffered gross human rights violations.

Immediately after that we will have a series of submissions from the Oudtshoorn community. This will not be a description of what happened, except to the extent that it places context. It is a description of the consequences of the human rights violations in this community. It is a description of the devastation of the violations on youth and education, on women, on the church, on the media and the family. It is a sharing with the Oudtshoorn Community and the Truth Commission about opportunities lost, about psychological devastation, about physical devastation, about everything one goes through when we conceptualise the period between 1960 and 1993. These are submissions from the heart from this community for this community. These submissions were not put together by the Commission, they were put together from input from people from the Oudtshoorn community.

After the submissions, in the afternoon we will break up, and please do not leave, because the afternoon session is very important. We will require the input of you all.

We will break up into small group discussions that will address where we go from here. We will talk about

the various forms of reparation. We will talk about a response to these submissions. We will talk about the inspiration to the people of Oudtshoorn to work on three issues:

Strategies for improving the quality of life of all Oudtshoorn residents; to talk about the process of healing; to talk about eventually the process of joining together and making this community the best that it could ever be. And somewhere down the line talk about reconciliation.

Then after the breaks we will come back and look at the recommendations. And then at the end the town officials will talk about pledging to this community and walking together with this community and making a commitment to this community to improve the quality of life and to work together.

I would be remiss if I did not point out that I am really absolutely heartened today to see members from the White community here. It is very encouraging and to say to you the problems of Oudtshoorn are the problems of Oudtshoorn, both black and white. Without the commitment from everybody in Oudtshoorn, Oudtshoorn can never move forward.

With this I would just like to talk about some housekeeping things. There are headsets on your seats, I believe there is enough for everybody - translations in Afrikaans, Xhosa and English, the first station is Afrikaans, the second station is English, the third station is Xhosa. Please use them, because we do not

want anybody to miss out on whatever is said. The biological rooms are somewhere in the back and during the break we will use them.

May I now ask Ms Mary Burton to give us feedback on what has been presented to the Truth Commission on gross human rights violations from this area.

Thank you very much.

SUBMISSION BY MS MARY BURTON

Thank you, Dr Ramashala.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission began its work in this part of the country and in the Oudtshoorn area specifically in the first half of last year. During May and June our teams of Statement-Takers were working in the area in Oudtshoorn itself, in George, Knysna, Mossel Bay, Plettenberg Bay and other areas in the vicinity.

I believe that more statements are being taken here this week and I think that even today if you or anybody you know wishes to make a statement, we can provide the facilities for doing so.

In order to do that we relied upon the support and the assistance which we could draw from community organisations in the area, the CBO's, the NGO's, the churches and other religious denominations. And we have always known that we cannot work in isolation. We have to be part of the process of the whole community working together to accomplish the aims of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

From the statements that were represented to us we held public hearings in George on the 18 and 19 of June

and we heard 20 deponents from all of those areas, but we set aside one of those days specifically to tell the story of Oudtshoorn.

Since that period and even before the public hearings our team of investigators were following up the stories that were told to us, were checking them for accuracy, were checking for other existing records that might in fact prove that those events really did happen as we were told, checking police records where they were still available, checking hospital records. And some of the cases that we heard have already been completed and corroborated. Others are still in the process of investigation.

Perhaps it would be helpful if we look again at the criteria that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission looks at when it is defining a gross violation of human rights.

We are looking at events that took place between the period of March 1960 and May 1994. That period has later been extended from December 1993 to May 1994. So when we first started taking statements we were excluding anything that had happened within that period. We now can take statements about events that happened up until May 1994.

The categories that we look at are torture, killings, abductions, attempts to do any of those things and severe ill treatment. The stories that were told to us from this area included all of those categories. They included actions carried

out by members of the police, including the kits-constables, and they included actions carried out by members of the community, particularly the youth.

I do not think that we have had statements about events that happened in the 1960's. We are able to record some of those from our own recordings of historical events, but much of the focus was in those crunch years of the 1970's and 1980's and I do not think that any of you will be surprised to hear that.

At the public hearings we heard the stories about Nkolo Jafta, about Sojozile Dows, Selwyn Botha, Johnny Carelse, Andile Majola, Patrick Madikane, Fisile Hanse, Siphon Kroma, your Mayor, Michael Lucas, Patrick Maganene and Umphomolela Wena. We also heard from an expert witness, lawyer Kobus Pienaar of the actions of the kits constables. And Dr Ramashala has referred to the fact that the kits-constables were particularly a feature of life in Oudtshoorn in the 1980's.

During 1987, 16 kits-constables were sent to Bonguletu to police the area after their six weeks of training. A temporary police station was put in use in Bonguletu in August 1986, running a 24 hour service.

We heard about a variety of actions of the kits constables and between September 1987 and January 1988 at least six activists were injured by them. And the incident to which Dr Ramashala referred which was recorded in the Bonguletu Police Station Incident Books, refers to the fact that one of them fired at his brother with a shotgun, apparently while drunk; that another reported for duty drunk and was sent home; that another shot himself with a shotgun; that another exploded a grenade by

accident in his hand; that another was hit by a shotgun after a shuffle at a water tap, and altogether there is a picture of disorderly and undisciplined conduct.

The process that happens after we have investigated the cases that we have told about is that they go to a Committee of the Human Rights Violations Committee, and are assessed and regarded as the investigation have been completed. They then are processed through the full National Human Rights Violations Committee and a finding is made as to whether that person is in fact a victim as defined in the National Unity and Reconciliation Act.

And then the Reparations and Rehabilitations Committee is asked to take appropriate action with those cases.

But in addition to gathering the information through the process of taking statements we seek other ways of recording events. And members of our Research Team held discussions with the Community Representatives of Oudtshoorn quite early last year and they have identified the major events and outlined the history of this town - a history to which Dr Ramashala has already referred to in some detail. This is a history that reflects the history of our country as a whole and it is within that context that we understand the individual incidents which have been described to us.

The work that has been done thus far has been this documentation and corroboration of gross violations of human rights. Now, we are into this next phase of our work, done together with you, the people of Oudtshoorn.

And it is a privilege for me to be part of this process.

Thank you.

DR RAMASHALA: The Fisikile High School choir will be giving a selection. To the students I would like to say this is a different South Africa. You have opportunities that were very tentative for most of us. Grab the opportunities. This is your best chance for the best South Africa, and, therefore, on behalf of the choir I would like to dedicate their selection to Andile Majola, Fisile Hanse, Patrick Madikane and Antonie Plaatjies.

THE FISIKILE HIGH SCHOOL CHOIR GAVE THEIR SELECTION.

DR RAMASHALA: Our next speaker is Ms Hlengiwe Mkize, the Chairperson of the Committee on Reparations and Rehabilitation who will help place this day in context and share with you our thinking with respect to policy formulation.

SUBMISSION BY MS HLENGIWE MKIZE : Thank you very much.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my colleague, Dr Ramashala, who on behalf of the Commission, in consultation with other members of the team, has worked hard in terms of thinking about this day. This is our third meeting with the community of Oudtshoorn and we have been told all along that the community has been cooperative all the way through, and we are grateful for that.

Our Committee which is forecasting on reparations and rehabilitation is tasked with a very difficult exercise. At the same time we have accepted as a Committee and we acknowledge the importance of our terms of reference.

Basically I would like to start off by helping the people to understand the rationale for these post hearings community partnerships, which we try to establish.

For us it is important to visit communities, following human rights violations and begin to engage those communities to help them to use what has happened to them in the past as the window through which to shape the future. When I am saying that, again I know that this is a very difficult task. We have heard this morning about the history of human rights violations and specific practices which constitute to what is referred to as human rights violations. So I am not being simplistic if I am saying as a Committee we re-visit communities within the aim of helping them to look at the past but not to be fixated there. To begin to look at strategies as to how to move forward and begin to claim or re-claim their true identity.

We are guided by an act, which is an act of Parliament, the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No 34 of 1995.

As a Committee it is important for me to be up-front in terms of saying, we are not an implementing body. Whatever we think about corrective action which has got to be taken which in terms of the Act is called Reparations, we are expected to assist the President of this country in terms of formulating policy guidelines as to what should be done. And the implementation is not our responsibility. But as a Committee we want to emphasise that we acknowledge the need for corrective action.

What we have been doing since last year we have been meeting with members of the communities from different sectors. As colleagues here have mentioned the groups that have assisted us are members of the Faith Community, NGO's and citizens of different communities. We have met with them with an aim of figuring out what should be done to initiate reparative measures in our society.

The first difficulty which I should acknowledge which we have noted in the process is that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is looking at human rights violations between 1960 and 1994. Those violations that we are talking about - we have acknowledge also that they were not aimed at individuals, although in terms of our statement taking process we often get statements from individuals - but it is evident that as we saw when we took a visit around this community of Oudtshoorn, the effects turned to effect not only individual victims, but communities as well.

So when we talk about reparations the first question is how far do you go given the devastating effects of human rights violations, not only for those individuals but for other members of the community at large. So that is the first question which we appear to struggle with. But at the same time we have

got quite a number of measures which have encouraged us in terms of going forward and struggling in terms of formulating the categories of needs in people's lives.

Most people who have made statements before the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions are not bringing stories

per se, although we call it story-telling. They are bringing to us the experiences of people with specific experiences like emotional damage. Quite a number of people who appeared before us have expressed incapacitating experiences of anger, of feelings of anger, about what happened to them or to their loved ones. Some of them appeared before us and presented feelings of helplessness, hopelessness, pain. Some have presented before us with chronic conditions, medical conditions resulting from specific practices of human rights violations.

Torture has been the most common form which was used countrywide and some people are left in the process in a bad mental state of being. We have been in some sections where we got statements but it was said that this person will not be fit to sit before the Commission.

And some people have presented us with pressing needs for educational assistance, especially in instances where the breadwinner was killed and maybe the family has struggled to take young people to a certain point and when they cannot take a child forward they come to us as well to say look, we have made a statement but so and so has passed matric, we cannot take him anywhere.

And other people have made statements and they indicated to us that look, our rights were violated and we look at what was saying and we think it is in line with the provisions of the Act and they say we were left homeless.

And some people are left in a state where maybe a

person is too old even to look for a job, but maybe five sons were eliminated and they desperately said look, for us to survive we need to be assisted with a certain sum of money.

There are other people whose loved ones decided to leave the country as a way of waging the struggle against the oppressive government and they have come to us in terms of saying, I am too old, I cannot visit my child's grave since it is outside the country. I would be happy before I die if his or her remains can be brought back to the country, a person be re-buried and given the dignity they need.

And the requests which have come before us, as my colleague on the left indicated, that once people have made a statement the Human Rights Violations Committee, in consultation with Committees like us within the Commission, has got to make a finding as to whether this person's rights were violated and once we have established that we made recommendations to the President. But even at this point in time as a Committee, even before the Commission begin to finalise the process of making a finding we have begun to come with clear categories as to what should be done in assisting the survivors and the victims of human rights violations.

We are beginning to create a picture or a scenario that there are people who will need emotional assistance. I am sure you will agree with me that that does not say much about exactly the problem and the activities, but basically that, in simple terms it refers to the healing

of the mind and the soul which we all got to begin to think about.

There are people who will need educational assistance of one kind or another and some people will need medical assistance. Some people will need material assistance, but what is important which I would like to share with you and which

I hope will be clarified as we have discussions with the group this afternoon, I want to say this also and to ask you not to confuse me as though I am an apologist for the State.

I said, when I started, that as a Committee we acknowledge the victim's rights to reparations. That something should be done. It is their right. But having said that I am grateful for this opportunity in the sense that we realise that there are different levels of implementing reparations. I believe that what we are formulating as policy guidelines will be taken to the President and the Government will begin to implement the recommendations, but of more importance is for the community to begin to look at possible actions which need to be taken at a local level on a small scale, with the aim of beginning to normalise their society.

Corrective action does not refer only to forms of assistance, but it begins to look at all practices which became part of the machinery of dividing people, which people can begin to correct. It calls for people, the community, to begin to look at the languages used, even for people to be referred to as Coloureds, Africans, Whites. People of Oudtshoorn have got to begin to look at the language that divides them and to begin to claim their identity as a community.

So those are the things I do not think you will wait for an outsider, a person employed by the Government, to tell you to begin to do that.

We have churches in the community. As a Commission we have really enjoyed the support we got from the Faith Committee and in our dialogue with members of the Faith Committee we found that the church turns to be a neutral zone. And we are beginning to believe that communities have an opportunity of utilising those resources as a way of beginning to claim reconciliation and unity of some kind.

Last year the Committee went to Rwanda and one thing which really was difficult for us or devastating, was that the church in the process began to take positions and got actively involved in terms of human rights violations.

For us in a way we felt much as there have been concerns that a church could have done more, but we still feel that our church was left in a state where it can still be respected by different constituencies and it can be utilised in initiating quite a number of activities which will in a way promote healing and reconciliation.

I am hoping that this afternoon as people look at different categories of human rights violations that would have been submitted here they will begin to think of those actions which will help us as a Committee on behalf of the Commission to consolidate our thinking about what needs to be done at different levels of interventions

which I have spoken of.

The only category which I did not mention which in most hearings have emerged as an important one is the question of what we call symbolical corrective action. By that we simply refer to requests of the naming of schools after certain people, and sometimes the creating of monuments which will retain the history of the people.

I mean our first day here, when we went to the museum, we really felt that the community of Oudtshoorn has already taken a few steps. We see our role as that of support and facilitating already what you have initiated and I should think that hope has been in a way achieved here, because we thought there are quite a number of corrective measures which communities can be begin to embark upon, so as to avoid the possibility of people who are survivors of human rights violations to begin to see themselves as victims of the new order if nothing is being done about their plight.

Thank you.

DR RAMASHALA: We will now go into the next session which will be the submissions, but before we ask the Media to come forward to present their submission, I would like to set the tone about this whole concept of healing.

The Commission is often known in the general community as a Commission that promotes healing as a concept of let us kiss and hug and move on. I want to say the Commission stands for healing on a broader perspective.

At a personal level we stand for an environment that

guarantees that all children grow up in circumstances that assure health, education and other opportunities.

An environment that provides circumstances that assure the nurturing of families and community members. An environment that promotes development in the community, including schools, health facilities, recreational facilities, running water, sanitation, employment opportunities and all those things that we all wish for.

An environment where our institutions are held accountable.

An environment that is devoid of a judiciary system that goes with a political claw.

An environment that through the legislative process guarantees all kinds of freedoms for its people.

An environment with religious institutions that are held accountable and do not go with the flow of political environment.

An environment with an education system that nurtures and ensures opportunities for all children.

An environment where the media serves as a watchdog, holds accountable not only the legislative, judiciary and other processes, but holds itself accountable also.

A nation that put forth as a primary concern the rights of its people, opportunities for capacity development to ensure a successful South Africa that has a comparative standing within the international community.

With that we invite Mr Piedt from the media to do the first submission.

Mr Piedt, the procedure is that you will do your submission and then after you have done your submission I will ask the panellists if they have any questions of clarification.

Thank you and welcome.

SUBMISSION BY MR DAVID PIEDT:

My name is David Piedt. I am a member of the Oudtshoorn Steering Committee and I am submitting the report on the media.

Like the rest of society the media in Oudtshoorn was divided along racial lines for several decades. And in line of patterns of control in the country the media was overwhelmingly owned and controlled by the white establishment, both English and Afrikaans.

While the white state controlled the electronic media using television and radio to advocate and perpetuate its policies and value system the print media was under the control of groups like Nasionale Pers, Perskor, The Argus and SAAN.

Papers produced by these groups such as Die Burger, Rapport, Cape Times and Argus have been read by people of Oudtshoorn for a long time.

The Afrikaans newspapers have a strong readership, since Afrikaans is the dominant language in the town. With the smaller group, mainly professionals, community activists and business people reading English newspapers as well.

The free-flow of ideas was just a pipe dream, because of minority control and ownership of the media combined with the application of stringent media laws. In addition, state repression which gave rise to an increasing atmosphere of fear, prevented people from openly speaking their minds.

The banning of The World and Drum in 1977, starkly brought home to people that dissenting voices will not be tolerated. As the newspaper, Saamstaan, learned it was very difficult at times and outright dangerous for members of the disenfranchised communities to start their own newspaper.

Saamstaan, for example, would not be touched by an Oudtshoorn printer and had to travel to Cape Town for 450 kilometres each month to be printed. Residents interviewed in the first edition of Saamstaan in 1984 around housing issues were visited by the local security police in a clear act of intimidation.

In 1985 an attempt was made to burn down the newspaper offices and its staff and office bearers were detained and later restricted. One edition of the newspaper with the print order of 8 000 copies disappeared without trace after it was sent by courier to Oudtshoorn from Cape Town in the eighties.

The refusal of a local type setter to type set anything other than sport stories for Saamstaan is perhaps one of the starkest cases, indicating the level of fear in the community.

Circumstances such as these meant there was no media diversity. A new media project simply could not establish and consolidate itself.

The Oudtshoorn Courant has been in existence for more than 100 years, coming out weekly. It seems that the newspaper tended to steer away from politics in previous decades. This often meant in practice that through omission, it failed to highlight sensitive issues around police violence and general discrimination. For example the paper introduced a page in the sixties for news from the coloured community, an initiative that lasted till

late in the seventies.

Saamstaan on the other hand blazed into the political arena with strongly anti-government headlines, such as "Die Regering lieg, moenie stem nie" (The Government is lying, do not vote).

A paper like this dedicated to a moral cause could in retrospect have ordered critical comment on the policies and actions of oppositional forces, including Civics, Trade Unions, political organisations, etc.

The intense conflict that prevailed at the time, perhaps they made this difficult as the battle lines were clearly drawn.

In Oudtshoorn media consolidated a division and suspicion caused by apartheid between different communities. The media made no attempt to challenge the notion of separate development and vigorously promoted the idea of national unity.

Even a paper like Saamstaan, though its long term aim goes with the achievement of national democracy was obviously found threatening by the white people of the town, thus its message was not heard outside the disenfranchised community.

Though Saamstaan and the Oudtshoorn Courant operated in the same town there never was contact between the two in the eighties. However, there appeared never to be any antagonism between the two papers. They simply operated in isolation from each other.

It is not relevant to talk about the long list of incidents of repression against Saamstaan. This is not the purpose of this workshop. We are essentially here to look how the media impacted on the situation in this town. In summary, one could say that the media in Oudtshoorn created and/or consolidated division and mistrust among the people of the town. It did not lend itself to the free flow of information and ideas, was owned and controlled by a small minority, reflecting its sectarian interests, were not critical of the organisations which they saw as representing the aspirations.

In the current phase of democratisation it is important that a transformation of the electronic media is intensified, so that it becomes truly national in character and offers services of the highest professional standards.

Efforts must be strengthened to bring journalists from the formally disadvantaged communities into the main stream of South African media.

At a local level there is need for the diversification of the media. There is room for more newspapers covering local issues. In this regard the government has a role to play to ensure that the formerly

disadvantaged communities can attain the necessary skills and exercise both ownership and control of some of the media.

These broad ideas need to be fleshed out more in the media discussion group later in the workshop.

I want to thank the Truth Commission for this opportunity to speak about one aspect of our past. Certainly there is no way we can build a shared future if we do not fully understand our past.

Thank you very much.

May I ask my colleagues if they have any questions?

PANELLIST: Mr Piedt that was a very interesting submission which you made. Thank you very much. I am interested in Saamstaan. Would you like to tell us, does the newspaper still exist? Who is the editor? How is it published, how is it distributed, is it sold? Could you just tell us more about it.

MR PIEDT: During 1980 Rashied Shiria, Dr Allan Boesak, Sarah Carolus and them came to Oudtshoorn. They came to talk to us about the possibility of alternative media.

We got together a few men and ladies and we started Saamstaan with foreign funds. People funded us from the Netherlands. Fast and Aksie was the name of the company. And because we did not understand the skills around this type of action too well Rashied Monsoer Jaffer, he is also a member of the TRC came to Oudtshoorn to come and teach us those skills. And the Chairperson of Saamstaan was Reggie Oliphant and I was the Deputy Chairperson. And there were names such as Joe Slazen, who was on the

Executive Committee and Derrick Jackson, Steve Bolelo Grootboom, Gorrat Ingagi, were the people more-or-less who were on the Executive Committee.

Saamstaan could not compete with the commercial press in South Africa because we did not have that type of infrastructure to talk for example about the Stock Exchange, international politics and so forth. ..(tape ends)

..... on the needs of the people, the basic needs of the people and we thought that was a fundamental idea in mobilising people.

The other important point was that we did not sell the newspaper. Because we had a target group - there was a target group which had to read the newspaper who was not in a position to buy the newspaper and for that we were very grateful to the international donors who made this donation possible for us and last year Saamstaan gave up as a result of the fact that the donors withdrew funding and as people got so used to not buying the newspaper it was too difficult to sell the newspaper firstly. Secondly, people who had businesses to whom we went for advertisements were whites who had businesses and they were not prepared to put advertisements in Saamstaan.

And they thought that it was best not to advertise and one of the ways in which to make a newspaper sell sufficiently is by advertising and our small business corporation did not have the financial capacity.

So it was a heart-breaking day when we had to close the doors of Saamstaan. Saamstaan was in the forefront at the time of the Civic Associations in Oudtshoorn.

Saamstaan played a leading role to mobilise communities when we had protest marches and to mobilise people around issues such as these.

PANELLIST: I am inspired by some of the ideas you have in your written submission about ways of looking into the future and dealing with some of the community issues in the future.

Without preempting about what is going to happen this afternoon could you just perhaps flesh out some of the ideas for now about what are your ideas about how in a sense a community initiative like a newspaper could in fact promote issues around healing, moving forward into the future, perhaps reconciliation, and so on.

MR PIEDT: We think that it is absolutely important that we use the media in order to help us with the transformation of the healing process.

My personal opinion as I am look critically to newspapers is that I do not think that the newspapers are conveying that message to our people. And because of the fact that I earlier mentioned that we are not in a executive position as regard to newspapers, that makes it so difficult for us to get our foot in the door.

And that is why I have also made mention about the fact that it will be very much appropriate that we can intervene in getting the Government involved so that we can get that sort of financial contribution in order to take the initiative like we are doing here today, in order to get that message across.

We must also realise that commercial newspapers in South Africa have got other interests too. And part of this is that we want to do what we intend to do. And the reason for that is that they have got other interests too and that they are operating directly for a target group of people. And that is the reason that I have got that sort of uneasy feeling that we will have to look at ways and means from the perspective of the disadvantaged community to take this initiative in order to reach out to other people and say exactly how we feel about this whole operation.

It takes two to tango. It is important, like somebody else from the panel indicated that there is no way that we can have reconciliation and reparation, unless everybody is involved in that operation.

We must also believe that because of the division in South Africa it was people operating from different perspectives and they have different sort of positions that they have taken. Not because they wanted to but because of the historical tendencies that they have gone through.

So it is important that we use newspapers as that link in getting people together.

PANELLIST: Perhaps one more question perhaps to reflect for those other people in the audience as well, but perhaps to elicit your comment about this particular notion that it seems as though the communities out there seem to feel that the burden of reconciliation rests on that of the victim. Often people seem to be saying that

the reconciliation initiatives often have to be taken by victims.

How do you think the media can play a role in helping to encourage that perception to be changed in some way?

MR PIEDT: I think that the media is in the forefront in taking that initiative in order to transform that perception, so that people even who are supposed not to be victims, but - and this is a very debatable issue - my assumption is that white people were also victims and I had a serious discussion last night about the fact that white people were not victims. So a victim does not necessarily mean that you were on the receiving end of being a victim, but people can psychologically, or in their minds, be a victim, because of the fact that we were driven by an ideology.

So it is important that there must be a 50/50 initiative from both sides to make it a genuine reconciliation and reparation. But if it is coming from one side then it means also that people feel, that I have never been a victim and as far as I am concerned, the status quo was something that I would like to have seen, in this country, for an indefinite period. So that it is important that we interact and engage with people all the time, but I do not think it is fair that it will only come from one side.

PANELLIST: Thank you very much.

PANELLIST: Just one small question from me. The jest of your submission is like it is raising concerns about repression.

As we indicated that partly really we are hoping that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is going to help people to move forward.

I just want to get you thinking as to what should be done to make sure, even if we get whatever kind of publication locally, that people do not use that old technique again to intimidate people who would think differently from them.

MR PIEDT: I have got no problem from people who are thinking differently. Now that we are in a democracy it is the right of people to think differently, but I think there is a common understanding that we have a devastating past and I think, as we are saying: "Begryp die verlede om deel te wees van die toekoms" (understand the past to be part of the future).

It is very much appropriate that we try to interact with other people to a very large extent that they can understand the past because for some people there was nothing wrong with the past.

So it is important that we, through the media, bring this message across because even a lie, if you tell that on a consistent basis to people for an indefinite period, then people will tend to believe that lie. So we work with the realistic perception that we understand that there is our past for everybody to see and understand, because history is going to become part of that past. And then we interact with other people through the media.

I see this not as something that will be finalised tomorrow, but I see this as a departing point, as a

starting point and as a process. So this process will take us into the new century but we start with the process of reparation and healing.

PANELLIST: Are there particular things, if you had the opportunity, which you think the media ought to take up so as to promote healing and reconciliation locally?

MR PIEDT: Yes, I was part of the family sector and we said in that sector that there is no use if we only talk to coloured and black people about this whole exercise of the impact of apartheid on family life. And we have identified white people, very prominent white people, even people from different political persuasions and we talked to them and what was very amazing and very encouraging is that they have submissions.

And we talked about that and they were quite prepared But later in the day you will hear about that, but I am so encouraged by this whole operation in Oudtshoorn and her people, perhaps you know Oudtshoorn, but the politics of this town is something that have taken a very serious step within the past.

So this was the place, the rural town in the Karoo, after the big march in August 1989 in Cape Town, where in September 1989 we mustered about 15 000 people in Oudtshoorn for the first big rural march. So in this town we decided on two things: the slogan "Submit or fight", because this was a very conservative place, extremely conservative and the people in town had to make their choice early in the sixties, are we going to fight or are we going to submit? And the people took the alternative

and that is to fight back.

So we headed for one hell of a confrontation. And after the change in the coming of the new Government and the freedom of the State President and everything, then people started to interact with one another. So what I am trying to say is that that phase of struggle has passed in Oudtshoorn, of confrontation and conflict.

I spent four hours in a meeting yesterday with developers in Oudtshoorn through means - but it went for a confrontation - but through means of interaction and negotiation we could reach some sort of an agreement and consensus.

So what I am trying to say is that this town is now on that way and I am talking for the majority of people and that include white people, that there is a sincerity among the people that we want to rebuild and reconstruct our town on a humanitarian basis, on the basis of human dignity, on the economic basis and just on a social basis.

And I was an activist and if making these statements here this morning then I want to state that we have made a paradigm in this town. And I am very positive and very encouraged about that.

DR RAMASHALA: I have just one question. What would you think would be a much more creative way of using the media to reach out to very depressed communities?

I think what is important here is that we are struggling with a situation where we want to bring everybody on board. Where we want to reach everybody. Because previously one of the impact which the previous

repression has had on people is that of polarisation. The

fact that communities are still polarised. It is well understood. And the fact that some communities must still feel left out is also an important one.

So I think we have been struggling for some time, in terms of how can we reach those people because we are also talking about class. We are talking about

language. We are talking about people who have never been engaged in the process politically. We are not talking in terms of ideology, but these concerns are at a different level.

So we are very much interested in getting creative ideas from the media.

DR PIEDT: The first thing that I think is very important is the fact that we are now on the side of delivery on the side of the Government. And instead of putting pressure on the Government to deliver and then at the end of day say that this is a useless Government because they cannot deliver, the media has to understand the dynamics of what is taking place.

The majority of people are in a disadvantaged position at the moment now. So that they can share with the people the patience of our problems, the extent of the problems that we have in our country.

And convey the message to the people who do not have. Not to be patient, but to say that this whole transformation business will take time and we in the forefront, in order to see that the delivery to the people who do not have, will happen as soon as possible. And try to be the catalyst between the anger of the people and the delivery of the Government.

So if we move on to culture and education which are also priorities I think that it is imperative that we start with the basic needs of people. Because if people are employed and if we can get that kind of job creation for people and the newspapers are instrumental in saying, we are on the verge of getting through to investment in South Africa, and people we are very optimistic about that whole exercise and so that, then that creates a positiveness with the people who are in that indicative position.

So it is important for me to think that the media plays that role between these two conflicting groups. Those majority groups of people who are sitting there, waiting after the transformation for the things to be delivered. So the media must have an educating role in telling the people how it works. The dynamics of how a new Government works. And particularly this Government which is almost very poor today.

MS BURTON: I do not want to ask a question. I just want to make a brief comment.

One, is that I note with appreciation that even though you were very close to the process of Saamstaan both in your capacity as an officer there but also in time looking back at it, is that you are able to be critical also of Saamstaan's own partisan position, which I think you are right, is a reflection of the times.

And the other thing is I think it was quite right in your submission that you should not be documenting the

incidents of repression, particularly against Saamstaan, but I just hope that that history has been written, so that it is part of the record.

DR RAMASHALA: The last question, Mr Piedt.

There is a history of Oudtshoorn that is exhibited in the museum, since Monday night. There is also a history of Oudtshoorn that is in a sense displayed in Bonguletu.

And that is the, I would call it devastation, the way people live, without running water, without good sanitation, you name it, it is there.

I am also aware that white people in South Africa in general state that they were not aware of all of these things. Without preempting the discussion this afternoon, what role do you think the media can play in the Oudtshoorn area to

share with general Oudtshoorn that there is a plight in Bonguletu, a very serious plight? A plight that is of concern of all peoples of Oudtshoorn and not to sort of showcase Bonguletu as a sense of voyeurism, but that we should be concerned about the quality of life, not just in Bonguletu but in general South African communities, like Bonguletu.

DR PIEDT: You know, it is important, many things happened in a very positive way - too in Oudtshoorn, particularly after the change which we had. And I think it is there because yesterday, as I have indicated earlier, we took the media with us to that interaction with local Government, so that we have that positive result which came out of the discussion and that can be reported in the newspaper as well.

So if we do not apply the media in order to further the aims and objectives of the people I think it is also part of our whole project, in order to coordinate that process so that at the end of the day it has been reported.

But we must use the media so that other communities can see too to what extent people have applied this strategy and applied it very successfully.

So, my understanding of the media, and they say that the pen is mightier than the sword, is that I think that the media has got a fundamental role to play. I think the most important aspect of the transformation, if we want to make it successful, is that we have to apply the media in all its capacity, because the media, and even more than that, the electronic media. So that people can see that the things that seemed not to be possible, these things are possible, particularly in the one town in Oudtshoorn, as you have indicated, Oudtshoorn/Bonguletu has got the same problem as George/Tembaletu.

And even if initiative is taken here, and the strategies being applied and we get a positive result and we flash that with the electronic media then people with the same problems can see exactly what has happened here.

So you can see we can apply the media very positively in the interest of the people and the reconstruction of our community.

DR RAMASHALA: Thank you very much Mr Piedt. Any other questions?

I observe with interest the integration of your

testimony, particularly in the discussion about looking at the media as part of our institution. A part of the institution that also has a significant part to play in the development of South Africa.

This afternoon in the workshop on the media we will engage even the people of the media who are here, engage them in strategies, creative strategies on how the media can be used not only as an information dissemination tool, but also as an education tool.

I thank you very much for your submission and hope to expand on that this afternoon.

DR PIEDT: Thank you very much.

DR RAMASHALA: It is five minutes to eleven. We had planned to take a break at fifteen minutes to eleven. Could we take a break, stretch a little bit and come back at quarter past, twenty past eleven?

HEARING ADJOURNS

MS H MKIZE:

I would like to invite the three ministers of religion to come forward, or I understand now there are four. It is Pastor Mandeian, Reverend G de Klerk, Pastor N Dyantgi and

In welcoming you I would introduce new members of the panel: Rev Dr Ghojo, who is a Commissioner within the Reparations Committee; Rev Sekundu, he is also a Committee member of the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee.

In welcoming you I would like you to talk in your presentation briefly about the role of the church during the years 1960 to 1994, but also of importance we would like you to look at the things or issues that the people of Oudtshoorn are struggling with today and especially those in which you think the church has a role to play.

SUBMISSION BY PASTOR MANDEIAN (Vice Chairman of the Southern Cape Council of Churches, representing a submission - the Church, the impact of human rights violation of the work of the church in Southern Cape).

I greet you in the name of the Lord, Jesus Christ. It is a privilege for me to represent the South African Council of Churches and to give a submission on the impact of the human rights violations on the work of the church in the Southern Cape.

I am going to deviate a little bit from the paper you might have in your possession, because I will try to be as concise as possible, so I am deviating a little to save time.

I did mention in that paper that the church is very

actively involved. And because of the apartheid laws there was a tremendous suffering of the church and her people. It made the church to become very engaged and very involved.

For the church it was ironic to accept that South Africa, claiming to be a Christian country, with Christian values and freedom of religion, but have demon driven laws like the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Pass Laws Act, which the regime claimed to be biblical and Christian.

In order to address the injustices the church decided to join the forces of anti-Government campaigns. They first formed ministers' fraternals and in 1986 the South African Council of Churches was launched in Mossel Bay for the first

time as a church resource centre, catering ecumenically for all the churches in the Southern Cape.

Right from its launching the South African Council of Churches, Southern Cape particularly, became the target of the Security Police. The church became used to the scenes of heavily armed police forces outside its gatherings.

We were hard hit when the whole Executive Committee of the Southern Cape Council of Churches was detained before June 16, 1986. The names: James Buys (Chairman), Hendrik van Wyk (vice Chairman), Rev Brits (Treasurer), the late Rev Lesley Krots, Pastor Bansi, the organising Secretary and the Rev De Klerk. They were all detained.

In spite of this the church moved on and was involved in the forced removal story that you heard about, that took place in 1989 at the Waai Camp. There the church was prepared to show solidarity with the poor and oppressed and services were held there to prove their solidarity, where the Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu was present, Dr Boezak, Frank Chikane and Nissan.

I want to direct our hearts and our minds to a few instances that happened where the church was really church.

The staff of the South African Council of Churches was detained at various road blocks and the church had to prove to be church in spite of what she endured.

Obscene telephone calls were made to the office, anonymous callers of course. The mail was intercepted, opened and altered. The locks of office doors were glued. It could not be opened in the mornings due to vandalism that must have taken place during the night. And the copies of the Saamstaan paper which Mr Piedt mentioned in his submission, we formerly were just very good colleagues, the South African Council of Churches and the Saamstaan newspaper office, because we were located very near each other, and we were sort of partners in the struggle in propagating news to the outside world, as far as the church is concerned - now copies of Saamstaan the community newspaper were confiscated by the Security Police from our offices.

All our activities as church were monitored by Security Police. They intimidating the church and labelled it as "communist".

Now there is a couple of things I would like to highlight in connection with the role of the church and that is that the role we played was to bring about peace and reconciliation in Oudtshoorn. I was successful in being very steadfast, in questioning the moral foundation of apartheid. And was trying to heal the scars of apartheid, played a major role in the resolution of political disputes and was trying to be the conscience of Oudtshoorn. And it gave complete combat to the onslaught, spiritual devices and mechanisms of apartheid.

The impact of the church was that it was questioning Christianity if apartheid rule was so-called Christian based. And the church discussed that, because it can never be that apartheid was Christian based and if we look at what apartheid has brought about the Church came into questioning it as far as that is concerned.

The input the Church gave to the community and to the other church spheres at hand was that the church managed to foster ecumenism. The church also unified the overall community when they looked away from their political persuasions, culture, creed and religion to form a united force.

There is a couple of things that we would like to put to the Truth Commission this morning in the true spirit of reconciliation and forgiveness and for the sake of nation building.

We would like, however, the TRC to uncover the following for us. This is still a secret. Who was responsible for ordering the shooting of teargas into the

Bonguletu Church? Two, who was responsible for intercepting and altering our mail? Three, who made the anonymous telephone calls to our office and Executive members? Four, who was responsible for the threats? Five, who was responsible for gluing the locks of our office? Six, we would like the TRC to look into this very seriously, to try and make available the files kept by the Security Police on everyone involved in the Ecumenical movement in Southern Cape.

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SUBMISSION BY REV G DE KLERK

Commissioners I thank you for this opportunity to say something of such importance to the people at such an August gathering.

I would like to make mention of the fact that I had to bring a few additions to the original submissions, I think you have in your hands.

I am really speaking as a former Chairperson of the Ministers' Fraternal since 1976 up to 1994. I have prepared my submission in Afrikaans if you do not mind and I would like to start by giving a short introduction.

The boiling pot resistance against the cruel and unjust practices of the apartheid Government reached a boiling point, a saturation point in 1976 in Oudtshoorn.

And our community was drastically affected by that.

Must I repeat that? The boiling pot of resistance against the cruel injustices of the apartheid regime reached its height in 1976 in Oudtshoorn. And changed our community very drastically. Confrontation was inevitable. Suffering and persecution was part and parcel of the greater number of the nation.

Up until that point some, in quotation marks, "some churches and I am sorry to have to confess this amidst great persecution and harassment persisted in carrying out the word of God". In my heart I am convinced, firmly convinced that

this commitment to the cause of justice encouraged and motivated the people involved in the struggle.

There was a clear feeling of cohesion across several borders to fight apartheid tooth and nail and to destroy it. Allow me to say, that unfortunately this movement across various borders was limited to the so-called black and brown communities.

Point two, the church and marches, all bona fide meetings and gatherings were prohibited by the regime. The regime became very conscious of the impact that the church could have in these resistance campaigns and used all kinds of dirty tactics to try and break us.

Our services were infiltrated by the old special branch, SB, and their paid agents and informers - impimpies.

It needs to be mentioned that where decisions were made to have public marches the church took the lead here. The protest action had to be taken out of halls and homes into the streets. Unfortunately, the regime by its campaign of disinformation and smear tactics of the churches, they played off one church against the other and in so doing, sowed distrust and suspicion.

Nevertheless, the struggle still continued.

Three, detention without trial - police and ministers. Obviously some of our ministers were regarded by the regime as very dangerous communists, who had very dark motives to topple the regime of the time. The police as agents of the state, and here I refer specifically to the Special Branch, employed special agents, even in the church councils. Church Council members often collected their salaries on the third floor of a big white building in Baron van Rheede Street and they had to act as spies, to spy on the Minister and then report and still meet today on a Wednesday (they did this on a Wednesday). Families who were intimidated - my son, and I am sorry to be personal here for a moment, was twice in the early hours of the morning taken away from our home, without any explanation and brought back home late in the afternoon.

My brother mentioned this, our letters were intercepted at the Post Office, read through and put back. Telephones were bugged and pamphlets in which we were described as ugly people were spread by the media. In 1986 with the announcement of the State of Emergency four of our Ministers were detained without trial.

Their periods of detention ranged from 40 to 47 days. I was detained for 47 days.

No reasons were given for our detention.

In those times you were caught simply because the Special Branch did not like you. Simply, for looking at a member of the Special Branch you could be arrested.

In prison we were treated like criminals. We regularly had to undress so that we could be searched. And in prison there were some people who did not even know about the struggle and it seemed clear that the gap between the church and state could not be bridged. The church had to occupy itself with spreading the word of God and leave politics.

Unfortunately, some of the churches had ties with the then Dutch Reformed Church which reported to the regime, but many of the Dutch Reformed members and their Ministers nevertheless supported the cause. It also needs to be mentioned that the struggle against apartheid in Oudtshoorn was not only waged by black and brown people.

Detention of youths, myself and other Ministers had the privilege of being in

contact with youth leaders. In 1979 the regime was confronted by a different type of youth, a liberated person, a new person with a different mindset. The regime could not arrest all the protesting people and focused themselves on eliminating the leaders.

They could never destroy the leaders, on the contrary, where a leader was arrested there was a new leader to take his place.

The youth often had to go underground and children had to sleep at different houses, each and every night, because Botha's dogs, this was what the Police and Defence Force were referred to, swooped on these children in the early hours of the morning.

Parents and children had a nightmare existence because children were abducted and tortured without their parents' knowledge. Children were tortured, not even to mention the picking up of these children.

They were picked up, smacked, kicked and then they were told you will not tell your parents, otherwise something terrible will happen to you, something even worse. Boys and girls had to be smuggled out of town at night to escape the Security Police.

Many people, especially senior citizens became ill at that time and some of them died as a result of the pain and suffering metered out by these monsters.

Many of the youths suffered discrimination because they were activists and they are still suffering the consequences of those experiences.

The Ministers had many perceptions of the situation. The regime succeeded to some extent in also playing off one Minister against another, by means of their mass propaganda campaign.

I believe that the struggle against apartheid was in itself a unifying force, because we were focused.

Our strategies, unfortunately, did not always correspond and this also brought about some tension amongst us.

Ladies and gentlemen, my perception now is that we have something different now, which for reasons unknown to me does not unify us to the same extent as in the past.

And it seems to me as if we have arrived and we are not quite sure of the way forward,

And then, a postscript, the submission does not represent everything that has been said, but it is my humble way to try from my perspective to throw light on some events which are obviously too extensive for words.

Thank you.

SUBMISSION BY PASTOR DYANTGI: Chairperson and the Commission I stay in Bonguletu. I will not take long, because my colleague has already spoken. I will say something similar to what he has said.

Truly, apartheid endangered a lot of churches, especially Ministers. I think the first major damage is that South Africa wanted to separate the word of God and bring forward interpretations that suited them.

As I said, around 1958 apartheid was not so strong. There would be one church for whites, blacks and coloureds - the same church. One worshipped where they wanted to worship, just in terms of language not of colour.

Things got bad around the 1960's. The law started to divide people according to their colours. If you wanted to go and fellowship in town you could not, because of the colour of your skin.

Where it got even worse is when these laws became quite stringent. Christians started mistrusting each other. A white Christian would not see a black Christian as a Christian, but as a heathen.

To confirm that, a white man would have to go and preach to black people even though we would have our own black minister.

Also to confirm even further, apartheid was so bad in the churches that a black man was not seen to be able to bring forth the word of God properly.

We endured until the youth could not take it any more. That caused situations whereby, in Bonguletu around 1984 the youth started fighting, fighting within schools.

As my colleague already said that apartheid brought division amongst churches and ministers. If you would go to a different church you would get sermons whereby division is brought forward.

As I said, the youth was not able to take it. Unfortunately or fortunately, the youth started fighting the police. What was painful is that the one day three children were killed. The community and parents' hearts started bleeding, because as a leader one had to bury the children or partake somehow in the burial.

Ministers then started meeting. They started to bring forth organisations whereby these children could be buried. During these funerals you would find that if you would be conducting a funeral service, there would be people with guns surrounding us. These people with weapons and guns would be listening to what you were preaching and they would limit the number of people attending.

As a result ministers started uniting, because even in the procession to the graveyard the ministers would have to be walking in front of the whole group, because if we were not there, the police would always disintegrate the groups.

If children of God we needed to do something for the community, we would have to join them and lead them because whatever happened to them we would have to take account of. We continued that way.

If you were in church, police would launch teargas unto us at the doors. At the Presbyterian Church in Bonguletu people were injured. Our Bishop is crippled because they were leaping our of windows where teargas canisters were launched. We were sjamboked. Everybody was just beaten up.

As if this was not enough there is nothing more painful than when a person fights you, does not only fight you but your children as well. What would happen is that you would see a Jeep from the police launching teargas all over the township. As you can imagine the township is so clustered - this teargas would be blown all over the township. The police did not care who got hurt.

What I am trying to say is that apartheid really was oppressive.

We thank you for this opportunity.

What we need is reconciliation. However, it is important to hear people confessing, perpetrators confessing. We know that it was the regime that led him to do this. Some of these police, we see them around, they are still alive in our communities.

We thank you that in the present regime there is a difference. One is able to go

and fellowship in town if one wants to, even though you are not welcome as such, because you are different.

Thank you.

PIET MEIRING: Thank you very much brothers. I paid attention and listened with much interest to what you had to say, and to me it is very clear that the churches in Oudtshoorn did play a very important role. It seems no church can escape its political evidence, even where it had its light shining or where it withdrew, because it did not want to participate, but it was still political evidence.

I would like to put a few questions to you. Perhaps I should direct them to Reverend De Klerk. Perhaps the other brothers could add to that if they feel that he has not answered it completely.

The first question has to do with the past, the time when the churches, the church leaders, the congregations were in the struggle and where you suffered. Did it sometimes happen that you reached out to the white English and Afrikaans communities, when the need arose? Did it ever happen that you asked them or told them what was happening and did they from time to time showed any solidarity in an attempt to assist you?

My second question has to deal with the future, where our banner says: "Understand the past and deal with future", it has to do with reconciliation. Is there a possibility that the entire church community in Oudtshoorn, including the Afrikaans community, the English speaking white community could hold hands and reconcile?

You mentioned these brothers and sisters. Do you think that they could also be involved in that?

REVEREND DE KLERK: Commissioners, firstly the clergy brothers of the time existed with the knowledge that we could not be torn apart. It existed in connection with the world as it was. We made several attempts to cross the racial borders. I can say to you, fortunately, I was the Chairperson of that group.

I went to the pastors personally and after all those years of struggle one reverend only attended a single meeting, and when he heard us talk about equality and justice he said, that unfortunately he did not come for that, he came for the gospel.

Firstly we struggled. We were not satisfied with the fact that one or two refused. We persisted, but they refused. But one has to understand the historical background. They worked under a congregation that was very harsh.

Oudtshoorn is one of the oldest parts of our country. It is extremely conservative and they were the servants of the system and I would just like to say that I understand that, perhaps more of them should have been more manly, had a bit more back bone. And certainly I do not believe that there is any future, even in your work, if we do not reach out once again. Even now we can reach out, because we have a new system.

And, yes I do believe we will not get anywhere in South Africa if we are going to hide behind the fact that people did not want to cooperate, but what we have to do is try and try again until the Lord comes on the clouds.

Secondly, if you could just repeat the second question?

MR PIET MEIRING: In a certain way you have started responding to it because I

wanted to ask what was the possibility of the way forward in trying to get the entire community involved.

PANELLIST: Perhaps I could supplement that answer in response as to what you just said. I am quite glad that Reverend De Klerk has said that.

As you said we did receive many negative responses in our attempts to the members of the broader kin and the youngest I would like to mention which is applicable to the future is that at senior level there were a few that have joined the Southern Cape Council of Churches, which is an indication that we are on our way to a new Christian South Africa.

I would like to mention in supporting Reverend De Klerk's point that the men are coming in one by one and we have got them at signed level and we are now asking them at local level, when are you joining us.

PANELLIST: Thank you very much. First I want to appreciate the work you have done during these years. We have observed it and we appreciate what was happening around here, especially from the side of the South African Council of Churches.

We are looking at the present and not very much on the past, but just happy that the stories are told, so that they be known by the people.

Some people have said, I want to hear what you say here that these people who never got themselves involved, especially the churches, the ones you have mentioned (maybe for the sake of reconciliation) need to do something which can be seen by the people as a contribution to those communities which were very much affected by apartheid - most of them were the churches of the haves.

That would be a sort of restitution because most of them supported the Government. I am just testing you. How do you feel about that in Oudtshoorn? Because reconciliation must not be cheap reconciliation, I do not believe, even the Gospel does not say that reconciliation must be cheap reconciliation. That is one thing.

And number two, you have mentioned the harm which was done by the system to some of the young people, some of them got out from school. And some of them are going to become criminals. And I do not know what I am going to do as the church, what challenge I accept in the church.

You know when apartheid came, it destroyed the morality of my children which was planted by the early missionaries in our churches. The type of education which was given to us by the regime was that one which did not benefit us. And how are you going to address education as the church, that we produce such people who are going to be good citizens.

You know, Mandela always boasts that he is what he is because he went through these types of schools which had morality in them.

And as the churches how are you going to help those young people who have been very much traumatised? What kind of projects are you going to set within your churches to help this situation?

REV DE KLERK: It is a very broad perspective that you covered just now.

The church has presently embarked on some programmes especially focusing on students who have been hard hit by the apartheid and the after effects of apartheid and we have educational programmes going at the moment.

We are also looking at the justice and social side of such hard hit victims. We have programmes to that effect that we are working on now.

And that I have also said in the very last paragraph here of my first submission, the role of the SACC was a somewhat radical one, but has now changed to that of reconciliation - upliftment, job creation projects and a watch dog over peace processes to ensure that concerted and effective measures contribute to the well-being of the overall community of Oudtshoorn.

So you can see that we are mainly focused at the healing of the total man - body, soul and spirit. And I would take the advice very seriously to our gatherings to note that we are put up now with such after effects of apartheid that can in no ways be excused from tackling programmes now that we are focused on the healing of the total man, especially our student sector of the community.

Thank you.

PANELLIST: Is anybody prepared to answer my other question? I said that these people who were not involved in the struggle, in fact some of them are making statements at the regime, they are criticising the churches of the SACC, they are calling them by names.

I say now, when we are moving forward in this reconciliation programme there is a feeling from some of the sectors, that as part of their contribution can they do something which can be seen by the people, even those who suffered? That now, in this process of reconciliation this is what they can give.

I said that some of these people in the communities who were oppressed by the regime, even you people know very well that in some of these areas we do not even have churches, places of worship as the signs of hope for the ordinary community. And I say that don't you feel that maybe in this reconciliation you could have these people, invite them? It is not to give - not paternalism. It is a mandate from them to give something evident as a contribution, restitution.

PANELLIST: In other areas, you look at the last World War, there are cathedrals like Coventry as symbols of forgiveness. Or what Dr Ngocha may be referring to is, are there possibilities of adopting say, churches moving in an area in which they help, because most of the perpetrators came from that area, to adopt even children, families in a process of transformation.

I think he is asking for outward and visible symbols which will show that they there are sorry and therefore wanting to repair damage. I think that is what he is trying to say.

MR PIET MEIRING: I think one way of addressing this is to have a religious Codesa, a real religious Codesa. Because you can do nothing without contact. There you will have ample opportunity to listen to the other side. You will have time to say your piece. It will be something, I don't want to say like Kempton Park, but it must be on similar lines. It must be open, honest, brutal in its endeavour to be honest and true. That is what I believe.

I must be frank, we still have conservatists here in Oudtshoorn. We are still miles apart. We are really not working together, especially now with the new democracy that we have, with affirmative action - they are around all over the place. It is important, essential, imperative - I would say Christian imperative - that we call a Codesa immediately.

And then on we can plan the detail and the other things.

That is my humble submission.

DR RAMASHALA: Pastor I want to be very direct. Last night there was a service in preparation for today to bless the proceedings today.

There was an obvious absence of white Pastors, obvious absence of the white community. We have very good media coverage today. Clearly the white Pastors are

not here today. Since we had this good coverage, would you have each a one minute message to talk to them so that they can hear this on the media tonight.

REV DE KLERK: Last night I expressed my dissatisfaction along the isles of the church where we were last night. Formidable planning has been done beforehand to get the whole church community of Oudtshoorn at that meeting last night. Messages have been conveyed, announcements have been made in churches, I think the Ministers that are present, for the last two weeks we have been working on that.

Last night there was a problem in the first place with the bus - I am not apologising I just want to give you the situation and I think I am not going to be criticising about what you are saying now, it is wonderful. We planned a bus in the first place. It was said that the bus was going to be on the route, especially for the Toekomsrus people and the Bonguletu people who stay quite a few kilometres from central Oudtshoorn or Bridgeton, or whatever you want to call it.

So we mandated somebody, I am not going to mention the name now, one of the Ministers, to seriously find out from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission whether funds would be available to render such a bus service. And then we had to wait for two days just to finalise on that and then it was truly confirmed that there was going to be a bus, that the cost was going to be covered by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The person who we mandated to go to the bus company and make sure that all our people would be there never did his work.

Last night at ten to seven I just felt it necessary, I said I am going to leave the circle of Ministers now in the vestry here in the Dutch Reformed Church, and I am going to find out what is happening to the people, perhaps we can do something at the last minute to get them there.

I drove then to the bus company in the first place, I did not know what company was booked, but God was so good I just went to the right one, in search of the right one. And when I got to the man he said yes, I know about the bus that was booked, but none of the Ministers came back to confirm that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was going to pay for the bus. So I could not put my bus on the road, I did not hear from you ever since.

And I say with dismay on the part of the Ministers it was negligence on their part. Not to check up on that bus.

I went down to Toekomsrus, the furthest end and then went down to Bonguletu and I picked up some of the old people who said, it is too late now Pastor, we would like to join the service but the service must be in such progress now that we are going to miss out on most of the items. Well I said it is okay.

I once again discovered that something is wrong somewhere. Now, I drove back and I came to the service. When I looked at the empty benches and pews in the church last night I said to myself, Oudtshoorn must be a very unthankful community.

They are privileged to have the Truth and Reconciliation Commission back here from George. They are privileged to be seen as the people who were part and parcel of the struggle, but look what is happening and is reflected here tonight.

The words came to me and I want to stress it, if we want to go for reconciliation, people of Oudtshoorn we must go for it or leave it. And I am telling you we are going to hamper this healing process, and I am speaking very firmly to the community of Oudtshoorn, and especially to God's people that are geared for reconciliation and forgiveness.

I said to myself that I would like to have quoted that in my prayer last night, but I did not want to spoil the good spirit that was prevailing in the meeting. I wanted to quote in my prayer but I was stopped by the spirit of God, because

there is a time for everything, the Bible says. And it was not the appropriate time for me to burst loose because I felt very unhappy last night.

And you know what I wanted to pray? I was going to pray like Jesus said, haven't I healed ten of you and only one comes back to say thank you, and was in gratitude for what Jesus did. I want to stress this very importantly that Oudtshoorn has got to look up, Oudtshoorn is a privileged place, Oudtshoorn has done a lot to promote justice for the people that had been perpetrated.

But Oudtshoorn has got to watch out. Not to slack down. We have received praise for the things we have done but we want also want to receive praise for the things that have to be done.

Thank you very much.

CHAIRPERSON: Will the remaining two panellists just try to respond to Dr Ramashala's request just to give a one minute message and

DR RAMASHALA: the message is to the white pastors. I want to be very direct. You are on television. The message is not to the black communities, the message is to white Pastors. About their absence and their interpretation of reconciliation.

PANELLIST: I just want to say that there is something hidden here. I thank the Commission that it has realised that - truly speaking in the previous meeting that we held we used to have at least four white Pastors - but while we are making our programme, trying to include them as Pastors, it became clear that they do not accept that because they are afraid of the problems that they are going to encounter back home. They tried to say, to tell us that they are not representing their churches but that they are coming as individuals.

We told them that it is not necessary for the people to represent their churches, but you are here as leaders of the community. They refused. They did not come. I think that there is something else because while we were busy here they are busy with something else and their absence are showing us. I personally phoned some of them but they did not come as you can see.

In other words the request on behalf of the Pastors, on behalf of the Ministers is that the word Christians - the Pastors they must know that even from the other race, there are other Pastors, we are one in front of God. The word of God says, all of us are going to kneel before the Lord. They must not look at us on race, colour or creed. They must know that we are also God's creatures. We are just like them.

We, therefore, request them - one of the Pastors has said the old apartheid defeated the people, but even now they are still in that situation. They do not take us as leaders.

PANELLIST: I would like to say that there are many perceptions in Oudtshoorn as far as the TRC is concerned. Many people do not like you, how you operate and I have some understanding for those Ministers who might probably like to be here, but the moment they get back home they will have it from their members.

That is not a negative thing. I am just trying to be positive by being blunt.

I think what I would like to say is this. I think we must move beyond being a sign of healing. Ministers out there, we are signs of healing. We have been healed and God wants us to move beyond a sign, a sacrament of healing. He wants us to be instruments that can work towards healing. And I would urge my brothers please to contact us and let us come together, get together and make this little baby, this new democracy work.

That is what I would like to urge my brothers. Because this is not the time to

say anything else, but to tell our brothers you are our brothers. We invite you to come and join us as we move along the way, trying to bring healing to the community.

PROF MAKWASA: I start by making a comment that having listened to your presentations, to me you came across as role models. People that have been victims. You have been violated yourselves, but you do no longer consider yourself to be victims. You see yourself as survivors.

You have gone through the experience of being harassed, tortured and many other things.

That is the type of experience that you share with other people that are in some very disadvantaged communities. I will quote as an example Bonguletu. That unlike some other people you are talking about something you know and have experienced.

My question is, if you look at Bonguletu people who are living in that type of environment, and you are saying to them let us talk about reconciliation, do you think it will make sense to them? You know their experience. Do you think it will make sense to them talking about reconciliation now?

We all will agree that before you talk about reconciliation you must be talking about forgiveness. Do you think those people are in a position where they can forgive, granted the situation in which they find themselves? And if you are saying, that is very difficult, then I will ask you and say, what can we do to go down to the level in which they are, not to talk about our own forgiveness, because our own forgiveness can come much more easier, than the forgiveness of those people living within those circumstances.

Now it is a challenge to you, that how can we actually move the people living under those circumstances, still experiencing the pain of violation. There is nothing which is affirming them in their experiences and now I am saying, let us forgive.

Just come with creative ways, how would you respond to that?

CHAIRPERSON: Just before you can answer I will request that we must try to be brief. We are going to get other questions when we will be having groups. Thank you.

PANELLIST: This is a very difficult question, but briefly I can say, I am talking about Bonguletu now, a black person has got a talent that will never be taken away from him or her, because a black man is a peaceful person by nature. A black person, even if you do something wrong to him to her, but still they have peace. What I want to emphasise here, the most important thing that I want to emphasise here is to try to educate them, try to show them that a black person is forgiving, even though you have done something wrong. That is the reason why a lot of nations would like to take them for granted, because it is their nature. They are very forgiving.

I am trying to say, it is not difficult, though it is very difficult to touch a person's heart, but the most important thing is a black person is very forgiving. It is very easy for him to take the evil out of him or her heart. Thank you.

DR RAMASHALA: We are not doing very well, in terms of time. We still have three other submissions which we should get between now and one o'clock. I will be happy if at this point in time I can thank you and ask that the other issues be developed during our group sessions.

I just want to thank you for coming forward to share with us. It is clear that the tapes has a challenge to show the world the way to healing and reconciliation, but as you yourselves have said we are grateful to you as people

who have come forward and we hope that you will be the instruments of the roots that we are all talking about. Thank you.

We will ask Mr Redelinghuys who is representing the Family Submission to come forward please.

Mr Redelinghuys, our members of the panel, would like to welcome you and as I have indicated that we are not doing well in terms of time, I am sorry it is not meant to make you feel pressurised, but I will ask you to give your presentation and I will ask fellow Commissioners to limit their questions and the rest of their questions will be developed in the groups this afternoon.

SUBMISSION OF MR MULLER REDELINGHUYS

Respected Committee members, ladies and gentlemen, the submission which I am about to talk about is the product of input from various sections of the community and different people. They try to give answers to certain standard questions put to them and the result was this submission and I would like to put it to you now.

How did apartheid affect the families in Oudtshoorn? People who grew up on farms were regarded as the farmers' possessions and could never develop their own identities. Many breadwinners lost their jobs, because they became involved in the freedom struggle.

Family members who worked for the apartheid regime were abhorred and that brought about polarisation between members of the families.

Circumstances on the farms for black people were often very bad. Long hours had to be worked for very low salaries and many of them possessed very little.

As a result of all the suffering the fathers became involved in the political struggle which brought them into conflict with the law. In families where the father or mother was a fighter for freedom and the others accepted the system of apartheid, this led to further polarisation in the family context.

With the result that members of a family were alienated from each other as a result of their various opinions and thought patterns.

Members of the white community felt that the previous Government consciously tried to prevent them associating with other citizens of the country and family members felt guilty because they were given some privileges which other members of our country did not get.

The system gave a false sense of security to white people and this led to them regarding other people as inferior and saw themselves as exclusive.

Some whites who grew up on farms and who associated themselves on all levels with the farm workers cannot understand why there was this discrimination against people who they regarded as friends. Other whites indicated that their relationship with their farm labourers has always been good and they had no problems with apartheid.

Apartheid robbed many people of their humanity and made them hard, fearless and bitter.

The expropriation of properties led to a lot of dissatisfaction amongst family members and that led to a lack of security. The hatred against apartheid led to the fact that members of families who tried to fight the system, their lives were endangered by Security Forces. And this led to fears and the lack of security since family members were never quite certain of their lives and their safety.

Parents had to watch helplessly as children and family members were intimidated, tortured and even received death threats from the Security Forces. Family life was disrupted because they could not always live together in the same dwelling and this trend robbed children of their childhood and there were even cases where family members were killed by members of the Security Forces. And this led to a hardening of attitude amongst the remaining and surviving members of the family and they hated apartheid even more as a result.

In some cases apartheid had little or no effect on family life, especially regards employees on farms where employees were seen as shareholders and not as inferior people.

Apartheid also impoverished people spiritually. And empowered white people to act in certain ways simply because they were white.

In general white families were affected because as a result of the system of apartheid they were apathetic towards their fellow citizens. White families found that their security centred around their possessions and political and spiritual leaders.

Children who joined freedom struggles suffered educationally because they were constantly harassed and arrested by Security Force members, even when they were writing exams.

In many cases the breadwinner or father was often absent for long periods because he had to leave the country for indefinite periods to undergo MK training, and sometimes the mother had to then play the role of father as well. This caused disciplinary problems and also led to a lack of security.

Because they could not have the same privileges as far as family life as white people, this became a further stumbling block.

The apartheid system caused a feeling of despondency because many oppressed families believe that apartheid would never end. Many who became involved in the Security Forces found that they were under a lot of stress, they were in fear of their lives and for some white families it was difficult to understand why their black friends could not have the same privileges as they themselves had. This led to feelings of guilt. White families were slaves of school and church which in turn were slaves of the apartheid ideology.

On the positive side apartheid also made families aware of injustices which were committed against people and evoked a certain feeling of sympathy towards the other citizens of the country.

In general apartheid also strengthened family ties, because they were all fighting one common enemy, namely the evils of apartheid.

How do families in Oudtshoorn feel about the concrete implementation of reconciliation and rehabilitation in the community?

Generally there is a feeling that although the Government has taken the lead in dismantling apartheid families in Oudtshoorn feel that the playing fields have not really been levelled yet.

Economic power is still mainly in the hands of whites and they control it, strictly speaking. The importance of reconciliation has been supported by everybody. There is a feeling that all people in Oudtshoorn can live in harmony with each other, but this can only take place if there is an internal reconciliation amongst people. And for that reason it is important that people decide together, make decisions together and jointly so that they can restore confidence in each other.

Recommendations made to facilitate reconciliation and these proposals flow from

a study which was done regarding the submissions of the various parties of the Board of Community, the rule of multi-cultural associations and meetings, the extension of bonds of friendship across racial divisions, white people must get from their high horse and show sympathy with other people. There must be cooperation, there must be an integration of school and church that must play a very important role for reconciliation.

Whites feel that affirmative action discriminate against them because they were excluded from the process. They would also like to be part of the process.

A reconciliation and rehabilitation forum must be established as soon as possible to implement all these recommendations.

Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you for sharing your perspectives of the impact of human rights violations in the past and I would give this opportunity to fellow Commissioners. First of all I would like to introduce Tom Manthata, who is a Commissioner in Gauteng and he has just joined the panel now.

I will ask fellow-commissioners to ask their questions and in the interest of time I will ask all those who have got questions to ask them and then give you an opportunity to talk to them. And see how you can integrate them.

MR TOM MANTHATA: My question would be more of a simple one which you would consider.

We are seeing this kind of disparity between the African family and the white family, where you find that the African family literally has nothing to offer. They cannot even be able to teach their children to forgive, they cannot even teach them to hold their heads high up in terms of, I am equal to everybody, and inferior to nobody, to no one else. And at the same time we find that the white family has almost all.

Is it possible perhaps even through the churches that a scheme can be devised where white families can move into the destitute black families just to advise, teach, request the children in those families to attend school, work diligently?

Fortunately we are at a stage where it is said education is free up to matric. They do not even have to contribute anything, but just to give the families the moral support, because that would be the first level, you know, of where to strike equality amongst the communities. MR MAKWASA: Thank you very much. I have just a small question.

You spoke about the economic powers still in the hands of the whites and I believe it will continue to be like that if something is not done. What projects can be done by the whites to provide more jobs for these families which are disadvantaged? Because if the jobs are not there, they will almost remain in that situation.

I am just asking, can they not have any projects so that jobs are given to those people?

And number two, do you not think that you have spoken about something which is very important, the creation of schools and churches? I agree with you. Do you not think that some of the white families, because some of them are very affluent, would adopt the children. It has been said that education is free up to matric, but you pass standard ten you have nothing, you have no education and some of the black families find it very hard to send their children to Technikons, etc. so that they can get skills.

And what you said about that, don't you think that maybe some of the families could adopt some of these children so that they can get these skills? Thank you.

DR RAMASHALA: I would like to address the issue of children within the structure of the family.

Quite frankly the future of South Africa is in our children. It is in our children that we need to invest the right values, values not only about each other, but about the future of this country.

One of the things I would like you to consider, perhaps not now, but in later response, is how within the structure of the family, can we broaden the education of the children in such a way that there is an appreciation of diversity. There is an appreciation of cross cultural communication. White children for example have been deprived of knowing about black children. Black children on the other hand have been deprived of knowing about white children.

And I think if we do not develop strategies to ensure that our children get to know one another and interact in natural ways our future is very gloom and I just wanted the benefit of your thinking about that.

CHAIRPERSON: I know how difficult it is now to respond to about five questions, but I will ask you in your response to just indicate that your response addresses this aspect, if you decide to put together some questions you can feel free to say that.

PANELLIST: I would like to present my response in my own language.

Chairperson, I am going to answer very briefly. I trust that my colleagues will answer the other questions. When you ask for the contribution of the churches to the families, concerning reconciliation between the white man, the white children and the black children so that we work altogether towards a better future....

I see the church as having a significant role to play because the church as a body that during conflict was a body that was between the two sides. It played a very important role in protecting humanity. It seems to me that it has the most important voice rather than one of the sides talking to the other.

As it is said one wants to know where one comes from, the roots so that you can have a decent future. I am not talking about a situation whereby there are no other ways, I am talking about a situation whereby there is lack of money to further and make decent one's life.

I think that the situation in the country should be that there should be no difference between black and white. I cannot give up my roots. It would be just like in the apartheid times, because a lot of people who were black or who are black, prefer to be coloured, because it is better, because of the apartheid system.

Therefore, what I am saying is that black children being adopted by white parents would revert the situation back to the apartheid times.

What is important to me is that the black children should not be brought up by other races, like the white race. A black child must know where he is going.

Thank you.

DR RAMASHALA: Chairperson, may I clarify something? I would like to clarify something on the idea of adoption.

He did not mean literal adoption of black children into white families. He meant financial adoption. Actually I would not just say, white families, I would say all South Africans who can afford it. Both black and white, to take the financial responsibility to educate South African children who had not had the opportunity for education. All South Africans, both black and white.

That is what he meant by adoption. Not to take children from their families but for South Africa to truly demonstrate reparation and get involved in capacity development for our country. That is what he meant.

MR MADIKANI: I thank you for this opportunity. As I am sitting here I am quite a slow person, but when I do get somebody's point I am able to answer.

You have asked a lot of questions. Even as I sit here I try to absorb them, but I cannot answer all. If perhaps I could be asked the questions one by one I would be able to answer all. Now you have put so many questions before me, I am a bit confused.

I do not know whether you are asking how we are going to build the youth or how we can help the youth? You are talking about developing standards such that there is no difference between a black and a white child - I think that is what you were asking.

If there is some kind of help to bring together a white child and a black child, I am not sure whether this is what you are asking it is difficult to bring together a black and a white child, especially a child who has lived the history of this country, because it is always a wound that is alive.

Even though a white child would go to a black child, asking for forgiveness, the black child has not fully healed from apartheid, therefore they would sort of recoil. If it is a child who has not lived through apartheid he will freely accept a white child.

I have children at home. From the time that black children were being chased, children lost their education, they lost their morals, there were just chaos. My children did not sleep at home. I had to sleep with my door ajar, because the police was going to walk through and kick the door down anyway and do whatever they want to do.

This teaches me that my child is still begrudging the white man. I agree with you that a child who has not lived through apartheid can have reconciliation in their heart. If at a very young age you can bring together a black child and a white child they can grow up as friends, but you cannot take an adult child and put them together with a white person. They will fight.

It is evident in our country that there is no forgiveness or peace within our children. I want to make that clear. It would please me as well if from a young age a black child can be brought together with a white child.

You have piled up the questions before me. Therefore, I am a bit confused. I cannot respond to the other questions.

CHAIRPERSON: You have helped us a lot. We will still have an opportunity in small groups to develop some of the ideas, especially the challenges, I mean, like what you have just said. It is an important statement that we need to look at creative ways of helping, even the very young people who are injured within our families, to move forward, to look for ways of beginning to take a step.

So, we see that as a challenge which should be looked at this afternoon in groups. Once more, thank you very much for coming before us.

I would like to propose that we adjourn at one thirty and have lunch between one thirty and two o'clock, which means we will continue with the next two submissions within the next thirty minutes. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: I would like to welcome the two of you and begin to talk about your submission.

SUBMISSION BY MR HILTON COERECIUS: I was asked to present a direct response from

the interview with an 18 year old coloured youth. So I will read the questions as well as the answers.

Question: What was the impact of the gross human rights violations of the past on you as a young person?

Answer: During the unrest of 1985/86 I was very young. I was in primary school. I always just assumed that white people stayed in town, black people in Bonguletu and coloured in Bridgeton. That is what I grew up with.

We used to be scared of the police vans. It was a time of the riots. I remember it clearly. Everyone was scared of the vans. I think we adopted this fear from the older youth in our area.

Question: What were your perceptions of the political climate at that time?

Answer: I did not realise there were political parties when I was in primary school. In high school I realised, because political parties came to address our school. In about standard eight I realised you could choose to be in any party you liked, for example you did not need to be in a party because they were coloured. People could choose.

In standard eight the ANC youth came to our school and spoke about what was happening in our community and country. And only then did I become aware.

I can still remember there was a strike amongst the workers of Oudtshoorn, maybe in the whole country. Before then it was as though I was living in isolation, in a coloured area. I did not even know what was happening in Bonguletu, right here in our town.

Now I am learning through television, documentaries and films that look at the apartheid years, what the previous Government was doing to non-white people in South Africa. As children we were not exposed to these things.

Question: Describe an average day in your life in the days of serious unrest in Oudtshoorn.

Answer: I felt safe in my own area, but not all the time. I was scared when the police vans drove into Bridgeton and into our schools. And tyres were burning in our streets.

I thought that that is how it must be. Now that I think back and see the discrimination between people today, I realise that is not how it should be.

Question: How many youths were actively involved in the political activities in the area in which you lived.

Answer: Some people from Bridgeton, I do not think all of them. A lot of blacks were involved.

Question: How did the community treated those people who were actively involved in politics?

Answer: I do not think the community liked them, because people in our coloured area believed that things were how they needed to be. And they were disrupting this. I think the community were generally against them. A few were in support of them.

Question: What effect did gross human rights violations had on your education?

Answer: As a coloured person our schools were also disrupted by riots. It had a great effect on black pupils' education. When there were riots there were no classes. Sometimes for weeks.

The year my sister had to write her matric examinations the disruptions were so bad there were only about three months of classes that year. She still wrote her examinations. She passed, but not as well as she was hoping to. She redid her matric while she was working and passed with a matric exemption, about three years after she wrote matric for the first time. She then studied part time through the university and is now a teacher.

The education in our schools improved but we are still not equal to the white schools.

Question: If you could change things, what would you change?

Answer: I would like the idea that people see people for who they are, not what colour their skins are. We are all people and equal. I would have liked to be able to go into where I wanted.

I remember my whole family not being allowed into a restaurant in town in the late 1980's. There was a 'whites only' sign above the door.

Question: What does reconciliation mean for you?

Answer: To bring to the people the idea of equality, and to bring all people onto one level.

Question: What would be ideal reconciliation?

Answer: That all people of all races could live with each other. I think there need to be programmes, run for the youth to get youth of different races together.

They have to concentrate on the youth. Because the youth is the future.

Question: What would be an acceptable form of reconciliation for you?

Answer: I think there are signs, the fact that we have a black Mayor at the moment. We can go where we want. We can live where we want to live and we can go to any school we choose.

Question: What advice do you have for youths in other communities who have gone through similar experiences and face the same challenges as you do?

Answer: Be positive about the future of our country. Do not leave the country. We need to build a better future together. Forgive the past but do not forget it. We have to build on the past for a better future.

Thank you.

SUBMISSION BY MBULELO DIKAGI

I was asked to give a submission based on an interview with a 39 year old man from Bonguletu, and perhaps I have added some inserts within the interview which is very short.

Based on the first question of what the impact was of gross human rights violations on your youth. This person was born in Oudtshoorn and did his schooling in Cape Town. And he remembers a march on the 11 August 1976 in Cape Town. He says we were going to take a memorandum to the Minister of Education, to object to having write our exams in Afrikaans. We were stopped by the police. There were shootings, people beaten up and it was terrible. I realised then that things were really serious.

I left school and became actively involved in changing the system. The system was even using the Defence Force. Everyone was being arrested for something,

maybe what you have done or not have done.

Later I returned to Oudtshoorn, in February in 1980, then I was 23 years old.

Based on the question of describing an average day in your life during the days of serious unrest in Oudtshoorn: That was during the mid eighties. One could not sleep at home. One had to sleep in hide-outs, at friends' houses, like in the chimneys, or in the ceiling sometimes. Sometimes you could not sleep at all.

We were constantly confronted by police on the streets. Even at home, they would just come into your house and harass you.

From 1985 to 1988 my father was very sick. The police would kick the door down, shouting my name, looking for me. They did not care about my father. He got no peace until he died in 1988.

I used to discuss with my friends what could be done to get us out of this situation. And formed street committees to come up with plans. Some friends were thinking of leaving the country.

Based on the question of how many youths were involved in political activities: Every young person was basically involved in politics. In fact the entire community was involved in politics.

And how did such involvement affect relationships between yourself, as an activist and your community? People supported the youth very much, but were very afraid to be seen with other active comrades in the streets, because some of the communities felt that these people are radicals and some were worried about their own safety, if the police saw them with these activists.

Question based on youth and education - what effect did this have on your education? It had a massive effect. When I left school in 1977 I never returned to school. My main aim was to see things changing in my life.

I also remember during the mid-eighties primary education in Bonguletu was also disrupted by these activities. I remember one time teachers were also harassed in primary school. Leaders of the students were also detained in primary school. At some stage the students would just throw stones at the schools and break the schools and sometimes burned the administration block of the school, to fight against Bantu Education.

And many of the active students could not go back to school. I chose to stay in hiding. Hiding around the township or in surrounding areas. And also one aspect which made the educational activities of the students to be affected was the fact that the young people who were involved in night activities sometimes to guard that the police not to come into the township to harass people. And these night activities would go throughout the whole night. And perhaps in the morning people would not be able to go to school, because they might be tired.

Next questions, what are the long term effects of this? Now it is very difficult to get work for other people, because many of them are illiterate or they have not gone far, as much as they wanted to be educated. And one should realise now the work needs someone who is well educated and who has done matric and all that.

So you find them very few in your township, those who have got adequate education.

Another question was: If you could have your youth back again, what would you change? I would like to have seen the Government of today in power then in the seventies and already then beginning to develop our country, but that was impossible.

We would have more employment opportunities and good education for our children then. And we might have known where our future lies today, if that Government was in power then.

And also: What does reconciliation mean for you as a young person? Reconciliation means people forgiving each other and working together as one nation. It does not matter as to what one has done to another in the past. Well, at some stages it does matter, but for the sake of following the national trend today one has to follow the trend of reconciliation.

What would be ideal reconciliation for you? That is that the many people who do not have education are reached. Reconciliation starts with building up these people who are uneducated. Employ those who are unemployed. Train those who are not trained. Develop those who are not developed.

And what would be an acceptable form of reconciliation for you as a young person? I think an example is set nationally though the formation of the Youth Commission. I think if perhaps all the youth of South Africa can be part of that Youth Commission by giving suggestions to that Commission and putting forward recommendations to that Commission for development of young people. I think it would be an ideal form of reconciliation for all the people, especially of Oudtshoorn, which is an undeveloped area.

And what advice do you have for the youth who has gone through similar experiences, and face the same challenges as you do? In fact I would like to say to the youth of South Africa and especially of Oudtshoorn, hang on to your education, keep on going to school. Our eyes are on them, they will enjoy a better life than we did. Share ideas with people of different colour and culture.

To you I say mix with all people and do it right now in this reconciliation process. I thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much to the two of you.

As you can see these submissions have been structured around questions. Before I invite any additions to these questions, I would ask Dr Ramashala to give a perspective of what emerged during the hearings in this area around the same topic.

DR RAMASHALA: I do not know if people appreciate that instead of giving just your perspective that you actually went out and interview the youth then and the youth now, in order to get a full sense of that.

When the three children in the so-called 'Bonguletu Three' were born, Dyantgi, Madikane, etc. - when those children were born their parents had a vision. Their parents had some ideas about their future. Their parents dreamed about what could be. In fact, in the African community when a child is born the parents tend to say: This one is going to be a teacher, this one is going to be a doctor, this one is going to be a nurse, a lawyer, etc.

That is how all parents dream for a bright future for their children.

When the children become six, seven and eight and begin to see other role models in communities they themselves dream, they dream about becoming a doctor, they dream about becoming a teacher, they dream about becoming a nurse. The dreams of South African children from disadvantaged communities were snuffed out. Some were killed and others like the case histories here, never finished school.

We refer to those children who never finished school as 'the lost generation of South Africa'. They are 30 years old now, they are 32 years old now, they are 39 years old now. Those are the children whose education was disrupted. Those were the dreams that were aborted. Actually in African culture, and that is my perspective, when a child is born the parents see an improvement in the quality

of their lives, because they invest in their children and their children say, when I am finished I am going to buy my mother her first decent house. (.tape ends)

.... Bonguletu and those who never finished their education are still living in shacks in Bonguletu. So lets take heed that we are not just talking about the killing and the abortion of peoples futures', but we are talking about the continuity of a hard life, of poverty and an never ending struggle.

What has emerged out of these case studies is the question of missed opportunities. We do not know if any of these children could have been doctors or nurses or not, but we know that South Africa has lost and lost for ever. And lost talents that could have been a significant part of the development of our country.

But what has also come out of these submissions is a strange kind of hope, a looking into the future. There is a talking about re-training of those children who missed opportunities. There is talk about the education of the youth. There is an appeal from the child of that generation to the youth in South Africa to say, stay in school, hang in there, not only for yourself, for your families and the future of your country.

So while there is some desperation and some pain, there is also that hope. I would like to say to Oudtshoorn that hope is not only for the children in Oudtshoorn, it is the hope for the parents and for the community. It is important to grab the message. To grab the message that has come out of these young people. To grab the message that has been conveyed by these young people and look around not just with your families, but let us look around all of Oudtshoorn, all of South Africa and dare to be offended when a child misses an opportunity.

I do not want to sound paternalistic but I am just so proud of you. That you actually went out and did research and out of that research came the spirit of hope. I would like to include you also in asking Oudtshoorn to look at what can be done for you and other youth like you.

I know we despair and say, this is a lost generation, but I do not think all is lost. I think this is a creative opportunity, I think this is a creative town that through the different structures that are possible, we can get there from here.

Chairperson, thank you very much.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much. I would just like to emphasise one thing, that I would like to invite all of you to assist as much as you can in developing the response which has been given by young people this afternoon in terms of thinking about what is possible.

We have heard a lot about their experiences and I suppose that applies to all the presentations we have had, and the Commissioners were trying to help the presenters to think about what can be done, and you saw the difficulties which we had - there was not much time, but definitely this afternoon we will use as much time as possible in thinking about what can be done in this area, or initiate it. If I say what can be done I am not having in mind a quick fix of some kind, but as the community of Oudtshoorn I should think you can begin to think about possible action.

So we will adjourn now and come back here at two o'clock whereby people will be given specific instructions about what will go on in groups. I do not know whether a person who is giving a woman's presentation has arrived, I was told she is not here. I am told she is not here, so I thank you, we will adjourn and be back here at two o'clock.

DR RAMASHALA: I have an announcement. The group sessions this afternoon will be

divided into six. Women which will be facilitated by Glenda Wilscott will be here in the hall on the stage. And it is important because that group is the one that will be taped. And that is why we have set it up on the stage.

Youth and Education, facilitated by Ms Mkize and myself, Class room 206.

Media, facilitated by Burton and Jaffa, Room 205.

Church, facilitated by Mary Mgosjo Khundu, Room 204.

Families of victims, facilitated by Tom Manthata, Class room 203.

Health care workers, facilitated by Granville Grey and Magwasa in Class Room 202.

Please distribute yourselves according to your interest area and where you can have the greatest impact in terms to contributing to policy formulation.

Thank you very much.

THE HEARING ADJOURNED FOR LUNCH

ON RESUMPTION

DR RAMASHALA: I will start by saying, do not be alarmed that the Women's submission was not made during the last session. It in fact was incorporated into the small group discussion. One member of the submitting team was not there, but the other one was there and all the information was fed into the small group discussion and it will be part of the reporting.

What we will do is get some feedback from the rapporteurs about the significant issues that came out of the small group discussions. And I sense from the animation and the excitement that I see that all the groups went very well.

May I start with the Women's Group to give your report please.

SUBMISSION BY THE WOMEN'S GROUP

I am Lenie Rhodes from Oudtshoorn's Women Organisation. We women of Oudtshoorn took a decision here today that there are lots of things in the town that women can do.

The first decision that we took was that we as women should go out to those families who have wives, husbands and children who died in the apartheid era. We must find out what the needs are, what the shortages are of that family.

Furthermore, we decided that we will have to look at the advancement of the surviving families there. We discussed the needs of the town, the surviving people, children who remained unemployed in the apartheid era, who do not have sufficient education and all those issues need to be addressed by the women in the community.

Women took the initiative that there are women in town who could go out to the different places of employment in the town and at these places where there are not other races who are not employed, like at the banks where certain races only are employed, the chemists, the supermarkets.

Many of our children have the desire to go and work, but they cannot come out there, because they are afraid that because of their Xhosa accent and their Xhosa names they are immediately turned away.

It was also asked that these children who died in the apartheid era have a monument dedicated to them in memory of them in Bridgeton or Bonguletu. That

monument is to be placed in the middle of town. And it was also asked that the women sit down and launch a bursary fund and that money be used so that students who did matric and whose parents who cannot afford to send them to tertiary institutions be assisted, so that those children are not a loss to our societies.

It was also asked that the museum exhibition that was introduced to the people on Monday night, the museum be used by our children, who are the youth of today. That the schools allow them to go to the museum and learn that what is being exhibited there, is in memory of the people who died for us in this town.

It was also decided that the women of Bonguletu and Bridgeton should ask Oudtshoorn that there should be more NGO's made available to us. People who died in Oudtshoorn meant a lot to our town. As a result of NGO's who withdrew we would like to make their funds available again so that the children who are walking around in the streets can go there, workshops be presented where children could receive educational opportunities so that they can be better people tomorrow.

It was also asked, in the light of our arts festival, that is going to take place in March here in Oudtshoorn, there was a feeling by the women that many of us women and many of our people and our communities in Bridgeton and Bonguletu cannot form part of the programme which is being launched in Oudtshoorn, because things are too expensive, it is not accessible to our people on the street and people cannot go there to take part in the programme.

The stalls which are going to be there during the festival are only accessible to the white people of this town, the white people around the town and white people as far as Namibia because it is affordable to them to go and exhibit their things there.

Our people have the skills to have different sorts of stalls at the exhibition but we do not have the money to go there, because we cannot afford it.

So we, as the women of Oudtshoorn felt that it should be one of the things which should be addressed in this town. The first year of the arts festival, it was possible for all people of Oudtshoorn to be part of this festival, but since 1996 it was not affordable for all of us and we could not be part of the programme. The same thing will happen this year, 1997, so we must draft a plan and take the initiative to reach those people.

The Women's League of Bridgeton and Bonguletu felt that there were many shortcomings in the town and we felt that we will work together as a team and see that we address these shortcomings and see what we can do for our communities.

A lot of our youth are on the streets on a daily basis and they cannot get involved in the community any where, because there is nothing in our communities that we can do for them. So that is one of the things, that we have to ensure that things happen in our town.

The women also feel that they can go to banks and apply for loans to launch small businesses, but as soon as we go to the banks we are turned down. Money is not made available to us because we cannot explain to the banks or assure them as to how we are going to repay them. So the women of Bonguletu would like to mean something to their people but they cannot, because the money is out of their reach.

It was also decided by the women that a service is to be held in one church for the entire community so that we can stand together as a community and address what is necessary for our town.

That is all.

DR RAMASHALA: Thank you, that was very comprehensive.

The next report is from the Youth and Education group.

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SUBMISSION BY THE YOUTH AND EDUCATION GROUP

My name is Wilhelm Verwoerd, I am a staff member in the TRC and I have been asked to give this feedback.

The first question was individual and family reparation, specifically looking at the youth. There was a clear emphasis, some people said we must provide some compensation to people who suffered severely under apartheid. The question was, should it be in the form of lump sum money payments? And there was quite a long discussion whether that might be corrupting, how it is going to be spent, and whether it would not be better to submit a list of names of victims to the President.

They can then be entitled for special grants, special benefits like disability grants, or whatever. That we must find a way of making sure that they money is actually used to empower people and not just to leave them dependent on hand-outs.

And then obviously the question about medical treatment. People who still have bullet wounds, people who still suffer at a physical level should be given medical treatment and those people who are also suffering from psychological continuing problems, they should also be given help.

And then there was some integration with the next question, looking at the community level, because a number of people felt we should not just look to the individual people who suffered specific gross human rights violations, because the youth as a whole in a sense suffered under apartheid and large numbers of people suffered.

The emphasis in a sense then shifted to looking to which employment opportunities can be created so that people can be empowered, so they can get their self-respect back and not be dependent on hand outs - so a lot of discussion went into that.

And then education, and people felt that so many people are having to go to the cities to get tertiary education and that one of our biggest recommendations would be to find some kind of multi-skills technikon tertiary type institution in Oudtshoorn, which can then be used to give opportunity to the youth to get further skills beyond the school level.

And then of course even within the school training, greater emphasis placed skills, ways in which the existing resources within Oudtshoorn can be used to equip young people to cope with the life in a modern society.

People who can go back to school should be identified and opportunities created and there was some discussion about bursaries that partly can be made available through the Municipality but also through the state, for people to go and further their studies.

Somebody said that we must make sure that we get an audit of the existing resources within Oudtshoorn, at medical level, at educational level, people who can actually become involved in helping people without jobs, without the necessary education and then they can be employed.

And that was linked to the third question where we talked about ways in which

people who have skills, people who have resources often within the white community but just not only within the white community, how can you create opportunities for those people to help those and to become involved in the lives of those who do not have those opportunities, specifically in terms of education.

And it is not going to be a one way education, because many say black kids would have certain skills, certain understandings which many white kids do not have.

And that you should create opportunities where there can be a sharing of skills between the different groups.

So that was the second and the first question and to some extent the third question.

The third question focused specifically on the process of healing and reconciliation and the Mayor made a sort of solid input, saying that we must somehow find a way of bringing those people who are not here today, to bring them on board. Look for opportunities to convey the message that unless we swim together, we will sink together.

And even if those people do not want to get involved we should find ways to keep going, to keep trying to convince people to come on board and to not just do it for the sake of the people who have suffered, but for their own sakes, in terms of being reconciled, of being healed themselves as well.

So we talked about how we can change the negative perceptions about the TRC. We talked a lot about using the children, perhaps the parents will not be able to convince, but the children at school level, expose them to the history of Oudtshoorn which are not being taught as schools, especially the white kids.

Find ways, for example at a sport level, and just not in January and February when people have athletics, but throughout the year organise events, using different sports, not just athletics, but other kinds of sports, where people can at a regular basis interact and mix and so break down many of those walls that separate people at this stage still.

And we should not just wait for national actions, that we should look for ways within our own community and between the different communities to continue with this kind of action.

And then at the end somebody made a very moving sort of contribution, saying that also for the sake of the perpetrators we must find ways of bringing them back into the community. And as I understood it, there was the idea of creating special occasions, even special days or special ceremonies where people who confessed for what they have done can be embraced, can be reintegrated in the community.

So they can be healed themselves, so that they do not walk around with the scars, and commit suicide, and kill their families and make no constructive contribution to society.

So that was a very important point. And then of course also, hopefully in that process you might get some of the people who confess, who were perpetrators to say, we are not just talking about confession we are actually prepared to give more, to give some of our resources, to restore the consequences of what we have done. And that would obviously be the ideal we could aim at.

And let me just finish on a personal note. While I was sitting there, listening to especially the last contribution I was just struck by in a sense the tremendous strategy of apartheid, and a sort-of sense of sadness, how it is possible for a white community in Oudtshoorn and I do not think it is so unique, people can sit out there and they are so far removed from the TRC, so far removed from the other communities. And here we sit in a class room talking

about ways to embrace perpetrators, looking for ways to reintegrate people and all they can worry about is, this is a sort of ANC witch hunt and I do not know what else.

And just the sort of tremendous irony that people are reaching out. People that do not have to reach out, who should actually be bitter and angry are prepared to reach out, but people are still not listening.

And I am really going back to the Commission with a renewed commitment to look for ways to speak to the community also where I come from, which is an Afrikaans community, to take this message to them. And to try and break down some of those wrong perceptions about the TRC and about the other communities.

DR RAMASHALA: Thank you Wilhelm. The Media group.

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SUBMISSION BY THE MEDIA GROUP

Good afternoon. My name is Mansoer. I am from Oudtshoorn, Toekomsrus and I am going to report about the Media group. In the interest of time I will keep the report as brief as possible.

The first point that people made in the group was that we want the media today to provide a total and objective picture of our own society. We do not want a situation where we repeat the mistakes of the past - that only a particular part of history is being transmitted to people.

The media in this sense can also assist people in thinking objectively and critically about their society. The media must facilitate areas of integration, especially at the school level. We were told in the group that there are teachers and pupils who are trying to cross the past and meet with each other at various levels and the media needs to give more coverage about this kind of thing.

The group also spoke of an open day where people of various communities could meet each other and that the media should also give prominence to this.

In terms of our history it was also felt again that the children need to know the history of this place and in that respect the exhibition can be continued and expanded. More people need to be drawn in to writing the history of Oudtshoorn so that children can go and know that Oudtshoorn was not always like it is today.

There was one Oudtshoorn. People used to be integrated, used to live next to each other in town and the children where their fathers and grand-fathers, mothers went to church and school and so on.

And this is the kind of visual display that we need, not only at the museum but also at other institutions in Oudtshoorn.

The media can deal with the emotional stress and scars that people have experienced, by focusing on families and individuals who have suffered in the community by writing up their stories on a regular basis.

It can try and meet people's physical needs by informing people of socio-economic projects which are currently being engaged in, for example around land claims, around educational opportunities and so on.

The media must vigorously promote reconciliation and healing and we again spoke about the absence of the white community here today, quite openly. And we thought that perhaps the media needs to look at the factors which result in the white community staying away from very important nation building processes, such

as these.

It was pointed out that in the past there was a kind of a confrontational relationship with some sectors of the media and that we need to change that, where we interact more with the media and explain to them what the needs of the community are.

We need to encourage the media to strike a balance between positive and negative elements, so that there is not only a focus on the negative, but there is a focus on the positive and the constructive things happening in our community.

People spoke about a youth centre which is in the pipe line, which is going to offer skills, computer training, etc. and one should also ask the media to focus on these kinds of issues.

Adult basic education was also important and in this respect the radio could play an important role.

There is apparently a publication, called The Scholar's Voice which is brought out by different schools and this was discussed and it was felt that one should look at expanding this publication and look at reviving a community publication like Saamstaan, possibly in a very different form and with a very different role that it played in the past. But there is perhaps a need for a community paper, which can incorporate all sectors of the Oudtshoorn community.

Finally it was felt that the Truth Commission should at some point document these feelings that the community have put forward and meet with some of the editors and heads of the media and convey this to them in a memorandum or a document. These are the kinds of things which people would like to see reflected in the media - things of reconstruction, things of development, of healing, of reconciliation, of bringing people together and of integration.

Thank you very much.

DR RAMASHALA: Next is the report from the church.

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SUBMISSION BY THE CHURCH GROUP

My name is Piet Meiring and I was told to speak in Afrikaans. Those of you who have to listen to the interpreters must do so.

You will be interested to know that the church people and the Ministers who gathered together did not talk as much as they would normally do from the pulpit, because they realised that they are dealing with very serious matters and that each and every word has to be weighed quite carefully.

The first thing that was mentioned in the Church group is does the church have a real role to play in Oudtshoorn and we told each other that it was a real gain and advantage that there is real respect in Oudtshoorn as a result of the past and as a result of the role played by Christians and church leaders here and as a result of the point and stand taken by the church in the past.

So the community supports the church and would like to see the church taking the lead. And that was a great advantage, which is placed on the table.

The second point was that the churches have the word of God and ultimately with the word of God in our hands, we ought to convey our message.

The big question is just that the word of God, the message must come through to each and every situation and Ministers must try to address all aspects of the Gospel, not only when it deals with the relationship between God and people, but

also regarding the relations amongst people themselves.

And we said that armed with the voice of God, the church has a voice and people will be willing to listen and we also told each other that these are questions facing us, what do we have to say to the families, and to society?

And it was very clear to the Ministers and the Church group that is a great need and that many families have been affected, many individuals have been affected and that there is a great need in many ways, but that it was felt that we are going about this in the wrong way.

That the Ministers in the Church group cannot sit and tell each other what the community actually needs, that the churches must first consult with the community, they must speak to the victims, and listen to what they have to say, what are your needs and only then would the church be able to implement these.

And there was also a discussion about the need for the community which is rather a divided one, to be brought together and then the Ministers really started addressing each other seriously.

And they followed the same lines that was followed by Rev De Klerk this morning, by saying there was a time in Oudtshoorn when the churches really formed a united front when the communities were suffering. Then the churches really new what they were fighting for and they stood together but after the changes came about it was as if there was a sort of fragmentation in the church community. And then the Ministers also said to each other, and you might agree, that as a church the first most direct contribution which could be made is that the churches can now move closer to each other, take each others hands and embrace each other.

We then started dreaming. And as was said this morning regarding the role of the church, it was expressed that what you need here in Oudtshoorn is a religious Codesa, and we went further and said that the religious Codesa ought to take place in various stages. And we said that we suggested that Codesa 1 would be when the church communities as they exist currently, come to each other and say, look we need a new commitment and that the churches in the coloured community and the black communities and those churches normally associated with the Southern Cape Churches, that all these churches meet each other and say to each other what we need to do.

And on the other side as part of Codesa 2, have a look at whether we cannot motivate the white Afrikaans and English churches to start up a similar process in the town. To tell them, look at the past and look at the future. What are the problems, what are the perspectives and what are the challenges facing white Christians. That is Codesa 1, religiously speaking.

And then we need to go to Codesa 2, when these groups actually meet each other after the ground work had been laid. So then in the second phase all Christians from all denominations and groups, language groups that they will meet each other and say, let us turn over a new leaf and let us start afresh.

There will be a lot of matters on the agenda. The first will be how can we strengthen our unity, but a second issue would be to, with all the knowledge of the various communities, to compile a list of the real burning needs in the communities we know, which families, which individuals are suffering. We can compile a list of those.

And then the church would also be able to do a third thing and that is to compile a list of all available resources available in the different communities and churches, which could be utilised to help alleviate the need.

One would, for instance, be able to ask some of the

white Christians, try and convince them, that this is also their issue, their

concern.

And say to them that we were advantaged in the past and we profited from many things in the past and we have the resources to help needy people today.

So Codesa 1 is a bit of consolidation, to see whether the groups could have a strong commitment for the case at hand. Codesa 2 would be where people actually meet each other and plans would be made to strengthen church unity and lists would be drawn up of the needs of people and thirdly to properly utilise all the resources to really help people.

As far as reconciliation is concerned we also said that the church has also got to play a very big role. It is easy to talk about reconciliation and the need for reconciliation and it is necessary to bring together perpetrators and victims and sufferers and it is all nice to talk about this and pay lip service to the idea, until actual people are being identified as perpetrators or victims. And then the question is, would these specific individuals, would they be willing to meet.

The local Ministers felt that this would actually be possible.

We concluded in typical Ministers' tradition and said that the role of the church could be of a dual nature. Any church in any country always has a choice, it can either be a mirror church, or it can be a window church. A church can either be a reflection of all the needs and pain and suffering and prejudice and every thing found in society and then the church is just like the world out there and does not help much. Unfortunately that is often the way the church seems to be.

But on the other hand God or the Bible demands of us that we should be an open window and that we will deflect people away from our problems and tensions and the church should establish a new future of reconciliation for the world and we are full of hope that Codesa 1 and 2 take place in Oudtshoorn, that the past will be understood and there will be an open window into the future for all.

Thank you.

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DR RAMASHALA: The next report is from the Family Group.

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SUBMISSION BY THE FAMILY GROUP

I am Z A Hanse, a Minister of religion locally in Oudtshoorn and I am going to present my report in Xhosa.

As we were sitting as a group, discussing issues about the families of the victims we pointed out very important things.

The first one was about the so-called perpetrators. As we were talking about them there is a need for those people to come forward with the aim of asking for forgiveness. Before that they must tell us the reason behind all this, so that we can accept their apologies and build our nation together.

And also consider those people who were victimised during those times. They must at least get a pension.

We looked at the important role that actually took time before it was concluded. It looks like it has been dealt with in the other issues that we started with. We decided to set a forum that is going to be a mediator between the two groups so that all those needs should be combined together so that their communities could give support.

And that this forum is going to be a rehabilitation forum which is going to deal with the following issues:

Training of the people, so as to know the relevant things, to deal with problems like people who are not aware of their rights. That is the reason why the authorities would take one side of the story. We decided that there should be a collaboration from this rehabilitation forum, which is going to help train people, even the churches, the schools and the business people are going to be used in this forum - the people will be sitting for this forum.

Where the people's needs are going to be discussed we are going to use the researchers that are available. We must not delay. We must try and improve the services that we have. Examples of this, there will be other forums where there will be groups from different places. The cultural groups where we are going to hold the cultural activities.

This means that we will be working with the aim of improving both sides to improve the future, as you can see there on that big flag.

We discussed that there should be a hall that is going to be used. A hall where all the names of the victims will appear, all those who were harassed and tortured until they died during the times of apartheid. So in that hall those names should be listed on a stone. There should be a monument in that hall with all those names.

Another idea came that the hall should be built somewhere in Bonguletu. There were different opinions - some felt that this hall should be in Bridgeton or in town. The question was, is not this going to remind the people of the past if this thing would be in an irrelevant place?

There was another idea that this issue is going to be forwarded to another forum or maybe a stadium can be built. It should not be like an ordinary stadium, but a stadium which is going to be called a National Stadium, where we are going to have tennis courts and other things of that nature.

We all agreed on this idea of the hall and the idea of the stadium, where the names of the victims will be listed who died during those times.

The last issue: there are people who were killers, the people who were perpetrators. They are still around, they are still working even today, some of the perpetrators. Some of them like threatening people even right now.

We decided that such people should be taken to the Station Commander so that the Station Commander should decide what to do with such people, because we want those people to be retrenched.

Another possibility on the collaboration of the forum is training of the police so that they can be able to work with the communities, even the people should be trained to know the law, so that we can build a peaceful South Africa. Thank you.

DR RAMASHALA: The last report is from Health Care Workers, but before we get that report I want to acknowledge on behalf of the Commission that the Health Care workers have already worked and continue to work with the Commission by providing medical aid and counselling, following our urgent interim reparations programme. And we have not had a chance to say, thank you. These are folks who are responding to the more immediate needs that cannot wait for the policy level in the recommendations to the President.

May I officially say thank you to the Health Care workers.

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SUBMISSION BY THE MENTAL HEALTH WORKERS GROUP

My name is Charles Narkin. I represent Provincial Administration Western Cape, Mental Health Services. I am not from Oudtshoorn.

We had a meeting of about 30 people, nearly all of whom were from Oudtshoorn and to confirm, as Dr Ramashala said, our mandate was to try and present a working programme that we can begin to implement with almost immediate urgency.

Now the group was attended by people who are traditional mental health care workers, such as your Psychiatric Community Nurses from the Southern Cape, led very ably by Dr Van Wyk who comes from Oudtshoorn originally. I think it is wonderful that he has actually returned and he is the only psychiatrist in the Southern Cape and he is certainly bringing all this skills back into this region at a very timeous point.

It is timeous because the group recognised that Oudtshoorn has suffered mental health-wise. There is no research to prove it, but it seems clear that there has been a lot of trauma and there is people who have suffered acute trauma and long term chronic trauma.

And this group decided that they want to try and develop trauma services within their existing resources. There was an acknowledgement that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission cannot in the short term put up any reparation money, they cannot put up a lot of mental health resources. We must turn to the resources within Oudtshoorn and the resources within the Southern Cape.

So the decision was that there would be two types of processes that will happen. First of all the existing mental health workers will put the word out that trauma and people who have suffered from various forms of trauma, who are suffering the symptoms of trauma, to please feel that the health and the mental health services have an open door to receive them.

An this would also possibly include people who are perpetrators, who are suffering potentially the traumas of having played that role. Maybe deliberating about seeking amnesty, coming out into the open, seeking forgiveness, so it is really an open audit.

They have been trained but they will get further training around the very particular nature of politically motivated trauma, as well as all the other trauma they deal with, like child abuse, sex abuse, violence, which is clearly no less in Oudtshoorn than in other communities - and we are very concerned about that.

But in addition to the traditional mental health workers the decision was made by the group and there were a lot of people there, who immediately volunteered to set up a cohort of volunteers. They are going to be trained by Dr Van Wyk's team and a supportive team led by myself from the Provincial Administration, where we are going to develop trauma work skills in this group of people, counselling skills, trauma skills, conflict resolution skills.

So they are going to be armed with a set of skills that they can offer this community to ease some of the distresses and pains which are both chronic and acute. So we are going to get going with training programmes, where these people, who are also the volunteers will put the word out.

So we want to just make a final message and a final statement to the community to say, that put the word out that groups will be starting up. If people are suffering from trauma, if they are having all terrible symptoms and they cannot get their lives back on track, if they are having all kinds of problems which they feel are due to the traumatic events in their life, to feel that there is a supportive web, being built up in this neighbourhood and in this community - by people in the community and it will hopefully grow from strength to strength.

Thank you Commissioners.

DR RAMASHALA: Thank you very much.

I am going to summarise very quickly to identify what has come out of today's proceedings.

This has been an incredible day and I can say that now that it is towards the end. I felt like a bride at the beginning, I could not say it is going well, you have to wait until the end. It just has been absolutely incredible.

There have been two levels of discussions, particularly with respect to the afternoon sessions. The one level of discussions related to the TRC mandate, which clearly confined us to the description and definition of gross human rights violations. A feed back came on issued that relate to how we are going to formulate policy recommendation for those people who suffered gross human rights violations within the Oudtshoorn community.

Lots of information came out. Information that will be part of our report to the State President.

The other level, discussions and recommendations specific to the Oudtshoorn community. I was terribly impressed that the Oudtshoorn community, in the discussions, was not saying to the Truth Commission we wait for you to solve our problem.

In fact people were very aggressive about saying that Oudtshoorn has to take it and move with it to make sure that Oudtshoorn not only develop its own support services but other developmental problems. And that, truly, was very very impressive, in fact there are very specific strategies that have been identified that will take this community forward.

I am very impressed about how generous people are about the issue of perpetrators. It is incredible to me as Wilhelm said, that in the discussions, particularly in the Youth and Education Group there was great emphasis that we should reach out to perpetrators. That we should support perpetrators. That we should provide counselling services to perpetrators, because they also are carrying a burden. And that has been emphasised also by the Health Care Profession.

The Truth Commission is going to put together a report about these three day proceedings and we will send that report to the Oudtshoorn Community Steering Committee. And between us we will discuss how we will distribute it to the Oudtshoorn community so that at least you will have a record of what happened in the past three days.

I would like to thank some people and if I forget you please it is not deliberate, but especially Mayor Siphon Kroma and the Town Council, who not only provided a place for us to meet whenever we came, but fed us, supported us in every possible way.

And Matthew, I have not seen Matthew except for a few minutes, Matthew really was sabotaged, bamboozled into this assignment. And Matthew I would like to say thank you for initiating the processes up to now in the Steering Committee.

The Steering Committee, consisting of Mbule Lodighatle and David Piedt, Pastor Dyantgi, Angelina le Kay, Pastor Hanse, Margory Piedt and others, thank you very much for pushing this process forward. And your task is not finished. This is just the beginning of your task.

The group of Ministers who arranged the service thanks to you. The Exhibition Committee, especially Erica Barnard, the Curator of the Museum. Thanks to you too.

The Catholic Church and Bishop Adams who provided us with a temporary office. We could not have functioned from that distance and be successful. And thank you very much Bishop Adams.

The media - you travel at great risk. From the G7 hearings yesterday to be here to cover these hearings. Without you we would not be able to share these experiences with the nation. Thank you and I know you are looking forward to getting home and getting good sleep.

To Sol Terblanche, again you also travelled at great speed in order to bring us the sound system here today;

Principle of Bridgeton Senior School for providing us with the venue; the Police for taking care of us; the Traffic Department; the people providing the beautiful flowers; the caterers - we had a very good lunch; and the TRC staff team. We look good here, but really let us face it, it is the people in the background, and without our staff team we would not have looked as good as we do now.

May I ask that you leave the head phones. They are useless, you cannot use them for anything. So leave them on your chair.

Before we close I would like to ask Mayor Kroma to say a few words and I am deliberately not saying commitment Mayor because I do not want to put you in the spot, but to say a few words about what has come out, not only from these proceedings, but from the three day proceedings in Oudtshoorn. And after the Mayor we will sing the National Anthem and we will ask Reverend Ghojo to pray for us again.

MAYOR KROMA: Thank you Commissioner Ramashala. I think I have to make a few comments, especially on behalf of the community of Oudtshoorn, who I represent.

In the discussion that we had during the course of the days I did mention a few issues that to me were not very very sound, especially if one looks at the level of participation as was mentioned from the white community of Oudtshoorn. It is an issue that needs to be worked at.

Let me first start by saying as Commissioner Ramashala has mentioned that, you see I move from the opinion that in the past the Oudtshoorn Town Council has played a major role in the violation of human rights of our people.

If you look through the archives of the Town Council and read through the minutes and look at discussions around the Group Areas Act then you would find out that the Town Clerk of the town was the chief Architect of the Group Areas Act. He took to himself to make sure that this issue was done.

You further go on and look at the minutes. I just want to deal with structures that dealt with human rights violations. You look at the JMC's and you look at discussions that happened within Council. Those minutes are down there. Look at the JMC's where the police were planted within the Municipality to do a particular job. They were there where discussions were held in the Municipality.

I am saying that we have a democratically elected Municipality in this town. And that democratically elected Municipality has got a task and the task of making

sure that we played a major role in the reconciliation of our people in this country.

One of the major roles that we have to play and that you must play in that Municipality is to make sure that you participate in the whole issue of reparations and the healing of our people in this town. Because if our people are not healed you are not going to be able to have a community to lead at the end of the day. We must and we are compelled to play a role at that level.

I am saying this and I know that I am saying this on behalf of the majority of people in this town of ours and I know that I am saying that on behalf of the majority of the Councillors who are within the Council.

As I mentioned that it is our task people who are here who for the past three days have been part of this whole endeavour. I think what we need to do now is to go to the other side and go and convince our brothers and sisters who are living in town and explain to them the importance of the Truth Commission and the importance of us coming together as a nation and the importance of us living together as brothers and sisters in the spirit of reconciliation, what that can do for our town.

There were people of the opinion that there can be no ways in which the people who were formally oppressed can reconcile within ourselves alone. We need to take our brothers and sisters in hand and bring them along with us.

Even if that meant that we have to do that on a day to day basis and pursue and continue because it is very very important for us to move together.

Let me further say that I hope that this is not the end of the whole process. That I hope that this is the first step towards healing and that with step of today we are going to form something concrete that is going to lead to us having a town that is healed.

Let me further say that, when I am saying these things, when I refer to the town I not necessarily refer to the Town Council, I refer to the people of Oudtshoorn, to the community of Oudtshoorn. Together we can be able to build, to bridge the gap existing between us in this town. Together we can be able to make sure that our idea of reconciliation becomes a reality at the end of the day. I must at this stage say that on behalf of the people of Oudtshoorn, I must thank the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for the work that you have been able to start in this town of ours. I do not want to say the work that we have done, but the work that we have been able to start in this town of ours, because I think without your support and without your wisdom and without your advice we would not have been able to reach the point that we have reached today.

I hope that some of the issues that have been raised here, there are issues that are pertinent to our community. I hope that you did not raise these issues and all the submissions that were made here, there are issues that are dealing pertinently to the community. I hope that you did not raise those issued here today in order to walk out of that door and forget about them.

Because tomorrow we will sit again with the very same problems that we are sitting with today. I hope that you are going to make sure that we do our job as the community of Oudtshoorn to make sure that at the end of the day, we have a unified community that we can all be proud of. And a very beautiful town that we are having. God bless you. I thank you.

DR RAMASHALA: Finally may I give special appreciation to my fellow Commissioners and Committee members for their support in helping through this process for the three days and to say a special thanks to my Committee Chairperson for hanging in with us the past three days.

Thank you so very much. May we rise and sing the National Anthem and after that Reverend Ghojo will just close.

The National Anthem of South Africa is sung.

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

REIGER PARK POST HEARING

FOLLOW UP WORKSHOP

DATE: 19 APRIL 1997

BISHOP RIGHT REVEREND DAVID BEREGE

CHRISTIAAN KORF

BHEKI

NG FOCUS GROUP

MICHAEL SHONGWE

HELD AT: BOKSBURG

DAY: 1

CHAIRPERSON: People are requested or perhaps people are just reminded or cautioned that if you get to the statement takers room, a statement may not be taken from you, but you will have to register. Therefore, then you will have to give your name, you will have to give your name, your address, perhaps even your telephone number and the ID, your ID number. Particulars, your particulars will be taken, even if you may not give a statement today, for future reference so that you may be consulted to come and give your statement.

We are now beginning. We are beginning now. As we are starting we want just to inform people and that in our programme we have place for submissions and that people would be told if that time has come. When we have listened to all the inputs and I think when we have gone through discussions and questions, I need some clarity, but I think I will have to caution the following people to be prepared themselves if the time arrived. We have someone coming from Youth Group, we have Christian Korf who will be giving us a presentation and we have Lungelo Zondi who will also be giving a presentation on behalf of the NGO's. We have also a NG Church Focus Group, which will make a representation on behalf of White community. We have, and we want to acknowledge at this time, the presence among us of the Right Reverend Berege among us, Anglican Bishop in the Diocese of the South Eastern Transvaal, and Carol, his wife, they are present with us here. We want to give them a warm welcome and, especially us in this area, we are grateful to have them with us here. Perhaps it would be good if the Bishop and Carol just stand up so that we give them a real warm welcome.

Thank you very much and then we will also listen to the SACP representative from Davidton, Bheki, he is around with us here, we have, we will have someone from Khulumani Group, Mr Xakeka and then we have Prisoners Concerned Group, which will be represented by Paulos Xabi Mr and then we have Justice and Peace Catholic Church, Springs. There will be a representative from that group. Now, all these people we will call them if the time arrived. We are going to notify them when programmes arrives at that stage.

Now, we are, I am sure those people who have their machines before, I am not very much familiar with that, I will ask one of the Commissioners to tell us how these machines work so that we are all updated how these machines work and where to switch and where not to switch for this language and that language stations and so on. I am going to ask them to explain before we continue. We are just about to ask Dr Randerera to address us, but before he does that, can we just know how to operate, can you listen, please, listen how this machine is going to work so that you are not going out saying that you did not hear. The interpreters, you are going to take this thing and insert into your ears and then you will be asked which language you want to hear. Over to you Doctor.

DR RANDERA: Thank you Rev Mbande. Before I explain how this little box works, I want to actually, personally extend a warm thanks to you and your colleagues for organising this workshop again. I have had the pleasure of attending two workshops - he is not listening, of course, - pleasure of attending two workshops that you organised and both of them were extremely well attended and that says a great deal for the respect that you have in these communities. I thank you for that.

This little box, on the right-hand side, has got numbers and number two is for English translations, number three is for Sotho and number four is for Zulu. We apologise for not having an Afrikaans interpreter. Okay sorry. There is a small technical problem, but everything should be on line within five minutes. Can I also ask people when we come to the discussion time and anybody from the audience wants to speak can they come to the central table and speak into the microphone there. Is that okay? Thank you very much.

Before I start on my, on my brief, which I understand is to give an overall state of where we are within the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. I want to make another observation, which is to say that it is, for me, and I am sure, for the other people who participated in the East Rand hearings, it is very good to see a number of people, the witnesses were appeared and other people who attended and it is good to see that everybody is still smiling and well and, at the same time, I want actually thank all the other people who have come from the community. It is good to see such a representation of different communities here today and I am sure that this helps in this whole process of reconciliation that we talking about.

I want to acknowledge the presence of Eddie McKew from the South African Council of Churches, who has just come in now and also our Regional Manager, Patrick Kelly, I am sure some of you heard us singing happy birthday to him earlier on, it is his birthday, I am glad he has come to share it with us today. I think before I go into where we are at, I want to just take a few steps backwards and remind us where we have come from and for me the Constitution speaks with the most wonderful words as to why we have decided to embark, as a country on the Truth and Reconciliation process and if we just go back, most of us I hope have now been given this little books on the Constitution, but the preamble some of the relevant portions of the preamble says, "Since the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa provides a historic bridge between the past of a deeply divided society, characterised by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice and a future founded on the recognition of human rights democracy and peaceful coexistence for all South Africans irrespective of colour, race, class, believe or sex and since it is necessary to establish the truth in relationship to past events as well as the motives for and circumstances in which these gross human, violations of human rights have occurred and to make the findings known in order to prevent a repetition of such acts in future, ..."

Are people getting the interpretation now? Yes, great.

"... and since the Constitution states that the pursuit of national unity, the well being of all South African citizens and peace require reconciliation between the people of South Africa and the reconstruction of society and since the Constitution states that there is a need for understanding, but not for vengeance, a need for reparation, but not for retaliation, a need for ubuntu but not for victimisation ...",

and finally the Constitution states,

"That in order to advance such reconciliation and reconstruction, amnesty shall be granted in respect of acts, omissions and offenses associated with political objectives committed in the course of the conflicts of the past ...".

Now all the objectives we have within the Act and to which the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has proceeded, starts from these very fundamental premises. I am not going to deal with the side of reparation because Hlengiwe is going to go into detail as to where we are on that side, but if we come to, first of all, gross human rights violations, the

period we are looking for, looking at, just remind ourselves, is between 1960 and May the tenth 1994. Now, when we started our education meetings last year in most parts of the country that closing date was December 1993. We then, because of the number of submissions that have been made to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, we applied to the President and Government to look at extending that period to 1994 and that was accepted and I think that is one of the first messages I want to reinforce again.

That at the beginning there were people throughout the country who had come to us and said, look, this happened in January of 1994 and we were not able to accept those statements and certainly, on our side, with, some people kept names, but essentially those people got turned away and today we want to say clearly that the events that took place in 1994, and there are number of different events that took place, some of those that come to mind immediately and I want actually again reiterate those, is if one looks at the Tabott Commission that has been sitting in Mafokeng recently and the, and they are, they were looking specifically at what happened in the then Bophuthatswana in 1994.

Now, all those people have a right now, regardless of the fact that there has been a Commission that has taken, that has been sitting, to come forward and make statements to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Similarly, in the last two weeks in our newspapers, radio, television we have been hearing about what happened at Shell House and in central Johannesburg. Now, again, if there were people from this audience where either family members died or were severely injured on that fateful day, they have a right to come forward and make a statement. So, please, our appeal, again, is that, first of all, statement taking is continuing, although a hearing has taking place in the East Rand and other parts of our country, the statement taking process continues.

The mandate of the commission extends to the 14th of December this year. Our proactive, what we mean by a proactive statement where people are being sent out from our offices and where we have put in place what we call designated statement takers in the communities, that process is going to stop in either the end of June or July, but that does not mean that if people, subsequent to that date, come to our office or send the statement in, we will not be looking at those statements and trying to include those statements.

Having said that let me say that up till now, we have received about 9500 statements in the country. The Johannesburg office which covers Gauteng, Mpumalanga, the North West Province and the Northern Province have taken in, I think 3800 statements, approximately. Now, many of you who have made statements should have and will receive, if you have not up till now, a letter to say that your statement has been received by the Commission and is being looked at through our processes and those processes include going through your statement, looking at all the violations that have taken place and that is where our data processes coming into place feeding that into the computer system and then, subsequent to that, an investigative process takes place. So, this is where some of the problems and I want to share those problems, because I think it is very important as people ask us what has happened to our statement, to understand some of the problems that are happening within the Commission in terms of the process that we have embarked on.

First of all, that whole area of going through a statement and identifying all the violations that have taken place is quite an intense task. Just like our own statement takers have come back and have talked about the difficulties, the pain that they have experienced as you have told your stories to them and the impact and the effect it has had on them, similarly our data processes can only do so many of those statements in one, in any one day. Resources, at the end of the day, are limited. Hence, clearly, although we are catching up, let me say I looked at our income report and we are now up to 72% of all the statements that have come into the office are on the database. That means they have been, not only been registered, but they have been processed and fed into the computer.

Almost a third of those statements, the 3700 I am talking about, more than a third have now been, been corroborated. That means the investigators have written off to police stations, hospitals, other individuals and they have had some sort of response to add value to your, to the statements, because, at the of the day, those of us on the panel and throughout the country who sit on the Human Rights Violations Committee, our responsibility is to make a finding. We cannot just make a finding on what has been said in the statement. So, that is, if you have not heard that some of the reasons, if you have not heard as to that immediate need that has been expressed so many times to us within hearings, who did this and why was it done. These are some of the reasons why we have not been able to come back to you, and even today, why I cannot come back to any one individual and say, look, this is, these are the people who have done it.

Within the Human Rights Violations Committee we have also made a decision that until the amnesty deadline, which is the 10th of May, closes, we are not, even where we have, no sorry let me not make a dogmatic statement. For the majority of people where we have been able to find out what happened, we want to be sure that all the information is in before we can come back to people. Now, there have been exceptions. I am not saying that there have not been exceptions. The Stanza Bopape case is an exception. The hand grenade explosion that took place in some of, two of the areas in this vicinity, where the information has actually come out publicly through the amnesty process. People have read about it and come back. In the Stanza Bopape case we did actually go back, because, one, we were beginning to share it with the media and, therefore, we did not want to, we did not want the family to read about it in the media, we did actually have several meetings with the family to explain to them where our investigations have got to.

So there have been those exceptional cases. Recently, I am sure people have read about the exhumations that have taken place in different parts of the country. Again, so the point I am trying to make and what the message I am getting, trying to get across is that work is going on and that every statement that is coming within the, coming into the Commission, we are beginning to do this low level corroboration that we talking about. Clearly, in many, many statements that have come in, the difficulty that we are going to have and that we are going to have to come back to people and say that through our investigations we have not been able to get the answer.

I think we, as we are 15 months through the life of the Commission, although the Act says and mandates us to try and, to find out what happened, in many instances, as you know yourselves, either the response that we are getting from the police stations is that the, the reports were destroyed, because that was the policy. After so many years the reports were destroyed or and that is going to be part of the report that we finally write. What our investigations have shown is that reports were deliberately shredded, particularly in the early 1992 period, 93 period and 94 period. So, those are the difficulties we are experiencing within the Human Rights Violations Committee and, I hope, that in your questions you will raise other problems that you are experiencing as people you have made with, made statements.

I just want to quickly say something about two other issues. One is the amnesty process. At our recent Commission meeting the Amnesty Committee provided us with the full figures that they have. They have accepted, now, 5500 applications for amnesty and I am sure those numbers are going to go up as we get closer to this deadline of the tenth of May. Of the 5500 statements that have come into the Amnesty Committee, they have dealt with, approximately 1400. Now, some of those are just being dealt with on paper and there, there is 784 that have been dealt with through that process. Amnesty has now been granted to 22 people and it has been denied to 15 people where either through their applications or where a public hearing has taken place.

Now, let me say, again, that within that Committee and also within the Commission, the concern that has come about is are we going to be able to finish the work that we embarked on. That Committee is made up by five people and, of course, has got a support structure within the Commission, but if those applications are going to increase, what are we able to do and we have applied to Government to enlarge that Committee. Within the Act we are allowed to enlarge that Committee to the maximum of 13 people. That has gone forward to the Justice Ministry. Hopefully, within the next few weeks we should be able to hear that, hear from them whether that has been approved and whether Parliament has passed the amendment and that will clearly increase the capacity of that Committee to finish the work that they have embarked on. There still remains that questions mark, are they going to finish what has been started and I think we are not going to be able to give a definite answer until August, September of this year as to how we proceed with that difficulty.

Can I just say one last thing on the Human Rights Violations Committee and I hand over to my colleague and it related to what Hlengiwe is going to be saying on reparation and that is the question, are we only going to be considering people who have made statements to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission when it comes to making a finding and therefore referring that person on for reparation. There are many databases where victims' names are mentioned, people, where gross human right violations took place in the past. Now, clearly all those people are not going to make statements to us and part of the difficulty is where we have the names of those people through these other databases and we are looking at that at the present time, should we be including those names for reparation as well? That is where I want to stop. Thank you very much.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you Dr Randera for your input. I hope all the people have already heard what you are saying.

We will be given time to ask questions when that time has arrived, because all of us already have got the machine. Could you please, we also, I would like to apologise that there are other people who do not have the machines, the hearing aids, but I think many people are able to listen and understand what is happening. Without wasting much time, people who are going to give statements here, we are requested not to stay here inside we must try and go outside to give the statements, because there are people who are taking statements, they are five. We request five people who will go there and take statements and then as soon as they have made their statements they must come back, to give the statement he will come and take another one, but what is appearing there, the people who are taking statements there must always have people taking statement, let them not be left without doing anything. It is a request that there are five statement takers. If, it would be good to have five people per time going to give their statements. I am sure if people ask the table right at the back there, they will be given direction where the statements are being taken.

Now, we are going forward we are not going to waste time we want to move. We are now going call Ma'am, Mama Mkhize to come forward to come and relate her story here. We are not going to waste time. We are requesting all people to also ask questions, but then they must just wait until such, when that time has arrived.

MS MKHIZE: We greet all of you here today. I believe that we can last the whole day if we keep thanking you, because we in the Truth Commission we are very happy by the way you welcomed us, the way you, as the community, have shown to be very determined to be involved in this process from when there has been hearings here and up until today. My job today here that I have been given is that I must try and explain to you, explain what is reparation policy, the whole issue of reparation to the people. I am going to try and explain this very briefly. It is not very easy for me to explain it at this stage, but I think we will continue to discuss this issue of the reparation policy on how it works out.

The people who conceptualised the Act, the enabling Act, so a person approaching the Truth Commission through making a statement to a point where a person is found to be a victim and referred to our Committee, the Reparation and Rehabilitations Committee, and then questions raised as to what should be done for this person to be able to live like all other human beings. Partly, the purpose of meeting with the communities like this is because we know that when we talk about human rights violations they were not directed at individuals, but individuals within certain communities. So, what we refer to as damage or injuries or the scars of human rights violations of the past, clearly happened and affected communities within which people lived. So, it is important then for us to come back to communities, have discussions with people so that, at the end, when we implement our policy it will not benefit only those individuals, but the communities from which they come from as well.

So, when we talk about the Reparations Policy, it is within the Act, the Act which is facilitating this work, the Act, Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1934, it does make provision for reparations that people who are found to be victims, something should be done for them, they should access reparative measures. So, in formulating this policy we have looked at our own domestic Laws. As you heard Dr Randera was looking even at the Constitution of this country and looking at what it says about reparations and also I would like you to, to remind you that even people who came up with the amnesty clause, at the time when people were debating the future of this country at the World Trade Centre, the President of this country, at that time he was a President of the ANC, he did make a plea that it would be important to have a systematic way of addressing the past. So, when we talk about reparative measures and rehabilitation, we are thinking of ways of restoring peoples' dignity, systematic ways. In other words, ways which will be apply universally across the board and will be guided by certain policies.

So, in formulating our policy as to what should be done for people, we look at what is in the database. In other words, we look at information, as people makes statements that is taken and accumulated in a particular manner and then it tells us about the requests people have. People have wishes, they tell us that when making a statement, those of you who have made a statement, you will remember that there was a question which asked you as to what you are hoping to get by appearing before the Commission or making a statement, because you qualify for reparation whether you appeared before the commission or not.

So, besides information which is in people's statements, also there is a Research Department which is always looking at all the information that we can get, local and overseas, wanting to know what has been done in other countries for people who were exposed to gross human rights violations like torture, the killings, abductions, long term imprisonment and so on. Also, we have had meetings with different communities, talking to people about reparation measures so that

what people are saying, like what you will be saying today, is very, very important. It forms the co-part of what we will take forward to the President and say our reparation and rehabilitation measures should be along these lines and what we are doing is just not one of those exercises, but it is very, very important, because it is like giving a voice to what will determine your future tomorrow.

So, what we have developed so far is that when we talk about Reparations Policy it should be in two categories. There is what we call urgent interim reparation, reparations. In other words, there is a kind of assistance which is needed during the life of the Commission which needs to be implemented now. Like people who are making statements and are found to be in urgent needs. What we have found so far is that people's needs tend to fall generally under four categories. Some people following what they experience, they have pressing medical needs. People will say when I was imprisoned I developed this condition or I was shot at and as a results I am on the wheel chair, I need these kinds of medical equipments to survive. So, for those people it is clear that they need to be assisted urgently. We cannot wait and say the Reparations Policy will be implemented at the end of the life of the Commission, so, they can wait and only benefit then.

Then some people have got pressing educational needs. Like people who say so and so was killed and the children have gone up to matric and people who are looking after them cannot take them beyond this, they cannot afford. So, we consider that as urgent and some people were exposed to human right violations, were tortured and as a results even if they try to go back to school they have learning problems, which need special care and in this country that is costly and some people are in need of shelters. They were left with no shelter. So, that, also, we consider to be urgent and some people have got urgent needs. My colleague Prof Piet Meiring will develop that, what we call, symbolic reparations. He will tell you a little bit more about what should be done now and at the time when we are, the President is implementing the final Reparations Policy.

So, regarding what is urgent, we have proposed that it should be the Commission, I must make this clear, is not an implementing body. We are facilitating at this point in time. The Government, as far as I know, is setting up an implementing body within the Ministry of Justice. The regulations has just been finalised which are going to determine how is this going to be done and that, I should think, will be done within, now, the next four to six weeks, but what I need to say about what we call urgent interim reparation is that it is really assisting people on a very small scale. Like, if you can show that you have this need and you cannot get it from existing Ministries, then people will qualify for a small grant, a small amount of money to be able to access the kind of help which they need and which they think, which they believe it is not accessible or it is not available in their communities. So, from that point of view, one will qualify for urgent interim assistance.

But then the actual Reparations Policy will be implemented at the end of the life of the Commission. When we, as a Commission close shops, when we close down, the President's office will have an implementing body which will make sure that each and every person who is found to be victim is awarded a reparations grant. Having said that, it is not a contradiction of what I said about people's needs. People with medical needs, mental health needs, educational assistance, material needs in the form of shelter who have qualified for urgent interim will be fast track, in other words, will be put first when final reparation is implemented. They will still benefit, but in this instance, it will be a proper award. This is very, very important.

As a Commission we have reached a point where we have taken a stand that there is no way in which perpetrators can be given amnesty, in other words, free from any civil claims and victims not be given a decent grant to be able to claim or restore their dignity and to be live as people with rights in their country. So, from that point of view, we strongly recommend to the President that people should be awarded a reasonable grant which will enable them to live like all other citizens who have had opportunities and whose life has not been interrupted through struggling against the injustices of the past.

I know that is often problematic in the sense that people will start saying, but this country has no resources, but at the same time we have a problem. We, even if we do not have resources, there are obligations which we cannot compromise, things which are a moral obligation are a moral obligation. If people's rights were violated in the past, it becomes almost impossible and it becomes difficult to explain to the community of South Africa and even to the international community that we can just say, thank you, this country has no resources. So, those are the struggles that

we are faced with and we can only overcome them with a support of the people of South Africa not only the people who made the statements.

When it comes to the question of money, how do we then restore people's dignity within their communities? We are not only looking at the Government, we are looking also at the business community of South Africa that it is very, very important for them to make real commitments in making sure that communities, which in the past became enemies and were divided on superficial racial grounds, can begin to claim their citizenship and see themselves as people of this country and begin to enjoy diversities. You know, sometimes when you go to other countries and see people who have developed an identity of that country enjoying even the differences and talking freely about those differences, be it cultural or racial differences, you envy them, because you feel in our case we have not reach that point. So, we are hoping that the Government will be supported by the business community in making real commitments in terms of supporting whatever programmes that might be deemed desirable for restoring peoples' dignity.

The international community has played a major role in putting in some money in the President's fund towards the support of survivors of human rights violation and that is appreciated a lot. So, having just said that, I want to emphasise the value of having community submissions, because, again, if we restore individual dignities, we would have failed as a Commission. Divisions existed not only within individual, it was not an individual thing, but also communities were left in a bad shape. So we are hoping (end of tape 1A) ... within communities which will promote reconciliation, because we strongly believe that national reconciliation will only be achieved if different communities come together as one and talking about what should be done at a national level as well.

My colleague on the left Professor Piet Meiring is going talk about one category or which I just mentioned, symbolic reparation at both levels, urgent interim reparations and at a final stage, final reparation measures.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you, friends. Just very briefly, it happens often at the hearings that when a victim comes to the fore and the question is asked, why have you come, what is your circumstance, what is your real need, that the father or the mother or the young person would say I do not want money, I do not want a wheelchair or this or that, but I really want is a tombstone for the father of the family. When he was buried he was a victim, we could not afford to bury him properly with a tombstone, can you help us with that? Other people will say, we need a death certificate, we need this or that. Many of these requests we cover with the umbrella term of symbolic reparation.

When we talk about symbolic reparation, either on the urgent level where people need things to be done now very urgently or as part of the final proposals that will be only implemented by the beginning of next year, we have to think about the number of things. On an individual level, when people talk about symbolic reparation, they will start thinking about things like we need the information, what really, really happened to my beloved. The HRV Committee, Dr Rander's Committee, will be able to help us with that. Many people say that is the most important of all, I want to know and only after I know I will be able to rest.

Some people say, as I said, can you help us with a tombstone, can you help us with the exhumation and the reburial of our beloved. In the newspapers last week there were many stories in the Eastern Cape, in other parts of the country where fallen heroes were put in a secret grave and know it is rediscovered, the bones are exhumed and the people have to be reburied. That is part of symbolic reparation. We can imagine that next year when the final proposals are implemented many people will come to the fore and say we can never rest, somewhere in Tanzania, somewhere in Namibia my beloved rests and the bones have to be brought back to the family grave. Other people would like to say, what we really need is a death certificate. Somebody has disappeared, the father of a family, the husband, we cannot settle matters, we need a death certificate, can you help us with that? All those things are symbolic reparation on an individual level.

Then on a community level other things come to the fore. When we, as happened at the East Rand hearings, as happened in Sebokeng when we went to the Vaal Triangle, people will say something needs to be done in our community to help us remember the past, to help us live with the future, maybe we should rename the streets of the community to recall the names of the heroes, maybe some of the townships can be renamed, maybe we should have a memorial or a small monument or a cenotaph with the names of fallen heroes. That is symbolic reparation.

On a national level you can start dreaming dreams about the things we can do. Many peoples talk about peace parks, or

new memorials or a monument or a national day of remembrance and reconciliation. We hope that when people catch on, start thinking about symbolic reparation on a national level, the whole artistic community in South Africa will help us think through these issues, that the school children, that the whole nation will start thinking with us and developing with us new ideas on memorials and monuments and a special day of remembrance of reconciliation of the nation, but all those concerns, they are covered by the umbrella term of symbolic reparation and on an urgent level and on a final level we have to take note of that.

Today in the Eastern Cape, in the former Transkei, in Thala there will be a ceremony where people have been exhumed the, bodies been collected and the family and the whole community will come to a grave and there the person will be reburied with proper ceremony, with all the things that need to be done. That is part of symbolic reparation. Thank you very much.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much to Mrs Mkhize and Prof Father Meiring for having given us that explanation. Now we are going to go ahead and we are going to, we are going to go to item number seven, for those people who have got the programmes. We are going ahead now, we are going to item number seven on our programme and item number seven, you will see, that, that we have got what is called Focus Group Report. That is the item we are moving on to now. The very first thing that we already done, there is Reverend Dlodlu

who is going to do poetry although his position was taken by Reverend Zitha, but now that he is here, we are going to go ahead, the very first person.

This is a very urgent request from Bishop Berege who will be in this situation, that will be the very first person who will be path finder here in this focus group reports. We, therefore, request him to come forward.

Already we have been sitting and listening for quite a lot, we have listened to about five or four speakers. How would it be that, maybe, we must cut the things a bit. We will combine number seven and number eight. Number seven and number eight will be combined, because if I look at, if you look in your programme you find that number seven comes first. We should be getting this focus group report, but we also would like want to get questions, but the people who have made requests to come and speak here are already here, I do have their names as I have already called out others. I have already called Bishop Right Reverend David Berege, he is the one is going to come to the podium now to make his submission.

BISHOP BEREGE: Commission, firstly, I would like to thank the Commission for inviting me to make this presentation. I do so aware of the magnitude of your task and I am also aware of the pain and the depth of feeling there is in the lives of so many people in this area. As Bishop of the Anglican Church in this area, I have been a member of numerous pastoral visits by church leaders to areas affected by the violence, especially during the period from 1990 to 1994. The role of the church has been a prophetic, pastoral and reconciling role in this area, not only during the years I have mentioned, but before that period and that role continues today.

Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu was at the funeral of Makhi Skhosana in Duduza and played a vital role in mediation on that occasion. The late Bishop, Sam Mkhwani, during his time as Regional Bishop in this area, also played an active role in our different communities. For myself, the memory of the violence and the pain in the different communities on the East Rand will always remain with me. I think of the people of Polla Park, who had to flee their homes on more than one occasion and the people of Eden Park who accommodated them. It seemed to me and to other church leaders, that there was sufficient evidence to suggest a third force was operative in the area in that time.

I think to a visiting a community hall in Palm Ridge and talking to a woman whose husband had gone missing and she was unable to find him and I think too of the occasion in Davidton when I was asked to preach at a memorial service for the victims of a massacre in that area, standing with a man whose house had been burnt and his two children had died in the fire. There are many such events that the church leaders and the ministers of the different denominations will remember vividly. I want to say a special word of tribute to those ministers who lived and worked in those areas of violence and who were agents of Christ's love, healing and reconciliation to the people they served.

I want to look, very briefly, at what I regard as the value of the TRC to the church and to the world. Firstly, the power of forgiveness. To forgive is the hardest thing in the world even in relatively minor matters, but in South Africa we are

daily seeing, through the TRC, the power of forgiveness in the healing of a torn society. Andrew Elfinston has said this,

"Pain which hurts unnecessarily and sinfully is capable of performing a vital function for spiritual growth. It is the means of calling for love at a more than natural, in other words at a supernatural level, a love which can disregard the pain experienced and continue to go out undiminished towards the perpetrator. That love which seeks to remain undeterred and undiminished in the face of pain is none other than the principle ingredient to forgiveness. Forgiveness is the crowning accomplishment of love both in God and in man. Forgiveness is specifically a matter of dealing with pain. Forgiveness describes the positive redemptive response to pain in which, for loves sake, the hurt is contained by refusal to return it with anger and in which love and goodwill are maintain unbroken towards the offender. The original hurt is isolated and, so being contained within the hurt person, is not instrumental in bringing about an increase in the total amount of pain and the consequent proliferation of evil. The original offender is not provoked to renew defence and the evil is robbed of its power to do further damage. The original hurt person has contained and not returned the hurts and so as to continue the feeling of suffering of it. However, the motive for doing so is the preservation of a relationship for loves sake and when the supernatural will to love has become entirely dominant over the natural will to take revenge, the pain is absorbed or redeemed and the hurt person and healing flows from that person to the original offender. A pain is being transformed by grace into a source of love for both people."

Elfinston is describing the kind of love that Christ had on the cross and which was his ultimate victory, but his one of primary commands to his followers to forgive as our Father in heaven forgives. It has been a gut-wrenching experience for we Christians of this country, who fail so miserably and so often in the whole matter of forgiveness, to hear some of the bereaved families of victims of brutality, torture and murder say before the Commission I do not want revenge, there has been enough blood share, I simply want to know what happened and to have back the body of my husband, son, daughter, wife so I can give him or her a proper burial.

Or even more moving, the woman who was asked by Archbishop Desmond Tutu at the end of her testimony, what you want the Commission to do for you and replied, I would like you to enable me to meet the man who killed my son so that I can look him in the eye and tell him that I can forgive him.

These are but two examples of an amazing power to forgive that has been released in many of those who were victims of the apartheid regime including our President, Nelson Mandela. The fact that they have no bitterness or desire for revenge means that the pain has been robbed of its power to provoke evil in a vicious, proliferating circle and if love rules the reaction to it and the evil one has been defeated by the heart of his strategy. This has been a powerful and incalculable challenge and rebuke and encouragement to the church. These people have shown that it is possible to forgive even the most horrendous crimes and it is possible to know Christ and the power of his resurrection and share his sufferings by becoming like Him in his death. That is imitating His response to pain and receiving the worse that evil could hurl at him and never once faltering in love by seeking retaliation, violence for violence or by despising and thinking evil of this tormentors.

And, secondly, the power of story telling. It has given the opportunity for people to tell their story, stories which should never been told before. In his book, **Resurrection**, Rohan William says that,

"There is no healing of the wound until the wound is exposed and exposed as lost, as loss ..."

There were so many unhealed wounds before the TRC began its work. The evidence of those who have given witness that by telling their story, they have shared a burden and found a new sense of peace. This is very obvious from the sheer look of some of them as they walk out of the meetings of Commission. Archbishop Tutu has said truth will ultimately out, it cannot be concealed forever. It is in its very nature to reveal, to throw light to clarify what is hidden. There are ways and ways of telling our stories and we are not encouraging people to relive and retell their stories endlessly and promiscuously, never moving forward, never leaving the past behind.

We retell our painful stories so that we shall remember the years that lie behind with all their struggles and terror as the

way that led to new life, in the Christian terms, to resurrection and freedom. At a time when we saw God at work transfiguring evil and suffering into something for His Glory and for our growth, but as long as we, as the new life is not fully ours, the memories will continue to cause pain. When we keep reliving painful events of the past, we can feel victimised by them.

I am told there are two ways of telling our story. Firstly, to tell it compulsively and urgently, to keep returning to it, because we see our present suffering as the result of our past experiences or, secondly, we can tell our story from the place where it no longer dominates us. We can speak about it with a certain distance as we see it as a way to our present freedom. The past, ultimately, loses its weight and its power to trap us and can eventually be remembered as one way in which we experience God as rich in mercy, overflowing with compassion and tenderness, God the Comforter. So, the church has had a powerful and visible evidence of God's continuing work of resurrection and transfiguration. We have seen these great gospel events coming alive in our own day and in our own situation. A true form of contextual theology.

The truth always goes hand in hand with justice. We do not tell our stories only to release the dammed up tears that have waited years to be shed. It is in order that truth should be uncovered and justice seen to be done. Even though it is not the work of the TRC to pass judgement or sentence on the oppressors, it has led many perpetrators of crimes to seek amnesty. That is good for them. The Chairman may speak sternly and, in some case, refuse amnesty. That rightly demonstrates that truth can be tough. The refusal to grant amnesty is a sign that the TRC is not a body setting out simply to show leniency, but, more especially, that it requires justice before there can be reconciliation. Reconciliation is not taking the least line of resistance, reconciliation is profoundly costly.

What we have been seeing in the work of the TRC and the Amnesty Commission is the outworking of the values of the Kingdom of God. We have seen God redeeming time, we have seen God's victory over evil, lived out in the lives of ordinary, simple, downtrodden people. We are seeing an answer to the prayer, Your Kingdom Come, as that Kingdom is establishing itself in little pockets of the nations life where healing and forgiveness are flowing. The power in all this has often been a rebuke to those of us who squeal at the least little slight or hurt and harbour grudges for years. We ought to be a purer, humbler and more vibrant church for being part of this process, for being here in South Africa at this particular time in its history, where God's judgement is made evident in mercy and in wrath and where God's power to heal and restore to wholeness, is the testimony of so many.

What is happening in the different communities through the TRC should be a witness forever to succeeding generations and a sign of hope to those countries, for example, Northern Ireland, Bosnia, Zaire and the Middle East, where there is a great need for the healing of national and tribal memories stretching over centuries of enmity, that it is possible to be reconciled, for reconciliation is at the heart of God who was, in Christ, reconciling the world in all its hatred, divisions, evil and strife to Himself.

The value of the TRC has been that it has enabled this process by giving people the opportunity to tell their story, to hear the truth and, after all the literal meaning of truth, (...indistinct) in the Greek is a clearing, a clearing of mists, a clearing of blockages and, in terms of the TRC, a clearing of misunderstanding and prejudices, a clearing of the many deceptions and lies, a clearing of the smoke-screens that have been created to conceal human wickedness, cruelty, oppression, corruption and crime. It has released a mighty force for good as apartheid released for evil. It is a supernatural power defying natural, human inclinations for revenge, but since South Africa lives in a kind of global fishbowl at present, this power will be felt far beyond the borders simply of our country. It is the power that has all the original dynamism of the cross which stands dominating the world scene. Of course there are those who are finding it difficult at this stage to forgive, but it seems to me the majority are able to do so and have embarked on a journey of peace and harmony.

The TRC also keeps us in touch with the history of more recent years of this country, that is salutary. Someone once said history repeats itself, it has to because we never learn from it. So, there is an imperative to learn some invaluable lessons through all that is coming out of the Commission hearings and the TRC has enabled some to complete unfinished business either in incomplete grieving or a guilt feeling that insufficient gratitude has been shown for the support given by clergy, doctors, journalists who risked their lives to be alongside those in the thick of violence. There is a need to recall the bonds forged to the courageous actions of the ones who put their lives at risk by coming alongside

those in the struggle. We record, with gratitude, all such people.

In this area of the East Rand, there is still much healing and reconciliation to take place. The work of the church in that regard, of your Commission and of all the people who seek reconciliation and healing will continue, but you and your work, as a Commission, have enabled that work to begin and for that we are grateful to you. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: There is a request, Bishop, that you please remain for a while, the Commissioners have some questions, please. Commissioners, over to you.

MS MKHIZE: Father, Bishop, you have mentioned that the majority of people are finding it difficult to forgive and I know of instances when some people who had given testimony before had said, I am willing to forgive, but the moment the people who were perpetrators came before the Amnesty Committee to tell of the deeds that they had done, the same people who had said they are willing to forgive turned back and just cannot find it within themselves to forgive. How can we, how can these people for are finding it difficult to forgive be helped through especially by the church?

BISHOP BEREGE: Yes.

MS MKHIZE: And those who may not be members of churches?

BISHOP BEREGE: Thank you. I think, I, what I did say was that I think most people are finding it, are able to forgive, but there are those who are not finding it easy to forgive. I think the work of the church, the NGO's, the community organisations, our work will continue for many years. The pain, it is said that within this area, a figure that I did not quote, that between 1990 and 1994 8500 people died through political violence in this area. There are very few communities that were unaffected by the violence during that period alone and I think peoples' feelings and emotions are very precious and you do not overcome that easily.

What we have to do is to provide the support for them to continue that journey and be, for their, be there for them in order that that process of healing can take its course. I do not think, for many people, it is just a once off. There are times when that will come back and we need to be there for them and my hope and prayer is that we, as a church, and I talk not just for the Anglican Church, but for every church within this area, will provide facilities for that healing to continue and I think all I can do is to urge the churches to take that very seriously.

DR RANDERA: Bishop, thank you very much for the early words of comfort and support, but if I can just, perhaps, push you a little on what you have said. Clearly, as we come back into communities one of the objectives has to be towards what can we do towards all this pain that we are experiencing and I understand what will happen directly through the church, your services, etcetera, but, if I can ask, what other resources can the church make available towards contributing to this healing process on the one side and, similarly, we have to accept that, you have alluded to that by saying not everybody is willing to forgive and some people find it very difficult, but within this community that we are talking in, at the present time, the conflicts were at different levels. There was the level between the State and the liberation forces. Within communities there was the conflict between the ANC and IFP. There was the SPU's and the SDU's. Now, again, just if we look at that level of different communities, White, Black, political communities, how do you see the church playing its role in bringing about that reconciliation that we so badly need in this country.

BISHOP BEREGE: Ja. Can I just, in addition, raise other issues? I mean, I think what we have here on the East Rand, which I am deeply concerned about, is the very high level of unemployment, for example, which makes seeking opportunities even more difficult and I am very concerned about social infrastructures as well. I do not think the church can do it on its own. I think what the church has got to do is to realise its own limitations and, firstly, work ecumenically, but, secondly, work with local authorities, with NGO's to make the facilities available that they do have. I think, within the church, what we can do is to offer what we have got in terms of counselling facilities, for example.

We have also got buildings and facilities and that we could make available, but we cannot do that on our own. I think very often the church can be quite presumptuous in thinking we can do more than what we can. What we have to do is to work very, very closely with NGO's, with local communities, with organisations and to be a support for those. The, as you rightly said, the conflict in this area was incredibly complex. For example, the situation in the Thembisa would be very different from the situation in Tekoza and so, therefore, it has got to be brought down to a very local level and to

get the people, for example, in each area to determine what could happen.

Also, I think we need to, the church needs to resource and have contacts in terms of education, in terms of all the structures of our society. I see the church being one of many role players, but I want the church to be one and not to withdraw now, believing that the work is over.

MS SEROKE: Mine, I should think is related to what other colleagues have just said. Maybe mine much more specific. I really do not know, wherever we go it is becoming clearer and clearer to us that till such time that there is justice in terms of the distribution of resources, there is no way in which we can think of reconciliation and healing and just looking at the church, we are really privileged to have you as a Bishop, just looking at the church, some of us, more and more, think that the church can show the way through meaningful exchanges or contacts between, within the same faith. Like the Anglican, let us say, at Bryanston and the Anglican Church at Alexandria. So, but at the same time, it is not happening, but we really appreciate their prayers and the role of the church, but it is like there is something, the church is not making a breakthrough. I do not want us to appear to be putting pressure on the church, but we still feel the church can show the way in ways which will, really, make people of this country to move towards reconciliation, to begin to reconcile.

BISHOP BEREGE: Can I respond and I respond now, because I cannot speak for other churches, I want to respond as an Anglican and as an Anglican Bishop of this area and I cannot speak for other Bishops, but I think one of the things that concerns me most within the church, that nine o' clock on a Sunday morning is one of the most segregated moments, still within our country, because people will worship in segregated ways in a sense. You can be integrated on Saturday night at the cinema and segregated on Sunday morning in worship and that is a real problem and I do not believe that the church can say we have got it right yet.

The church, too, is on a journey. The church has to deal with its own transformation as part of the transformation of society. The church has to look at its structures, the church has to look at the sharing of its resources, the church has to look, for example, at its land that it has and how it can use its resources in a healing way for the benefit of our society. The church has a long road to travel until it can really say we are a transformed church and the church has its own role to play, a journey to play, to go on at this time. I think that if we can be part of societies transformation it would help us more, but the church, and again I say this only from my own perspective, the church is part of this journey, not because it has completed the journey, but because, in its own way, going through its own transformation and need for transformation and we are, and our need is as great as societies need.

MR MANTHATA Sorry to butt in at the last minute. Mine is more a proposition to give to the Bishop to share and discuss with other churches about its visibility. One of the greatest resources that we have as an underdeveloped community and that we need to share and make accessible to the underdeveloped is the education and the church has the education. Can the church consider taking back or reviving its mission schools where a resource of this importance, that is education, has to be shared or to be given to the people, should not come from the Government only, more especially, when we want to establish a tradition of observance and respect of human rights. We have a classical example in South Africa of the Afrikaans speaking churches which so, which see so much salvation in the church that they stick to, what they call, Christelik onderwys, our strength before 1950, that is in the cycle of Bantu Education, was coming from the churches themselves as they were able to give both education and training. That is our request that in more meaningful terms, let the churches reconsider reviving their own schools where they will put in place the culture of learning, the culture of diligence, the culture of respect of property, the culture of respect of human life. Thank you.

BISHOP BEREGE: I would want to say that I would accept that as a challenge. I think on the East Rand it is vital where schools, and even to this day very recently in KwaThema, we have had the disruption of education and I am very concerned about, as I go through, you know, places like Davidton and Thembisa, Watville, Khatlehong, Tekoza, weekly, to see how many children are still walking around the streets during the day when they should be at school and the facilities. I think it is imperative that we, as a church, regain our emphasis on education and do that as speedily as possible and I accept that and I will take that forward as well.

I want to say that I think we do, the church is able to do something in education. Not by, you know, not by believing we know the answers, but it is, we are able to engage with society and one of the things that I look for in a church of the

future is not a church that withdraws from society, but a church engages with society and with the communities on all issues and I think that we, there is a danger in which I think the church can say we were part of the struggle against apartheid and now we can withdraw. I think the role of the church is different, I think the role of the church, but there is a danger for us retreating and what we have got to learn to do as a church, is not from a position of arrogance or strength, but from a position of acknowledging our own weakness, from a position of acknowledging our own brokenness to be engaged with society and with the community and we need to be a church that engages through a sense of powerlessness with society for the benefit of that society. I think education is one way in which we can do that.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you Bishop. We are going to request that we move forward now. Thank you very much for your input and answering our questions. Now we are going to go on. We are going to request the three people to prepare themselves as I have already promised you that we are going to combine. We will combine this section with the questions, but at the moment I will request that these must be the only people who must come forward, the people, I have been given their name under item seven with regard to focus group report. We are going to request Christiaan Korf, thereafter Lungelo Zondi and then follows Bheki of SACP. I will request them to follow one another like that and we will see how we are going to move on. We can also ask questions thereafter. We are going to give up Christiaan Korf.

MR KORE: Thank you Mr Chairman, members of the panel and co-South Africans. May I just, as an introduction, state that I do not formerly represent today, here, any specific organisation. I do not speak on behalf of the Dutch Reformed Church although I am a member of the Dutch Reformed Church and I was contacted by Prof Meiring who, I believe, is also a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. So, I will not be speaking of any or communicating any official standpoints of the church itself, merely those of youths, as I will elaborate on later.

The subject of discussion which I was requested to discuss with you is the perception of the White Afrikaner Youth of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

INTERPRETER: The interpreters do not have an English/Afrikaans interpreter.

DR RANDERA: Chairperson, if I can just stop Mr Korf for a minute because we do not, at the present time, have an Afrikaans interpretation and I wonder whether it is possible, isn't there somebody we can ask? Thank you very much indeed. I think it will help a great deal. Mr Korf, if we can just get things organised, wait for two minutes. (End of tape 1B).

CHAIRPERSON: Our problem is that we do not know, problem, now those who have earphones are going to understand Afrikaans, because it is going to be translated, interpreted into English and Sesotho, but we are very sorry because we have a limited number of head sets. Now, please, do borrow each other the headset so that we can all listen.

MR KORE: Chairperson, if, Mr Chairman, if it is of any help I will attempt to conduct this submission in English, it is my second language, if you will please bear with me and if you will forgive me if, during the course of my submission, I just here and there fall back on Afrikaans where I experience problems, then I can proceed.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much and our brother is going to try and express himself in English and where he has problems he will refer to Afrikaans. Please proceed.

INTERPRETER: Okay, just turn it down a bit.

MR KORE: Let us try again, third time lucky.

INTERPRETER: Proceed. This will be the English translation onto the floor, all right.

MR KORE: Fourth time lucky. Right, thank you. I was asked to talk to you about the perception of the White Afrikaner youth of the TRC. This aspect is quite interesting, because in a certain sense, because it reveals something of the first post-apartheid generation. It reveals something about that their perception about apartheid. I was also asked to talk to you about ways, about how reconciliation can be achieved on a local level. It is important that I do not rely on any research on this subject, but I am merely giving my personal opinion on this regard. It is my opinion as a person who is

involved with various youth groups. This specific youth, Afrikaner youth group, the group that I have go contact with is of average socio economic class.

The perception of the youth is formed by listening to the TRC's activities. First-hand experience has been achieved by first-hand experience from people involved in this which was perpetrated against either him or his parents or his family and which after that, you know, has been revealed to the TRC. The most revelation is being achieved by, unfortunately, quite often, the sensational reports are being relayed in the media which is not necessarily being in relation to reality. A further example of a first-hand experience where a child or his family has perpetrated the human rights violations and then such a person has to appear before the Commission.

I want to make a differentiation between two groups. First is the more senior members of the youth who has experienced the end of so-called apartheid. That would be the start of the transformation years, roughly the mid-80's to the early 90's. These people would be in their mid- twenties at the moment, early thirties maybe. We have to differentiate, though, between some children who were politically active shortly before the arrival of the new South Africa. I would first like to deal with the perception of the young youth or the junior youth.

The junior youth have a deep rooted feeling that we have to learn the truth and the truth has to be learnt regardless of whether people are going to be prosecuted or not. When these children have to be confronted, though, with the possibility that their parents may be prosecuted, obviously, there were a little bit of reservation and doubt about this. These young people also focus on whether affected people has the right to know what happened. We, one can think about the unanswered questions from a person or next to kin of somebody who simply disappeared. The truth has to be known regardless of the potential negative reaction from whatever quarters. The junior youth is also convinced that the truth is necessary for reconciliation.

I will now deal with the perceptions of the senior youth. At, with the senior youth there is a definite, you could call it a contradiction in their or, I do not know if that is the word you are looking for, in their perceptions, there is two sides in their believes. They accept the findings of the TRC, but they are disillusioned with some of the revelations, they are definitely disillusioned with it. They feel that it is better that the past should be buried and forgotten. It also seems that they are more likely to criticise the activities of the TRC. They are unhappy about the proper testing of the evidence before the Commission, they feel there is a danger of one-sidedness, you know, maybe that the TRC is not fair in its treatment of both sides, the danger of a witch-hunt and the unnecessary long, drawn up process of seeking for amnesty and applying for amnesty.

Another other aspect is the issue of admission of guilt. The Dutch Reformed Church has already put forward its position on apartheid and have already apologised for it. The youth, however, were not that deeply involved with the apartheid years and, therefore, they feel that they should not necessarily apologise for what happened in those years, it was more the work of their parents. They do feel, however, that they should apologise, that they should apologise for, that they are guilty of day to day racism.

I would now like to talk to you about how we can promote reconciliation on a local level. It is very important that the TRC realises that parents and their deep rooted beliefs that children can be very effectively affected by that. We can think, where a child, for instance, confronts his parents with the problem questions around issues such, issues such as the moral justification of apartheid. The TRC will have to build on legitimacy and trust by making evidence tested declarations in contradiction to the media reporting, who are often full of sensation. Also, the TRC have to eliminate negative perceptions in answer to some of the criticism levelled against it.

This can easily be achieved if we have, if we debate the issues about the TRC on school level and on the church level, these things can be achieved by debate. Also, very important by organised attendance, by, it can be, by organising attendance, of meetings such as this, by White students. The TRC has to ...

INTERPRETER: Just continue please.

MR KORE: The TRC have to give each child the opportunity to dream. We as, for us us as adults we cannot do this anymore, we cannot dream anymore. The TRC have to help us to create a dream and a vision of the future. We need a vision of a free and just society and, most important, a peaceful new South Africa. I thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much. Can we please reserve the questions for later? We will quickly request Lungelo Zondi to come forward and IMSA. They should both come to the front please. If Lungelo Zondi is here let him come forward please. If Lungile is not available, we carry on and we request Bheki from Daveyton branch of the SACP to come forward and he will be followed by N G focus group. This group will come just after Bheki.

BHEKI: Thank you chairperson and, only, and also thank the panel members. I have been requested by the TRC, through Inspector Ngcobo, to come and talk about the reparation process. Without much waste of time, I will get to the point, right to the question of reparations. I can just say that, Mr Chairperson, most of the aspects that I was going to talk about on the question of reparations have already been, been captured in the inputs that were made by Hlengiwe and by the Chairperson or Mr Manthata. However, I would make the following inputs with respect to the question of the TRC, of the reparations. I would speak about the concept itself of the reparations, speak about the process which has to be undertaken with respect to the question of the reparation process.

The reparation process, as it is defined in the Oxford dictionary or, perhaps, in each and every dictionary, means compensation for the loss or damages suffered as a result of a course of a war normally demanded from a defeated enemy, but as we have come to understand it in our own South African situation, it has meant a process of healing. The wounds of a new society in the merging whereas the question of compensation cannot be ignored, especially for those adversely affected by gross human rights violations, but the emphasis here, Mr Chairperson, is on the question of the healing process that has to go through or that our society has to go through.

A society that has rid itself free of, free from the question or questions of racial discrimination, questions of injustices in respect of work in relation to human rights violations and others is associate, and other issues associated with it. A society that has come to accept the reality of its diversity in terms of its own religious and cultural and racial heritage, but that has, necessarily, set itself an objective or one of oneness, in the struggle, perhaps, I should say, of fighting against poverty, crime and other aspects related to any injustice that could be created in the process of human life.

Therefore, this objective of oneness, Mr Chairperson, cannot be realised without looking back at where we are coming from and beginning to correct the mess or the mistakes that we have committed. (Speaker cut off).

NG FOCUS GROUP: ... Zondi was going to talk. We are a network of NGO's looking at bringing together victims and perpetrators to actually allow people to meet face to face, because that is what we believe reconciliation is essentially about, to establish that communication between people, that the Truth Commission is mainly about revealing the truth but it does not bring people together and so what we are trying to do is to find out where victims and perpetrators are willing to meet face to face, because a lot of victims have said that they want to find out certain questions, they want to confront the perpetrator and tell them this is how you have affected my life, this is what my life is now like, because of what you did and we want answers for these and these things. There are perpetrators who have said I would like to meet with the victim, I want to apologise, I want to show that I am sorry for what I did and it is very difficult for people to meet face to face. There needs to be a process that allows them to come together, there needs to be a safe place for them to meet, there needs, and we have people trained, we have organisations who are willing to bring those people together. So, in a place where they can speak their mind, both sides, where it is safe for them to do so and where all these questions can be answered and maybe we can contribute to reconciliation, we can contribute to some form of justice, maybe some form of reparation, but that is not the main aim, and ja so I just leave it like that.

That is what we think and we want to involve other organisations, the churches and other organisations working with victims and with perpetrators to join us in this process. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much. We will now ask the last speaker, who is from Springs, to come forward so we may go on to the next item. Justice and peace? Are you representing Justice and Peace?

INTERPRETER: The speaker is not audible enough.

CHAIRPERSON: Greater Springs. Thank you.

MR SHONGWE: So, thanks Reverend MC and I will also like to thank the Commissioners to have invited us to present

our side as a group.

CHAIRPERSON: Can you just, can you give us your name, your name.

MR SHONGWE: My name is Michael Shongwe, from Justice and Peace, Kristo Nkosi KwaThema. So, we thank you for having invited us through to come and present our side or our input, first on the evaluation and on the initiatives as what could be done to fulfil the primary objective of the TRC. Well, our group have felt, at KwaThema in particular, that the co-ordination of the TRC was poorly done and such a fact that we do not even, sure that you have collected enough statements at KwaThema, yet KwaThema is still, now, on flames through what have been plant so many years ago by the agents of the third force. So, that is the feeling of the group.

Yet, we do appreciate that, through the media, we have learned that the truth have been actually revealed as who were these shadows behind the works and the activities of the third force, which have existence in our midst and, as I have said, we are still suffering at KwaThema. I think it is the only place, if not in Gauteng, would I say in the East Rand where the killing fields are widening and people are dying everyday. So, we would have loved if, I do not know whether the TRC have actually tried again, I know that we were aware that they did come to KwaThema while you were on your last hearing in the Far East Rand, but I do not think at KwaThema you had a success to organise a hearing and you we worried about the statement. This is the feeling and the evaluation would have like to present to you today, that you will feel that quite a lot of people, victims at KwaThema, would be left behind should drastic measures not taken by your office, the TRC, to make sure that statements are efficiently and with all the capacity you have, taken and the victims do say or tell their stories in one way or another before the cut or the offices close, as we know that you will bounding up business at the end of June.

So, the other thing which we are worried about, about the TRC work, is that it have concentrated so much on human right violation, the economical part, not only at KwaThema, have been left out, we do not hear much about it. We are mostly focusing or we are experiencing facts like the R170,0m plus debts which the former Government have created. Sometimes we think it was deliberately, so that once even if we achieve our freedom we will never enjoy it, because as far as we are concerned, in our area there have been no delivery and we think the debts, which is the stumbling block to have finance by the Government is a reason for that none delivery. We are still in dire need, poverty at KwaThema. Unemployment is so high, yet KwaThema use to be, and it is still, one of the rich area which is exploited in mining gold and other minerals like platinum, yet, we are so poor, etcetera and etcetera.

So, we would have love if the Truth Commission, if you still have time, to consider that who ever have made agreement with the former Government, who have so much debts despite United Nation embargo on the former apartheid Government, the debt should be not part of our problem, it should be wiped out. Their friends who have provided us with means not to build us or to help us, but to destroy us, should have known or should, I am sure they are knowing that it was a risk for them, they should, enjoy, therefore the risk, but not us enjoying the paying as it is at the moment. So, that is about the debts, if the TRC would look into that and make it part of the economical violation which is sabotaging our social development today and perpetrating the pains further, so that as all speakers have said, that reconciliation in the absence of social upliftment etcetera and etcetera, is impossible, it is very difficult if it is not impossible, because the pains, the wound is always opening, we are back to square one.

So, the other topic or the other point which we have been asked to contribute is the prospective initiatives that will, on and facilitate reconciliation and reparation process, that with a specifical reference to KwaThema and maybe it could apply to other areas. I wonder, I am happy that quite a lot of the panel members of the HRV, sorry, the Human Violation Committee, are African. So I wonder if it was possible, on a local level in particular, in our African communities, not only to follow the legalistic process which have been said by the legislation in Parliament, but also, in, be inclusive of our cultural roots as how you go about reconciling to opposing a people in order that you get a very balanced reconciliation, because in our African roots I can reconcile with B, but C, who is the victim who is dead, who is not among us, might not agree with me, but there is a traditional way, the traditionalist would assist you and with your own background you know that two people who are alive might not reconcile with each other without being inclusive of the ancestors. So, as a group we were wondering whether if we will be taking the legalistic, only, path approaching as a procedure of reconciling our society and individual who have been victims, it would be a lasting reconciliation or not, without being inclusive of all aspect according to their different customary or traditional background. So, we hope or we

in the group believe that we, that could facilitate a permanent and another way or a compatible means to facilitate reconciliation in the real.

So another point which have been of a worry to us, maybe it is because we are still living, we are still experiencing a human rights violation experience at KwaThema. It is the question of the applicants, the amnesty, the amnesty applicants, you know, the normal practice you find that if someone is having a responsible position and he is found to be investigated, it is normally suspension from the work, but we are wondering if we will get anyway if higher officers in the security forces who have been implemented in the human right violation and they have applied, yet they are still holding their post, whether any other things and any other activities, such as the third force at KwaThema, does help the community affected, because we have been experiencing such things at KwaThema and we know one of the prominent person who was commanding the third force is coming from that area and we were wondering as why the security forces, in particular, or the safety and security forces, the TRC could have never made a recommendation that such applicant should be suspended from doing the work or being of responsible position as they are. Some are Superintendent, Commissioners, Assistant Commissioner and etcetera. So, this is our feeling, that on the ground, on the local level, if such could happen maybe it will ease and see that, really, there is something, there is some way forward as far as the Truth Commission's work is concerned.

So, the others we recommend that those people who are asking amnesty should also, should they be given amnesty they should be, I do not know whether force, or they should, it should be within the recommendation or the condition that their amnesty would be to go and work for that community where they have done destruction. The people there will make use of them. They could help to reverse quite a lot of the wrongs which have been set up by the third force in those communities where they have been operating either as the commanding or and they know whom they have been working with, maybe they could be the first person to apprehend these criminality which is increasing in our country, which was part of the third force activities to destroy our particular part of the population, who have been affected and now is spreading over, now it is not choosing any colour.

If they do go and give a service for a period of time, either ten years or twenty years as part of their amnesty and also, on top of that, they should bring back their weapons which were used. We are being, you know, mowed down in the area where I am coming from by the same weapons, maybe, and they should be tested by independent experts whether they have been used in other areas such as murder, assassination, hold-up, bank robberies and so forth, all other crimes which we are experiencing at the moment. So, these are most, I think, one of the most crucial factors which should, which we feel should be part of the amnesty.

Mr, Reverend Chairman, before waste of time, the last point which we have deliberated is that a local none-partisan structures should be set up to make sure that, especially in my area, to make sure that statement takers or statement taking have been 100% taken, not by a party, not by self-appointed, but a credible where people will be free to go and make their statements and so forth before the deadline which we have been told is June this year. So, we, this is what we thought if you will take it serious it could help our area, that is KwaThema. Maybe you are not speaking on behalf of other areas where they might be not enjoying these problems. So, thank you very much Mr Chairman. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much, we have reach, we have completed number seven now and I would therefore like to thank all the people who came and made reports here today. We thank you very much. We are going to go ahead now. We do not have a lot of time now, we have got only five minutes left. If there are any questions, we would like people to raise those questions now. If there are other supportive things, if they are not long things, people can also raise them. We will also request Barbara Watson to get ready to make her summary. We are looking at questions right now.

RESIDENT OF KWATHEMA: I would like to thank the honourable Commissioner, our parents and the house at large. In fact, my question is directed to honourable Dr F Randera, if I am not mistaken. As the Commissioner, it is just a short term in this duty, I would like to ask him four or two questions. Question number one, I wrote two letters to the nearest educational centre in my area, but it was turned down. Two, confusion in the business sector or policing of which is the part of development in the country. Are they healing after death, is it prevention, a prevention is better than cure, according to my knowledge?

RESIDENT OF KWATHEMA: ... people and then the statement takers will come on a particular day, we think that is a

long process, it is a very long process to work in this way. So, we would be very happy if we could get a quicker and faster system of people, of enabling people to make statements in an easy way. Thank you.

RESIDENT OF KWATHEMA: Thank you very much to the panel and the Committee as a whole. I have got a question here, I think that there are two questions. I have got a problem here. I would like to direct my question to Dr Randera. Doctor Randera said something that TRC should focus from 1960, first of March 1960 up until 1994. I am very worried, I do not know whether the TRC will come back again, the TRC that would be directed to the new Government, because now it is a TRC that is looking at the past of the apartheid days. So, I do not know if there are going to be a new TRC facing the new Government. There are problems in the townships, people are dying everyday and sometimes these people might be third force people who are killing our people. If I may make an example.

I have got a brother who started being involved in the struggle at the age of ten years, got involved as from ten years (end of tape 2A) ... He died in 1995. He was shot on the 27th, he was, he died on the 28th and it was a Monday. He was killed by a gangster called Panka in that township. Then we are confused as families of them, of my brother, we are asking questions now everyday. We use to go to the graveyard and ask him questions and said what if he can appear to our dreams and said what is the issue that caused him to be shot. I mean, there are lots of comments about him, there are many stories and rumours.

Other people, they were walking with gangsters and others say, no, they were standing by the street corner. We do not even know the cause of his death, why he was shot, but we did report the matter to the police station and, actually, on that very Saturday, that Sunday when he was shot, we were fortunate that there was somebody who knew us and came to our house and reported to us that my brother had been shot in the street. It was me and my, it was I and my sister, it was about ten past nine at night. My mother refused to go there, because of apartheid. The police use to torture our brothers. My mother now is suffering from a heart disease, but if my brother, can tell my brother what it is happening. Even my mother is still very sick today, she is ailing, she was not even able to come here today. In fact, she was in no position to come here and that is why I have come here.

I am also feeling this pain, but as a man I am trying, I try. That is why I have come to the TRC so that maybe there could be some harmony and peace at home, but when we went to report it we found the police in the van, they had the cartridge of pumpgun action. The bullets, the ammunition which had been shot and he was shot in his private parts. When we arrived there the police had already written the statements, he was not yet dead. We rushed him to the hospital, but we left him at the hospital and the doctor took him to theatre and they said we must come back on Monday.

The following morning, but we did not even sleep on that day, early at seven o'clock I was already at the hospital. I was not allowed to go in at three, but at seven o'clock I went to the hospital only to find that he had already died, that he died at five to six in the morning, but, and then we reported this issue to the police station. They said they looked for this boys, they did not find them, the police continue to say they did not, they could not find this gang.

CHAIRPERSON: Now, what is your question? Could you please give us your question?

RESIDENT OF KWATHEMA: My question is, I am allowed to report to the Commissioner this matter happened, because I have been trying to explain that my brother died in 1995. Thank you.

RESIDENT OF KWATHEMA: I would also like to greet the Commission. I have a question that I would like to put forward as a Truth and Reconciliation Committee. Maybe this matter has been discussed in the past and I missed it. I would like for the Commission to look into this matter that there are people who have lost their jobs in the past as a result of struggling. Now, I would like to know is there a way to get them back to their work, to be reinstated as they have been black labelled and since they cannot be, they cannot get employment and I would like to put this forward in this forum. Would the commission look into this so we may further reconcile. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: We are preparing to answer the questions now.

DR RANDERA: Can I answer?

CHAIRPERSON: Ja, can we respond to the questions?

DR RANDERA: Ja, thank you Chairperson. I seem to very popular in terms of answering questions. I hope people will be satisfied at the end of my answering these questions. To the young man who came first, I would like to say, perhaps, in my own confusion, but I was not quite clear as to the problems that he is raising and, perhaps, at the end of the meeting I would like to just to speak to him a little more to see how we can provide assistance.

Somebody said is there way of changing how we are taking statements and hastening the process. My response is that nothing is perfect, that clearly there are problems in the way that we are taking statements, because we are not, we are not from what we heard today, there are number of people who want to have their statements taken. We would like to, through the Committee structures that have been set up and through your NGO's, because they would be able to contact us more easily to work out a better system, but I would also like to appeal, the statement taking way through our statement takers or the designated statement takers is just one method. There is no reason, and we have written now to all NGO's and sent forms to them as well, as I understand it, there is no reason why people cannot fill in those statement forms themselves, if that is going to make it easier, and post it off to us. I am not saying it is an easy task to fill in those forms, but if that is possible through various agencies and individuals within the community structures to assist you, that can be done as well. Finally, if people are still experiencing difficulties in terms of accessing us, they can write a letter to us and at least we can, then, follow up on that letter. So, again, I am saying it is a two-way process rather than just looking at it from the one side.

To the young man who was asking me the question about the death of his brother in 1995. I would first like to express my sympathy and empathy with his loss, but he said, first of all, that there were, his brother was tortured many a time before his death and, perhaps, we can start off by taking that statement so that what happened to his brother is on record. The post 1994 period, and there are already structures in place, the reason why we asked for that period to be looked at again was that if one looks at the Human Right Commission, their mandate comes into existence from that time onwards. So, there are organisations.

My next point is not to say, look, I am disregarding what you are saying, but at the same time the reason why we have a Truth Commission is that things have changed. Now, we may all say that those things have changed superficially, that there are others, there is still these human rights taking place and killings taking place, but the responsibility also falls upon us. There are structures now, we have local councils structures. Earlier on I heard Reverend Mbande said to the Mayor that there is someone who is one of us, I am sure you will understand.

Now, we have access to these people, we have access now to many, many avenues that we can go down in terms of having our voices heard. Not least of all we have the vote in 1999. Okay, you can say 99 is a long time to go, but there are these and I do not think we must feel that we are helpless and hopeless, because the changes have been meaningful and the changes have been very important. It is up to us as members of civil society to also make those changes meaningful to us. We cannot always expect somebody else to come and do it for us.

The last one is the loss of jobs through struggle. Somebody said earlier, I think it was gentleman from the Justice and Peace, who said let us not take everything as legalistic and I do not want to say, look, there is the mandate of the Act and within the mandate of the Act we are not, it does not fall within our mandate, but, clearly, if, and, again, he made also the point of Africans being within the Committee. Now, comrade I want to say that, you know Parliament is made up mainly by Africans, if we are going to actually use those categories of peoples and their mandate, they discussed this for a long, long time before they gave it to us. The question of jobs and people who lost their jobs, if people have had a gross human rights violation committed in that course of losing their jobs then, yes, please come forward to us, but, again, my point is there are other avenues that you can go down. You know the unions have been around for long time and the unions are still there today. So, people can take up those issues through those respective structures. Thank you.

MR MANTHATA Thank you Mr Chairman. I was not in when other questions were raised but part of this exercise is to explain where explanations are needed. For example here, the question was or the suggestion was, you know, food parcels for the victims. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, more especially the R and R, wants to operate on the basis of not creating, what we call, dependency or on a welfare basis. You know, once you begin to give people food stuffs or food parcels, you are actually militating against

their human rights to earn a living or to earn food the way they deem fit according to their own tastes. So, that is why in

our proposals food parcels, subject to correction, are not mentioned at all.

Then there is reference to children. Here, to subject to correction from our Commissioners on the Human Rights Violations Committee, I think when we are going to have children testifying it will mean children can make statements and this can enable the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to operate on the statements given by the children themselves. What I want to say is that the TRC is going to work on statements. That is why Dr Randerera raised the problem of what do you say. If and when, at the end of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, not all people shall have given statements. We need to hear from you, you know, whether the Truth and Reconciliation Commission should come up with a machinery or a mechanism that could continue taking statements up to a certain time, not, you know, ad infinitum, not continuous or not infinitely.

Then there was a question from IMSA, I think, which I think they needed to have guided us. Are they saying that there should be a mechanism either recommended to the Government where IMSA can be able, can be enabled to bring these groups that they are referring to together, so this should come in the form of a recommendation to the TRC which it can forward to the Government and this does not mean to cast blames or what, more especially KwaThema. KwaThema, when we talk about the Co-ordinating Committee, it presented the Truth and Reconciliation Commission with a problem. We asked for a meeting and the Catholic Church, Priest Molete, I think, and other people took up that issue enthusiastically and they convened a big meeting.

Then at that meeting we were told that there is a committee that has been mandated to operate in KwaThema and that committee even decided on a day and time and venue where there would be a public meeting. I regret to say that we went to that meeting, there were not less ten people in that area and it was at that meeting when they wanted to raise the question of statements and a venue in KwaThema, that it was impossible to sit to get statements in KwaThema, when to get the hearings in KwaThema when we had so few statements in that area. So, the problem is not with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the problem is with that community.

Okay, other issues, I think Dr Randerera has explain them. That we act within an Act and, perhaps, we are not at a position where we can change that Act or if it had to, perhaps, people should have articulated that long ago, like the suspension of the perpetrators who are still found in the communities. The Act, what we keep referring to as the Act that was suggested, the amendment that was suggest by the late Joe Slovo, what we call the Sunset Clause, is that nobody is going to lose his work when these whole processes go on, unless it comes in as a new thing altogether and/or it is brought in by way of requesting the South African Police Service that when we go to the hearings either people who, police people who have been directly involved with the masses and they have caused hurt and pain to the masses, should as much as possible not be seen within the nearness of the hearings and, perhaps, as you put it, you know, it is a thing that can be discussed more in harsh terms at departmental level, but it is not a thing that, perhaps, we as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission can begin to recommend.

Yes, that recommendation, suggestion of community service, I think that one is well taken. The same applies to that one of reconciling the Black way, that is bringing the element of traditional reconciling into the whole issue. That is a good contribution too.

Well, I think the question of statement taking Dr Randerera has replied to that and then there was these question, I do not know whether I heard the last question well, the person who talked about the education centre, which I thought fell together with this one of the 1995, you know, murder, but otherwise these are the few that we managed to pick up and, by the way, we have not even come to insights into processes of reconciling in this area, even if they could be just thrown around from this gathering. Thank you Mr Chairman.

CHAIRPERSON: Ja, thank you. I think it is important for me to inform you that we were quite behind by a hour and now we have covered the hour that we had lost in the morning. We have heard the questions. We will only allow this lady to ask the last question. When she has finished, we will then ask Mrs Barbara Watson to come forward and make the summary and also discuss our way forward, on the way forward issue, item. We always stay with hope, we are always hopeful that this is not, today is not the end of the process, we will continue and when we finish everything, maybe people who would still have questions and other concern, we will inform them as to where to go, who to contact, but in truth, we have run out of our time now and the transport has already left other people. So, I would ask this lady to

ask the questions and then we go on.

MRS TSWENYA: Thank you very much, Chairperson. Thank you very much to the Chair of the Truth Commission. I will put my statement here before I ask the questions. I am Mrs Tswenya I come from KwaThema. My son was killed (end of tape 3B) in 1985 at the university. I had taken him to Potchefstroom to go and get education. The next thing I was informed that he had died. He had given a hand grenade. In 1987 his father died, because of a broken heart. Now I have two children, two of them are at the university. Now, what I would like to find out where could I get assistance of helping my children, because they are at the university and they are very good with the learning. Thank you.

MS SEROKE: Before Commissioner Hlengiwe can answer your question, I would like to find out if you have put down your statement with regard to the death of your child on hand grenade?

MRS TSWANYA: Yes, I did.

MS MKHIZE: Maybe we can just briefly explain to say that those who have put down their statements, their statements will be considered. As we have already explained in the morning that there are those who are investigating and then they will, they are going to look for further information and do further investigation about your son who has died. So, that is, does it fall in line with the Act on which we are working on, but once there is real confirmation that this whole issue falls within our Act that your son was victimized and then the investigation will be brought to this question on reparation and then, we are then going to look the urgent needs and also long term needs.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much.

MS MKHIZE: You said that was the last question.

CHAIRPERSON: I said the previous question was the very last question I was going to allow. I know you, Reverend, will meet separately and sort out the issue you want to raise. Already we are late.

MS MKHIZE: Before the Chairperson go on, I would like to tell the people who still concerned that their statements were not taken in their areas, that we still taking statements, but we are not taking them for a hearing, but we must take many, many more questions as much as possible up until June and maybe the KwaThema people who still have a concern, we would request them to contact us at our office, because there are already designated statement takers so that we can sort out this issue. Maybe we will still go back to and, and that we should still go back to KwaThema to take statements. At the moment we have got a Community Liaison Officer, but, unfortunately, this person is not here today, because we would introduce this person to you, but we do have the person in our office. Please contact us at the office so that we ensure that there is a mechanism put in place to take statements in KwaThema if you not satisfied that this issue was properly addressed.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much. We are going to hand over to Barbara Watson. Before I allow Barbara Watson, as we are talking, there is a question we are going to post to all of you, that we request one person before we close this gathering to tell us what they think of this exercise today, because since we started and we want to get peoples' views on how do they feel about this gathering today. We are just going to take only two people to get their views and the evaluation of this gathering today, because after we have done our summary by Barbara Watson, this will happen after that. Thank you over to you Barbara.

MS WATSON: Thank you very much. I am sure all of you are very tired. We have been here all morning and we have had to, we have listened to a number of people and it is virtually impossible to remember everything. What I would like to give you is just a brief summary of some of the messages we got today. The Mayor, as you remember, was talking about the history of this town of Boksburg. All the terrible things of the past which happened and the need for this very community to think of ways of coming together and being reconciled with your own past, the fact that through the Truth Commission you have been given an opportunity at the East Rand to go through the history of the atrocities of the past. We are now in the process of looking forward.

We had hoped that today, perhaps, we would have heard more from you people from these communities telling us what are the kind of things that you are hoping to begin to do to heal the areas you coming from and work towards

reconciliation and, again, with the reconciliation, I think the Priest, the Bishop that testified emphasised the fact that reconciliation is not a slow process. The Truth Commission, as he said, was really giving the beginning of a very long, long process of reconciling the different factions that have existed in this area and you know that it was not just a simple as Black and White, it had the ANC, IFP dimension, it had the problems of what had happened in Reiger Park between the Indians and the Coloureds. So, the entire community in this area does need to look at what have they done to contribute to the problems that are there so that everybody can begin to work towards the healing process.

From the Truth Commission, we hope that what Dr Randerer and Hlengiwe Mkhize have told you have given you a better understanding of what has happened to the statements since you have come to the Commission to give your statements. This is an opportunity that we thought we would give you more insight into what goes on after you have given that statement. I hope that with Dr Randerer's talk and explanation, you know now what is happening, we have not forgotten about you, but I also hope that you have appreciated some of the problems the Truth Commission has with regards to corroboration of those statements. In some areas documents, official documents have been destroyed. So, it is going to be difficult for the Commission to conclude some of the cases.

Hlengiwe Mkhize gave you a brief overview of the Reparation Policy in terms of the urgent reparation and the long term and symbolic reparation and I hope that, at some point, we will begin to get some news about community efforts in this area, on what are the kinds of reparation attempts, are you doing here. Somebody also mentioned that we cannot look at the Government to correct everything, we should be looking at partnerships and we hope that after today the NGO's the churches, challenges have been thrown at you, that we will start hearing something about, how you have accepted the challenges from today's meeting.

We have also heard a testimony from the Afrikaans community, maybe a better understanding that within the Afrikaner community there are the two divisions. Those young people who had some kind of exposure to the atrocities of the past and the very young ones who somehow were not that badly affected and how the two groups perceive the Truth Commission and I think out of those insights that will help you as community members to begin to deal with some of the reactions of these young White people towards community efforts, because I think part of today was to give some kind of understanding about what is happening in the communities. So, from that area I think we have been given another insight.

It was also very good to hear from the Justice and Peace group in KwaThema, Michael Shongwe. Your, we have listened from the Truth Commission, some of your critique and, as we said, the TRC is not perfect. We are very thankful for some of the comments that you see as a weakness in the structures, but we would also like to call upon these communities, if you do have some suggestions, you know your communities better than we do and your suggestions will help us in the little time that we have to provide a valuable service.

I think that is, very briefly, what has happened today. I am sure, within your own self, there are some ideas, there have been comments about the Reparation Policy, but more than anything, I think the understanding that it is not the Truth Commission that is going to do the reparation, but the Government and for that thank you very much for sitting through the long day with us.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much Mam Watson. We will just ask just one person to give us an evaluation of this meeting.

RESIDENT OF KWATHEMA: I would like to thank this opportunity for me to raise my opinion and to give a summary of what we think about today, today's event. In brief, what we would like to say is that today's process, as different organisation, as victims, we could say that with regard to the deliberations that were made here today, they were eye opener for some of us and we also realised that, as a whole East Rand, that our problems are different, as you have seen that people who have raised questions, people have raised questions that reflect that in some areas, like for instance in KwaThema, they still have got a lot of problems and grievance that their statements have not been taken.

In other areas it would seem that we do, we are on the equal footing with the Truth Commission, because we have already passed that stage. Many people do know how to make statements and where and others have already had their statements taken, but the thing that I would really like to raise here, there was a question that was asked here by the Commissioner, that if people are going to be repaired, are going to get reparations, what will happen to those people

who did not hand in their statements, because the Commissioners, the Reparations Committee will be working on the basis of the statements they got and now I think that is a very important question to those who are here today, because there are those people who have not handed in their statements from, due to lack of any information and knowledge and there are also those who did not hand in statements, because they did not want to. Therefore, there would need to be a criteria that would say the one who did not want to issue a statement must be excluded, but the one who did not hand in the statement due to lack of knowledge, the Truth Commission would, therefore, need to be considerate and sympathetic to that kind person, but that is my personal opinion, but I think if we could, in this area, agree on this issue to form a Task Team of the greater East Rand so that we can discuss this issue very, very deeply, because reparations, you might find that once other people are being repaired they will bring more pain than the pain we actually have now. I think I would not want to go home not having raised this issue today.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much. If we had a chance we could have give to another person, but now I think we have come to the end of our workshop ...

INTERPRETER: Inaudible.

CHAIRPERSON: ... and we are going to ask and I do not know who has been asked to come and propose a way forward here, but I think from the Chair, maybe one will be advised what way, what direction are we taking here in as far as the way forward is concern before we close. As we, perhaps, prepare for that, I am going to request Mama to make a vote of thanks before we close. This is Thembi from Watville who is going to make a vote of thanks to thank people here on behalf of the East Rand, to thank the Commissioners, to thank all the people who need to be thanked, the parents and the victims and the supporters and this will happen after the way forward, but we suggest that she comes forward right now.

We are also going to request Baba, I mean, the Reverend Babalo, to come and make the, to make the blessing before we close. Now we are going to move on to way forward.

Because way forward would be directed at us, we as the Council of Churches we will take the responsibility of the way forward, because there is not much that we have done, but today we have worked, we are going to meet the TRC and Commissioners and other people who have met here today. We are going to inform you what would be the next step or phase after this. We are going to try different ways as a church, we are going to try and meet all the areas here in East Rand. Today we have also seen that some other White, there are some other White people who are prepared to work together with us and these things happen. If we could just close this gathering but we will invite people and we will inform other people as to what is happening. I would like to finish now but there is a hand up ...

RESIDENT OF KWATHEMA: Issue that has been raised here. There must be an East Rand Task Team. I think this should be taken as a way forward.

CHAIRPERSON: Okay, thank you we have heard. We, as Priests we are going to meet and then we will initiate this process of forming this team together with the TRC, because there is this kind of situation. I would like people to listen to this very carefully, including Thema, that there are committees here that have been established as Commissioner Manthata has already said, these committees were in existence, were established in all townships here in the East Rand, but we do not see these committees, we do not hear anything about these committees and we would not like to blame people for that. Therefore, our way forward, we agree with what was said here today, but we must make sure that this committee is available in all townships so that there could be an easy flow of information to all people. There is no any other way forward except that we need to communicate and work together and move on.

With regards to your complaints from the ground, they would be passed on to the TRC and also the complaints from the TRC will be brought to people and, therefore, the church and these committees are going to see to it that work continues, but the people who are here today, they must ensure that there is a committee. We, on our side, are also going to try our level best, as South African Council of Churches, to ensure that these things happens and other churches and other structures, organisations, Priests and other denominations that are not within SACC, we do want to work with them and with NGO's, we also want to work with the NGOs. Mothers and the youth and all other people who are prepared to work with us we want to appeal to them that if they hear about any TRC meetings, they must please respond and come forward.

Many people can actually see that there is a lot work to be done and those people must be helped by us. Thank you very much. We will, therefore, ask Mama to come forward to make a vote of thanks (end of tape 3A). Before you speak I have just seen your hand.

INTERPRETER: The speaker is inaudible, the speaker is not on the mike. The speaker is inaudible, the speaker is not on the mike.

DR RANDERA: Sorry.

INTERPRETER: The speaker is still inaudible.

CHAIRPERSON: Please, you are requested to come forward.

INTERPRETER: The speaker is still not audible.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you.

RESIDENT OF KWATHEMA: So, I am sorry to delay people. They are arguing with me that I am delaying their time, but I always think that when you have come to do a job you should do it perfectly, otherwise you will be going for money. So, I was saying, Reverend MC, I agree with the idea of a Task Team, but we have a tendency and a problem, especially here in South Africa, whereby as representative you take decision on behalf of people you are representing without going and reporting back of the whole procedures we have gone from A to Z. So, I would like to say that because the Council of Churches and the other NGO's they are working with, they are very much organised and very much in contact to have come with an idea with the TRC, they have been working. If they could supervise that the representative after reporting back to their people they are representing, they should then, we should then come with the way forward whereby a constructive idea of a Task Team should then come up and I see that as a concrete and a step forward, because if we could make a Task Team now here it might collapse before we reach where we are coming from. Thank you very much.

CHAIRPERSON: Mama, can you please come forward for a vote of thanks?

THEMBI: I would like to thank people from East Rand, because they managed to respond on a short notice. They allowed us to organise this gathering and they came together. We only heard it on Thursday, that we should be here today. So, we had to run around here in Watville, we only heard it on Thursday.

I want to thank the parents by being co-operative and their families, especially the victims and the families of the victims, who were very co-operative and came here with us ... (end of tape 2B)

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

POST HEARING FOLLOW-UP WORKSHOP

DATE: 10TH MAY 1997

HELD AT: PIETERSBURG

WELCOME

MAYOR M.L. MAPOULA

DEVOTION

REV S. L. MOOBI

MAYOR MAPOULA: We thank Reverend Nyama and we thank the organizers of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Firstly, I would like to correct one thing I am Mr M.L. Mapoula but if you look on the programme you will see it is written O.J. Mapoula. I didn't even know that it was myself.

I'm telling the truth as to who I am because this Commission is for the truth and we even have to put the two names so that when you are going to speak the truth the whole proceeding should be about truth, by so saying I thank you. I thank all these people who have assembled here because the Commission has asked you to assemble here in Pietersburg which is the city of this Province. I understand that sons and daughters of Africa have assembled here today in this process of exposing what they did and what was done to them previously so that in our Country we are ultimately able to say, like myself who has been hiding and doing things underground, I should expose my actions and come forward and say I confess because I did wrong things or somebody has committed violations against me.

In the Bible it explains that people should confess their sins whilst they are still alive because on the last day we will not have the opportunity to confess. I use these words to welcome you because if you try to lie you should know that this lie does not only kill the nation, it kills you as well because on the last day that lie will be counted against you. My fellow citizens I welcome you with these few words that this road for reconciliation makes us confess what we have done in the past because it's not a sin to confess or to expose what you have done in the background.

God will be with you and by so saying I say, may this proceeding be under the control of God and that God should be in your minds and in your hearts so that you will be able to tell the truth in order for our proceedings go ahead smoothly because we usually say South Africa has done miracles. In the whole world we have never seen what has happened in South Africa now. By so saying I say please, come forward and tell us the truth don't be surprised at our visitors. It is possible for us to tell the truth because our history was made of conflicts. May God be with you and build the South African rainbow nation.

I thank you all and by so saying I am saying I am not going to waste time, I'm killing two birds with one stone but I'd like you to feel welcome so that you can tell the truth in full by so saying. Thank you.

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INTRODUCTIONS

REV NYAMA: Thank you for the correction Mayor I thought maybe we need to speak the truth to show that we are in the true process that is why you started to correct it. Thank you very much for that correction.

May I take a moment to introduce our visitors or our Committee in the TRC. First of all we've got someone who is dealing with the Reparation and Rehabilitation's Committee and he is Professor Piet Meiring who is a Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee Member. I would like him to stand up for a short while to let Africa know him. Thank you. The second person in the same Committee of Reparation and Rehabilitation is our brother Tom Manthata.

The other person that we have is also a Professor, Professor Janis Grobbelaar who is an Information Manager in the TRC. Now we have a person who is controlling this area, not Pietersburg, this area of the Truth Commission who is Hlengiwe Mkhize, the Chairperson of the TRC. Thank you.

The other staff that we have is the beautiful lady down there by the name of Zena Richards who is the one who is issuing these mikes so you might have greeted her already. The other people that we have from the TRC is our people outside there at the table, those people who are helping you with information and also some leaflets. They are also staff of the TRC and I would like to say thank you to everybody who is here, the media and yourselves.

We do have people who will be in the panel like Mr Lategan, the Mayor and then the rest. You will see them when they come up to the stage. I would also like to welcome people from the Council of Churches, South African Council of Churches and also the Northern Province Council of Churches for being with us in this TRC. We are now moving to the second item which is the purpose of the workshop and this be given by Mr T. Manthata. Thank you Mr Manthata.

PURPOSE OF THE WORKSHOP

MR MANTHATA: Thank you Mr Chairman, that's Reverend Nyama. The Mayor has already left but I thank him. I thank Mr Lategan and a few dignitaries that we have and of course I thank each one of you. Let it be noted that each one of you matter. We greet you all.

The purpose of this exercise is by and large to make or to find out whether people understand what the new political dispensation is all about. The main thing with our new democracy as we commonly call it, is the awareness of human rights and to start a culture of observance and respect of human rights. To do this successfully we must find out from the people what the past years were like and what those years mean to them. We commonly call them years of conflict which is true because there was a conflict of human rights, respect and observance. People were fighting to have human rights restored to each one of us in this country, so the whole exercise of the TRC having been that we now come to the communities to find out what their experiences have been during this period of making statements to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, this period of having public hearings.

We are saying this so that we can be better guided by you collectively and at the same time we can be better guided by the focus groups that exist within our communities. By the focus groups we refer to those groups that are functional and operative within our communities, for example we know that in rural areas of ours like this some of the key focus groups would be the Chiefs which we call traditional leaders. We would like to find out from the Chiefs what the Truth and Reconciliation Commission said to them and what impact it has had on them.

We even have some of the focus groups such as those that may be looked down upon with shame and fear and yet they exist within our ranks that is, the groups of the witch-doctor. Right through our hearings we had people referring to these people, which gave the TRC the impression that they exist within our communities. What then has the Truth and Reconciliation Commission meant to them?

So it is with quite a number whether it be the youths, the women and by and large the business sector. We talk about the political organisations that is ANC, PAC, AZAPO, the Nationalist Party, the Freedom Front and all those kinds of groups. We speak about the Churches where, perhaps in our area here we have some of the strongest churches like the Zion Christian Church. What impact has the Truth and Reconciliation Commission had on them? What impact has the testimonies of each one of us had on them? Have these things touched them and if so, what kind of action are they demanding or requesting from the TRC in response?

So, the main issue that we are involved in today is to hear, to get it from those people and we want to focus on those groups because these are almost like a water current within the communities who understand what the communities are like. Who, because they have certain duties to perform or to do within the communities, the impact that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has had on them will invariably mean they either change or they speed up. This is what this whole exercise is about, the impact that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has had on you, more especially on how you understand the violations of human rights. That is, you cannot just understand the human rights in isolation, you must understand the human rights insofar as they are either respected or they are violated.

We want to learn from you people about these things and of course the thrust too does not only end up with the knowledge of the human rights whether violated or respected but at the same time, where they have been violated. We are gearing towards reconciliation so these focus groups should by and large be able to guide us in the process of reconciliation. A person who lives in isolation, not because he wants to but simply because he has too many things to do, will rely or depend by and large on those groups whenever he needs them.

It's like a person who is at work the whole week but on Sunday he goes back to the Church. He would love to learn from the Church what has been happening right through the week that has relevance to his way of life, that has relevance to his peace of mind. Therefore we are saying at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that we are to make recommendations to your Government and those recommendations should come from you people. What is it you want your Government to do for you by way of respect of human rights?

Let me go that far hoping that once we understand this we will be able to raise relevant questions, we will even be able to adjust the demands of the people insofar as we manage to pick them up as focus groups within our communities. We expect each one of you who represents the groups that they come from to please represent those groups properly, to give us their aspirations, the fears and the expectations of those groups in the light of what has been said and done by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in your communities. Thank you Mr Chairman.

REV NYAMA: Thank you brother Tom. I'm sure everybody in this hall understood what is expected from him or her and I'm hoping that everybody will participate accordingly. Can we now go on to the next item?

I heard that tea will be served inside this hall while we are busy so when you are drinking that tea please do it quietly and continue with the day's work at the same time. We won't be able to stop for a tea break, we'll only have a lunch break. Whilst having tea we should continue participating because we are running late. We'll now go on to the third topic which is the process of the TRC and Miss Mkhize will lead us.

REPARATION AND REHABILITATION POLICY DEVELOPMENT

MISS MKHIZE: Thank you very much Chair. I would like to greet all of you and I would just like to make a small correction. The Chairperson of our Commission is the Most Reverend Archbishop Desmond Tutu and I am the Chairperson of one of the Committees within the Commission.

As a Commissioner, I will add to what Tom has already said, we are really grateful that you have again assembled here to share your experiences with us. Given the fact that today is the deadline for one of our Committees the Amnesty Committee. In giving you the update of our work I would like to inform you that the Amnesty Committee is a very, very important Committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It is the Committee which gives the opportunity to people who perpetrated human rights violations, in other words people who participated in the killings and murders of other people, people who tortured other people, people who somehow offended other people's rights within a political context, to take this opportunity of applying for amnesty by making a full disclosure of what they did, giving their motive and their perspective. If you know that you fall within that category it will really be to your advantage to make a statement today.

Our offices are open all over the country until midnight and staff members will be in these offices of the Truth Commission until about midnight so we are calling all people to come forward and assist.

If I may just share with you, since my task is to reflect on the process, since we started we have benefited a great deal through the works of the Committee. Already in Kwa Zulu Natal we've had re-burials, in other words people who were

murdered and families didn't know what had happened to them because someone else responded to the call and applied for amnesty within the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and investigations were done. They, in their endeavour to make a full disclosure even showed the Commission where they murdered and buried thirteen people. At least families could see the bones of people whom they didn't know what had happened to although the reactions clearly showed that people were hurting and they were angry but because of the work of this Committee those families have had the opportunity to give their loved ones a burial. We participated in that burial and the President of this country participated as well. The value of that is that those people the survivors and the families will rest in peace.

We have as a Committee seen in action that there is a value in coming forward and assisting those who are in the dark as to what happened to their loved ones. Through the work of this Amnesty Committee I will mention another example again in the area of Kwa Zulu Natal. One of the people who had applied and was granted amnesty for what he did in that area has gone back to try to talk to the community. He wanted to do something to make a contribution in that community and although that was a difficult process we see it as one of the important things that we are looking for in this country that communities which were divided, communities which were left hurting deeply over the years can begin to heal so as to be part of this reconstruction and democracy that my brother on my right, Tom was talking about. So that is the reason why, we have seen the benefits of this work and we really appeal to you, adding to what the Archbishop has been doing for the whole week, asking people to come forward.

Since we started within the Commission of the Human Rights Violations, most of you have been part of it and we are beginning to see the fruits of the work of the Human Rights Violations Committee in the sense that we have realized that many young people also suffered a great deal in the past. We learnt from the statements which people made saying this is what happened to me, this is what happened to my son, this is what happened to my child and again it has taught us to even look at children and young people who were affected. Just having those special hearings is important in the sense that it will give us an opportunity to work with communities and work out what should be done for them to heal again and begin being part of communities.

We have also learnt from your statements that women in some instances suffered as women. There were people who were tortured like people who were detained and told that your child has died and later told that your child is being buried, only to find that they were just hurting you deeply and that your child has survived. Some women were raped and some women were tortured and insulted. All those things have taught us that in this process of the Commission we must look at Human Rights Violations which were done to women as women and the value of what people might not see now. At the end of it all we are expected to write a report which will assist the President of this country to make sure that these things are not part of our country again.

At this point in time we have about ten thousand statements of people who have come forward telling their stories of what happened to them during the dark years is 1960 to 1994 and we are still appealing to people to co-operate with people who are taking statements in different parts of the country. Even here our Chairperson who is sitting with us is one of the people who is assisting in this region with the co-ordination of the statement taking progress and that's also very, very important.

As we are saying we have ten thousand people but it might happen that in this area alone there are far more people who were murdered, there are far more people who were tortured, who were detained for political reasons and who suffered a great deal mainly because of their political beliefs. So for all those people it will be important to continue making statements. It's only the one Committee making statements which ends today, the other one, where you come forward and say I was hurt or I was injured, is going to continue for a few more months so we still encourage you to come forward.

The other unit of the Commission, the Investigating Unit also has helped a great deal in terms of assisting the Commission in looking for more information. If a person has come forward telling us what happened to him or her it's always helpful to refer that statement to the Investigating Unit who will look for more information on whatever might be known because as you know as these things were happening in the dark and they were happening in private. Even family members come with very little so this Committee continues to do good work even looking at what happened in the borders of South Africa because as you know some people were murdered in the borders of South Africa.

The mandate of the Reparations and Rehabilitations Committee which we represent today is to really assist the Government as to thinking about what should be done for those people who have come forward and told their stories, who have shared their suffering following what they went through. The big question always is, what do you do for them where do you start giving ... of suffering in our community resulting from the political order of the time from 1960 to 1994?

For us as a Committee we really have no easy solutions, that's part of the reason why we visit communities as we are doing today to dialog with communities to get their perspectives. We have done that in quite a number of areas, we have met with different groups, we have met with people who have suffered, we have looked at what people say in their statements and we have begun to make sense of what we can send to the Government. In all fairness we are beginning to communicate it to the public.

One of the things we have negotiated up until last week is that the Government assist by setting a desk which will look at people and see how they can be assisted, especially those with urgent needs. It is also difficult to think of what will be urgent, given the fact that if one has got needs, needs are needs. We have realized that there are people for instance who, even after the loss of their parents have managed to get education of some kind up to a certain point but for understandable reasons the family can no longer continue supporting that person so we are actually then negotiate with the Government to assist in those cases, to help people access their existing resources.

You must have made a statement of course and you must have been found to be a victim within the Commission, then a letter will be written to you with an explanation of what to do. Local leaders of the Truth Commission will be kept informed of what is happening.

Besides the educational needs, if I may just briefly take you through, some people have got pressing health needs, they need to buy certain equipment for their survival and some people were left in a state whereby they need to be on medication. Again those are the people whom we've recommended that it would be important for them, once they are found to be victims, to be assisted in one way or another and the body which will be responsible for that we are told is going to be outside the Commission. It's going to be in the President's office and that for us it's important to communicate so that at least people should know that we are working on the possible assistance for people. I just mentioned two as an example of what needs to be done.

Also of importance is to talk to communities as we are here today to look at what should be done to re-mobilise and re-motivate people to work towards the development of their community and for communities to re-think what can be done for different groups within this society so that people can begin to heal and begin to see themselves as citizens of this area and to benefit from democracy.

Once we get a perspective from people we assist them and share ideas as to how they can negotiate with local leadership with resources to develop whatever programmes which will be ideal in assisting people. For instance in the question of young people, many young people who are involved might be left with no skills and then it becomes imperative for local developers to think of initiatives that can assist in that direction. In some instances young people are left having grown up in a culture of violence and having no alternative skills of dealing with conflict. Once that picture is clearer for the whole community it will then be easier for local leadership to think of ways to de-militarising young people. Those are just some of the examples that one can give.

The same applies to women. It becomes important to look at them and say where did all this leave them? It might have left them with high levels of illiteracy, it might have left them with pain whereby one would need an empowerment group for women to help them to begin to close the past and look at ways of benefiting from whatever initiatives are being introduced in our society today.

One can go on and on thinking of things which can be done and it's our wish that as we get to our perspective today we will somehow channel your thinking and help you to come up helpful programmes because for us as a Commission it's very, very important not to think that when we are called to the Reparations Fund it's a way of encouraging people to be passive. We realize that people who were activists were people of integrity, were people who could do things for themselves.

When we speak of reparations even when we talk in monetary forms the whole idea is to assist people to be on their feet and be able to use whatever they're given to strengthen them and empowering them to be able to their things for themselves independently. Thank you.

REV NYAMA: Thank you. I think what we should do is you keep your questions as we will have a minute for asking questions. They are still informing us now of our expectations but we will be given time to ask questions. I thank you for your concern. We will continue to Item 4. I'm not talking about the programme which you have because it's not the same programme as I have. Item 4 as it is in my programme will be given by Professor Piet Meiring in terms of the Focus Group Report. Thank you Piet.

FOCUS GROUP REPORT

PROF. MEIRING: Thank you very much, we have had a few things on the table in front of us already and if you think of it as a meal today, we've had the preliminary stuff but the main course is now on the table. We wanted to present you with some information of the Truth Commission where we are at the moment but the main course, the most important part of today's work is that we would like to hear from you what the Truth Commission means to you.

We want to hear what the perceptions are in the community of the Truth Commission so that when we go home we would like to have a number of notes on what Pietersburg and the communities around Pietersburg think of the Truth Commission. That also answers the question about questions.

What we would like to do now is ask a number of people from the community to give an input representing different sides of the community and I think we have to do it in this way, I'm firstly going to call upon Mr Tjol Lategan who has a very specific input to make. After he has spoken let us allow a number of minutes for a reaction from us, the panel. It may be that some of the panelists would like to ask him a number of questions just leaning more information from what he has said. If some of you would like to interact and ask a question you may do that and then we will handle the questions as they come.

We have a number of people who represent groups of the community. We have on our list Mayor Moshuana but I don't know whether he's arrived yet. Please tell me if you have arrived. He is not here yet but as he comes we will invite him to speak. We have Mr Lategan here who will try to interpret to us what the community thinks of the Truth Commission. Am I right? That is what he would say.

Then we have Dean Farisani who is here already. He will speak for the Churches is that correct? Is Dean Farisani here already? Not yet. We will give him a chance when he comes. At twelve o'clock Mrs Preller over there will fetch two young High School students from Pietersburg who are working this morning but they know that we need them at twelve o'clock. At twelve o'clock two young White students will come and they will talk a little bit about their views of the past but especially their views on the future and on the Truth Commission and what it means to them.

Then we have a group, a representative also from the youth from Jane Furse, Mr M.C. Mahudu. Is he here already? Thank you. We'll ask you to speak and interpret your community's views and we would like to interact on that. I also have a representative of the Chiefs in the area. Where is he? We will allow time when he comes. We will go through our list but the whole idea is that people open windows to us, to the Pietersburg community and the communities surrounding Pietersburg, telling us what is living in the hearts of the people as we are very interested to hear that.

First on our list is Mr Tjol Lategan who to most of you is quite well known. Mr Lategan is a local politician and we would very much like to hear what he says. Thank you very much for coming, please make yourself at home at the table and address us please.

DISCUSSION/QUESTIONS

MR LATEGAN Honourable Chairperson, members of the Truth Commission, the Chairperson of this meeting and ladies and gentlemen let me say at the outset it is a privilege to be with you this morning and it's more so a privilege to speak and say a few words especially from the perspective of the community that I belong to, that is the White community. Having lived here for my entire adult life I know the people very well.

The purpose of today's get-together as I have been told, is to seek ways and means to heal the wounds inflicted by apartheid on the people of this province. I've been asked to say something of the impact violations have had and the fears of the White communities or attitudes which need to be changed to achieve that goal and with specific reference to the fears and complaints of the White community. To do as I'm requested is rather a daunting task having myself been labeled by my own people in the past as a sell-out or even sometimes as a communist for trying to reform the views of my own people. In the past and this is well known, I pleaded for simple human rights.

I can go on by giving details of how I was even discriminated against but would like to refrain from doing so for the very reason of maintaining ties and to proceed with that task of reformers both in the Black and in the White communities. May I just pause here for a while by saying Sir that in the olden days I used to give just about all my time to the White community trying to reform them and their way of thinking and now all of a sudden I find myself in the Black community doing the very same thing again but for another purpose this time.

Before one can understand the present position or before you can find solutions for the future I think one needs to understand the past. This is where it is difficult for me because I am to give you a perspective of the White community by not agreeing with what has happened in the past but yet to get you to understand what motivated the White community and the voters more specific for doing, saying and acting as they did. May I also say that I tried to get some of my colleagues who are to right of myself to come but I failed to get them here. As a matter of fact I think I'm the only White person here this morning in the audience but I'm glad to be. What I'm trying to say to you is I'm giving you a perspective of the past.

Firstly we need to analyse and to realize that the democracy of this Province dictates that only a small number of White people eventually settled in the North. By and large they were the people who wanted to get as far away as possible from the British domination and that is why they went as far as this and some of them even went further. Some of them went into Africa and to Namibia because they wanted to get as far away as possible from British domination.

The tragic events of several clashes between them and the indigenous people as well as the Anglo Boer War and their complete outnumbering had the result that the majority of the White population closed ranks and eventually became the bedrock of Right Wing politics in this region. I would want to say that in South Africa one also needs to understand that at the beginning of the century the Afrikaner more in particular, faced the very same plight as the Black people are facing today.

Maybe my friends don't know this but extreme poverty, the aftermath of two wars fought over years, entire families being wiped out, depravation, the language and culture being fased out of extinction, left some marks on the White community and especially in the Afrikaner. I'm talking about a century ago and subsequent events hence when we got the political power we eventually misused it. I'm saying political power tends to bring out the worst in people, misuse or abuse of power.

The further reason that strengthened that tendency is what happened up North in Africa, that is after Uhuru when great numbers of White and Asian people left Africa bringing along with them tales of revolution, of violence, of corruption and destruction. In this Province we were the first recipients of such perception. I don't say it's the truth, I'm saying what they have been telling us coming through Beit Bridge. As a result the political attitude of the White community hardened fearing that a system of one man one vote will have the same effect on their lives whenever the issue of reform was on the table.

The fact that landmines started to explode had a further hardening effect on the White community, hence it was the only region in South Africa where there was a no vote twice when we had to vote on reform.

Chairperson, I've spent almost all my adult life trying to persuade White people that all the people living in South Africa are citizens of this country and to accept the logical consequences of such a reality. That has brought deep division in the White community especially in this Province. Politics beset every fibre of our community, in our schools, in our Churches, in our agricultural unions, in our cultural organisations, every bit of the community got politicized and polarized. Sir, I never abandoned my own people, I stayed with them helping them through the difficult times of reform firstly because it was my duty and also because I love them. I've never been a broker or an advocate for the Right Wing

tendencies yet if my Black friends want to understand the past, they need to understand what the cause of these Right Wing tendencies were.

If you ask me to summarise it in one word I need to say it was fear but racial discrimination one also must understand, was not invented in 1948 it was only formalized into a policy in 1948. Let me also say to you that to be able to escape from apartheid and from the past was even more difficult than to have created it because life itself as we all know, is a continuous process of reform and it cannot be and will never be a one-off business. The ability of a nation to reform is there for a limited time. A Government can only do as much as it is allowed to do by its followers.

History is full of examples where a Government speeded up the process of reform too much and as a result of that losing power to conservatives. Let me remind you that the most recent example is what has happened in Israel a year or two ago when the new Right Wing Government of ... came into power and we know what is happening there now.

May I use the best example that I can think of which was said by Christ and I'm using this as an example to prove the truth of what I'm saying and the message that I want to carry over. When Christ was on earth the practice of slavery was an accepted practice and we know how wrong it is yet he never pleaded for the system to end. You can go through his preaches, his preaching on human dignity however resulted as slaves being regarded as human beings. He knew that if he had gone too fast he would have achieved just the opposite. I'm saying God knows that there are limitations to the speed of reform. I'm saying this to this audience today to explain to them why it took so long to get rid of apartheid.

Therefore in judging history our Black citizens must realize what could have happened if Right Wing freaks got the power in the Republic of South Africa and we fear, we genuinely fear such an eventuality. I'm saying this and in saying this I'm not trying to justify one bit of the atrocities committed by either side, I'm just saying this or trying to illustrate how difficult the road of the reformist and a true reformist is.

Sir, even today we are not escaping from the consequences of more and more reform because we haven't reached the end of the road yet but let us learn from past experiences and mistakes that have already been made and please, let us not repeat it. Attitudes and perceptions are created as a result of exposures over a period of time. White people have reconciled themselves with the fact that an exclusive White Government in this Province is a non-event.

Let me pause here by saying Sir, on Thursday I had to go to Messina to testify in a criminal court case and somebody had to accompany me that also had to give evidence in the same court case so we travelled together. Just to prove how easily one forgets that person travelling with me was the mastermind of the organisation of the AWB in Pietersburg when Pik Botha held his meeting in the Jack Botes Hall that was broken up by the AWB and which was world headlines. We were talking about those times but what struck me was what this gentleman, an ex-prominent member of the AWB said to me. He said that apartheid was a mistake which proves to me that in the extreme Right Wing there is change in their minds and also an admission that the principle of apartheid was wrong.

Attitudes and perceptions as I've said is therefore something that needs and will be changed only by time and exposure to new sets of facts. I must also say that I'm sad to say that in many White circles I note a tendency of negativism or even a despondency. I'm talking about this Province. They seclude and withdraw themselves into their own little corners and want nothing to do with public life anymore and their absence here is the final proof of what I'm saying yet we must understand that. I maintain that this will and could be overcome in time but that will need a great effort. Government also needs to be wary not to repeat the mistakes of the past and I'm going to name a few.

As I've already indicated the previous Government was abusing political power and I repeat it, that must not happen again. Blacks will know what the effect of job reservation had on them and how they rightfully hated that system. In this Province we see that capable, willing good men and women are manipulated out of their jobs in the name of Affirmative Action and we need to say that we must be careful with that. Black people should know how bad it was when political parties which they have favoured were harassed and that was wrong. Political intolerance I say is not in place yet in this country. Multi-party democracy must come to its full bearing.

The state of the Provincial Administration is a matter of great concern for all of us as non service delivery could cause conflict. Lack of experience and managerial skills is a threat that can upset the process, it could turn us into a third world country and it has an effect of inter-group relation.

Lastly, extremism or fundamentalism has never solved problems. Politics more than ideologies were the prime drivers of the past wrongs and I'm saying you can't say to a jobless hungry person have a bit of politics and be happy. My call therefore on the White community remains to get involved. I say without fear of contradiction that the vast majority of our Black people in this Province are good God-fearing people like all of us. Many of them are illiterate, have no or little experience in or of the demands of the modern society and the modern Government and they are poor.

Sir, like St Paul heard a voice of a man in Macedonia pleading for help, we as Christians shall if we listen carefully hear the voice of a fellow human being crying out for help and I say don't let them down. I therefore call on our White community to get to know your fellow Black citizen soon you will find that their needs, their aspirations, their problems and their hopes are the very same as yours even across political divisions. They are also worried about the future, they don't want you, the White people to leave the Province. As a matter of fact many of them come to me and say they pin their hopes on us as well.

There comes a time when we must say goodbye to apartheid in our minds and although there are cultural differences between Black and White it should not deter us from breaking finally with the past and I say not enough is being done to overcome this. I want to call and make a specific call on our Churches, the White Churches or the so-called White Churches and many, many of the organisations to foster the idea of breaking the shackles that kept us apart in the past. There is no future for the Afrikaner in particular in this Province in the corner of the lonely. In my work as the soul member of the opposition in the Provincial Legislature I set myself a task of nation building and reconciliation and of course to strengthen and entrench those democratic values and principles that need to be in place to secure a better life and reconciliation for all.

Sir we have a wonderful country and we have a beautiful Province, we have everything in our favour. We as the people of this Province must learn to work together. Let us purge our hearts of all the bitterness of differences of the past. A wound must be cleaned before it can be healed otherwise it will keep on festering. Let us cleanse our hearts and our minds and take hands and work together. It is in our hands whether we succeed or not. Let us build a common loyalty towards our country and towards our Province and may God Almighty help us all to heal the wounds of the past. In that process we must go forward on the continued road of reform for the better of all the people. Shall we all pray together Nkosi Sikelele i-Afrika. I thank you.

PROF. MEIRING: Mr Lategan may I say to you from my heart baie dankie, thank you very much but you're not off the hook yet. If it's okay with you I'm going to allow some of the panelists to ask a question or two or to make a comment if they want to. After that I will allow for one or two questions from the community, from the audience. If you did not have a chance already to ask a question don't worry because as we go on I will invite more and more from the audience to speak but firstly I wonder if some of my colleagues would like to ask any questions. It seems as if Mr Manthata wants to say something.

MR MANTHATA: Thank you Mr Lategan but you have not referred to the feelings of the White community with reference to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and its work.

MR LATEGAN: Can I do so Sir?

MR MANTHATA: Yes.

MR LATEGAN: Sir, I think the continued news of atrocities of the past comes as a shock to many of the White people in circles that I move in. They can hardly believe it because none of us knew about it so it comes as a shock and for the moment I think many of them are denying it. You know one feels half-ashamed so the natural reaction is, it takes time to digest and like typical human beings you kill the messenger. Maybe you are the messenger and as a result of that many of the White people see you as the messenger of bad news and I think this is also the reason why you don't see them here.

If I want to be honest I need to say to you I don't think the time is right for the White community to accept the full consequences of a Commission such as yours but people like myself and many others in leading positions are trying to convince them as you've heard me, to come to reality and see you as an instrument to heal the past. You need to take

into cognisance the facts that I've given you.

PROF. MEIRING: Any more questions? Miss Mkhize?

MR MANTHATA: Thank you Sir, I will also try to follow the same question based on what you have said to us as a Commission. The Commission was set up primarily for victims but the major question as you have said is it's not so much as what Government is able to do for those people who lost out the most, it's also looking at a wider society. I'm just trying to think that for those people and some of them are here, when they hear that maybe the White community is not ready, it creates a dilemma for us who are messengers to say it's time now to forgive, it's time now to move on. It's as if you are applying pressure all the time on victims. It creates a difficulty because if so many people have suffered because of their political order how much time will people need to make a decision to assist those who were injured to move forward. ... (interrupted) Let me complete my question, especially given the approach which was adopted by South Africa because of the Amnesty clause. Even people who are found to be perpetrators are not tortured, are not imprisoned there's just this gracious arrangement whereby they can be granted amnesty so that becomes a dilemma.

MR LATEGAN: Yes. Chair can I just highlight a few of the things that I've said to give perspective to the answer that I want to give. You must realize that in this province, the road that the White community had to travel was much longer than for instance in Gauteng because you had to do with extremism.

I can say by the example that I've given you that the vast majority of the White people today realize, as that guy from the AWB said on Thursday, apartheid was a mistake so yes, there was tremendous movements from doing what has happened to where they are today by saying yes it was a mistake sorry it was a mistake. So I say that we need a little bit more time here. There is nothing wrong in the minds of the White people. Where it takes a year in Gauteng here it will take a little bit longer because they had to travel a longer way but the way I see it they are now in the neutral stage where they are busy crossing the Rubicon. They are the late comers in the crossing of the Rubicon but there is nothing wrong with their convictions and they are on the right road. They need help, they need assistance to get through this emotional bridge that they need to go through and all I'm saying is, at this point in time it's difficult for them to accept that in those days there were such atrocities as are being disclosed today.

Only a few of them knew about it but the vast majority knew nothing and it comes as a shock and a lot of us are still suffering from shock and after shock by hearing this kind of evidence so all I'm pleading for is please, we are on the right track but we need time.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you, Professor Grobbelaar?

PROF GROBBELAAR: Mr Lategan, why didn't you know, why didn't the White people know, why didn't the Afrikaners in Pietersburg know? Surely there is enough evidence to have known particularly since 1976. Can we say that people didn't know because they were so fearful, can that be the only explanation?

MR LATEGAN: Let me say to you that I myself who was prominent in the reformist process, I myself I didn't know. I truly didn't know of what had been happening in the security circles or whatever. How was I supposed to know about it? Either the newspapers needed to have told me about it or the media or whoever knew about it, should have told me. If I don't know that somebody is suffering over there I don't hear him, I don't see him and I'm talking about physically I'm not talking about apartheid, I'm talking about atrocities. How would I know and I could I be expected to know about it if I'm not told. I think that's all I can say to that.

PROF GROBBELAAR: With respect, newspapers did report it Mr Lategan. Steve Biko died, 1976 happened and with respect why didn't people listen, why didn't they hear?

MR LATEGAN: There were a few exceptions that we know about like Steve Biko but then on the other hand there was the bombing that was the same sort of thing so if I say that we didn't know at all, we knew about Steve Biko but we thought that that was just one of the small little incidents, mistakes, a sort of thing where one guy got out of hand but not by and large and to the extent as it now proves to have been. This is what I'm trying to say to you and you must also remember if you want to change the system, if you want to play a meaningful role in changing the system you'd better be there. There were enough people outside screaming and if you wanted to change it you'd better say it inside and there

you could do more.

In particular I remember it so well when the Steve Biko thing was reported and when Jimmy Kruger said that it leaves him cold or something like that because at that time there was a National Party Congress in Pretoria. Somebody says it left him cold if somebody had died. What I'm trying to say to you is that I'm trying to explain that the process of reformation is not an easy process, you can ask me I know it.

PROF MEIRING: The last question from the panel will be from Miss Mkhize then I'm going to invite one question from the floor and then I'm going to invite Mr Mahudu from Jane Furse to take his place at the table but firstly a last question from Miss Mkhize.

MISS MKHIZE: Just one thing from me really, what is it that you think can be done to assist many South Africans to move away from denial that something was wrong with the past? I would say, any one person who was in the country heard about numerous children who were killed in schools by security forces, heard about the killings of people in prison, heard about the long term imprisonment of people who were trying to what we you were saying you have been doing, reforming the country. They made public statements as to what they were struggling for, that they wanted all South Africans to live well.

I'm appealing and just trying to get my mind clear on what it is that should be done to move away from denial because if we do not join hands in doing that, we leave a pool of people. I said we have about ten thousand statements from people who will remain angry and bitter inside thinking that people who benefited in the past are still benefiting and they're selfishly not wanting to say something was wrong and bring something on the table as to what it is that we can do as a matter of urgency to make sure that people whose lives have been cheap, their dignity is beginning to be restored.

MR LATEGAN: Chair, I've explained to you that this is a process and I think what should be done is the following : I think in our churches and most Afrikaners are church going people every Sunday and so on, I think in the churches the church should play a much more vigorous role bringing to mind the need to make peace with what is going on in South Africa at the moment. In other words having a Black Government and having human rights in place and what goes with that. I think our churches are not doing sufficient.

The second point is because so many of the political leaders or the erstwhile political leaders have gone neutral, there aren't many people in the White community or not sufficient people in the White community standing up and saying what needs to be said and it must not be political people, it must be ordinary community leaders, people who are in business, people who are in organisations such as the Rapport Ryers or wherever. Those kind of messages need to come from the community itself. That's on the positive side. On the negative side I've told you that there are many perceptions which is making it rather difficult sometimes to say to people it's for the better that we have changed. They still perceive it the other way around but as I've said it's a process where people have gone a long, long way and they still need to go a long way. All I'm saying to you apart from what I've said, time is a healing factor from their side but I think more as we go along and the best evidence that I could have given to you of changed attitudes is the one that I experienced on Thursday. I never thought that this sort of thing is possible. I can give you other reasons as well but that would be political and I would rather not encroach on that.

PROF MEIRING: Mr Lategan thank you very much. That gentleman wants to ask a question. Your question will be the only question and then we'll move along with the programme but keep your questions I will allow for questions as we go along. Your question please?

QUESTION FROM AUDIENCE: (Beginning not audible) They wanted to know from you Mr Lategan, the lady really wanted to know from you what must be done Mr Lategan, in order that the community you are representing must change and reconcile with the people who are the so-called culprits of the apartheid system. As you are a representative what I could ...(not audible) call on the priests in the area, call on the teachers in the area because all those people according to the Government are the many people who are going to bring about the reconciliation of the community so that the community must be able to have friendship towards one another because the main obstacle is to destroy the animosity which was build up by the past. At the present moment what we are looking for is that people must learn to live together and share what is being in need by the Government.

PROF MEIRING: Can you answer the question Tjol please?

MR LATEGAN: Sir, I think what the speaker said I think he also gave the answer. It's difficult to add to what he said he repeated what I said and I wholeheartedly agree with him . We need to take everybody through this process and we need to encourage them but you see Sir ... may I speak Afrikaans?

PROF MEIRING: With pleasure as it gets translated.

MR LATEGAN: I was taught in public life that to just scold somebody and curse him you won't get him to join your side, you can't persuade him. The best method of persuasion that I'm aware of is, to state the facts to people in a loving manner and to tell them that they shouldn't go and sit in the corner of loneliness. There are a lot of people around and if you speak to them and you will soon discover they have the same needs that you have. It doesn't matter whether you are ANC or Conservative Party they are people like you, people who are basically Christians who have the same ambitions of the future for their children and the Whites have such an important role to play because so much of the expertise and capital is in their hands and by making themselves indispensable and getting involved in the poor and those who have been disadvantaged, they will get so much appreciation and so much love in return for what they have done.

In the same way that I see this from my colleagues in Parliament who differ from me politically but because we reach out to each other and because we are tied by a love for our country and by certain other factors such as religious persuasion. That is what I'm fighting for and that is what I think our leaders are trying to achieve and which you as the Commission are also trying to achieve. That is what I suggest what you should state in you report to the White community is that they in this manner, through their love can also be carried through this.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you so much for the question you asked, we really appreciate you being here. You may take your seat and then I would like to invite Mr Mahudu from Jane Furse to take his place. Mr Mahudu before you say your piece will you please introduce yourself to us?

MR MAHUDU: I'm M.C. Mahudu from Skukune I represent my branch there of Kulumane Support Group, in short that's what I am.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you. Please proceed. You have a message for us, you want to open another window on the community to us.

MR MAHUDU: Of course Sir. I just want to thank you all for being together here for this important day in my view. I just want to tell the audience that we were born as Blacks in the country where words were already done and we grew up in that type of situation. We happened to challenge the very same situation and I've realized that during that time both the South African police force and the defence force happen to be the killing machine of our people, the killing machine to our own unarmed youth, the killing machine to our own unarmed leaders and activists, the killing machine to our own community in general and this state of affairs has left our country bleeding. It has also left our country in a pool of blood, in pain, in sorrow, in suffering, in tears, in death and also in panic and fear. It also left a desire for revenge and total destruction, particularly on our part as the youth. This state of affairs has also left our country with a deepening gap of hatred and also deepening wounds which happen to be difficult to heal.

It also left our country with hopelessness, frustrations and a painful memory as well. When I refer to a painful memory I refer to the type of memory that when you think of your kid in prison, a kid as young as 6 or 8 years being in prison, being tortured, being killed, a painful memory of your brother or sister who happened to be abducted during the night and during the day when you wake up you find him lying on the street bleeding, dead or maimed. A painful memory of our comrades who at the end of the day happened to be detained, tortured in prison and at the end of it all you will be informed that he has died, he has hung himself with a shoelace and that sort of nonsense that I just don't believe. I'm referring to the painful memory of the past Government, the vicious Government, the type of Government who had no mercy for us. When we challenged them being unarmed, they responded violently to us. That painful memory left our country in a seriously weeping state. It also left our country in a state of confusion, in frustration, in sorrow and also agony and of course comrade that was very serious and even now because it's left us with fresh wounds, fresh scars and many more worse things which I can say but some I'm afraid to mention here.

On the other hand there were some other criminal activities which happened to be perpetuated by the very same system amongst our communities turning our MK cadres and APLA cadres into askaries and all those things. We happen to live in this era. The situation came to change not because of their wishful thinking or of the likelihood or whatever, it was because of the pressure and determination and the anger that was driving us in our communities. Finally we happened to have won our country, our liberation and our freedom. That's where we are today we are talking to each other as brothers and sisters but there also came some form of crime that happened to disturb our move towards transition or towards the total taking over of power.

We happen to have taxi violence in our areas, gangsters or other forms of crime perpetuation by the very same system which of course in my view is still wanting to cling to the very same power which we were serving earlier on. They tried to infiltrate us in many ways but even if the situation happens to be like that I should think we as South Africans living in South Africa happen to be very lucky in a way because we happen to be the last country to be liberated. As such we have learnt lessons from other countries, countries like Argentina, Zimbabwe, Namibia as to the way they settled their matters and their political disputes. We even happened to learn from our ex-Robben Islanders who of course because of their compassion, the love of our country, their behavioural attitudes happened to compel us to reconcile, to forgive the most vicious Government a country in Africa has ever envisaged. This was because of their behaviour.

You can remember comrade Madiba moving away from his people, going into the laager the Afrikaner laager to an extent of greeting that woman, the wife of Verwoerd. Can you remember that? Some of our Black community can be criticizing by saying he's overdoing this reconciliation but that was because of the anger we felt. Through that action we learnt something and he made us understand that even if the worse happened we have to come down and face the practical situation here, the realities of our country and of course we are the only ones who have to build it.

One gentleman mentioned that they never even accepted the situation but we have to drive them to be an example to our own leaders. What our ... taught us we have to do. I support you in what you have said Mr Lategan. Last year we were assembling around the rugby stadium here ... (interrupted)

PROF MEIRING: Mr Mahudu I'm so sorry but it seems we have to speed our process a little bit because there are a number of things still to happen before lunch. I wonder if we could do it this way. As you are representing the young people in this area would you mind very much if the panel asks you a number of specific questions on the role and the understanding of the young people?

MR MAHUDU: I've got no problem with that.

PROF MEIRING: Is that okay with you? Please finish what you are saying but just finish it off.

MR MAHUDU: Okay let me just wrap up my story here. Let me just comment on the question of crime which happens to have engulfed our Province. Those heroic views and other issues that happened to derail them was because of the very same past system which was done by the apartheid Government. You see we, as part of the youth don't have recreational facilities in our community but we are rural communities so as such our youth happened to indulge in drug abuse and so forth. In some other instances they happened to engage in criminal activities because of the lack of recreational facilities.

We can even go further we can look at the question of schooling in our area. We don't have this type of hall that we are sitting in our students lack of ... I personally went through that situation. We happened to go to school under trees meaning when it is very cold or raining there's just no schooling and this leads to a drop out and for a drop out in many ways leads to criminal activities because they don't have anything to do. This is also one of the other reasons which is also visible in our Province. Of course they've got a high failure rate which is driven by the very same thing. We've got a high unemployment rate. We've got a high illiteracy rate and this situation has been caused by the past system. We want the system to now be changed and we want our Truth Commission to inform our Government that we need schooling, not the type of schooling that I've mentioned but proper schooling of the nature where we have several facilities inside the very same school yard. We need educational facilities of all kinds and to be honest we don't have any in our area and we have several high schools which offers the very same stream, general streams and everything. No technical subjects are offered there so what kind of future do you expect for that type of community? I can go further

but I may be taking time now.

PROF MEIRING: Mr Mahudu, I'm sorry to ask you to wrap up because it's so interesting and you've really opened a number of windows to us and I appreciate that very much. I'm going to ask the panel who would like to ask specific questions to you because I think you're a spokesman from the youth and I know that the panel would like to ask a number of things from you. Who will be first? Mr Manthata.

MR MANTHATA: We would love to be direct and to the point. Is the youth doing anything and if so what? You give a very good picture of a youth that still lives in the past, all those atrocities and whatnot and whatnot. Are the youth doing anything to debrief themselves out of that into a position of creative thinking, creative programmes? The last question would be, in this area in particular as I've said right from the beginning, it is reputed for the youths hunting down the elderly mothers and fathers and calling them witches. What are the youth doing in that direction and or what help would the youth request of the TRC to recommend to the Government with regard to those particular problems? Thank you.

MR MAHUDU: Thank you comrade Manthata but in terms of creativity we have different backgrounds. I come from a very seriously rural area where I would say most of the parents are away working in towns and we are left with mothers who are in a way illiterate. They cannot understand how to create something that will empower that individual except only saying go to school. As the youth we are aware of the situation in our country. In some other instances we've tried to invite them together to form some discussion groups on how to do deal with this type of situation, this dull situation where there is just no activity except going to football over the week-end. In some other instances something from a group such as performing drama, singing or poetry but if you look at what they're doing it is still clinging to the past their poetry in highly political, highly volatile they still express the very same thing which has happened to them in the past. In some instances our rural communities there are terribly poor. This type of activity needs financial backing which we do not have.

On the question of witch hunting you have to look at this issue as a traditional level in a way because it hasn't just emerged now, it has been an ongoing process. It went differently in the past because when I grew up I was still very young and I never saw anybody being called a witch and being chased away in the community. This happens when we try to get involved in our struggle but the youth see the witches maybe as the people who are the first obstacles towards their moving and in some other instances they happen to chase them away from the community but I remember when I was still part of the Skukune Youth Organisation we used to have this type of problem but we believed in scientific theory and they must leave the question of witchcraft. We tried to delve on the that question but we never succeeded because it is rooted in their subconscious that we have this type of problem and we need to solve it. So at the moment I'm saying we managed to solve that problem because it's still an ongoing process and to be honest I don't have an exact answer to that.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you very much, Miss Mkhize are these questions?

MR MANTHATA: My last question sorry, one other thing that we noted as the TRC as we move around Northern Province is that there are many NGO's, amongst them Kuruman. What we want to know is do the youth (a) know about those NGO's because NGO's have money and (b) do the youth make use of those NGO's or do they just let them go scott free and focus just on the Government and where the Government cannot deliver, we have the kind of bitterness that is being expressed?

MR MAHUDU: In some other instances these NGO's like Kulumane have just approached us now. It was never, maybe in the early '90's came to us and said that we can do point a,b,c,d, so our youth at the moment I would say are divided in many ways. The question of unemployment is a very serious problem that is hunting us. We as the non-working youths and in some instances tend to be dislodged from our own community because the community tends not to take you seriously and as such you have to do your own things in your own way because if you are not working to be honest, I don't know who to put it for you to understand me perfectly. So this question of NGO's in our areas have just appeared very recently and may I make an appeal that if maybe there happen to be any other NGO's they must make an approach to the youth through schools so that if the Commission. is able to get to schools they'll easily get access to the community but if they're just saying anything because in some villages we don't have newspapers. There's just no way that we can get any information. To get the newspaper you have to move some hundred kilometres away so it's not easy

in that type of situation.

PROF MEIRING: Another question?

_____ : Yes please. I just want to follow up on the same question that my youth was asked concerning what the Government is doing to the youth myself I think the Government is concentrating more on the townships not the rural areas and that is why we find ourselves failing in many things in the rural areas. If the Government can provide the rural areas with some facilities I think the country or the Province itself will be in an equal status. The second point is about what the youth can do in terms NGO's. Our NGO's you'll find them doing the same thing and as a result it brings a competition then only the fast NGO's will gain and the slower will get nothing and start getting targeted as not being the right NGO's, thank you.

PROF MEIRING: Mrs Mkhize?

MISS MKHIZE: I would also just like to thank you for giving us a picture of the conditions under which young people in this area have grown up. You have also shown us some of the after effects of that but I would just like to ask you a question on one aspect. You painted a picture of the culture of violence seeing friends, blood all over the streets hearing that some of them have been found dead having hanged themselves with a shoe lace or something, all the stories that you referred to. Can I ask you something? From your own point of view, what is it that the Truth Commission should recommend to make sure that young people like yourself who have grown up within this culture of blood, death and anger and wanting to get revenge, what is it that you think should be done so that you begin to see the world differently? What you are describing is not normal for young people to grow smelling blood, jumping over dead bodies and the people they know being murdered. I'm sure amongst yourselves you do talk and now that we know there is this new era, what is it that you think should be done?

MR MAHUDU: What I recommend to the Truth Commission is that it must advise our Government to really pay much more attention on the question of the youth because the youth still have a very serious psychological problem these days. They also have an emotional problem and these things are very severe to be honest. To be exact on what to do I don't know but I should think some psychological support services of some sort should be given and let there be schooling as well, proper schooling so that they'll be able to grow within that environment. I think that maybe it will drive them somewhere where I believe they will be very productive to the community in general.

PROF MEIRING: Mr Mahudu thank you very much, you've given a very good account of yourself and of the youth. We have two other young people here from the White community and while I'm asking you to take your seat again I'm going to invite Miss Yvette Wilkens and Miss Karen du Toit to come to the table to also give us an account of what the young people are thinking in and around Pietersburg. While they are coming I'm so happy to see that our friend and colleague Dean Farisani has arrived. You're so welcome a warm welcome to you and we are looking forward to hear what you will eventually say to us but now the podium belongs to the youth at this stage of the day. You will have to introduce yourselves first because I don't know who Yvette is and who Karen is but thanks for coming. After you've given your piece would you mind very much to off the cuff answer questions asked to you from the panel?

MISS WILKENS: Unfortunately we haven't had a long time to prepare for this as we only found out yesterday but we are very willing to answer any questions you have for us to the best of our ability. I'm Yvette Wilkens.

MISS DU TOIT: I'm Karen du Toit.

PROF MEIRING: Please go ahead.

MISS DU TOIT: It was only at the age of thirteen that I became aware of the fact there was something different about South Africa. I read two books, The Power of One and Tandia and all of a sudden I thought this isn't happening in my country. What's this system called apartheid? I was thirteen so yes I led a sheltered childhood.

MISS WILKENS: I attended a primary school in South Africa which changed from a White school shortly after I arrived there so therefore I didn't experience a large part in the apartheid system. I only arrived in South Africa at the age of thirteen when my family immigrated here. The difference between England's political system and South Africa's

became very noticeable when I arrived. I was shocked at how prejudiced some people were over here. However my parents realized that this country was one of a great opportunity.

MISS DU TOIT: By this time President Mandela was already released from prison and things had started to happen. The old South Africa that I knew very little about was gone and the new South Africa which I knew even less about had begun so I started asking questions and for the first time in my life I realized that South Africa had so much more to offer.

MISS WILKENS: There are so many cultures, traditions and different people and so many new languages in this country of ours. I realized this was a country filled with people that knew nothing about each other except what colour each one was.

MISS DU TOIT: I grew up in the Eastern Cape on a small holding and spent most of my early years playing with my maid's daughter Vanessa. We'd have tea parties and play games like blind man's bluff and so forth and in my small mind I thought that all children grow up like me.

MISS WILKENS: In England there were few African people and they had the same opportunities as I did so for me this new South Africa is something natural and something that only good can come from.

MISS DU TOIT: I attended a dual-medium primary school and it was an all White school which I never noticed. I suppose it was my ignorance that resulted in me never wondering why Vanessa didn't go to the same school as I did. We are now at Capricorn High School and yes, we still have a lot of privileges that many others don't have so we've learnt to appreciate them. We've made new friends and enjoy their company. We have learnt about the past and its atrocities and we know about the present and its struggles so we have to believe that we will win this battle and we must go forward into the future.

MISS WILKENS: Not the dark future that has been painted by so many but the bright future that we as South Africans can make. Our country is very special and hopefully we can heal the wounds of the past and make South Africans grow stronger, happier and more peaceful, thank you.

PROF MEIRING: Yvette and Karen don't go I'm sure that there are a number of questions. I'm going to invite the panel to ask questions and then I'm going to invite one young person from the audience to add another question but first the panel and then one person from the audience. Who would like to ask the first questions? Miss Mkhize.

MISS MKHIZE: Thank you very much for agreeing to come and appear before us at such short notice. If I may just ask you what do you think should be done, how should resources be shared in such a way that in this area we can have many young people like yourselves well dressed, in school, being able to go around being confident?

MISS DU TOIT: I think maybe community projects or something like that to raise funds to skill other people, charity drives at the schools who do have privileges as we do where we can raise money as the youth of South Africa to help our people to have the same education.

MISS WILKENS: I think what we basically have to do is work together, all the schools stand together and to make sure that a better education for a better future could be made for us.

MISS MKHIZE: Just another related question. In a classroom situation you have mentioned that in the process when things changed you began to see Black students joining in as well. How do you think teachers and children who are empowered like yourselves should facilitate the integration of children who are coming in who's first language is not English, their culture is different and their whole world view is not the worst. Just think about the classroom situation, how should relations be structured?

MISS WILKENS: I think the best thing for us would be to take the opportunities like we do have to learn about other cultures, other religions, other people's backgrounds so we can understand where they are coming from to help them so they can help us as well. I'm sure there are a lot of other people who could help us and educate us into the way they've grown up.

MISS DU TOIT: Capricorn High School is doing very well in integration, extra lessons are given to help the people integrating into our school but as far as we can see all the people who have integrated into our school are doing very, very well. Their marks are actually higher than ours in fact. I think because of the struggles of the past our people are adapting very easily.

PROF MEIRING: Miss Mkhize still has another question, then Professor Grobbelaar and then Tom.

MISS MKHIZE: Thank you very much. I just have one last question. There are many young people who's parents were murdered unfairly in the past and who are left at your age with no parents. How do you think those young people who are hearing about how their parents were treated unfairly, could be nurtured in such a way that they begin to trust the world, to love and to care?

MISS DU TOIT: I think maybe some sort of facility that we as youth could start to help other youths whereby they could be put into special programmes to help them and maybe to teach them how to deal with what has happened, the unfairness of what has happened and to go on stronger into the future.

PROF MEIRING: Would you like to add?

MISS WILKENS: Basically for the youth to stand together. We should no longer look at the past and the things that they have gone through, we should try to bring them into our lives and show them that in South Africa there's a lot of good that can still come from what we have.

PROF MEIRING: Professor Grobbelaar has a question.

PROF GROBBELAAR: I was listening to Mr Lategan before you came and he painted a very negative attitude about the potential of the White community in Pietersburg to change on a very short term. When I listen to you, you are presenting us with a very positive view of the future. How representative do you think you are of White youths in Pietersburg?

MISS WILKENS: I think we are very representative of the feeling of the White youth. A lot of people feel as we do and we want to stand together and help each other out because after all if we don't stand together now there is no future for us.

PROF GROBBELAAR: Can I just follow up and comment on your last point. Why should young Black people who are unemployed, who are traumatised by the past, who live with ghosts, why should they forget the past and build a future?

MISS WILKENS: Sorry I didn't mean they should forget the past I mean we should stand together to look forward to the future. To forget something as traumatic as what was presented I don't think anybody could forget something like that but I think we should try to stand together to look forward to the future.

MISS DU TOIT: To deal with the past by looking at a good future for us.

PROF MEIRING: Mr Manthata?

MR MANTHATA: I've got two questions that will need your comment. One, are you studying any one single African language so that you can relate fairly well as you are young, resilient and this is still within your age limit to do? Second, it's more of a comment, we have had youth perhaps slightly older than you coming from Europe who are very enthusiastic to do the kind of work that you are referring to going to schools like St Mark to teach at least for a year or so. Is it possible for our White youths in South Africa to begin to think about that doing that kind of work peace core work within the disadvantaged communities?

MISS DU TOIT: I would like to study an African language in fact I've been speaking about it to my parents. I did have some primary education in an African language I know a little bit of Xhosa, not too much it's a bit rusty unfortunately but I would like to study African languages as well as European languages after school to understand and relate better with people. What was the second question?

PROF MEIRING: The second question was a comment. Miss Mkhize? Then I have to ask one volunteer from the audience preferably a young person to ask a question but first Miss Mkhize.

MISS MKHIZE: Just one last question from me. Would you expect anyone to apologise for jumping the queue? Let's say you are in a classroom situation, you discuss this topic and you see that other young White people by virtue of being White have always had opportunities which they took advantage of without questioning, do you think it would make a difference for acknowledging that? Let's say in a classroom situation for some reason you are treated differently.

MISS DU TOIT: But we aren't.

MISS MKHIZE: I'm making an example that if, in a certain way you discuss this topic and you look at real life experiences where for some reason because of the difficult past that we are talking about, other people have jumped the queue and they've enjoyed that without questioning, will it be helpful to talk about it openly and to make admissions and taking different responsibility for different levels of guilt?

MISS WILKENS: I think people should acknowledge if they've had more opportunity than other people and it's time for us as a whole group to realize this and to step back and to fix what has been made wrong by as you said, jumping the queue. I think everybody should look around and see who has not had the opportunities that they've had, that's all we can do.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you. Who would like to ask a question, a young person from the audience? No questions? No Sir, you're not young you're an old man. There's a question, please ask your question and if you make it brief I'll repeat the question for the translator.

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: (Not audible)

PROF MEIRING: Then you'll have to come to the table please or is it a brief recommendation? I'll repeat it for the mike.

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: (Not audible)

PROF MEIRING: That was a very, very good remark thank you. For the record I would like to say that our friend from the young people of the Black community made a heart felt plea to the White kids from the White schools to answer the invitations and to start organising for mutual things to happen games, rugby matches, tennis matches and whatever. I wonder whether we shouldn't ask Karen and Yvette during lunch time to meet with the young people and start making plans right away. Karen, Yvette you've done Capricorn High School proud thank you for being here. I see Mrs Preller is bursting with pride at the back of the hall. Thank you for your answers and thank you for your well thought out and very knowledgeable presentation we really appreciate it very much. We have a few announcement before we go for lunch.

REV NYAMA: Thank you Piet. ... (interrupted)

MISS DU TOIT: On behalf of Capricorn High School I'd just like to thank you very much for giving us the privilege to express our views. Thank you very much.

REV NYAMA: Thank you very much. Before you go I think you made a good thing and I commend and encourage that you have seen the way your parents grew up or live in this country. I think you are the people to transform and to help the Black community to accept you and also you to accept them. Thank you very much. Leave it like that. The announcements are as follows : Number one is that please people when you go out don't go along with the mikes rather leave them on your chair so that when you come back ... (interrupted)

PROF MEIRING: I'm so sorry I must confess this is a Truth Commission and we were talking and I didn't listen but what did you say?

REV NYAMA: Somebody must come and take a statement from you for amnesty. I was saying when you leave, when

you go out please leave the mikes on your chair so that when you come back you can just pick it up and use it again. The second point is, lunch is ready even though it's not yet dished out but let's behave like people of the new South Africa and eat as much as you can but think of other people who are still behind you. The last announcement is I would like to put the Kulumane in the programme towards the end so that the victims know or gets something from the Kulumane Support Group, just to say something to the victims so that they can start to form the groups in their areas. For those who want to give statements, unfortunately to-day we are not taking statements we just want to deal with the TRC in this Province and if you want to give statements there are people from Venda, Messina, Djiani here in Pietersburg and they are ready for you to give statements. Just make an appointment with them and they will tell you when to come and make your statement. To-day we are just wanting to restructure the TRC for many questions that we are getting from you when you want to give and some are doubting to give statements. How do I address you Chairlady or Chairperson or what?

PROF MEIRING: We call it "the big boss".

REV NYAMA: Thank you. Over to you now.

PROF MEIRING: Before we leave for lunch, can I just hear. Dean Farisani is here and he will address us just after lunch. Mr Moshuana has not arrived and also the representative from the chief's or Azapo, they are not here. That will give us ample time after lunch to have Dean Farisani and then we will allow for a comprehensive discussion of all the issues we need to discuss. My watch says it's 5 past one. Can we be back at exactly twenty to two, one forty, twenty to two, back in the hall please. Enjoy your lunch.

Hearing adjourns for lunch.

PROF MEIRING: That is what Tom says. I say welcome let me tell you what the programme is. It is now ten past two and we are looking forward to listen to Dean Farisani maybe in about fifteen minutes. When he's finished we will have the same sort of discussion and if you don't mind Sir can we ask you questions? The panel will propose a number of questions and then at about twenty to three we will have to start rounding off. It may be that you have a question or two to ask from the audience which I'd love to allow for and then Professor Grobbelaar will summarise for us and at about three o'clock I will ask Miss Mkhize to make the closing remarks after which we will close and go home. Mr Farisani we are very happy to have you with us, thanks for travelling all the way to come to us we are listening with open ears.

DEAN FARISANI: I take this opportunity to thank God for this marvelous creation called the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, pushing the programme of healing in our land. I also want to take this opportunity to thank God for making it possible for me to visit some countries on this planet which have experienced problems of violations of human rights and because I've been able to talk to some survivors of human rights violations I've been able to learn a lot from them but the learning continues.

As we sit here, in one sense we are sharing what we know, we are authorities and experts on what we're dealing with but the other side of the coin is that we continue to learn. It's my very considered opinion that as you move from place to place dealing with this process you continue to learn every day. I do not want to take you back when the likes of Tom Manthata and I were young and hot blooded and we were very angry and justifiable so with apartheid.

Those were the days when we worked with the likes of Steven Biko, I even used to share his room when he was studying medicine at the University of Natal. Those were very, very difficult days. I don't want to re-open the wounds and re-open the cases but they were very, very difficult days. Some of the losses that have been suffered along the way, some of the pains that have been experienced are short of God's miracle, irreparable they don't even fall under the category of reparation in the material sense but the fact remains that as we sit here we face this challenge that God has given us what the young people from Capricorn have once again defined as a wonderful country full of opportunities.

As a church person and theologian you cannot expect me to say my thing without including such prominent names as Satan the devil and God, they are part and parcel of my vocabulary. This is indeed a very beautiful country, exaggerations aside. I've criss-crossed this planet and South Africa remains one of the most beautiful countries in the world and to be more human and subjective, the most beautiful country in the world.

Now the devil had a programme, he had an agenda that which God created and said it's very, very good if you read the Hebrew Bible it says after God had created (they used the word ...) he looked at everything and it was toff ... Toff ... means exceptionally beautiful so after God had created this very, very beautiful country the devil and the devil has no legs and no hands he uses human beings, decided to corrupt this wonderful land and one major instrument God used is apartheid and apartheid as an instrument lets admit was very effective, very successful in causing the havoc that the devil intended.

Economically as we sit here we sit with an economic heritage that has disadvantaged the overwhelming majority of our people and there are people who don't talk theology the way I do. When they hear of reparation and rehabilitation they think in terms of what it means economically what changes will it bring in this area.

If you're talking the language of education they say you have to understand our parents, our fathers died, they were tortured, they were killed all those things and they say in terms of education how do we address this question in order to achieve healing. Culturally we've used cultures including the culture of no human rights to divide our communities. You know a culture is world perspective, a culture is a world view, it is a paradise of how you understand and interpret things. When people hear of healing, of reparation, of rehabilitation they want to know how this world view, how this paradise, how this world perspective is going to be restructured otherwise the latent spirit of the TRC will be like pouring brand new wine into old skins and when it ferments the skins will burst open. These are questions that people ask. Concerning human dignity people are asking is it enough just to burn the word Kaffir and terrorist and communist and agitator and all that kind of terminology baggage that went with the concept of apartheid.

If it's necessary to sort of transform the language paradigm in this country how do you handle that. If I must make the future a point of departure because perhaps that's the best way to approach the question of healing in our country. Perhaps the TRC by way of recommendation also suggests to us in this language, theological language what the future is like. To us in religious language we talk in terms of the glorious future some call it paradise. It doesn't matter what name you really use and what we do today is influenced by the ideal that we see ahead of us. That's the sense in which the ultimate influences what we want in the penultimate and the penultimate influences what we do today and what do today helps us to undo the past. Perhaps as a process of healing that's what we need to do.

I'm told I've never been to medical school although my father was a traditional healer, I'm told that a good doctor even before he does a diagnosis and makes a prescription he already envisages a healthy, happy, walking person and we've heard it from the youngest of the young those that Jesus has said those who want to enter the Kingdom of God they must learn from these young ones because they are not so much corrupted about the past including the very recent past and the remnants of that past that influences our lives today. They're thinking about that glorious future, that wonderful future.

I regard myself as an expert on the new South African Constitution having been part and parcel of the constituent assembly that worked through that document with the whole nation. That document is regarded as a miracle in many parts of the world and it's a wonderful document, I'm not saying it's another Bible. Some people compared it with the Bible some have even said it's better, I don't agree with them because there's room for improvement in that document but what I'm trying to say is that, that document is an attempt to recreate perhaps not recreate to create a completely new South Africa that we all aspired and I think the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission should be partly to come up with such suggestions that can empower and reach this document that we call The Constitution.

Hear me when a person is wounded, a good paramedic and a good doctor will make sure that as you rescue these people from the scene of the accident. You don't aggravate the wounds, the pain that already have been inflicted by the accident.

As people were talking here again and again they go back to the past but I thought my input for today should be more informed by what is the environment, what is the daily experience especially of the victims as we sit here today. Do those experiences tell them that the past is still with us or do those experiences tell them that we are definitely moving from the past at a healthy safe speed to the future that we envisage?

PROF MEIRING: Dean Farisani I'm sorry the technicians ask you to please lower your voice a little bit it's a bit loud on the mike.

DEAN FARISANI: Am I being charged with malicious damage to microphones? Both of them are going to, what do you call this crisis unit in hospital? Is that okay now?

PROF MEIRING: Will you finish in about five minutes then we can start asking questions, thank you Sir.

DEAN FARISANI: Thank you. I think the process of healing is a two way process. First and foremost those who are placed in the category of pulpy, I'm talking of individuals, I'm talking of collectives and I'm talking of the system itself, the structure of themselves must be willing to confess and admit the past. As far as I'm concerned, partly through the structure of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission I think what you are doing is planting the seeds in the communities so that we can be the Truth and Reconciliation Commission wherever we are as political parties, as Churches, as individuals, as organisations, as schools wherever we are we must be the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Amongst ourselves we must be able to share the pain, confess those mistakes and to find programmes and structures together that begin to address that page but I think rather than those who are guilty of past misconduct rather than for them going into the loft and hiding. They should be breadwinners even if they are enemies, be bold enough to come forward and say the truth hurts but if you had kept quiet this country would die. There is also a challenge for those of us who are victims not only to have the capacity to tell about the pain but also the capacity to strike our arms of love and forgiveness and reconciliation. As I said the other day in Louis Trichardt if my hand is left there, hanging and dangling in the air the pain does develop out of that rejected hand of love and peace and reconciliation may be worse than the pains experienced previously.

I want to conclude on this useful note of hope. I'm afraid that partly as we sit here that those of us who have got those old tendencies and practices, first the experience of pain, I must be very careful that I don't indoctrinate my children on a daily basis with all the tortures and the pains that I've suffered it doesn't matter what they are because then we poison the younger generation. It's very unfair to them, they need to know what happened. It's another thing if we use these experiences as salt and pepper and spice every day because it poisons.

On part of Comrade Lategan it's really critical rather than tell these children that the stories you hear are lies, they're fabrications of communists, it cannot be true we lived here, it never happened then you poison the younger generation on the other side. From both sides we need to work together to create a better future for South Africa.

PROF MEIRING: Dean Farisani, thank you so much. You didn't demolish anything, you edified us with your thoughts. I'll allow for one or two questions from the panel, Tom do you have a question?

MR MANTHATA: Dean, I will be repeating myself because the key thing that we are looking forward to hear is possibilities of reconciliation and pulling together in a manner that we can see to be even sharing the blames amongst ourselves between Black and White in the Northern Province. How do you see this coming about?

DEAN FARISANI: Some people think it is a disadvantage to live in what used to be regarded as Pastor, Doctor ... Comrade Lategan has said we must understand the dynamics here that people had to move a long way to understanding the new dispensation. I don't deny that but we must regard that as a golden opportunity given to us in this Province to perform a miracle that is not expected from the other parts of our country and I think we need to identify areas where we need to address issues.

Let's talk fact not because it's the most crucial outset, the witchcraft scene in this Province which is largely, I don't want to call it Black on Black violence because that was the strategy in the language in the third force. It is a challenge that divides our community. Once you're labeled as a witch or a wizard it has got the power of destruction that such terms as terrorist and communist had in the political past. What really is critical here as you raise your questions is that we need to change the paradise and changing that paradise does not depend only on the findings of a Commission.

The critical thing about the work of a Commission is how you translate those recommendations into flesh, into programmes of action that gives a turn around to the perspectives that people have. Now here in this Province as you see, there are very few Whites here unless we say Comrade Lategan is eighty people but there are very few of them here

but it doesn't mean you have failed. It means if Farisani and Lategan are honest about what they are saying before this audience and all of us that have spoken, if we were honest it means you have given us the skill of how to fish for healing and reconciliation here.

We must look on how we invade our schools here to bring them together. The experience of the two kids from Capricorn is partly so but it is not my experience. I moved into Pietersburg to look for accommodation for my kids in this school so my experience is very different and the experience of many Black kids here is very different so "daar is werk vir jou en vir my ons moet werk tot die nerwe val". For example I visited one school, I don't want to call it by name because I'm not in a character assassination campaign here. The kids got tortured, they said this one cannot be accepted in standard eight, she's a year too old. Nobody's taking into account the disadvantage from which our children come. When they move in here they are faced with criteria created in the White community that's not taking those things into account. They said the other one is too young for standard six, he's a year too young even if he had been promoted he's too young for this. There are still those experiences and you go to this other school and they said these are the forms of application. You fill them in and send them back and they don't even respond and then I started going meeting Black kids here in Pietersburg, their frustration was up to here.

You take such instances that at one main school here, there was a sports competition and kids were playing. One team in which there were many Black kids won so they started toyi-toying and singing in Sotho, jumping for joy that they won. The principal at the assembly said this school has an English character, no Sotho songs and the African toyi-toyi is acceptable here. The young people begin to think what our father's and mother's have told us is still here with us there's no room for Africa in Africa, do you get what I'm trying to say?

There are lots of these things in daily experiences which means our approach must be comprehensive, not kids meal so that we are able to address these issues. We are here in the Northern Province all I can say is, perhaps I don't have to say it, there's still a feeling amongst our people that the Northern Province has not taken seriously. Some even say when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission comes here big shots like Tutu and so forth and so forth don't come, only Tom Manthata, Grobbelaar and these people come here. I want to say that people should not be judged by their titles, they must be judged on their delivery, the kind of delivery that they do.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you very much. The last question to Miss Mkhize.

MISS MKHIZE: Just one brief question for me. Thank you very much. I should think you've given us an overview of some of the difficulties that there are. Just one thing which you mentioned, you referred to the restoration of human dignity. As you know that partly the Truth and Reconciliation was put into existence mainly to make sure that those who lost out the most, their dignity should be restored during this transitional thing and you have said quite a number of things about what should be done in schools and so on. Can I just ask you to give a simple message around the restoration of dignity of a specific community, people who have appeared before us and some of them are here. What do you think should be done if one might have a special project for survivors of human rights here in this area if you had to assist the Government practically what do you think should be done?

DEAN FARISANI: First let us talk about the dead. I think the best approach to comfort families who have lost their beloved ones through the crimes of apartheid is to find a way to resurrect them, to raise them from the dead. I've attended some of these hearings in this province and when you state use of honour and symbols of remembrance are made, very often they are in Cape Town or Durban or Pietermaritzburg or Pretoria and other places. We hardly find this status of meaning at ... or .. or Masisi even when people have been killed at Masisi or somewhere out there in the middle of nowhere where only God and Angels tread we'll find that these symbols of honour will be dragged screaming and kicking to the centre of Pietersburg. In fact you might find that nobody actually was killed in Pietersburg. They might have been killed like Peter Nchabaleng outside the ... at Masisi so I'm saying when we raise them from the dead, at times we should seriously consider placing the symbols where the people are. True when it comes to the question of those who have suffered that are still with us I think we've been trying to do it through Freedom Day, Human Rights Day looking at those things. Again I think another way of remembering those people that have suffered is by way of naming, this includes also the dead, some of these institutions in the names of those people. People by themselves are already doing it but I think the Truth and Reconciliation Commission should help them do that. You also already have Peter Nchabaleng plays and that kind of thing so I think we need more of that in the community.

Finally on the question of dignity the constitutional damage ... and people have told their story but as we leave this hall our experience ...(tape ended) and one White gentleman behind the counter was not actually serving he realized that in this queue there were many Whites at the back. He came out and he broke the line exactly where there were two Whites and said you can come to window eleven and twelve, I'm being specific. I have thought logically and good mathematics would have suggested that the two additional people who came would have joined at the teller's place so that they could work faster because that actually made those who were at the back to be first and those who were in front of them went last, so in the final analysis our dignity needs to be restored in the street and that's why you sow the seeds that Lategan and I and the rest of these people must remain struggling here healing the wounds and restoring that dignity.

PROF MEIRING: Dean Farisani thank you ever so much. In your last words you captured everything that needs to be said, also about today. We are here to sow the seeds, to listen to what's being said, to look at the process but the proof of the pudding will be in Pietersburg and it will be the community of Pietersburg that will carry on with the grave and the wonderful responsibility of reconciliation or setting things right. Thank you so much for being here we didn't have Tutu but we did Farisani today. Thank you very much.

I'm now calling upon Professor Grobbelaar. We usually do it this way that when we had all the different focus groups, people opening windows to us in the community we ask somebody from the Truth Commission to capture everything to just remind us this is what we have been doing today, this is the picture we saw. Professor Grobbelaar is going to summarise what we've done today then afterwards I'm going to call upon Miss Mkhize to give the closing words to us and then over to the master of ceremonies who will then close the ceremony for us in a proper manner. Professor Grobbelaar?

SUMMARY AND WAY FORWARD

PROF GROBBELAAR: Piet, first of all I'd like to say that what I've got to say is meant to encourage a little bit of discussion from the floor as well so we would like to create an opportunity to have people who are sitting here and have been sitting here all day to make a contribution in this regard.

What can we report today in terms of our aims, in terms of what we've achieved? What can we say about the impact of the TRC in this area, I think we've heard a number of messages. The one message has been the TRC, the bearer of bad news and therefore the White community in Pietersburg doesn't feel friendly about the TRC.

We've heard two young White girls who have a much more positive attitude I think, to the TRC and the message we bring of working together. We have heard from a young Black man who felt dominated still by feelings of the past and the suffering of the past. What have we managed to do in terms of facilitating community contact today? Have we brought together people from communities to share different messages? I think we have brought together people from different communities today and I think we have listened to them. We have listened to them from our point of view in an attempt to have the community participate in recommendations that we make to the State after this commission. We have listened to what you have to say and we want to listen some more we would very much like to hear what you have to say on the ground, we have challenged you.

Brother Tom has asked what are you doing creatively to face the future and what initiatives are you taking and in that regard? One young man got up and said well we have invited White schools to come and play or historically White schools to come and play sports with us and we would like to invite them again.

We have heard about the divisions in your area, deep divisions we have heard that this is an area that is characterised by a very strong Afrikaner nationalist right wing feeling and feelings in the past. We have heard about an area that is rooted in what Dean Farisani said, Doctor Andries Treunicht's philosophies.

We have also heard about a community that is poverty-stricken and unemployed, a community that has been split off from the wider community because they happen to have been born Black in South Africa.

We have heard proposals for schools to meet, we have heard pleas for time give people time, give the community who had access to all the power in this country for so long give them some more time they are hearing you.

We have heard a plea for employment for education we have said the youth are lost because they don't have jobs in the rural areas, they are poor. We have heard pleas for the restoration of dignity, for the recognition of people. We have heard pleas for moving away from the past and looking at the future. We have heard a pleas that says remember the Northern Province, remember the rural areas go and make policy for such areas.

I have to ask you or we have to ask you today to participate for a while yet to help to tell us. Does it help to bring people together like this when you talk with one another and you hear one another? Is it important to do this? Does this begin to address the problems of understanding the problems the differences so that we can promote reconciliation in this country? When will the White and Black community in Pietersburg be able to meet and look one another in the eyes?

Can I ask for some people on the floor to make comments in this regard, is there someone who would like to comment on the usefulness of this meeting and on the importance of bringing people together and what this could mean in the future?

PROF MEIRING: There's a hand, please Sir go to the microphone so that we can capture what you are saying.

REV NYAMA: Those who are going out please leave the mikes behind.

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: My comment on behalf of the public is this, that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in future call on the press to let the public understand what is actually happening because the press is the mouthpiece of the public. A lot of people have no understanding of what is actually happening. We are being rehabilitated by it to come into a process which the Government is looking upon as a rehabilitation structure to the community of South Africa as a whole.

I usually hear the President when he's addressing a meeting saying I'm building up a justified society. To be justified is when people don't intend to retaliate against processes which are not there because some of us don't know what is happening they just hear and to be justified is only to take somebody from the attitude which he has and to turn it into something which is worthwhile in the society and reconstruct the episodes of living in this world. Thank you.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you very much for the contribution. Another hand another contribution please feel free we need your advice and your questions. Tjol Lategan?

MR LATEGAN: I'd like to add a bit of criticism against the Commission itself. I don't think many people in Petersburg knew about this meeting, neither the two local newspapers nor the SABC that I'd spoken to knew about it and I don't know who's fault that is. Had I had the time I would have seen to it that there would have been an invitation in the newspapers so in all fairness to the communities by and large there was not public knowledge. I invited a few individuals and spoke to them but if you want to have a repetition elsewhere or similar meetings elsewhere, I would strongly advise you to make use of the media by telling the people how necessary it is and that it is an open invitation for them to come here. It might have been different I don't know it's difficult for me to say but it might have been slightly different.

PROF MEIRING: Baie dankie Broer Tjol dit is 'n goeie opmerking. (Thank you very much brother Tjol that was a good remark) Please Sir?

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: I'll use my own language. It is true that there is a problem in the Northern Province with regard to human relations between Blacks and Whites. I saw the beginning when this Truth and Reconciliation Commission had it's first sitting last year and I saw the second sitting on the 10th of April in Tzaneen. Today we are having the third hearing.

There is a problem amongst Whites and I'd like to suggest a plan that the Truth Commission tries to sit down and examine ways in which we can bring Whites closer to the Black community. We cannot reconcile as Blacks amongst ourselves only. If you need to reconcile with somebody that person should be there so that there can be reconciliation. In other Provinces there a few Whites but here it's worse, this is the worst Province we have in South Africa because Blacks are determined to forgive Whites who have committed so many atrocities. We are prepared to forgive even if

they have killed our people we are prepared to reconcile and negotiate with them. I usually ask myself whom can I reconcile with, they haven't come to say forgive us it doesn't show wisdom.

You see the leaders of the previous Government people like Malan and P.W. Botha who don't want to place their names on the records for reconciliation. You can see even in this hall the previous speaker said maybe people were not informed or invited. From what I've seen I want you as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission together with us should look for a plan as to how we can educate these people. Maybe there should be a special committee which will go within the White communities to ask them to meet the Black communities. We cannot just continue with the Whites living their own lives and we living our own lives because we have taken this Government and it's now our Government, all of ours despite the fact that they are dragging their feet, it is our Government. The President said as well we will never live the life we lived in the dark days. We want this White community but it seems they don't want the Black community. I think we should exercise patience. Thank you.

PROF MEIRING: I have a problem I have a grave problem and Mrs Mkhize also has the problem and she'll talk about that.

MISS MKHIZE: The trouble shooter is Tom who has said maybe it will be appropriate for us to ask for a woman be it a young woman one or two or an elderly woman to share with us women's experiences of what we are talking about and also the manner in which they think as women they can participate in this process of healing reconciliation it's very, very important. People are talking about White fears and young people we had were talking about how they suffered so we need a voice of a woman just to share.

PROF MEIRING: May we ask a mother or a younger woman to come to the fore please, you'll help us a lot if you open a window on the life of a woman in this community to us. There's a mother, please come to the fore. I'm sorry I'm blind to all the gentleman I'm only looking at the women.

MEMBER OF THE AUDIENCE: Firstly I would like to say thank you to the Commission and the public. My name is Maggie and I come from Louis Trichardt. It is true what the speakers have said. What worries us is even if we don't go back we lost our children there were many mistakes and Whites should show them that we should reconcile with them so that we can build the new South Africa. There should be understanding that we should work together with them. If they are not here they will only hear as the White person who spoke said and if there would be another Truth Commission here again they should make it possible to publish it in the media.

It doesn't mean that Whites don't know this. It's because they don't believe that it is true that a Black person is governing because it has never settled in their minds they think they are dreaming. As I say if there should be another meeting again Whites should be invited so that we can talk to each other and forgive. Maybe we will then see the end of hatred, death, torture and many fights which were in our country will be solved. Thank you.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you very, very much. I'm just looking for women, only woman. Sir you have trousers on you are not a woman. Can I just ask if there is any lady who would like to speak? There's a lady.

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: Thank you very much we really appreciate it. It is very true that we should meet so that we can reconcile, so that we can be one and if we don't do that we are going to end up getting frustrated because we have said whatever we have said in the past up to now and that is why we have reached this place. I come from Louis Trichardt from ... and I'm representing the people from that side and I'm fully aware that, that happened. Thank you.

MISS MKHIZE: We had many hands.

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: Thank you for this opportunity I'm Frank Mabutla. I'm a Priest at the moment and I'm working for the Northern Province Council of Churches. Today I'm a journalist, I passed yesterday. There are two questions with regard to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Since the establishment of this Commission in South Africa many people came forward to give their statements. Mainly people from Cape Town were able to give their statements and testify about the atrocities which were committed by their fellow citizens which were White. We found that today they are not here. Many people are still crying as they don't know which direction to take therefore this shows that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is a place for crying not a place for help.

We should ask how can the Truth and Reconciliation Commission help in bringing workshops which will help so that the victims will be comforted. As an Evangelist in many instances we meet with problems especially with regard to the Bible because it was used by the youth who were used as instruments of apartheid. What can the Truth and Reconciliation Commission do so that the Bible can take its place and be regarded as a holy book and be used the way it's supposed to be used? Thank you.

MISS MKHIZE: Thank you very much. I'm looking at hands and trying to see where to start. I will start right at the back. Can I ask all those whose hands were up if they can take the front seats.

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: I am Nematisem Mqgego and I live in Louis Trichardt. I'm here for the TRC which has to deal with the reconciliation between Whites and Blacks and as such there should be that reconciliation. It is indeed something which is not very realistic. I grew up in Louis Trichardt before the existence of Whites. In fact when the Whites arrived in Louis Trichardt we had that relationship however when it came to some of the activities there were a lot of tortures, differences and divisions which were very extreme until such time as we realized that we are now able to sigh because we are relieved.

They would say lie down we want to hit you or beat you and we did as we were told and after having done that satisfactorily we were released and we went to our particular job we wouldn't have left before receiving those beatings. I think I'm going too far but in the means of all those activities during the divisions or racial discrimination I don't think there is any other person who suffered the way I did. I was electrocuted but God was not going to allow me to die then because if he was I could have died then.

However if one has to deal with political activities it was the VIP and I was doing the organizing. Our people listened to me and it was discovered that the previous Government which was mixed with Whites did not want it and I was arrested several times and went from one prison to another and they made mention of a lot of things. They gave me difficult things and there was a lot of trouble with the food and they did as I explained before.

I would like to thank the TRC for the idea that people should come together and to be one. However it should have been otherwise, maybe in the sense that there should have been a lot of Whites here if we were to reconcile. That would have been realistic. If we are to live here and you see a White man out there and someone reacts differently because what are we here for, we don't seem to have a purpose. I'm really praising freedom for being in an open fashion like this to talk about the TRC. What I'm saying is it should be like this until such time as we'll be able to reconcile with each other. I don't think there's that segregation like separating Whites and Blacks in services. It seems as if when these Whites came to Louis Trichardt we really accommodated them we gave them freely but then they changed their minds. We could give them ... and anything we had to give to them and they ate freely but they changed their ideas and they realized it was difficult. I'm crippled in my back by virtue of the Whites having done that to me.

MISS MKHIZE: We will ask, seeing that there are so many hands, that people should really come to a point as to their intent.

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity. What I want to know from you is whether the Truth Commission is for the Blacks because I cannot see a single White or Indian person. I only see those who are sitting there at the front. If this Truth Commission was for all of us we will reconcile and be one. Just like today I was a person working for the Government and I got injured whilst I was working for the State today I'm nothing I'm paralysed and I can't do anything for myself. I was beaten up by the police and even the State stood with them. They didn't do anything against him. What I want to ask the Commission to do as you are saying that we should reconcile, is to call these White people to come and listen to what we're saying and all of us will reconcile being together. I think this is a very good idea. Thank you very much.

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: Thank you very much. I understand there are a lot of people who talked about a lot of things we don't want to repeat because it's more frustrating than ever before. Before I get to what I wanted to say exactly I'd like to say since I'm one of the people working in the organisation that deals with people there are some rises that we deserve. The day before yesterday we had a stay-away in support of the people. I think the TRC is working in the way it really is supposed to but the Whites are still economically okay but then it should also come to our own

people because they are really controlling finances. They don't care about us. They should come and reconcile with us.

I think the Government has to take some steps and legislate something along those lines. Sometimes one can say enough is enough and I know very well that our old people are also troubled they are very dignified and even said bye-bye ... and he left although they were so troubled for having lost their own dear lives and dear people. We are still troubled in our work places and we also realize since the Whites are still in control of finances as we are also intending to have another stay-away we think the Government has to change the legislation because we think the Whites are the ones who are really controlling because they seem to say we don't have to participate in the stay-away.

Let me go further. I just wanted to highlight that the TRC should really work with the Government they should also consider (interrupted)

MISS MKHIZE: Sorry to interrupt as I've said we really are ask people to share especially about those experiences which will help in improving the feeling ... (interrupted)

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: I just wanted to come to that now. In the early '80's people were beaten and we want the TRC to help with regard to the past or previous Government since some of the elements are still there who are still sending people like police. There should be a meeting maybe in Vleifontein for example to ask for forgiveness from the Vleifontein community. Thank you.

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: I would like to greet you all as well as the Commissioners. I'm Mr Mjapelo I'm from the area called Mojapelo the place called Mbaoi. I'm very disappointed but I like the work of the TRC and all that I heard about the TRC. Actually your job is good but I'm disappointed and I'm asking myself whether this Commission will still come back to these areas especially of traditional leaders. When looking at this old traditional leader we know that this is mainly what is happening in the rural areas not in the townships. These people called the White people or the Boers tortured people mainly in the rural areas in the farms.

What I'm saying is I don't want to repeat what people were talking about and that is mainly apartheid. We know that apartheid wasted most people's lives. What I want to say now is this Reconciliation and Rehabilitation I think you are not doing it well because mainly in the traditional leaders were spoilt by the Afrikaners, the White people. People are fighting mainly in the rural areas in the farms and that's where witchcraft is mainly practiced that's where it started that one person didn't want to hear what the community wanted to say. I know these White people. They like beating up people when they don't want to hear other people's views.

Thinking about bringing the White man to reconciliation, I think we are just wasting our powers because when you look at his hall it's only Black people who have filled it up. Where are all those people who were torturing people? They're still there in our rural areas that's where they planted their seeds and we've got traditional leaders who were following their ideas and these communities are very afraid and they respect God. I heard this White man who was talking about a church. I can't even go to church and I hated church because of the White person. I realized that the White person was sent to Church by the devil and I realized that there was no God and I was frustrated. I also realized that my other brothers were frustrated like myself. I think they influenced the traditional leaders. I think the Commission should call the traditional leaders because I think they've tried hard in other areas but there's one main point and that is they should go to the traditional leaders. They confused them and I think it's going to be hard to do that. I think you should go back to the traditional leaders because we couldn't fight with them, we respected them. We are only crying about apartheid but they are the ones who were given money to kill innocent people.

I think you're doing a good job but I'm pleading to you because you're failing to bring the White people here to the Commission. Just go to those traditional leaders in the communities because they frustrated the communities. There are many people in rural areas, in a place like Masheshang for example there are traditional leaders who are confusing people and they can't be killed because they are respected and they're also saying at the same time they are religious people. Even these people who are killing each other in the taxis, I think are influenced by White people. I didn't go to school so I'm illiterate. I couldn't continue my studies so I only went to Standard Three but I know how a White man does his work.

DEAN FARISANI: Just two things. One thing that has come out of this meeting very clearly is what you have heard

over and over again, the absence of some of us in the nation who should be here. What are the reasons? It's true that some are not here because they didn't know but it is an even greater truth that there are many who know about this meeting in the former oppressive community who are afraid of the truth because it hurts. That is one major reason.

Perhaps a weakness on the part of us all and the Truth Commission is that very often when we want to invite people from the White communities, we talk to their leaders to bring them and my personal experience is that some of these leaders try to shield their people away from the truth because they don't want the people to get the whole truth and I think that's a big problem. After I spoke especially to you Comrade Tom and others, I contacted some of our White colleagues. I did it personally. Some said they'll come and they're not here and some said I'll come but only for a short time. I don't want to mention names here and it's very sad because I know Comrade Lategan is committed but now that he's gone there's nobody from that community.

This is very serious but it does not take away the truth from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It's a painful truth but it doesn't take away from what you're doing. That's the issue. Finally this I think is a request coming. The benefit of this coming together is people are saying now that you have heard us publicly and loudly in the open, we want to know, give us the dates if you can today or soon hereafter. We testified in Messina, we testified in Louis Trichardt, we testified in Toyando, we testified in Pietersberg, we testified in Tzaneen and perhaps some place further south. Nobody as far as we know has come out to plead for amnesty and the closing date is today isn't it? When these people who have killed us and tortured us and maimed us apply for amnesty please let them ask for amnesty in Tzaneen so that communities there can go and hear when these people ask for forgiveness. Don't forget Messina and Toyando and Pietersburg we want to hear. This process is not complete, the sitting here is not complete until we hear from that side because if we don't hear then people might want to hear their own way and we think the Truth and Reconciliation's way of us hearing our murderer confessing publicly is the well organized disciplined way but what people are saying is that we are hearing ourselves, we are not hearing the other side.

MISS MKHIZE: Thank you very much. Mr Mahudu can I just check whether you have a burning contribution because I wanted to give this time to people who haven't had an opportunity.

MR MAHUDU: Of course I've got a burning contribution. We testified last year and the Truth Commission promised that they would do a psychological support system. Since then we haven't heard anything of the promises they made as we agreed that's the thing that makes me doubt the purpose of the Truth Commission is it about truth or not because the promises they've made to us, they've not yet met. We tried to contact Tom Manthata about that problem. He sent me a list of people who testified in Pietersburg but there is no one who has been helped so far with regard to psycho therapy and psychological support system so we beginning to doubt the purpose of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Mr Manthata didn't give me a satisfactory answer in that regard after we faxed our documents he said he didn't find anything.

It's now eleven months and the people have been promised. Are you going to take another eleven months to fulfill those promises or is it because you only came to Johannesburg and we testified and that's all? Where is the problem? We don't want to just come forward and appear on TV and testify. We have burning issues that are still hanging. Where can we get the answer? That's what I wanted to say.

MR MANTHATA: Let me ask the person who has just spoken, wait a little bit. Firstly Sir, let me say the list you are talking about, I don't know whom you gave that list to because it never landed in my hands. Let's not generalise that people who are in the offices are not doing their work whilst you are not giving us the mandate. There are people in Louis Trichardt after Toyando hearings who came. We even organized help for them at ... hospital. We talked to people from welfare in Toyando so that by themselves should help as with the lists of people who should come to them. If they fail we asked that the committees which were helping us to run the hearings should try to continue to compile a list which you are talking about. I don't have a single list in my office. Let us try to be truthful. We worked together with the arms and organs of the State that is education, welfare and health those are the people who, when they come to us we negotiated with them to help. We negotiated with the Premiers and MEC's for Health and Welfare and the people we help are those who made statements. I will challenge again that you must show me the list which was handed to me in my hands which has been processed the same way by our support staff. So either we are trying to help one another so that in the end we are able to present to the Government what should be done. Let's be very clear. Maybe this has not

been explained in the hearings. Maybe we talked about it in the Committees that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission takes people's advice or suggestions, it takes people's recommendations, it takes the people's stands, the people's circumstances and takes them to Government and pressurizes the Government that those people should be helped.

We as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission don't have money, we don't even have a cheque book to do the things which people are asking. We are the Government's arm, we are the Government's eyes, we have been mandated that we should ask people and we should see people so that at the end we should make recommendations to the Government. Perhaps it's our local Governments that fail. Thank you.

MISS MKHIZE: Thank you Tom. I take it that there are three people.

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: Thank you I'm Richard Mpoho from Alberton representing the youth from Alberton. We heard of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee but what gives the youth around my village a headache and is that the Government is edging people to speak the truth and at the end to reconcile to bring peace and togetherness.

Alberton is a rural area with its own people who are not moving with other people in South Africa or within the Province what caused this is since the elections they don't know where they belong because even the Government is rejecting them. I've heard some Comrades saying services or recreation activities should be given to the youth in order to remove this question of boredom in order to encourage them to be united. In Alberton we are doubtful because we don't know who is going to supply those services to the people of Alberton since there is a total rejection from the Government and what the Government is doing is still part of human violations. The people are waiting to speak the truth to tell the Government where they come from and where they belong, where the Sotho belongs. The Government is rejecting them so the Government is trying to play a double game.

It's talking about reconciliation in one way and in another way rejecting the people. How can the people feel proud to speak the truth to the Government which is not taking their responsibilities so my recommendation to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is to edge or to tell the Government that they should try to come all the areas within the Province so that people can have confidence to come and speak the truth. If they don't take them into consideration the people won't come to tell the truth about what they know and then at the end this Truth and Reconciliation Commission will be a useless effort because there are so many Boers around our areas and since there is no consideration so there is hatred developing more each day. We see the people develop this hatred more and more each day and in the end we'll never reconcile. Thank you.

MISS MKHIZE: Thank you very much. I really have to be crude because after this gentleman who is already there, I'll will ask one young lady and that's it because I'm told there are people who have been waiting to come and dance for us so after you it's this young lady and then we'll close to let the dances come in, I'm sorry. If you can just take the seat as well.

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: Comrades, I'm Pete Simola from Burgersfort in Alberton. We have a problem and would like to request the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to help us to take one of the Provinces of South Africa in order for us to know which Province we fall under. That is why we are here in Pietersburg from Burgersfort.

When I came here I noticed that I'm seen as a comic because I haven't washed because in our village we have no water. We have no one to go to ask for help and the people who oppress us are used by the chief and that person has spoken the truth. When we want to speak to those who were elected to Government they don't want to listen to us. People like John Dombo whom we should be able to discuss our problems with before we come to the Truth Commission.

We don't know what to do because they don't want to listen to us and is there is an action that can be taken by the Truth Commission to negotiate with a certain Province to accept the people of Burgersfort.

MISS MKHIZE: Tata, as I have said we are trying to give these other people time and we've heard that you are not happy with the implementation on the Government's side. Is there anything which you would like to add?

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: Before I leave the stage let me ask if it is possible for the Truth Commission to request the

Government to try to help us because there is nowhere where we can go other than just to stay there without these basic services as we have no person who is taking care of us. Maybe we will be able to survive with your help. Thank you.

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: I have a problem which is faced by every young Black person and that is unemployment for the students who have just completed their studies who have higher qualifications than Whites. If you go to an interview with two other applicants one White and one Black, the Black is not given the opportunity to be employed. The Truth Commission should look into that issue.

MISS MKHIZE: Thank you very much. As a Commission I must say we have really been humbled by your patience. When we came here in the morning we also woke up at four thirty which is normal for us to get up at that time as we go all over the country although offices might be in big cities we work in areas like this almost on a daily basis. We have been humbled by your openness in sharing with us the difficulties which are still facing people in this Province in particular.

It is sad to hear what we have heard that people are actually looking for people who have violated our rights saying that we are stretching our hands, we are looking for you, where are they. That is really difficult to explain to other people because normally people who have offended others struggle to get people to forgive them. The spirit which prevails in this area is humbling and we just hope that this is the beginning of an important process for meaningful dialog.

As you have indicated yourselves there are quite a number of leaders here whom we think have a responsibility to follow up discussions and to pursue these discussions at a different level in schools, within the churches, party forums even within Government structures. What has really been clear to us as well is that this community remains divided and people are still hurting deeply because of the legacies of the past. Again I should think it's something which now that you have articulated it, it's a question of looking for people with a vision who will say what is it that we can do to begin to work on these differences and look at ways of helping even those who are fearful to share and to come forward to talk.

I must say today in particular we would like to emphasize one more thing and that is, it's the last day for those who want to apply for amnesty. In other words we are referring to people who were part of the old Government in perpetrating human rights violations as well as those people who within liberation movements also ended up committing human rights violations. It is very, very important for people to come forward, firstly because those who were the victims of those omissions come to terms with their past and they heal. If they hear about what happened to the loved ones but also even for a person for himself or herself, it gives one peace of some kind to know that I've openly confessed what I did and then I've taken away the guilt from me and look for opportunities for being part of the solution today.

Having said all this it is difficult to thank any one person but on behalf of all of us from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission we thank first of all survivors of human rights violations amongst you here, the leadership of this community and above all our Chairperson who really has helped a lot on a number of occasions in facilitating the work of the Commission. We see this as the beginning of good work in this area and hope that you'll continue in that spirit. Having said this I will hand over to our Chairperson.

CLOSURE

REV NYAMA: Thank you very much. I would like to make this announcement. Due to the space and the capacity of this hall the traditional dancers are willing to entertain us but the problem is the stage and the space where they can dance, so I've asked them to entertain us outside once we have finished with the programme and from there we will be going to our areas.

I have the statement takers within this hall and I would like you to meet them so whenever you want to give any statement towards reconciliation then you may know whom to contact. Could you stand up so that they know you in future? That is Peter Mnjela with his hand up from Shishero which is around Pietersberg. You may contact him for any statement then Luvuyano from Venda and Louis Trichardt for those people from that side even Messina they can contact him that side. Two gentlemen here are from Pietersberg. They are taking statements within this Province as well as myself. We are the statement takers of this Province. If you need anything concerning the TRC phone the council of churches who will make arrangements with you where to go and how to bring your statement. The telephone number at

the council of churches is Pietersburg code 2913431/2. You can make an appointment there and they will tell you when to come. This is our policy as statement takers that we want to move from one place to another especially places like Burgersfort, Jane Furse wherever there were no statements given we want to reach but if you phone the council of churches they will tell you when to come to your area and will come and take a statement. If you are in Pietersburg you've got no problem because the council of churches is in Pietersberg. We don't want people to come without an appointment because you will go there and find no-one there. The address is 26 Radie Street in Pietersburg and please don't go without making an appointment as you won't find anyone there who will be able to help you.

I'd like to thank all the people from Jane Furse, Burgersfort, Venda and Louis Trichardt. Unfortunately we don't have people from Tzaneen as well as from Potgietersrust. We appreciate your participation and your presence on this occasion. Also people from Mankweni ... area and around there. Thank you very much for your participation in this process.

I think we are now about to say the benediction then we leave unless I've left something out? No, I haven't so thank you very much for your attendance and I would like on behalf of this Province in front of you and on behalf of the people of this Province to say that we need the TRC public hearing to come again because some of the areas are not yet covered. We want them to come on a special day to listen to the cry of this Province. Thank you very much. Shall we stand up and thank our Lord for helping us here. Those who have been using the mikes could you just be kind enough to take them back to the person in charge.

Hearing adjourns with the singing of Nkosi Sikelele.

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

FOLLOW UP WORKSHOP

DATE: 21 JUNE 1997

HELD AT: SEBOKENG COLLEGE

NAME: HENRI MEYER

WILHELMINA DE BRUYN

PETER MBONGO

MANDLA NANGALEMBE

MR MKIWANE

BEN PHOTOLO

DUMA KHUMALO

DAY: 1

CHAIRPERSON: A prayer, a welcome by Oupa Masankane, 15 minutes and then from 20 past ten from, and a prayer by Reverend P F Molefe to cover from 20 past ten to 25 past ten and then choir.

REV MOLEFE: Opening prayer.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you Mr Chairman. Before we start may I repeat a number of things that have been said in English. We do hope that in due course we will have earphones for everybody and that there will be simultaneous translation. Something went wrong with the technicalities of the whole thing, but we hope within half an hour or so we will have the, are the earphones ready already? Not yet. It should be here soon. Hopefully by tea time all of us will be fitted with earphones and we will have simultaneous translation by then. We will have to do it as we do it in church for the first half an hour or so, that we present a sentence or two in English or in one of the other languages and that will be translated so that all of us can partake.

Can I just for the benefit of the English speaking, Afrikaans speaking people just repeat a few things. In the first instance a very, very hearty welcome. We are so happy that all of us, all of you are here. The Chairperson, Oupa Masankane, has already said very welcome to all of you, but we are very honoured to have all of you here today. The programme will be the following. After I have spoken a bit about the purpose of the workshop then Mrs Seroke, on my left-hand will give a report back on the Human Rights Violations hearings. Then I will also add something about the policy of, on reparation for the Truth Commission. By that time it will be tea time. Then we will go out for tea and the whole section between tea and lunch will be devoted to focus groups when different groups, we have about six groups, I will tell you about that a bit later, when six persons will verbalise feelings within the community about the Truth Commission. Then it will be lunch time and then after lunch, all of you are invited to lunch, and then after lunch Mr Tom Manthata will give you an overview, will give a summary of what has been said. He will tie all the loose strings and now maybe you should start translating.

Before I go on may I introduce the panel to you please. On my left-hand side is Mrs Joyce Seroke, she is

committee member for Human Rights Violations and we are very honoured to have her. All the mothers in the audience will know her well, because for many years she has been the big boss of the YWCA. And then next to her sit Mr Tom Manthata who is also well known to many of you. He is member of the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee of the Truth Commission. My name, you have heard, is Piet Meiring. I am also a member of the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee of the Truth Commission. Thank you very much.

In a few words, why are we here this morning. I would say, firstly, again we are very honoured to have all of you here today. It is a special day for us. The Truth Commission has developed a method of returning to a community after hearings have taken place. You know it, you have seen it on the television, heard it on the radio that the Truth Commission has had a number of Human Rights Violations hearings all over the country and after the whole train of the Truth Commission has passed through a community we try our best, after so many weeks or months, to come back to the community, because the Truth Commission is a process that is owned by the nation and when we have been to a community we want to come back to the community to talk to the community about the work of the Truth Commission.

Many of you know it is about a year ago when we were last here in this very same hall. During that week it was even colder than it is today and you remember we had heaters all over the hall to try to keep us warm, but now after so many months have passed we are coming back to talk to you about the Truth Commission. We have a number of things that we would like to hear from you and we have a number of things that we would like to tell you from our side. We would like to hear from you what the impact was that the Truth Commission made on the community. We have come to the conclusion that nobody remains untouched by the Truth Commission process. Many people are very enthusiastic and grateful for the Truth Commission, other people have questions and those are the things we need to know from you. Also from our side we want to do some reporting.

My colleague, Joyce, who sits next to me will tell you about the Truth Commission, what has been happening the past year in general, but especially in this area of the country. From our side, after that, we would love to hear from you what are the possibilities for reconciliation in this part of the country. We want to tell you about our proposals for reparation and for rehabilitation, but we also would like to know what you are going to do to repair the damage in the community.

After tea we will have six focus groups reporting to us. We have one focus group, one person from the Khulumani Group that will present his statement to us. We also have the Vaal Victims of Violence that will report to us. We will have a report from the South Africa Communist Party who will speak to us and all the Baroetis sitting in front have appointed somebody who will speak for the Ministers in the area to verbalise what lives among the Ministers in the area for us. We have two representatives from the Afrikaans community who will come to speak to us. The Reverend Henri Meyer, a young Afrikaner, will speak to us about what young people feel, young Afrikaners and Mrs de Bruyn there, sitting next to him, she is a mother and she will speak from her heart what mothers in the Afrikaans community think of at the moment.

All of us want to listen very carefully to all the submissions, because these focus groups, these representatives will bring to us all the different opinions from the community. We also want to make time for questions and answers for it may be that many of you have questions to ask and we would love to give some time for that and then the very last thing I would like to say to you is about statement taking. You know that many, many thousands of people all over South Africa have made statements already. Also from this area in the Vaal, many people came to the fore, victims, survivors, family members and they brought their statements. It may well be that there are some of you in the audience this morning who also feel, but, I want to give my statement and I have not had the opportunity, I want to do it now. Right at the table, at the entrance one of our colleagues, Fikile, sits.

If you want to make a statement now you can quietly just go out of the audience, leave the hall and report to Fikile and she will tell you how to go about it, where somebody is who can help you, to fill out your statement

form. So if there are people who still want to make statements you can do it now while we are busy and Fikile at the back will help you with that. And that is, that was the first speech of the day. Thank you for listening to my speech and I hand you over to the Chairperson.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you Mr Piet Meiring for telling us in brief the purpose of the day. There is a short message, the driver of the red City Golf, the registration number PKZ480GP, your lights are on. Please switch them off. Mrs Seroke, over to you.

MS SEROKE: Thank you very much Chairperson. I have been asked just to give a brief report back of where we are now at the TRC. As Prof Meiring has said, it is wonderful for us to be back here in the Vaal and it was exactly in June last year that we were here during the hearings and where we listened to the awesome stories that the people were telling about the violations that were committed to them. As you were walking in to the hall you must have noticed the copies of the newspaper clippings that have taken us back to last year and giving us a reminder of the stories that we listened to, but we are happy to say that today we are here with the hope of reconciliation. As the young majorettes were marching and we moved into this place with the Priests from the different churches I could not help but sense that there was hope for this region, hope for reconciliation.

The, I would like to give you some information about the statistics relating to this area. Since our inception we have received 251 statements from the Vaal and of that number 236 have been processed and 15 are still outstanding and 64 of that total are still to be corroborated. Of this total we have 102 statements from Sebokeng, 24 from Boipatong, 8 from Bopelong, 44 from Sharpeville, 17 from Everton, 18 from Vereeniging, 28 from Orange Farm, 4 from Meyerton, 3 from Sasolburg and 2 from Vanderbijlpark and 1 from Walkerville. So you can see from that amount that we still need to have a very intensive statement taking drive in this region, because without the statements we will not be able to really give a picture, a good picture of the conflict that took place in this area.

From all these statements we can conclude that out of the four human rights, gross human rights violations that the Act has mandated us to highlight, 13 of the statements in this area give us a picture of abductions, the people who were abducted and disappeared and of the killings we have 197 people who were killed from the statements that were taken and 170 of severe ill-treatment and 38 of torture and 184 of associated violations which do not include abductions, torture, killing and severe ill-treatment. So in all we, out of the statements we have taken here, we have 603 gross human rights violations that were committed in this area.

I know many of you who gave statements and who appeared during the hearings are yearning to know what is happening to their statements and at what stage are we and I have already told you how many of your statements have been processed and how many are corroborated. Before we can make people, we can declare people to be victims we have to have findings and this process of doing our findings is very, very slow, because our investigators have to come and try and corroborate the stories that you have given us. They have to find out exactly whether your stories which you gave us reflect a true picture. So that process is very slow. When we go to police stations we are told, I mean when we go to the police stations and hospitals we are told that many of the records have been destroyed ... because of those many factors. So I hope you will bear with us and I know many of you have already received letters of acknowledgement from the Truth Commission. We have not forgotten you, it is just that the process is very, very slow.

Once we do the findings we are going to refer those victims to the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee and those are the people now who will send their recommendations to the Government as to what kind of reparations and what kind of rehabilitation services that are needed for this area. Our Research Department has given us a picture of the conflict that took place here in the Vaal and it would seem from the Human Rights Commission report that they have divided the oppressive system of the previous Government into two eras. The first era is what they call the total strategy that took place from 1960 to 1989. The second era of the oppressive system they call the destabilisation era which took place from 1990 to 1994. It does seem that the

Vaal did not escape these two eras, because one of the very poignant and sad events that took place was in 1960 here in, with the Sharpeville Massacre on the 21st of March.

You know that during that massacre plus, minus 80 people were killed and that is why the mandate of the Act of the promotion of national unity and reconciliation says we should start from 1960 to 1994. When we come to the destabilisation era of 1990 to 1994 the, we have records here to, that mention that for the period March 1992 to February 1993 about 1650 murders took place in this area and some 2900 violent confrontations involving weapons other than firearms and almost 6700 cases of assault in this area. You will remember that the period of 1990 to 1994 was the beginning of the transformation and when we were preparing for our elections and this was highlighted by Mr de Klerk's speech in Parliament on the second February of 1990 which was now leading to the process of elections that was going to end up with democracy and yet this period, which was the beginning of the transformation, was one of the worst periods that this country suffered in terms of loss of life and destabilisation, because all that happened although the whole total onslaught was halted, it was the era when there were covert operations which hindered township communities from forming their support base and transformation into organised political parties. We had this destabilisation taking place through the State Security Forces, the elements of the security forces and Inkatha and the Inkatha supporting vigilante elements.

In order to be able to analyze the violence that took place during that period of 1990 to 1994 it is necessary for us to give the conflict under four headings. The first one is IFP versus the community violence in this area and the second one is the drive by shootings and the third force attacks and thirdly the police violence and lastly the intra-organisational conflict that took place between the various groups in this area. And when we consider the IFP community violence we all know about the famous, infamous Madela Hostel where all the atrocities took place and during our hearings here we had some of the, their highlights, in fact, to call it highlights when it was so sad is a misnomer. We had some of the very painful incidents that we listened to.

On the fifth January 1991 we had, during our hearings we highlighted what happened on the fifth January 1991 when Christopher Nangalembe, a member of the ANC, and the Sebokeng Crime Prevention Unit was kidnapped and strangled to death at a rubbish dump near Boipatong. A week later at an all night vigil for Nangalembe a gang of armed men, armed with AK47's, first threw a hand grenade into the tent where mourners had gathered and then fired randomly into the crowd. 38 People were killed and a further 40 injured. On the 23rd of May 1991 two men with AK47's opened fire on some hundred patrons of the Gobies Entwana Korporasie Beer Hall in Sebokeng. Five people died instantly and with four days the death toll had risen to 13. On the third July 1991 the wife, daughter and grandson of Earnest Sotso, a prominent returned ANC exile, and civic leader in the Vaal were brutally murdered at their home in Boipatong. In April 1993, on the eve of Chris Hani's funeral, unknown gunmen drove back and forth through Sebokeng shooting randomly at residents. 19 People were killed and ten injured.

We can go on and on showing the conflict in this area, but since time does not allow us I will just highlight the fact that we had the drive-by shootings, the Sebokeng massacre and the divisions that went on between two organisations and since we have been here many of you have been watching television and you have seen the process of the amnesty hearings whereby now we are beginning to see some of the causes of this conflict in this region. When people during those days talked about hit squads in this area, nobody believed that there were hit squads, but from the hearings of the amnesty we are now beginning to get people who are coming forward to confess and to say how they were part of this violence that took place in Sebokeng.

So, as I said earlier, because of time constraints, this is just a background that I was supposed to give which is a report back from the Human Rights Violations. We are hoping that very soon all of you will be knowing what is happening and those who did not know what took place, who asked the Truth Commission where their young, their loved ones are may soon know and just to finalise, to say that some of you have seen through the press and the television that tomorrow, I mean today the ANC is having the burial of the three members of the MK that were unearthed, whose bones were unearthed in Aloe in the Cape and today they

are going to be buried.

Why I am highlighting this is to show that some of the people who had lost hope, who did not know where their loved ones were and we had lots of requests from people saying if only I could have the bones of my father, of my husband so that we could rebury them. Already some people have had that opportunity and today we are going to be having that burial and we are hoping that with some of the requests that you have made through our investigating structures we might be able to answer some of those questions. Thank you very much Chairperson.

CHAIRPERSON: We are very grateful that the work is going on. Mrs Joyce Seroke has told us of the progress achieved by the TRC and they are here today to report back and to ask the community what else could be done. I am now handing over to Mr P Meiring to give us the policy overview of the R & R. Over to you Mr Meiring.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you very much Mr Chairman. Many, many people ask what does the Truth Commission do for the victims of the past and that is what I would like to tell you about this morning. We know of the many victims who come to the victims' hearings, we hear their voices and we hear the stories of the thousands of victims. We also know about the second Committee, the Committee for Amnesty who has to look after the amnesty applications of about 7000 perpetrators, but now the R & R Committee, what work what does the R & R Committee do. The R & R Committee stands for Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee.

This Committee has to listen very carefully to all the needs of the victims and the families to see what can be done for them. From all the statements made by the thousands of victims we look carefully at the circumstances and the needs of the people and we put it into our data process. It is very interesting to listen to what the needs of the people really are. Some of the victims who came to this hall last year said we need medical help. Others said we still have nightmares, we still suffer psychologically, we need emotional and psychological help. You may remember that a number of older people, but especially younger people said help us with education. That is our prime need at the moment. Others said we need money for shelter and then there were a number of requests for, what we call, symbolic reparation.

Symbolic reparation has to do with tombstones and reburials and the clearing of names, the expunging of criminal records. The reburial of the three young heroes Joyce spoke about today in Soweto is but one example of symbolic reparation. Also many people say can we not have a memorial or a national monument or a national day or remembrance and reconciliation in the future. That is also part of symbolic reparation. So we have taken careful cognisance of all the needs of all the victims and now we are drafting a long series of policy proposals of reparation proposals for Government and we are lobbying it with Government and with all the other stakeholders and we hope that by the first of March when Mr Mandela, the President, hands over the report of the Truth Commission to the nation that the first reparations can take place.

We know that some people are old and infirm and they will have to be put in front of the queue. They will need urgent reparation. The others will be a little at the back of the queue, but what we would like to ensure you today is that all the needs you have put down on your statements we take very, very seriously and once we get all the names from the victims who went to the Committee for Human Rights Violations or all the victims that came through the amnesty process to us, once we have all the names we are making recommendations for reparation for all of them. We are still, at the moment, liaising with Government about the implementation of all the reparation proposals, but we hope that, as I said, after the first of March there will be a body in place who will start with all the handling of all the reparation cases. We know that there are many victims in the country and they need to be looked after and that is what we would like to do. Thank you Mr Chairman. I am finished with my second speech.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much Mr Meiring for respecting the time and I thank the audience for being

so very well behaved. Mr Joe Japhta will be waiting for the people who are going to give their submissions just before tea time. He will be waiting for them here at the front. It is very important to feel free, especially the speakers, we have to speak, because we need to know what kind of a progress are we going to achieve as one nation building one Vaal.

MS SEROKE: I forgot to mention one important point when I noted that, you know, the problems of the investigating officers in terms of getting medical reports and from hospitals and clinics and from the police. So we would like to urge many of you who promised that you would send death certificates to the TRC to really try and send those death certificates, because when we are trying to corroborate these statements we find that everybody promised that they would send us a birth certificate or a death certificate and up to now many of you have not done so. Whilst we are trying to encourage people giving us more statements, we would also like to bring to your notice that the statement taking is going to come to an end at the end of July. So there is very little time and you know that in December the Truth Commission is closing down and so anybody who has not had this opportunity must try to do so before the end of July.

CHAIRPERSON: We are breaking for tea and we are coming back at 20 to 12 to listen to the submissions from focus groups. To avoid misunderstanding I would request you to remain seated while the Commissioners go out for tea followed by the Ministers of regions and other invited guests. Thank you very much.

CHOIR PERFORMANCE:

CHAIRPERSON: I am briefly going to give this opportunity to Prof Piet Meiring to tell us what is expected of the people who are going to give their submissions. Over to you Professor.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you. One of the most important and, hopefully, one of the most interesting parts of the morning will now start. When we come to the focus groups people from the community will present different views from the community to the Truth Commission and to all of us. I am going to call one after the other eight different representatives from the community. We are going to ask them, I will read the sequence just now, but I am going to call each of them one after the other to come sit at the table and there in five minutes, only five minutes, say what they want to say to the community, to all of us.

Each of them will be helped along with one of the three Committee members who will help them with their testimony, but as soon as the five minutes is passed, I think I will be very strict. I will have my watch in front of me and if five minutes has passed I will just click on the table, knock on the table to show that five minutes is behind us, but then when somebody spoke five minutes one of the Committee members will ask one or two questions just to get more information, to get clarity, perhaps, on the submission. It is important to us to listen very clearly to what this, the people say from the community.

Now the list, where is that list? The list will be in the following order. Ds Henri Meyer will be first. He is a young Afrikaner who will speak for Afrikaner young people. After him Mrs de Bruyn will speak as an Afrikaans mother. We are so glad that you are here. Then after her will be Mr Peter Mbongo from the South African Communist Party. Number four is Mr Mandla Nangalembe from the Vaal Victims of Violence. Number five Mr M Mkiwane, ex-councillor in the Vaal. Number six, Mr Petrus Tapeti, Justice and Peace. Number seven will be Father Ben Photolo from the Gauteng Council of Churches and then number eight, Mr Duma Khumalo who will speak for the Khulumani Support Group. The order, the Afrikaner NG Kerk youth, NGK Womens' Group, the SACP, Vaal Victims of Violence, ex-councillors in the Vaal, Justice and Peace, Gauteng Council of Churches and the Khulumani Support Group. While the translation is being done may I ask the Reverend Henri Meyer to come to the table.

Mr Meyer or Ds Meyer, we are very privileged to have you. You are the first on a long list and you have five minutes. I spoke to you on the telephone the other day and I said to you, Henri, please tell us what lives in

the hearts of young people in the Vaal Triangle, in the Vaal area and please tell us.

DS MEYER: Okay, I think I will speak in English, because that will make it so much easier for everyone of us. I maybe want to begin just to quickly say that the White people and the Black people for a very long time were very distanced from each other. I mean we did not really know about all these atrocities that was going on here. Today is the first time that I heard of drive-by shootings and stuff like that. We heard about it, but we were protected. So I would like you to understand that very carefully.

I would like to begin and say what I think about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. I am a Christian, I am a professing Christian and I am here to put the name of Jesus high and that is all and I speak on behalf of Christian South Africans and, firstly, I want to say that the Word of God tell us in James Chapter five, verse 16 that we must confess our sins openly toward each other and then we will be healed, but I do not think that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for the young White folk or, I do not know what to call them really, is a thing like that, that we must come here and confess our sins.

I think we understand it as we must speak about things that were in the past and get it out of the way so that we can go forward and I think that I can say is the young, the average young White guy that that is his purpose or his feelings, that we must go forward now. We are very ashamed of what happened in the past. I spoke with another guy the other day from the Junior Rapport Ryer Beweeging and I told him that I am ashamed of being called a White Afrikaner. I am ashamed of that, because things that happened in the past, I definitely did not condone that and I am ashamed of that and I think that is the problem of many of us young White folk. We are ashamed of what happened in the past and if you put the television on the only thing that you hear and see is the struggle and apartheid and we did this and we did this and we did this and we feel we must get it behind us and that is why the Truth and Reconciliation Commission are so very, very important to us. That is quickly, I have only five minutes.

What I want to say about the future of South Africa and I want to speak on behalf of myself, but I think I speak on behalf of many young White people when I say that we are very anxious and that we are very positive about what will happen in South Africa. We are not negative, our parents are negative. They say everything will go down, but we do not feel like that. We feel like everything will go up and I can tell you that there is an intense religious revival amongst White people in South Africa. They must search Jesus again, because for such a long time we have been protected by the Government and we have been, it has been monitored what we see and what we hear and it is very important for us.

So what I can say in my mind and want to, I cannot think what is "aanhaal" in English. I want to quote, yes I want to quote Hebrews 12, Chapter one which says that we must go forward and we must put our eyes on Jesus and we must take all the things, all the sins and all these baggage that are in the past and leave it behind us, because we have brothers and sisters around us that will walk this road with us and that is what I want to say. I see you all as my brothers and sisters and I see you all that we can go forward and we can build a country. A country that will be the best in the world, because we are a Christian country and I think that together we can go forward and we can make a difference and I can tell you this, that there is no more racism amongst White people.

White people do not feel superior towards Black people. They do not want to put Black people down. Young White people want to go forward even though right wing people do not want to, we want to forget about the past, we want to forget about apartheid, we want to go forward. So I think about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that everybody, everybody is positive about that and we are positive about the future if we can leave the past behind us and go forward.

PROF MEIRING: Before you leave Henri, the translation and then we would like to pose one or two questions to you. As is our custom at the Truth Commission hearings I will ask whether some of the Committee members at the table want to pose a question to Ds Meyer. Joyce.

MS SEROKE: Ds Meyer, you said that the older generation in your circles is in, a bit negative, they do not have the hope that you have as young people. How do you think the young people can help the old people also become positive and be hopeful for the future that you are talking about?

PROF MEIRING: Just a moment for the interpretation.

DS MEYER: I think I can answer the question in this way. When we had the, I think it was the 1991 elections, everybody thought that there was going to be a war and everybody put their cupboards full of food and everybody stored up petrol and everything and our young people we said, no, that is not necessary, everything will be good and they said, no, no, we must be prepared and it is good to be prepared, but nothing happened. A lot of people prayed in South Africa and nothing happened. I can think, I think that the best way to influence the older people is by our enthusiasm. I think if they see how enthusiastic we are about the future they will change.

I do not think that if we speak to them or if you try to convince them or anything like that will help. I think our enthusiasm will help. That is the first thing and the second thing is I think that Jesus Christ can make a difference in their lives. If we pray then it will definitely make a difference.

MS SEROKE: My last question is how can you encourage or we, what do you suggest that we could do to encourage young people of different races to come together and start to discuss and talk about the future even though they do not forget what happened in the past, especially in the church circles since you are a Christian and you are a Dominee.

DS MEYER: I think a thing that I have seen about young people. It does not help very much to talk about too many things. I think we must come together and practically work together at something and we do that. We come together, we are going, this holiday we are going to the Venda people and we are going to build a church there and do some mission work and I think that is the best way to come together, get a project, get something to work for and work together for that project. I think if we just speak and speak and speak it will not help, because they have been spoken a lot and I think we must start really practically doing something.

MS SEROKE: Thank you.

PROF MEIRING: Mr Tom Manthata has a question.

MR MANTHATA: Rev Meyer, you talk of enthusiasm of the youth. What, how can you describe that in terms of the youths around here having been, perhaps, to Boipatong, perhaps to Vanderbijlpark, Kwamadela Hostel just to gain first-hand information about the issues that we are talking about?

DS MEYER: I think what you are saying is very important. I think we must go into each others communities and see and really speak with people. I think that is extremely important. We try to do that, we go to Orange Farm and we go to Venda and places like that, but the older generation, the older people they do not want their children to go, because they are afraid of the violence. So I think the big problem why we cannot get the children into the townships to speak to the other people is because they are afraid, but as far as I am concerned I think it is very, very important to go into townships and not only we must go in there, they must also come to our community and speak to us. I think that is very, very important and the other thing that I saw the other day on the television when the American tourists came to South Africa. They went through Soweto and only after they had been through Soweto did they really understand what South Africa is all about and that is what I am trying to say.

For such a long time we have lived apart, apart from each other and we do not really know what is going on in the other mans domain. I have stayed in Black peoples' houses, I have lived with them and I think that is what changed me and what made me to understand that we were lied to all these years and I think that is

very important what you are saying.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you Henri.

MR MANTHATA: I was, I did make mention of contact with the Vanderbijlpark Company. I am talking about this simply because it has always been very difficult to make that company to appreciate the problems that the KwaMadela Hostel people occasioned, you know, the community and I think because that, the management of that firm is still largely White, perhaps it can respond positively when it is being engaged by the White youth, you know, on this issue which can begin to form the basis of meaningful dialogue between the workers in the Vaal and that particular hostel and that particular firm.

PROF MEIRING: Can you translate that?

DS MEYER: I really believe that you, that what you are saying is true. If there is going to come a change it will be the young people that will make that change and I think we must really try to influence the older people and I do not think the right way is by rallies or even speaking or something like that. We must go into the community, into the peoples' houses and just in our living way, in our, in the way that we live, in the way that we react towards other people and the way that we show people the love of Jesus, In that way we must communicate that to him. I think that actions speaks louder than words in this context.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you Henri. The translation and then we will let you go, but just a moment. Before I, before the Truth Commission started I taught Theology at the University of Pretoria. One of the students in one of the classes was this man and I am proud of him today. Henri, thank you very much. Our second submission will be made by an Afrikaans mother. Mrs de Bruyn, we are so privileged to have you with us. I think you are going to speak in Afrikaans. Is that right? We must have hear a bit of Afrikaans. Mrs de Bruyn, make yourself comfortable.

MRS DE BRUYN: Thank you.

PROF MEIRING: The light is on already. I am going to ask Mrs Seroke to assist you with your testimony, but please sit. It is nice to have you here.

MRS DE BRUYN: Thank you.

MS SEROKE: Welcome Mrs de Bruyn. I think it is fitting that you should be interviewed by another woman.

MRS DE BRUYN: Yes, of course.

MS SEROKE: I must apologise. My Afrikaans is not of the best and I do not speak pure Afrikaans. It is just a little Afrikaans that I speak. So, I hope you will not mind if I speak to you English.

PROF MEIRING: Carry on, finish speaking first.

MRS DE BRUYN: Good morning ladies and gentlemen. It is a great pleasure for me to be here and I really regard it as a privilege to speak to you. I would like to state that in the beginning we, as women, were very sceptical about what the Commission was involved in and what was being done, but this morning has really opened my eyes. It has shown me what it is all about, it has brought insight and I am glad to be here to have seen what this is all about. ... looked at the past and we have cut to the bone to expose everything that had happened in the past, but now we must put all this hurt behind us and we must look ahead.

We must regard this foundation that the Commission is laying something to build on and to advance from. We have finished crying and we have finished our sorrow now. We must put that behind us and now we must start singing a song of gladness and of praise. We must work together on the future, the future of our

children. We in the Vaal Triangle have had many things happen in and around our area and I feel that we must now in the same Vaal Triangle stand together, take hands and also make things happen here, but positive things. We must look forward, we must take hands and we must make these things happen together.

The women of South Africa in the past have not been much on the foreground. We have worked behind the screens, but now we as women must come to the fore. We must work together for the benefit of our children. Women have always had a softness in their hearts. They always thought of their children, they have always had their children's interests at heart, but now we must put these things in the foreground, in the forefront. We must motivate our children. We must let them do the best at school that they can so that they will have a future to look forward to as well. We teach our children, we learn, we teach them to read and to write, to learn at school. We must also teach them that violence is not everything and that violence does not provide the solutions to our problems.

We must take hands, we must learn from each other. We do not know enough about each others handwork and about culture. Our problem of unemployment can really be turned into a temporary problem if we stand together, if we work together on our handwork activities and motivate our children to become involved as well. Learn about each others cultures and then our children will also have a place in this country prepared by us as women as well. South Africa is at the bottom of a very large continent. The southern tip is but a small portion, but we as South Africans are being looked upon by the whole of the rest of the continent of Africa to set an example and we as women must take the lead and show Africa where to go, holding hands together. We must stand together, we must think positively, we must act positively. Thank you.

MS SEROKE: Mrs de Bruyn, thank you so much for that wonderful input. I will now ask my colleagues to ask questions if they have. Oom Piet.

PROF MEIRING: I only want to say Amen to what you said, but I do want to ask can you answer very briefly, are there plans made by Afrikaner women to reach out to the Black women in the area?

MRS DE BRUYN: Yes, the women are working in various outreach programmes, but this is happening on a small scale at present. Although I do believe that in future we will be working together on a much larger scale.

MS SEROKE: Mr Manthata.

MR MANTHATA: Thank you Mrs de Bruyn. You have unwittingly thrown a very big challenge on the basis of your understanding of the, of what is happening or what has happened in the Vaal area. You will know that historically the union of South Africa Constitution was endorsed in the Vaal and yet ironically the happenings of Sharpeville, you know, seemed to negate all that and then recently, with the new Constitution, we have seen how President Mandela gave to give it almost the absolute stamp of recognition back here in the Vaal. Do you not think that this is throwing a great challenge to the community in the Vaal to establish something national to show the unity of the people of South Africa right across the colour.

MRS DE BRUYN: I agree with you 100%. I have also felt that the Vaal Triangle is a very important place that we can start here to make things happen, to let things take the lead in South Africa and show the rest of South Africa how things can be done.

MS SEROKE: Mrs de Bruyn, you mentioned three important points in your submission. Firstly that we as mothers should have, we have our children's interest at heart and we have done that in the past and I would like to sort of highlight the fact that even when we were in the struggle, in the midst of darkness it was the mothers who forgot about their work and went out looking for their young, their daughters and sons who had disappeared. Going into prisons, going to mortuaries to look for them and they are the ones who did that because of what you say about the interests that the children have.

The second point you have made is that we should respect our culture, our handwork and maybe those two things could bring us together and I want to say that our new Government has already started. I always have the pride in my heart when we sing our national anthem and we sing it in three languages. It is never done in any country. We have 11 languages, official languages which we now respect and we never have that in any other country and I think our Government has set us in motion to say that if we could sing each others anthems and learn to speak the languages what will stop us coming together and, lastly, I would like to say I want to take the opportunity one day to invite you to come to Soweto where I live and show you the wonderful handwork our women do in that place which is never highlighted, but which will surprise you. Thank you very much for that.

PROF MEIRING: We really enjoyed your contribution. Thank you for bringing a message from the Afrikaans women of the community. Thank you ever so much and you may take your place. Our next witness, our next speaker will be Mr Peter Mbongo from the South African Communist Party. Mr Peter Mbongo from the South African Communist Party should take his place and Mrs Joyce Seroke will also help you in your submission. You are very welcome with us and Mrs Seroke will help you.

MS SEROKE: We welcome you, Mr Mbongo, to come and give us your submission as the member of the South African Communist Party. Thank you for coming. We will give you an opportunity as soon as the interpretation is finished. You can carry on.

MR MBONGO: Thank you very much Commissioners. Maybe I must first explain that our submission is going to be submitted here in a form of a document, because we are working as a collective leadership and I believe you will bear with us, because I am just going to read what we have, sort of, compiled as a document for the submission. Thank you very much for that.

"The South African Communist Party submission document to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The South African Communist Party wishes to extend its word of thankfulness to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for once more conquering our region after having conducted public hearings into our human rights violations at this hall in June last year. We also thank you for this appropriate opportunity you have afforded us to present our submission before you in accordance with the guidelines set out in the letter received by the party.

Your honourable Commissioners, our submission follows the sequence of the questions as they were posed and thus below other questions under SACP responses. Question one. What was your experiences during the hearings and TRC interventions, etc?"

The SACP response,

"The first day of the Commission was an exciting one where we saw people filling the hall to its capacity. However, as days wore in and out the attendance gradually went down. This is attributed to the fact that at a venue, albeit it located at the centre of the Vaal Triangle, but the poor and the disabled could not reach it. Perhaps if the transport was arranged to ferry them from and to we would not be raising this concern.

The Commission has left a number of cases unattended. A case in point is that of the former leader of the Vaal Triangle, SACP and a former employee of the SACC, Comrade Swals Swatsie, who mysteriously died at a time when he was to testify before the Goldstone Commission about hit squad training and police involvement in their clandestine activities in the Vaal Triangle.

The SACP also regrets to mention that not a single individual came before the Commission that he or she participated in the brutal killings of our people in general and, indeed, the wiping out of the Lufwede family and the sudden death of Getie Sikeswe in police custody who intended to spill the beans about the killings and those conspired.

We, however, throw the ball into the Commissions court and adopt a strategy of wait and see.

Question two. What type of individual or family reparations would you recommend for the victims and survivors in your community?"

The SACP response,

"In the light of the fact that many individuals suffered differently for different reasons, but then the common denominator is that they are all victims of apartheid, of apartheid atrocities. Nonetheless all those individuals who suffered through torture, trauma and other forms of brutal abuse during the pursuance of the struggle and no longer use their body parts to earn a living, we recommend the Commission to take into cognisance of them for reparations.

Likewise families that have suffered through by the loss of their breadwinners or the family was wiped off the earth and only one or two individuals survived. However, ideally individuals and families that we are thinking of are those that were part of the mass democratic movements in our country. Precisely because police and the army were always there for such category of people.

Question three. What do you suggest be recommended as reparation measures for the community given the effects of human rights violations?"

The SACP response.

"The SACP views reparation measures as one of the important factors our community eagerly awaits to see and therefore recommends the following: One, that a centre be built where all victims of human rights violations would make use of it for counselling. Two, that one library be identified, be renovated so that an archive is built for historical material references for the coming generation. Three, a monument bearing all the names of heroes and heroines who died during the course of the struggle be erected. Lastly, that a big event, probably the September three, be organised with the sole purpose of popularising the work of the Commission.

Question four. Identify areas of focus for healing and reconciliation in the community."

The SACP response,

"We would like to recommend to the Commission that the Commission identifies one appropriate day where a commemoration for the Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Boipatong massacre can be held. This, in our view, should not be attended by political formations only, but churches, businesses and so on be encouraged to attend and be part of the preparations.

Question five. How can this be accomplished (partnership, action plan and monitoring mechanism, etc)?

The SACP response,

"As pertains to the question posed above the SACP hereby gives its opinion in this fashion that it would opt for partnership by which it should be composed of community based organisations, business and the non-Governmental organisations. The fusion of this would advantageously benefit and sustain the projects we recommend above. We also put our proposal before the Commission that all the issues entailed in this document either in a form of issues of concern or recommendations be attended to according to their urgency and preference.

We further suggest that a stakeholders structure be put in place for the purpose of overseeing the end product of what we intend achieving."

Our conclusion,

"The South African Communist Party wishes to convey its message of unequivocal support to the Commission for there is much of which it can be justly proud. We congratulate you for all the endeavours you made to reach places as far as the rural areas and, indeed, uncovering the heinous crimes that were perpetrated during the dark days of our country. We hope our people now that the stories of atrocities were revealed to the Commission and the truth is known, they will be able to heal the wounds of the past.

We once more thank you for availing yourselves to our community and wish you all the best in your assignment. Written and compiled by the Sebokeng branch of the SACP Working Committee. Date 16 June 1997."

Thank you.

MS SEROKE: Thank you very much Mr Mbongo. I will now ask my colleagues to ask you questions.

PROF MEIRING: Mr Mbongo, no question, only a comment. The Reparations Committee takes very careful note of all suggestions made for reparations and the suggestions you made for this area for a library that can be renovated and an archive and a museum, all the things you mentioned, we really appreciate that and we will give very, very good attention to that and if you have more information, more specific information we would love to get that from you, but thank you for all the thought that went into your submission and we will take it very seriously. Thank you very much for that.

MS SEROKE: Tom

MR MANTHATA: Sorry. Mine is just, I am just asking for clarity. I do not know whether, that is you have bullet four that a big event probably be, probably the September, September the third be organised with the sole purpose of popularising the work of the Commission, I see, and then for your recommendation two you still talk about,

"We would like to recommend to the Commission that the Commission identifies one appropriate day."

Are you seeing this as two separate days or is there a way where these days could be merged into one for this kind of a commemorative day, you know, of what happened in this area?

MR MBONGO: Thank you for that question. I think in our view, what we are saying is that the September

three is one of the event which took place in 1984 when our people went on a rent boycott and then the Sharpeville massacre, the Sebokeng massacre on the 21st of March, if I am not mistaken, and then the Boipatong massacre on the 17th of June. These, in our view, we see them as different and what we are suggesting here is that a commemoration for massacres be organised, but the September three, as I said, has its own connotations and that is why we are suggesting that a big event and, if I am not mistaken, there was an event somewhere in the Orange Free State which was organised by the Truth Commission, a big event for the people of that particular area within the Orange Free State.

Now in terms of the September three, what we are saying is that if that day could perhaps be organised for the sole purpose of popularising the work of the Truth Commission and what, in fact, the Truth Commission has done so far for our people, but then the other days that we recommend in them is about the commemoration of the massacres that took place within the Vaal since from 1960 up until 1994. So that is why we put them ...

MR MANTHATA: Thank you.

MS SEROKE: Mr Mbongo, thank you very much for coming. I just want to comment on your, the, your misgivings about some of the cases which you feel were unattended and you mentioned Comrade Swals Swatsie and the Lufwede family and the sudden death of Getie Sikeswe. I do not think you should feel that the Commission has not attended to these. When we asked people to appear during hearings we usually send Section 30 letters to the alleged perpetrators to say that they are going to be mentioned during the hearings and if they want to come they are welcome to come and defend themselves or to ask for forgiveness if they want to, but none of these people have appeared, but even though they have got the letters and, secondly, we also subpoena people to come forward to the hearings.

If they have not come willingly, we subpoena them to say they should come and tell us about what happened in the various cases that you mentioned and in the case of the people you have mentioned I may say that some subpoenas will be coming forth some time in July and we also rely a lot on the amnesty applications. When people apply for amnesty then they confess about the things that they have done and in that case we might uncover the people who caused the deaths of the people you have mentioned in your submission. So I would just say bare with us for the time being. It is not that you have not attended to that.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you very much for the delegation for the submission from the SACP. Thank you for being with us and please stay with us till the end of the day. Thank you for coming. Before I call the next witness, that will be Mr Mandla Nangalembe from the Vaal Victims, I want to hand you to the Chairman. He has an announcement or two to make.

CHAIRPERSON: If among us there are Mayor's delegation from any other organisation, members of Parliament please let us know so that we can appreciate your presence. The other important notice that I want to make is that Reverend Meyer and Mrs de Bruyn have requested permission to leave. They have got other business to attend to. I am going to request that when the people are busy on the stage with their submission, there will be no movement at the back, because we get disturbed, please. We now grant permission for Reverend and Mrs de Bruyn to leave. Thank you.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you Mr Chairman. I now call upon Mr Mandla Nangalembe from the Vaal Victims of Violence Committee to come to the fore and our colleague, Mr Tom Manthata, will assist in the leading of the evidence, will assist in the leading of the evidence.

MR NANGALEMBE: Chairperson, please allow me before I start to correct an error that was made. The submission from the Vaal Victims of Violence is not yet at the table, but we have the submission to make. The Vaal Victim of Violence will still meet before Wednesday to sort things out and maybe thereafter you will get there submission. Thank you.

Thank you Chairperson. I want to make a correction to my name. I am Nangalembe, not the other way round and in the near future I might be Adbullah Aziz, because I have transformed into another religion. Thank you to the Commission for coming here once again. It seems to me that you do not come at an appropriate time. Last year when you were here it was the Holomisa, ANC issue. Today you are here again and there is a de Klerk against the TRC issue and they are going to the Court of Law. We do not know what the outcome of that case will be. We all know that the TRC tries to bring about peace and reconciliation and we thank God for saving us for this day. We thank Him for saving us to be here despite the ordeal of the past.

Members of the Vaal Victims of Violence are the victims who were at the Nangalembe night vigil. Many people did not know what was happening at that time. Still today people have wounds on their bodies. Some are traumatised, some still have bullet wounds in their bodies. That was my first point. I want to come to the second point. We have heard that the President advised young people to go to school. Yes, we agree it is easy for parents to maintain their children while they are still at a primary or a senior school, but university education is very expensive, it is unaffordable. They cannot afford it. We would like the Commission to assist with the, with higher education of the victims and one other important issue connected to the issue of education is child care units. Parents do not know exactly where to go. Children play with firearms as if it is a, they are good toys. They need to be counselled.

I want to go then to the third point which is counselling. People are confused as they were before. They spoke of being members of ANC, members of PAC, IFP, NP not knowing exactly the ideology of those parties. The youth was also traumatised. They use to go around carrying guns. They use to members of self-defence units protecting the communities. They do not know, they are not even aware that the days of war are, have gone by. They need to be counselled. They resort to car hijacking, because they are neglected. They fought for a good cause, but today are forgotten. That is why we see this crime.

I am going to the fourth point which is unemployment rate. Violence turned people into criminals. People do not even have R1,60 to be here today. People are very poor. Projects should be identified and for such projects victims of violence should be given the first preference. We, people still do not know the whereabouts of their loved ones and they want to be part of what is actually happening.

Chairperson, I am going to the, to the sixth point. Parents buried their loved ones and their graves are unattended. Sometimes they go to the graves and clean them up, but there needs to be something that will remind them of their loved ones and a good idea is that of tombstones. That was my sixth point and I do not want to be long. I have summarised the whole submission. Actually not a submission, as I mentioned earlier on that we will give a full submission after coming together as the Vaal Victims of Violence. Thank you.

MR MANTHATA: Mr Nangalembe, we are very grateful. I have got only one question, I think, if not two. Have you got a rough estimate number of those families that or those people who were caught up at the night vigil of the Nangalembe?

MR NANGALEMBE: The number is 38 people who died there and 48 were injured or crippled.

MR MANTHATA: My next question is where you talk about counselling on political party education, if I understood you well. Do you not see that as to get that coupled with the, you know, what, yes, to, do you not think that that is, by and large, a moral issue rather than an issue of political parties, that is rather than an issue of political parties alone or rather than an issue that can be attended to through a counselling institute only?

MR NANGALEMBE: Mr Chairperson, that is a good idea. I was just merely putting it forward as people find themselves involved in political organisations whereas some of the things that have been done are not a political thing. So the proposal that you are putting forward is quite welcome and it is positive.

MR MANTHATA: And as a moral issue have you, perhaps you have not given thought to it, how do you see the churches addressing that moral issue? Is there something they can do besides what they are involved in today like, you know, but something very drastic and a little revolutionary?

MR NANGALEMBE: I may not be negative on that question unless church members are actually volunteering to actually assist. As today, we are here, maybe they are aware. They will then maybe do something from your recommendation or whatever the case may be, but as it will bring something positive. Presently, if I may put forward, that most of the members of Vaal Victims of Violence have not been given any counselling whatsoever or have not been given an idea where to go for counselling. Thank you Mr Chairman.

MR MANTHATA: Thank you.

MS SEROKE: I am merely going to comment on some of the issues you have mentioned and I am very pleased that, Mr Nangalembe, you are saying that the Vaal Victims of Violence need help to help themselves. They need to be empowered. In terms of medical treatment and education and all the points you have raised the TRC on its own does not have any grips as to what it can do now. All the things that have to be done depend on the recommendations that the Truth Commission is going to make to the President and from the President to Cabinet, but what I would like to say is that since we have such a short life span and we are closing down in December we are already now trying to work with NGO's around us, church groups who are going to be the support of the victims when the Truth Commission is over and when we are still waiting for the implementation of those recommendations, but I would like to say that in terms of the demilitarisation of the youth, especially the SDU's, we had this submission when we had the childrens' hearings in Johannesburg last week and there are certain trusts that are doing something about how to demilitarise the young people who fought in the war and still feel they have no way of, you know, taking out the violence out of their system.

So we would like to encourage organisations around the Vaal, particularly with such an active council of churches to come together to see how they can help the victims whilst they are waiting. Prof Meiring did mention that some of the people are going to wait and it is the older people who are already nearer the grave who might be the priority, but this is a slow process, but it is going to happen very soon, but it has got to start now with the efforts of all the organisations around the Vaal including your organisation of the Vaal Victims of Violence.

About the disappearances you made, I said earlier in my report back that our investigating unit is working under great pressure, limited resources trying to find out what happened to people who disappeared. It is not a very easy process and I said it depends mostly on the amnesty applications. Once people come forward to say I was responsible for this and this is what I did with that person. You have been watching television and in certain cases it happens, but we have not given up. So we are still trying and if people never find out what happened it is going to be very hurtful for the parents, but it is not everybody who we can unearth the whereabouts if the perpetrators are not going to give us any help. Thank you very much.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you. Thank you so much Mr, I will pronounce that correctly, Nangalembe. Thank you so much for being with us. We, I did receive a note just after you spoke to clear up the misunderstanding that we did receive a submission from the Victims of the Vaal Triangle Violence, but the representative, unfortunately, is not here to read the submission, but we will take the submission with us to Johannesburg and it will be included in the report. Thank you very much. I think it is time now for lunch, Azina is the lunch ready, but the Chairman, I hand over to the Chairman now.

CHAIRPERSON: I want to thank Mr Nangalembe and so he is from the Vaal Victims of Violence. We are now breaking for lunch and we come back at 20 past two, because one of the speakers alluded to the fact that people do not have transport to go back to their homes and the Commissioners had a lot of work to do and they are going far away from here. So the people with stickers will be the people who go for lunch. We have

not enough food, we apologise for that and we can now react. Thank you. Over to you Mam.

MS SEROKE: I am going to ask Mr Mkiwane to come and give the, a submission on behalf of the ex-councillors of the Vaal.

MR MKIWANE: We would like to tell you what was the situation of the ex-councillors to TRC. We were councillors elected into office after the collapse of the Advisory Board system in 1977. Service charges were increasing almost yearly before we came into office. People were not happy and by 1984 their cup of dissatisfaction was fill to the brim. An increase was mooted that an amount may be added after the budget showed a deficit. This increase was never implemented, but unknown to the councillors, the people had taken a decision to do away with the councillors.

On the third of September 1984 mobs broke into bottle stores and looted some and looted. Some friendly residents warned some councillors to be aware as they were the next targets. Some unfortunate councillors were not warned. Those who were warned took to the hills with whatever they could lay their hands on. Life was important. On the fourth of September 1984 all hell broke out. Property was destroyed, houses were burned, were burned down and belongings were either destroyed by fire or carried away by the very same people who elected us. Some of our colleagues who were found at home were brutally killed namely, Mr Jacob Dlamini at Sharpeville, Mr Chakane at Sebokeng and Mr Motiyane also at Sebokeng lost their lives.

The wife of Mr Dlamini was so traumatised that she became insane and subsequently died. The wife of Mr Chakane is also insane though still alive. Mr Motiyane's wife is not healthy following the husband's death. These men had children who must be brought up. After these riots which spread throughout the country the councillors were left with nothing. Some houses were built in Zone ten to accommodate them, but they had to buy them. What with. The children of councillors feared to go to schools, because of the obnoxious tag attached to their parents. Most of the councillors never got work ever since and are now not in a good state of health.

As ex-councillors where do we belong as it seems we are not wanted by the people and the Government. We are aware apartheid is a costly commodity, but why at the expense of the councillors? Why, why, why? Suggestions, we feel that concessions should be given to these ex-councillors to be exempted from taxation and medical expenses. Bursaries should be granted to the children who still attend schools or universities. The ex-councillors should be given proper accommodation. Alternatively, sorry, the houses built for them in Zone ten should be given to them as compensation. The rest we leave to our Government to know what to do about those who suffered and are still suffering.

Areas of healing. People have to be counselled about the needs of a community and accept the needs that we all must meet services. How this can be accomplished. The nominee or the State President must meet the ex-councillors and hear what they have to say and get it from the horses mouth. Meeting the people at the ground level and making them aware that although the Government wishes to help them, they must also play their part.

Commissioners, I have a list of some councillors at the back of which I am not going to read them out. I will be handing this over to you as your record. Unfortunately, because of lack of funds I could have photostatted this to make few copies, but hence I know exactly what I have written here, I will be handing this over to you.

Finally, we, the community of Lekwa City Council, we feel that something has to be done to bring us back to the community as we feel that we are rejected by the community and the Government. Not a single person has ever visited us to counsel us, at least to bring back the happier days though it, we know very well that it cannot be 100%, but to be closer to our brothers and sisters. Thank you very much. MS SEROKE: Thank you Mr Mkiwane. I will ask a brief translation. Mr Tom Manthata, do you have any questions?

MR MANTHATA: We are truly sorry for the situation that the ex-councillors, the former councillors still find themselves in. Admittedly it is not a thing of their making. As you have rightly pointed, it is a thing of the making by the Apartheid Laws. I do not know whether the councillors have observed the changes in so far as the President himself has had a position or has been in a position to meet quite a number of people who were former functionaries of the apartheid Government. I mean quite a number of people who were in that state happen to be re-admitted or re-accepted in the ranks of the ANC and some of them are even still holding higher positions in the Government institutions. So I do not know whether you are saying the ex-councillors have taken advantage of this and they have met with or have had an outright rejection by the president Government.

MR MKIWANE: May I respond Sir?

MR MANTHATA: Yes please.

MR MKIWANE: As I have mentioned that nobody has ever indicated to us or came to us informing us about what you have just said. Up to now we are still in the wilderness. We are not aware of that, not in the Lekwa City Council. I may say in the Vaal Triangle.

MR MANTHATA: Yes, it could be true. I personally am not very well versed with who are running the show in the Lekwa area more especially in Government administrative posts and perhaps even in the industrial, commercial area where we are beginning to see quite a number of some of the ANC people or even Government people to be holding control over. In fact this ties up even with the question I raised to Ds Meyer, whether companies in the Vereeniging, particularly those at Vanderbijlpark, which at one stage were seen to be supportive of apartheid, have not been approached by the White youths and/or the Vaal people to assess whether they have not changed their attitude to a point where they can so relate with people in the community, that they can begin to create avenues of employment and/or just platforms to discuss with them to enable them to forget all the problems of the past, you know, to heal them and to make them begin to realise that they are being rehabilitated, they are being readmitted into the community.

MR MKIWANE: May I respond?

MR MANTHATA: Yes please.

MR MKIWANE: Not to our knowledge Sir. If, at all, there was such a thing we could not have hesitated to come closer to such institutes. Up to this minute when we drafted this I had some of the ex-councillors, we still feel and we are still sailing on the same boat of 1984 where we were not accepted. Not a single person has ever approached us informing us of where can we get some friendly discussion with anybody, bringing us closer to the residents or to the Government. Not one. I am, I may add this, as I am seated here I have been an ANC member ever since 1943 when I was still a fresh teacher in the field, up to this minute. Even during the days of the rotten apartheid when we were made very uncomfortable I never ceased to be a member of the ANC, but not a single person has ever brought me or brought light to me, this is the way.

MR MANTHATA: Let me complete by saying that as the Vaal Committee has met here together with the Minister hearing the stance which you are at. They hear your cry. I hope that they will start. There should be an arrangement for communication between the ex-councillors and them. People from the churches I think they will take your complaint and try harder that things should be back to normal. That is my response.

I will conclude by saying the people of the Vaal are here listening today. The Ministers of the region are also here. They have listened to your request. The church maybe will take an active role to reconcile you with the community. Thank you.

MS SEROKE: Mr Mkiwane, we heard your suggestions in terms of concessions for tax and other things,

bursaries for your children and accommodation. I would say that for the sake of reconciliation we would consider these requests in terms of all other requests that have come out today and not single out and make special requests and say these are for ex-councillors. So that when we make our recommendations we will mention the plight of the ex-councillors, but when we come to reparation and rehabilitation it would be something that is done for everybody. I am happy that some of you were brave enough to come out and give, during the hearings and tell your stories, but in other areas it is very difficult for us to get the story from the other side. So I would encourage that even though you have this list at the back of your submission, that those councillors who have signed here should still come forward to make statements before the deadline of July, because no reparation will be done for someone who has not given a statement and we thank you very much for coming forward.

We shall now call upon Father Ben Photolo to give a submission on behalf of the Gauteng Council of Churches. Our technicians say that they are now ready for simultaneous translation. Those who wish to get the boxes can do so, because we are not going to be translating in the way we have been doing, because it takes time. So those of you who, especially our English speaking friends, we would encourage them to have the boxes and the earphones, because we will now be using the, our African languages. I do not know whether the Council will submit in English, because if it does so then I still feel the translation will have to be done, because there are so many people now and we are taking time distributing these boxes and earphones.

CHOIR PERFORMANCE:

MS SEROKE: Welcome. We would like you to introduce the other people who have accompanied you Father to give this submission.

FATHER PHOTOLO: On my left I have with me Dumaza Kalisha who is a peace worker for the Gauteng Council of Churches, Vaal branch and on my right I have Reverend Gift Morane who is the co-ordinator for the whole Gauteng Council of Churches. East Rand, West Rand, I mean, Vaal and Pretoria.

MS SEROKE: We welcome you all.

FATHER PHOTOLO: Thank you.

MR KALISHA: Thank you.

REV MORANE: Thank you.

FATHER PHOTOLO: Thanks to the members of the TRC for the noble cause you have jointly undertaken of healing the wounds suffered by our society during the apartheid era. Now, the South African Council of Churches through her former regional Council of Churches got involved actively in the battlefield against apartheid. The South African Government during that period of apartheid had a theology of its own. We chose to call it State theology. State theology was simply the theological justification of the then status quo ...

MS SEROKE: Excuse me Father. Just to tell the people that the translation is on number three of, on the boxes. It is Sotho.

FATHER PHOTOLO: Thank you. The State theology was simply the theological justification of the then status quo with its racism and totalitarianism. The status quo reduces the poor to porcity, obedience and apathy. The State theology misused theological concepts and Biblical texts for its own political purposes. With this gross violation of the will of God in which people should live, the ecumenical and prophetic church was left with no other option but to stage a prophetic intervention and become the voice of the voiceless.

To interpret the script, the Bible in the context of a situation prevailing at the time we chose to obey God

rather than man. We entered a stage of the defiance campaigns. On the other hand the State appealed to the conscience of the Christians in the name of law and order to accept the use of violence as a God given duty with their primary aim of maintaining the status quo of oppression. The church could not allow people to be sacrificed for the sake of unjust laws. As our true Christian faith commits us to work for true reconciliation and genuine peace we pointed out to the apartheid regime that there can be no true reconciliation and no genuine peace without justice.

In the 1980's South Africa reached a decisive moment in its history. A fundamental reassessment was taking place concerning the basic structures of its social apartheid order. The church pressed on to make structure change possible and sustainable. I am sure you want to know how we did this in our role. We were enforced our campaigns and provided sanctuary for internal refugees and provided material help to families of political detainees and prisoners. Agencies such as NAMDA and Lawyers for Human Rights and Detainees Parents Support Committees came to our rescue in the challenging task. Some of the support came from the oppressed masses and their organisations.

Chairperson, it will not be easy for any person who has not worked in this area to tell exactly what the situation has been like during those years of oppression. The Council of Churches is one of the sources that can attempt to provide the TRC with information which could assist different and respective sub-committees operating within the TRC structure. During the period of the total strategy this area became one of the targeted places. This system worked from the late 70's and became very sophisticated roughly from early 80's until the early 90's. This period involved the application of destabilisation tactics in a fairly generalised and indiscriminate manner.

There was direct military action. We have this here as Operation Palmiet. This operation took place in 1984 during the height of the Vaal rent boycott. This phase gave way to another lasting era from the late part of 1985 until the national peace accord. This phase can be described as a phase of intensified and more selective destabilisation confined, in particular, to places like Sebokeng, Boipatong and Sharpeville. There was also a substantial increase in activity by the apartheid Government sponsored dissident groups. There were secret assassins, the Eagles and organised criminals.

(B), On the other hand members of the security forces led dirty operations against the community. Some of their major attempts made was to coerce people to act as State witnesses in political trials. Young and old people were bought to sell out their leaders. Joint operation between criminals operating from KwaMadela at Iscor compound and allegedly with some members of the police. In the broader community these operations characterised by mass and indiscriminate killings became part of the day every day life of the community in the Vaal and perpetrators were not brought to court.

Another incident that we cannot go without mentioning is the massacre of Sharpeville residents on the 21st March 1960. This event has left an indelible mark in the minds of the people. Another event that freezes the blood is the Sebokeng night vigil massacre at Mr Nangalembe's house where about 38 mourners were shot dead whilst busy praying. Our then field workers informed the police in Sebokeng Police Station in advance about the looming tension around that area and the possibility of attacking at night. Although members of security were cognisant of this case no intensified deployment of police was made for preventative measures.

From the period up to the Boipatong massacre peace never reigned in the Vaal area. Therefore one of the big tasks before us is to bring together the broader Vaal community, Vaal Community and former KwaMadela residents in pursuit of building peace and reconciliation. As the church we apologise for the times when we were silent in the face of violation of human rights carried out by Government forces structures or those aligned with them. We apologise for our silence in not sufficiently condemning the violations of human rights carried out either as revenge attacks or in the name of the struggle. We further more offer our services as Ministers of healing to the victims and the perpetrators from whatever quarter they may come.

So for us the past hearings have been a transforming experience. Those hearings were like starting a new journey of discovery which opened up new avenues of hope. This is the reason why we have come here today to present our recommendations. We have these recommendations. On the strength of our experience in working and discussions with community members and leaders we trust that this document will find support in this sitting of the TRC today. Now, we wish to make our recommendations for the reparation.

Number one, we recommend that children who lost their parents through these acts of terror should receive an urgent assistance for their welfare and education. Two, destroyed properties be rebuilt without discrimination as to the political alignment of the owners. Three, the graves of victims of 1960, 1984, right up to 1992 be built and properly fenced up. Memorial stones to be erected at these sites. Furthermore, a memorial stone to be erected to the many who died in the struggle for justice over the years and among these we mention our own field worker, Saul Sotetsie. Four, the religious bodies together with their reparations and human rights committees should identify a day of mourning for this community. During the mass burials people did not have time to mourn. This is part of the process of healing and reconciliation. Five, a memorial park which would include among other things a museum where the history of the struggle for freedom is depicted. A building or buildings where training would be offered in various skills. Six, we as a church offer to continue with the process of reaching out to bring healing and reconciliation to all groups. In this context we notice that very little progress has been made in the area of bridging the gap between Black and White in this area.

We commit ourselves to work in the area as well as in bringing the various desperate groups in the township together. We commit ourselves to work towards a genuine consensus among all in the Vaal. We suggest that the President of the country should agree on a special day with the national body of churches to have a contrition and a trancing of a nation. We already had one in Sebokeng Hostel led by the Council of Churches. A request to the Government to embark on a massive job creation project. We ask that professional and trauma counselling be provided for all who have been affected by the troubles in the Vaal. On rehabilitation of society we need to focus on disarming, particularly, young people. This issue in the Vaal remains a central point in our attempts of building peace and reconciliation. There will not be peace while young people are so heavily armed continue with revenge killings as is the case, particularly, in Sharpeville. The Council of Churches in the Vaal has already structured itself to monitor that recommendations put forward today are carried out.

In 1991 the church in this area was put to trial by the Lekwa Town Council, Town Clerk, Mr Louw. Allegations were made by the Town Council, by the Town Clerk on behalf of the entire council that we were terrorists carrying AK47. At that time the clergy marching to the council offices to hand over a memorandum were arrested, charged and sentenced to three years suspended sentence. We therefore in the spirit of reconciliation request that the criminal record placed on our heads be removed. We feel being severely ill-treated by the unjust apartheid regime. People like Father Jeffrey Mosolane, Reverend Lord McCamal and the rest of the, of the banned Delmas trialists like Manthata there should get the word "sorry" from those who persecuted them. All those who were involved in acts which violated the human rights of others we encourage them to apologise. I thank you Chairman, Chairperson.

MS SEROKE: Thank you Sir for your lucid submission. I will now ask Mr Manthata if he has got any comments or questions that he would like to raise.

MR MANTHATA: Thank you Madam Chair. I have only two questions to ask. It is true that the church is the centre for bringing about reconciliation. Mr Nangalembe and Mr Mkiwane have already alluded to that point. It seems as if it is necessary for the church to tell us, I do not know whether I am rephrasing it. Okay, let me suggest this, whether the church would consider this. The kind of work that you have been given, do you have to find yourselves in a position where you are going to be directly and practically involved in it. In other words is it going to be just more than talking? Is it going to be more than just preaching? Now a person will

say what would you say if a suggestion was to say that all the denominations in the Vaal Triangle establish schools where they will teach morals, schools where they will teach ubuntu, because you have already indicated that the youth is affected, they are criminals and yet they claim to be political activists. Now what would you say. Can we not go back to where the church was before, that is in the 1940's, 50's and 60's before the Bantu Education. What would you say, Ministers, about this idea?

FATHER PHOTOLO: Thank you Chairperson. First of all I would like to respond on the issue raised by a former councillor which is a question that you brought direct to us now. I think it is one of the challenge that is facing the church, to bring people together. However, we have not, it should not be like a myth that things can be done with magic dust, to bring people together and then they just start working together. There are stages, actually, on reconciliation. One of the stages which we as a church, we caucused about was unless the former councillors come forward and apologise to the community of the Vaal about the past and appeal for, to be reinstated in the community then I think our poor people are always ready to say welcome brother or sister and is a challenge that we are also putting to the police that they must do the same thing, but we want to say the church, we, the doors are open from today, as a challenge, we are going to do that as one of our programme of action, but we need people to open up. Not to wait to be called, but you see the situation and it must disturb you and you must go and search and knock at the door and say how can you help us on this issue.

Secondly, on the issue of the history of the church in the 50's. It is a fact that the church was in control of social structures and so on, running of schools. However, today the political situation has changed such that it is so difficult to do some of the things that the church was doing before. We are in the process under our programme of peace and reconciliation, engaging on the programme of disarmament of young people, teaching morality, actually education to young people about life, how life should be led and so on and I hope that that is a ministry that we will continue to do and provided that the people are prepared, also, to join that journey. It is so difficult today, people have to be forced to do certain things that they enjoy and find out they are so good for them, but is one of the call of the church to make sure that we go on and on trying to teach or spread this message.

Thirdly, about the issue actually raised by the Nangalembe family. We were just chatting at, during lunch time to say to them we hope from here we should have a cleansing ceremony at the Nangalembe house where all victims of that circumstances should come together and we can have actually a practical cleansing ceremony to heal that wounds. So these are simple things that we say from today we are going to start to do. Hence, we are calling for a day of contrition where we say let the whole nation come and bite its head and say we are sorry for what happened, because we have got moral guilt of what happened. Some were quite, distances themselves from what was taking place, but today, all of us we are pleading for mercy. Thank you.

MR MANTHATA: We thank you. I do not want to conduct a dialogue, but as you have mentioned, Minister, the greatest disaster that will fall our nation is to leave everything in the hands of the Government. The moment we say the Government can do this and the churches cannot do this, we are negating the basic tenets of democracy. No one institution should be left alone to do what is a national task. That is why a person asked can you review or revisit what was good, the greatest fortune or luck is this that we have a Government that cannot stop you from doing that. I Thank you.

MS SEROKE: In summing up I would like to commend the Vaal Council of Churches for this submission and to say that we are going to take it very seriously and we are mindful of the admirable role the church has done in the past, but we are saying to the church this is now the time for more commitment if we have to save this nation and because the church has got resources, it has got existing structures we are looking to the church for help and that Mr Manthata has said, our Government needs to be given a hand. When we were at the follow-up hearings in Boksburg the Bishop of the Anglican Church for that diocese raised a very important point when he said that it is remarkable that people of different races can now meet together in cinemas, even on Sundays, but our churches are still so segregated.

That is a challenge that I am giving to the Vaal Council of Churches. I know we are going to give the excuse of distance, how do people travel from here to those White churches and the White churches are going to talk about the violence and be scared to come in like we had Ds Meyer today, but I feel that is a challenge which we must fulfil. If we can go to cinemas together, what stops us from worshipping together. Thank you very much.

Is from the Khulumani Support Group and we will now invite Mr Duma Khumalo. I know it is not nice to be last, but we must say thank you that we also have a chance to give our submission. Welcome Mr Khumalo. Would you introduce the gentleman who has accompanied you?

MR KHUMALO: The gentleman with me is Tadiso. He is also a member of Khulumani.

MS SEROKE: Thank you.

MR KHUMALO: Thank you very much.

MS SEROKE: You can go ahead Sir.

MR KHUMALO: Okay fine.

CHAIRPERSON: He is going to read. This man is going to read the statement.

MR KHUMALO: Yes Sir.

CHAIRPERSON: Yes, put it in the middle.

MR KHUMALO: Okay, thank you Mr Chair. We as the Khulumani Support Group, the group that is mainly composed of victims found within the Vaal Triangle would like to thank very much at the Centre for Study of Violence for having considered the people of Vaal and, in that sense, helped us to form this group that is existing today with a membership of more than 200 victims, I should say. The Khulumani Support Group is very much aware of the objective of the establishment or the being of TRC, mainly being the healing process a part of it and the reconciliation and the rehabilitation. In this regard we will take a chance, in face, to consider the intervention of the TRC before and during the hearings in our area.

Firstly, the fear that was within the people in the Vaal Triangle of coming forward and tell of their experiences concerning the events and the incidents of the apartheid era. The being of TRC did help many of our people to break the shells of their griefs and fear that they had lived with in the past many years.

Two, we would like to thank, again, the being of TRC with its intervention for having brought about the dignity of the people that was lost during the political era in our country. People had no one to listen to, to their griefs nor pay attention to some of those griefs until the establishment of TRC came into being. Then many of the victims came forward and started, for the first time, to talk about their past griefs. Now the relationship, again, that have been lost between the people of the Vaal Triangle came into being, again, after the TRC had been introduced into our country. Therefore, we are very grateful that it had really intervened to the situation that was within our country and in our area.

Our political parties in this area or most of the participants in this political area did not understand exactly how politics should be carried out or their differences in politics should be carried out, but all the same it came through the intervention of TRC that people started understanding that their differences in politics could not tear them apart and not make them one community or one nation. So we are very grateful in this regard. Even to many of the churches that did take part in participating in politics, some of these churches did end up now serving the interests of political parties instead of being independent and religious organisations and we

thank the TRC for having put the light through its intervention that now people in the churches have started realising now that they are religious organisations not political ones.

As the Khulumani Support Group we would now like to get to the type of reparation that we think might help the individuals though we see the critical situation that our people are in. Financial assistance, we believe, for many families which have lost their breadwinners could be of vital, okay, and the counselling to those who lost their memories and still live with their griefs could also be of some help. Bursaries for educational aspects in these families could also help in the reparation to these peoples' lives. The reburials as well to those who were never buried by their families and we know that many of our victims went out of our country and were never seen again in this country.

Now, for the community we believe that if this counselling could be introduced to many of our community centres where we know that many of our people have been traumatised by the events of the apartheid era. We believe, again, that if there could be the memorial places built in our community to help our people to overcome their past experiences. For the community we believe, again, if there could be some development centres built in forms of projects to the community so that they should assist in overcoming poverty and in income generation, because we believe these are many of the things that make our people even to suffer today.

Now we have got many areas which we believe or focus to them for this healing and the reconciliation process of the TRC. We merely have thought of the hostels whereby we believe that many hostel dwellers are not in good relationships with the people in the locations or in the townships due to the past political conflicts. We believe there is a lot of reconciliation needed to reunite the community in the Vaal Triangle. The squatter camps, most of the people who live in these areas are those who fled and many were evicted from their townships and have no good shelter and still live with the fears and the griefs of the past. They also need to be provided with some focus of interest for healing and reconciliation and being reunited again to the people or the part of the community that lives in the townships.

Now when we come to the townships directly, most of the political conflicts started from the townships and they left many residents traumatised. Some still live with this traumas and the community is torn apart, therefore it needs a lot of reconciliation. Now, when coming to the accomplishment of this healing and reconciliation process we, as the Khulumani Support Group, we thought of the churches as the first organisations who are very neutral, in a sense, to those churches which did still maintain their religious being. We think they can play a very vital role in bringing about the healing of the victims in a spiritual way, because that is where the most pain comes from and the reconciliation, because many victims, as well, hoped that this healing process could be done through their Pastors.

We believe, again, that the Health Department should bring the therapists, the doctors and the social workers to the community so that they should face the people and assist in healing those who got affected by this political, the past political experiences and we thought that even if the Education Department could now stand affirm in this regard and open broader vacancies for under-privileged youth of this country to get, at least, the basic education to help them and many who suffered in this apartheid era. There should be some special and vocational schools to help in developing the youth for the future.

We believe that the existing departments in the Government sectors should be the mechanism of carrying out the activities of healing and reconciling of the nation and we, as Khulumani Support Group, we request a centre for the project whereby people will be trained, because we already have appealed to the volunteers to help us, but we do not have the place and the capital to carry out our objectives. We do have some few of the recommendations that the period that is allocated to TRC is very much little compared to the work that is the TRC facing, focusing mostly on the investigation part of it. May it be therefore recommended by Khulumani Support Group for some extension, say to help the investigation unit to carry out its task fully and the amnesty issue as well, people who were convicted still believe that they have or they have already served

and they have not submitted their applications for amnesty and I believe this is due to the time that has been allocated to TRC. People or many of the members of our community have not been recruited enough to understand the objective of TRC and we have the issue of disappearance.

We recommend that the process should go on and the families assisted even after the TRC, that the political parties, as well, should come forward and tell the truth of the people who had been lost through the struggle and if TRC could be given more time we believe. We believe that it could help with this disappearance process of regaining the people from outside the country or wherever they may be, that they should get a decent burial in their own families. We think with this, this is the little that we have as our submission to the TRC. Thank you.

MS SEROKE: Thank you very much. I will hand over to Mr Manthata if he has any questions or comments to make.

MR MANTHATA: We thank the Khulumani Support Group for their submission. I think it is just as clear as other submissions have been. I do not know whether I have heard your submission well. You seem to either doubt or divide the churches in terms of their application to the problems that have been and still are. Do I understand you to be saying that the churches themselves still need a body like Khulumani to reconcile it amongst itself or amongst its fellow denominations?

MR KHUMALO: We were referring to the past era where all churches did not stand against apartheid. Only two or three churches were supporting. The Roman Catholic Church and other churches stood by the people. If I remember very well some of the Ministers were refused entry into their churches after they were released from prison. Now we want those churches to come. They should ask for forgiveness and they should also render some help to the community. I do not know whether have I put my point clear.

MR MANTHATA: Okay. My last question would be does Khulumani see itself as a community group or does it see itself as an organisation that goes about picking up people from the community and thus creating a situation where the community is at the other side and itself on the other side?

MR KHUMALO: Khulumani is a community based organisation. I will give you this example. There are cases that do not fall under the TRC cases. We take them and we go to the Legal Aid or Wits Law Clinic, because we went to Legal Aid and we negotiated with them as to whether will they help us with such cases and they agreed and the second point is that we received volunteers who volunteered to provide adult education. Now to prove that Khulumani is a community project we do not put people aside.

The third point. If we look at this apartheid Stem, it is a very big Stem. Now there is what we call group psychology. We do not select people, we do not ask people what did your son do, we take everybody who comes to the group with problems to express him or herself as to what kind of assistance can we offer.

MR MANTHATA: I thank you.

MR KHUMALO: I also thank you.

MS SEROKE: Thank you very much for your clear and concise submission and earlier on I spoke of the TRC depending on support structures within the community and I think Khulumani is at an advantage, because you have good training from the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation and we hope that with those skills that you have acquired from these centres you will be able to become a very strong support group of the TRC in the various communities of the Vaal even at the end of the life of the TRC.

In terms of your request for extending the structures, I mean extending the life of the TRC for, extension of the life of the TRC so that their investigations, the investigating unit could go further and further, we will make that, but we know that our present Government has got budgetary constraints and the fact that the Act said

this job should only go on for 18 months, then it was extended for another six months, it was explained to us that there was a purpose for this, because the TRC is unearthing the painful traumas of the past and if we go on and on and on doing that we will not have time for national unity and nation building, but having said that, we will pass on that as part of the recommendations. Thank you very much ...

MR KHUMALO: Thank you.

MS SEROKE: ... gentlemen, for coming.

MR KHUMALO: Thank you.

MS SEROKE: No, Tom is going to summarise now. Our last item now on the programme is the summary of the days proceedings and that is going to be done by Mr Manthata. I, over to you Tom. You must bring the ...

MR MANTHATA: I thank you all. You have had the patience to stay and fortunately my work is going to be made easier by the submissions made. You know, the work to capture what went through has been a problem where people were just talking off the cuff, but where people have presented papers as it happened, the work becomes, you know, less and that is why the best we can do is just to request people like Mr Nangalembe to ...

MS SEROKE: Nangalembe.

MR MANTHATA: ... Nangalembe to please have his submission in writing so that, you know, we can give due respect and recognition of their efforts. What went on or what came out very loud and clear is what came initially from what Mrs Seroke read re or with regard to the statements in this area. The statements in this area looked at in the light of the sufferings and the struggles of this area are just too few to reflect the history of this area. So the request for more statements defies expression. Let there be more statements coming from this area as it has been even indicated to Mr Mkiwane, can the ex-councillors please submit statements, because until we have their statements we have not got a true reflection of the history of this area.

Another thing that came out very clearly, and has just been repeated by Khulumani, is the need for a trauma centre in this area. This area cannot afford to be taking people in and out of Johannesburg for emotional and psychological healing. This area requires a trauma centre which, of course, as it has been said already, it can even be extended into a multi-purposed centre and what comes out, again, or what came, what flowed again from this was realising the historical importance of this history both in terms of building the country and in terms of dividing the country, it was recommended that let there be an inter-community visiting processes. Can the community begin to visit one another and/or can the communities have a centre where these communities can, amongst others, involve themselves in the kind of historical discussions that can, perhaps, give a better and constructive political perspectives of this country and/or historical perspective of this country. This came from Rev Meyer and it, yes, Rev Meyer and, of course, this too was, added to this was this whole thing of inter-community visits, let alone dialogues, and this was even a, a challenge was even given to Mrs de Bruyn by Mrs Joyce Seroke that if they do not know the handicraft that the Black women are involved in can she please visit Soweto where she can see how creative and inventive African women are and from that point to begin to build bridges of reconciliation.

Next was the involvement of the churches and the State in the moral and mental reconstruction of the youths in this area. Since the youth became so confused that they do not know or attach the moral, the political moral significance of each and every political party in this area and from that confusion flowed the criminal element or the criminality that is rampant in this area. This has come out very clearly almost, even from the church people themselves saying that the youth in this area needs that kind of a task of debriefing and demilitarisation.

What came out next very clear is this whole issue of readmittance or reacceptance and rehabilitation of the ex-councillors. Whether we are saying the start will be an apology from their side or whether, however you see it, but the need may even supersede whatever conditions you can put before the project itself. Fortunately in this regard, the churches have committed themselves to this cause. We have, okay, the churches themselves have just put it in their own submission, the commitment to do just that. That is to bring about reconciliation, to bring about sound morals and, of course, sound teachings.

They may still be at the level of debating whether this is the task of the church or of the State, because if the churches have to do this job at the level at which these churches run is going to be very difficult. It is just going to be one of those things that are going to continue not giving proper importance and imperative in that direction, but suggestions are that, which of course will flow not, the suggestions are not saying this must be done by the Council of Churches, the suggestion is that can the denomination themselves, severally, begin to look into that, because once you undertake to have the schools, you can follow the morals of the children right up to high school and this is how our leadership was produced, but it will be stressed once more that you shall be renegading if you are going to leave that to the State, because the State once given that power alone, sooner or later the State shall be so circularised that you will begin to find children mouthing nothing else but political slogans that are empty or morality.

I do not know whether I have summed up, you know, all what transpired, but should there be any that is omitted can you please have the courage and the goodwill to approach us to remind us, because the recommendations that are going to be given to the State must be a true reflection of the sentiments and the thinking of the nation. I thank you Madam Chair.

CHAIRPERSON: I want to thank all the speakers and all those who have made their submissions without waste of time. Let me ask for an apology for those who had the desire to entertain us, those who are going to sing and because of time they could not. We will go now to the item, announcements and then after announcements we will ask Father Lennon to close us with prayer.

There is an announcement which comes from Vaal Victims of Violence or VVV that on Wednesday next week at ten o' clock all members of the Vaal Victims of Violence should meet at Small Farm, next week on Wednesday, ten a.m. at Small Farm which means at the Roman Catholic Church at Small Farm.

There is another announcement which I want to make from Gauteng Council of Churches that they are inviting all churches in the programme for holding services. They are asking all, irrespective of your religious affiliation, they are busy doing healing and reconciliation programmes. They are asking that people should come and attend at the following days. That is on the 22nd of June 1997 at three p.m at Ethiopian Church, Adams Road, Everton. I said on the 22nd of June 1997 at three p.m. at Ethiopian Church at Adams Road, Everton. Again, on the 29th of June 1997 at two p.m. they will be having, is it a Prayer Service? Yes, it is a Prayer Service for hostel violence. That is a follow-up which they are doing from, emanating from the service they had last time which was successful, that all members of the community who are here and all stake holders are invited on the 29th of June 1997 at two p.m. at Sebokeng Hostel. That is to say they are asking all people to attend all those services. That they should the Gauteng programme, Gauteng Council of Churches programmes that everyone should have a light and tell other people who are behind.

And then also just to finish, as the Chairperson this occasion I would like to thank everybody about, one, with the attendance and all those who have actually invited to this occasion and to make sure that they actually understood the objective of today and also all those stake holders who actually made sure that this attendance is very successful and also the people who have actually managed to cater for us, ourselves for food. I would also make sure that I also thank for the arrangement of communication so that everybody knows about this hear and understand the objective of today. I will also thank everybody and the Commissioners who managed to attend this kind of workshop and to make sure that they report back in terms of the signal of accountability to make sure that our people understood and they actually are accepting

that.

Thank you everybody for everything that it has been happening this, to this proceedings and also the discipline amongst our youth. It is very clear that our youth are the, they are the future leaders of our Government and that they need to be responsible and accountable and also I will appeal to all those who do not manage, who never managed to go to school this year, they must make sure that next year they are registered and get necessary skills so that they empower as one of the, as most of the people in the country. Thank you very much. I will give this opportunity to Mrs Seroke. I am finished. Okay.

MR MANTHATA: Perhaps on behalf of the Chairperson and his Committee, this hall is supposed to be rearranged for the seating for the examinations on Monday. Can we please make a humble plea to the churches to please make available their youths to come and rearrange this hall for Monday. It appears the Committee is, has very little or has very few hands to do this kind of a job and, of course, Mrs Seroke says the Chairperson has already done what she hoped to do, namely to thank each and every one of you. Over to the Chairperson.

CHAIRPERSON: So, maybe for now we can actually give this opportunity to Father Edward Lennon so that he can close for us.

CHOIR PERFORMANCE:

FATHER LENNON: Closing prayer.

CHAIRPERSON: The headphones.

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

FOLLOW UP WORKSHOP

DATE: 28 JUNE 1997

HELD AT: CIVIC CENTRE, BRAAMFONTEIN

NAME: BISHOP PAUL VERRYNE

REVEREND RAMPATIE

DR AUERBACH

ZERILDA NEL

JUDY STOCKILL

LESLEY MORGAN

SHEINA DUNCAN

LAUREL MASINGA

ISHMAEL VADI

SANDI SHEZI

SHEILA MARY

HILDA MAKOBANE

TAMMY DICK

SOPHIE-MARIE VAN GARDEREN

JAKOB VAN GARDEREN

DAY: 1

MS BRUINERS: ... to the Orlando North Choir for the beautiful singing. We now call upon the representative from the Mayor's office to do the welcome. It seems he is not here. We will call upon Mr Tom Manthata to do the welcome.

MR MANTHATA: I thank you Madam Chair. On behalf of the regional office of the Gauteng Truth and Reconciliation Commission I would love to take this opportunity to thank each one of you here present. The humble welcome arises out of the immense work that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has to do within a spectacularly short period of time and this has happened in such a manner that quite a number of people were really highly committed to the welfare of this country have even felt being neglected and/or that our consultative machinery have not been fully effective to make each one of you to realise how valued he is for the creation of a stable, peaceful country that observes and respects and protects human rights. It is for this reason that we are highly appreciative of your presence here and expect optimum contribution in this direction. Please feel at home, you are welcome. We are all going to do the best within our abilities to make this occasion a success. I thank each one of you. Thank you Madam Chair.

MS BRUINERS: Thank you Mr Manthata for your welcome. Before we proceed to business may we just ascertain if

everybody's equipment is in good order. Is everybody okay. Sorted out. We proceed. We now call upon Mr Piet Meiring who would share with us the purpose of our gathering here this morning.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you very much Madam Chair. You have been welcomed. May I introduce the people at the table in front to you all. You know already the name of our caretaker Chair, Ms Heidi Bruiners, who is a Minister of Religion and we are very happy to have her with us. Thank you for standing in today. Right on my left-hand you have Dr Fazel Randera. You will find his name on the programme. He is the head of our office in Gauteng, in Johannesburg. He is with the Committee for Human Rights Violations and he will be the person to report back on what has been done in terms of the human rights violations in this part of the country. Then next to him sits my colleague, my blood brother, as I like to call him, Mr Tom Manthata, who is with, together with me, members of the Committee for Reparation and Rehabilitation. My name is Piet Meiring. You find my name also on the programme.

Just in a few minutes, what is the purpose of this morning. Why have you all come here today. Nobody in the country has been left untouched by the Truth Commission. I think it is true to say that after the Truth Commission train has passed right through the country, right through South Africa everybody will be different in a sense. Some people will be much different, others maybe a little less, but nobody in the country, no community in the country has been left untouched by the Truth Commission. That especially applies to different communities where there were hearings. Throughout the country a number of hearings were held, Dr Randera will tell about that, but we decided that we, if at all possible, and in the venue and in the localities where we can manage to do that, we would like to have a return visit after so many weeks. After there had been a number of hearings in a certain locality that the Truth Commission returns to speak to the people on a number of issues, to say to them, look, we were here, the train passed, in a sense the community was disturbed by the things that were brought out into the open by the Truth Commission. What has happened now to the community? Tell us. We need some information. We need to see whether there are strings that are still untied, if there are things we need to give our attention to. So the first purpose of this morning is just to say to you there have been a number of hearings in this area, we are coming back, we are coming to reach out to the communities, we want to listen to you.

We also want to report back. The next few, the two next two items on the programme will be to report back on the work that has been done by the Truth Commission. We can well imagine that many of you have come with questions in the heart. Is the Truth Commission succeeding or not? Where are we going? What has happened to all the many submissions made in this area and we would like to report back about that. Dr Randera will report back on the human rights violations hearings. I will give a brief report on what has been happening with the reparations policy that is developed, but we want to give some input to you, but then we would like to sit back and listen to the community and that is the third purpose of our meeting, to have the different focus groups telling us the things they heard.

Each of the people who are coming who will be sitting at the table in the half a hour or three quarters of a hours time, they are briefed. We asked all of them, we need advice, we need from you two things. Tell us what have you heard in the community around you. How do people perceive the work of the Truth Commission, how do they experience the past months the work of the Truth Commission and, secondly, give us advice. The coming months in the life of the Truth Commission will be primarily on discussing the whole issue of reconciliation. We are a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the issue of reconciliation, especially after the life of the Truth Commission has ended, is becoming very important to us. So the second question put to all of the focus groups, all the individuals who will be coming is tell us what is your advice on reconciliation. Is it possible? What does your community say about that?

Afterwards or during the course of the meeting we will have tea together, we will have lunch together. The whole idea is that we also, in a sense, should celebrate the process of unity, the process of healing while we are here today, but those are the reasons you are here. Thank you once again for coming and maybe it is time now that the Chair ask Dr Randera to give his report.

DR RANDERA: Thank you Piet. Good morning everybody. I am, my apologies for being a little late. Before I go into explaining where we are as from the Human Rights Violations Committee goes let me just take us back on this journey that we started on about 18 months ago. I remember in January of last year coming to a church service, first a church service in Cape Town and then one in Johannesburg and I am sure, as we all know, we had many services throughout the country in those early, early days. The church having yield such incredible support and spirit for the process of the

Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Many of us started feeling a little uncertain. Yes, we had this wonderful Act that Parliament had debated for 166 hours. Many of our Parliamentarians had travelled the world looking at other Truth Commissions and it was clear that we were anxious, uncertain, but within a few months of our coming into existence the Commission held its first hearing in the Eastern Cape, in East London and many of us listened carefully as person after person came forward, the victims came forward and told their stories. Now again the first hearing also generated criticism, because in some way that first hearing was the introduction of the Truth Commission to the nation and, yes, we chose many stories which people had heard before, the Patco Three, the Mtimkulus, and again people were saying is this going to be a repetition of what the last 15 years, particularly, the 1980's had shown. The high profile stories of political leaders like Steve Biko, Goniwe, et al, but I think in the last, from that time on from every office of the Truth Commission we have travelled throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Yes, we have not touched every town and every village in the country, but if we look at any other Truth Commission in the world there has never been as unique an experience as we within the Commission and I hope the people who have come forward to the Commission have experienced. Every other Commission has held its hearings behind closed doors and then a report has come as a form of acknowledgement and I would like to say that one of the lessons that we have learnt in these last 15 months is the importance of this acknowledgement that has taken place. Is the importance of, hopefully, this common memory that is now with all of us, because, of course, many people have said we really did not know that all this was happening in our country. Yes, we were supportive of a system of apartheid, but we did not know what was going on in the name of a Parliament that we supported and, yes, hopefully we will hear from you this morning in terms of where we are with reconciliation and share our ideas with you in terms of reconciliation, but I have no doubt in my own mind that what has taken place is this enormous body of knowledge that has accumulated.

We have taken 10800 statements. Again, if we look at the predictions that were being put forward by the media, in particular at the start of the Commission's life, you know some people were predicting that there was going to be, there were going to be 300000 statements that would come in. Others were saying 150000 and, yes, we have not come anywhere close to those figures, but the opportunity has been there and at the present time the debate within the Commission is how do we now go and integrate all the secondary sources that are available in terms of the work that was done by a host of human rights organisations, a host of NGO's and that is part of the discussion that is going on.

There is also the discussion in terms of finding for victims, whether there should be a recommendation to Government that there should be an open list for some time, because clearly as the reparations policy comes into existence and that is being implemented, many people are going to say, but we did not have the opportunity to make a statement. So why is my neighbour getting reparation and not me. So I think those are the debates that are taking place within the Commission.

We have also taken 7000 amnesty statements. Now, we have, most of the hearings that we have heard in regard to amnesty have been people who are, who have been in prison. Some of those are now, of course, walking free. Others still continue to be in prison where amnesty has been refused, because that was part of the mandate of the Commission. There were two Indemnity Acts that were passed by the old Government in 1990 and 1992 and clearly Parliament felt from the feedback that they had received through various structures, political party structures, that many people were not covered by those two Indemnity Acts and so the opportunity has been given once more to people who were in prison, who felt that they were in prison, because of political actions and activities to make their statements so that those stories could be heard.

Now, that is the biggest task in front of the Amnesty Committee. Are we actually going to be able, in the next six months, to listen to all the stories of perpetrators who are not in prison who have committed gross human rights violations and, in terms of the Act, remember that is when a public hearing has to be held and as we have seen often these public hearings have taken a week, two weeks. The Coetzee at our hearing took almost three weeks. If we look at the de Kock application there is over 1000 pages in that application. He has applied for 60 different acts, I think. Sorry. And that is the issue, because remember one of the objectives of the Commission is to develop as complete a picture as possible of what happened in this 34 year period that we are talking about and, yes, we could have gone to, we can still go to secondary sources and write up this complete picture, but within the Commission and in terms of the mandate of

the Act we are to record from the real experiences in terms of this complete history.

We have also taken statements from all the major political parties. Some of them have had a second bite at the apple and that is, that is again is a vast amount of body information that is coming to the Commission. The last few hearings that we have left have been the specialist hearings that, the first one of which was the health sector hearing that was, that took place a week ago in Cape Town. We have a media hearing that is being planned for August. The prisons hearing will be taking place in the second week in July and then a hearing on the judiciary, that takes place also in August and that actually brings to an end all the specialist hearings that the Human Rights Violations Committee has heard.

What has happened to the 10500 statements that we are talking about? Certainly the first step for the Committee has been to keep communication open between the victim and us and I hope all of the victims have received a letter from us saying that the statement is in the structure of the Commission and that statement is going through a process of investigation, research and then a pre-finding is being made. Now that is where, as Commissioners, Committee members, that is where we are spending a great deal of time now. As the statements are within our database they then come back to us after some research and investigative work has been done and we are making, as regional Commissioners Committee members, pre-findings, because we are not, as far as the Act goes, we are, we have to actually make a finding, we cannot just go by the statement itself and once the pre-finding is made that statement then goes to the national organisation and the full Commission makes the final finding.

So once that is done we can come back to individuals and say this is what we have determined and we have made a finding in support of your statement. We will not be able to still come back to people and say, because remember the Act also says where possible we need to be able to find out who did it, why it was done and where it was done. Now, until all the amnesty statements are dealt with, because there is an enormous amount of information there and we are still having, what we call, the Section 29 hearings where we subpoena people to the Commission and that will continue until about October of this year. Now until all that information is, we, has come through we cannot actually come back to individuals and say, look, this is the information we have in terms of the disappearance or the killing or even the torture that took place against you.

I want to, if I may Piet, I do not think I have any, much more to add, but just to end by quoting something from a Chilean writer who is actually in our country at the moment. I am sure many people have heard him on radio or read about him in the newspapers. Somebody called Ariel Dorfmann and Ariel says,

"How do we keep the past alive without becoming its prisoner, how do we forget it without risking its repetition in the future?"

And I think that is the challenge to the Commission and to the nation really having heard all these stories, having come forward with this common memory, how do we prevent that from happening again? Thank you very much.

MS BRUINERS: We thank Dr Randerer for his report back. We now ask Prof Piet Meiring to do an overview of the progress on the rehabilitation and reparation work.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you Madam Chair. Just before I start it may be that there are individuals in the audience who still want to make a statement, who still want to use this opportunity today to fill in the special protocol form, the statement form we have. We have people available, statement takers at the back of the hall. Zina is standing there, right, maybe you should just indicate, Zina, where you are. If anybody needs to quietly slip out to use this opportunity this morning to make yet another statement please go to Zina and she will help you with that.

Linking onto what Fazel has been saying about the HRV, the Human Rights Violations Committee's work, may I add a few bits of information about the work of the Committee for Reparation and Rehabilitation. It is very important to the whole process of the Truth Commission that the victims and the survivors, the families of the victims, that they should realise that this process is primarily for them to help them to redress, as far as we can, the injustices of the past, to help them regain their dignity, to make them feel that this was really a healing process to the nation as a whole, but especially to the victims and also to the family, the families, the survivors of the gross human rights violations.

The R and R Committee had a twofold task in the past and still in the months to come. Firstly, to help support the whole

process of the Truth Commission. Whenever you, we, let me start saying this, at the, at each of the hearings when the many victims came to the fore to tell their stories for the majority of them it had been a very difficult, even a traumatic experience reliving everything that happened to them. We realised very soon that weeks before a hearing start, there should be a support system in place of NGO's, of Ministers of Religion, of Baroetie, of family members, people who can rally behind the victims, the men and the women, the children that had to come and to be there for them, to support them. It was the work of the R and R Committee to help put this system in place of our support for the victims. Many times you have seen on the television screen at night when the Truth Commission was report on, somebody sitting in front of a microphone like this one and somebody, we call them briefers, sitting alongside them. Sometimes with a tissue, sometimes with a glass of water, just to be there for the person to help to support. That was the first task or the R and R Committee, the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee to see to it that there is support for the victims and for the families.

That goes for the human rights violation hearings, but also for the amnesty hearings. In the next weeks more and more you will be aware of the amnesty process. At night on the TV screens you will see the faces of the perpetrators asking for amnesty. You will see the many victims, the family members who have come to listen what happened to their beloved ones, what are the truths that come out from the amnesty process. You can just imagine the emotion in the hall, the thoughts in the hearts of the many people who sit and listen to hear what has happened to their people. The R and R Committee has to be there for the people to help, to support, but that is only point one.

In a sense the most important part of the R and R Committee's work is to listen to what the needs of the people are and then taking that needs into consideration to start drafting proposals on reparation and rehabilitation that can be presented to the Truth Commission as a whole who hopefully will adopt those proposals. Those proposals then have to go to Government who have to adopt them and then, hopefully, at the beginning of next year when the Truth Commission report is published by the President, given to the nation, that all the proposals on reparation should have gone through the process so that the first people in line, the first victim standing in the queue should be already receiving their reparations.

Now what form of reparation will it be? Many people ask about that. Will it be money, will it be reparation in terms of services rendered? There is a long debate on that. We are very grateful for the support and for the insight we get from our friends in the different NGO's who have much more knowledge on these matters than many of us do. We have a very sophisticated data system and each of the victims, when they come, when they bring their statements, part of the statement has to do with their circumstances, their most immediate needs. All those date, all the information on the needs of the people and the circumstances of the people are fed into our data system and there we have all the material available.

It has become evident that there are a number of needs that we need to address. You may have guessed it, but many people who come to the Truth Commission when we ask them what do you really need, speak of medical needs. At many of the Truth Commission hearings people arrived in wheelchairs, some on crutches, some still bear the marks of the terrible things that happened to them. They still need medical attention and some of our reparation proposals will have to do with that.

Secondly, many people still need psychological, emotional help, pastoral help from the side of the church. We have come to the conclusion that many, many thousands who suffered many of these ordeals never had counselling afterwards. They still have nightmares, they still suffer from post-traumatic stress syndrome and a number of proposals will have to be to take care of the emotional and psychological needs of people.

A third need is the need of education. Many people, older people and younger people said to us, but we missed out on education. There was a time when the cry was in the townships, no education before liberation, but those young people are now missing out. Some of their peers are moving ahead in society and they still are missing out. Many people asked can you arrange for us for bridging facilities, can you arrange for us to have specially opportunities for tertiary education. So you can well think that at the end when the proposals are on the table, many proposals will have to do with opening doors to educational possibilities for the victims.

Fourthly, some people do ask for money. Many people ask for money. If we ask them what do you need the money for

nearly everyone says we need it for shelter, we need it for shelter. So money will be also on the table. We have to discuss the possibility of money in our proposals and it seems that people will need it for shelter mostly.

The last one which has become a very interesting part of our policy proposals is the category of, what we call, symbolic reparation. Those are things that you cannot really weigh in terms of money. Those are symbolic things that need to be done to help people regain their dignity, to put them in a position where they should be, to help really to ease the hurt and the pain in their hurts, to make life easier for them. Sometimes one really got a lump in the throat when an old mother or a younger person said to the Truth Commission what I really need, what we really want is only a tombstone for our father or a tombstone for our son who was killed, can you help us with that?

Some people talk about exhumation and reburial. Last Saturday this time in Soweto there was a big ceremony where three young heroes that were killed in Lesotho who were buried in a secret grave in the Free State somewhere were exhumed after so many years and with the proper ceremonies, with the proper things that needed to be remembered, they were reburied last week. It has become very important for many people that the family, the missing family members should be brought back home to be buried where the family are.

Some people speak about street names that need to be changed or even suburbs that need to receive new names in order to remember the heroes by or to remember events by. Other people talk about the expunging of criminal records. Some people dream beautiful dreams about memorials and monuments that need to be erected in South Africa or the proclamation of a national day of remembrance and of reconciliation. All those needs are under the umbrella of reparation measures, symbolic reparation measures and a number of our policy proposals will pertain to them.

So are, there are a number of things that need to be done. We have come to realise that some people are in urgent need of reparation. Some people are infirm, some people are very old already, very sick and, in a sense, they should be given the opportunity to come into the front of the queue. We will have proposals on urgent interim reparation for the people who are in urgent need and then a number of policy proposals for the people who need permanent redress of the things that happened to them, but who may wait a month or two longer than the very urgent cases. There are many, many, a number of issues that need still to be settled and in the press I can guarantee that in the next months there will be a debate on all the different sides of reparation, but we really, from our side want to see to it that the victims in South Africa, at the end of the process, really feel that it was worth their while telling their stories, bringing out the truth in, of the past, being healed by telling the stories, but also that there will be measures of redress and of, of reparation and of rehabilitation that will really help the people of South Africa, help the many victims. Thank you so much.

MS BRUINERS: Before we move on we would just like to extend a warm welcome to the Bethany Children's Home Choir. We trust that your presence here would be a learning experience for you too. Before we move on to the focus groups I would just like to ascertain if there are any questions. Yes Sir. I have taken note.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Dr Randera ...

MS BRUINERS: Just a moment.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Did you say, Dr Randera, that there were 70000 amnesty statements?

DR RANDERA: 7000.

MS BRUINERS: 7000.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: 7000 Thank you.

MS BRUINERS: The gentleman on my left, you wanted to ask a question.

MAROETIE: (Indistinct) two (indistinct).

MS BRUINERS: Just give us, just give us a moment. Dr Randera, the question is...

DR RANDERA: Sorry.

MS BRUINERS: ... is directed at you. He is still posing it.

MAROETIE: My question has to do with Dirk Coetzee case and the church. (Indistinct) go to court and then (indistinct) jail (indistinct) amnesty and I just want to (indistinct) that (indistinct) like to clarify that.

MS BRUINERS: You take over now.

PROF MEIRING: Ask maybe after the questions, just before we start with the focus groups one of the choirs to do their bit. Maybe you should (indistinct).

MS BRUINERS: Okay.

MAROETIE: Secondly, I am still the Minister, I am still the (indistinct) of the, the imbalances with the Black church and the White church and (indistinct) the President. I wonder that the Truth Commission (indistinct) an idea to look into the work of the church (indistinct).

DR RANDERA: Is it possible that if people, especially with such a long question, (indistinct) should be translated (indistinct) translated.

MAROETIE: How did they finance (indistinct). We are (indistinct) as (indistinct) be called to answer the question, the press (indistinct) being asked to answer (indistinct) the question. Is it not necessary for the Commission to call a church to come and to (indistinct). At the moment we are (indistinct) that church. It must confess, it must (indistinct). We do not put into context the riches they have achieved, not only them and other people within the church family (indistinct) the church only (indistinct) development (indistinct) must be asked is it not necessary that the TRC look into the old (indistinct) the church?

MS BRUINERS: Just before Dr Randera answers the question could I just ask that those asking questions comes forward please and use one of these mikes. It was unable for other people, especially for those that needs to be translated, to hear what the question is. Dr Randera, would you just clarify, if you have heard correctly what he was asking and so on.

DR RANDERA: As I understand it there are two questions. The first one is related to, relating to the amnesty process and the money that is being spent on that.

MR MANTHATA: Dirk Coetzee.

DR RANDERA: Well, the example of Dirk Coetzee has been brought up, because not only did we have an amnesty hearing, but then the justice system went ahead and had a legal hearing and the, those people have been found guilty and how much money has been spent in that whole process. That is the first question. The second one is to do with ...

PROF MEIRING: Churches.

DR RANDERA: ... the inequality, if you like, the richness and the poorness of churches throughout our land and I am going to leave that part to the, to our church representatives on the panel. I think you are raising a very important question Maroetie. First of all, let me say as a general statement in terms of the amnesty process, from the Commission's side we have made it explicit right from the beginning that this Commission is victim friendly and the emphasis is on victims and not on perpetrators, but, yes, the perception that goes out into the community is the enormous amount of money that is being spent, because remember this process of applying for amnesty requires, besides the Committee that listens to the statements, the individuals who apply are allowed to have legal representation and it is Government that is paying that at the end of the day.

Victims are also allowed to be present at these hearings and they are allowed to have their own legal representatives who can oppose amnesty applications. So there is enormous cost involved, but let us just on the other side also look at

what the General Malan trial cost the country. That trial in itself cost R8,0m. That is going through the normal legal process. The de Kock trial almost cost a similar amount. So I think there is, financially there is a cost involved whichever way we go. Let me say for myself I think this debate about amnesty and justice will go on way beyond the life of the Commission. It has been the controversial issue pre the Commission coming into existence. It has been a controversial issue in the life of the Commission and it will continue for many, many years to come, but let us, I know you are not asking this question, but I think I will deal with it anyway.

Let us just remember where the amnesty process has come from. The amnesty process has come from the political compromise that took place in our country. There was no clear victor in our political negotiations that took place. That if we remember talks almost broke down at Kempton Park around this very issue. The Human Rights Committee submission to the Truth Commission three weeks ago made us aware once more about that period between 1990 and 1994. 14000 People lost their lives. As many people in the previous 30 years so I think it is within that background that we need to look at the whole amnesty process.

I think, yes, we, I cannot really comment on the justice system, but the question is a very pertinent one, the Amnesty Committee having heard the applications of these three individuals. The decision is pending at the present time. Clearly there were discussions already before the amnesty hearings took place between the Attorney-General and the Truth Commission. Was it really necessary to then go ahead and have another hearing where a guilty verdict has come through and there is a possibility, I do not know what the decision of the Amnesty Committee is as yet, but there is a real possibility that they will be granted amnesty. So I think, yes, that question is very pertinent and we need to ask that of our justice system and our politicians. Thank you.

MS BRUINERS: Does that answer your question Sir?

PROF MEIRING: The church one.

DR RANDERA: The church one.

PROF MEIRING: May I add the ...

MAROETIE: (Indistinct) come back (indistinct).

MS BRUINERS: Certainly.

PROF MEIRING: The question on the churches and on the contribution of the churches. The speaker said should we not call upon the different churches also to make contributions. Looking back at the past it seems to him that there were rich churches and there were very poor churches, there were churches on the side of the regime, there were churches on the other side. What is the role that the churches are going to play to redress the injustices and the imbalances of the past? That is the question.

The answer is of course the churches need to play a role as each section of society has to own the process of the Truth Commission. It also applies to the churches that they would with enthusiasm come behind the Truth Commission's process and say this is our process, we want to contribute to that. Dr Randerer told you of all the different communities on which were called to make statements, the press and the health sectors, the prison community. We had a long debate on how could we get all the information we need from the churches, because it is evident that in the past years the churches played a major role in society on both sides of the struggle, so to speak.

Some time ago the Truth Commission sent letters of invitations to every major and minor denomination in the country. A large number of letters were sent out to the Christian churches, but also to the other faith communities, the Jewish and the Hindu and the Moslem and the Buddhist and the Bahai community, to all the different faith communities to invite them to make submissions. They were asked to submit their opinions on a number of things, to reflect on the past, on their own past, also on the past of the country to help us to understand what really happened in the past years. We were interested to hear from the churches how they saw the context in which all the violations took place, what the motives were of the people, some of them members of the churches who were involved in this.

So, firstly, we asked of the churches to help us understand what had been happening. We also asked of the churches at a stage that they should reach out to their congregants who were part of the process either on the receiving end or on the giving end, either being victims or perpetrators that they take up the responsibility towards these people, but we also asked of the churches and that becomes very important and I am eagerly awaiting the submissions from the churches especially on this point, we asked from the churches help us think about the future, help us think about reconciliation and redress. What opinions can you offer to us, what are the sources that the church can make available for the future. Can you help us with processes of reconciliation, how can you entuse your own congregants to be part of the whole process and we are really awaiting the, with eagerness, the submissions of the different churches.

It has not yet been decided whether there will be a special hearing for the churches. Up till the 18th of August the churches have the opportunity to send in their submissions. All the submissions will be then taken onto the table, summarised and depending upon the number of submissions and the content and the different proposals in the submissions, the Truth Commission will then have to decide whether there will be a day set aside for a hearing on the churches and the role that the churches could play, but I, being trained as a Minister of Religion, as a Minister of the NG Kerk is very, very enthusiastic about the role that the churches should play in the Truth Commission process.

MS BRUINERS: Thank you Prof Piet. The gentleman to my right.

MR THOMPSON: You want me to come up there?

MS BRUINERS: Please do. Just press the red on button.

MR THOMPSON: My name is Rob Thompson. I am an Actuary and I am concerned about the issue of reparation. What I did not hear was the issue of compensation for loss of support and loss of earnings. Loss of support in the case of people who have lost breadwinners, dependents, and loss of earnings in the case of people who have been injured. Normally in, when the quantum of damages is assessed in the case, in a law suite and actuaries are called in to assess the quantum, the two major items are either loss of support or loss of earnings and the future medical costs. Now, you did mention the need for shelter. What concerns me is that, perhaps, we are asking people what they need money ... concern that we should not be just dishing out money, but on the other hand people have lost earnings, people have lost support and we, if we are serious about reparation we need to put those people back in the situation that they would have been, but for the incident.

I have raised this matter with the President of the Actuarial Society of South Africa and he said he would approach the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. I am not sure whether anything in that context has taken place, but I think the matter should be pursued both by the Actuarial Society and by the TRC. It concerns me in a sense that we, if we do not take that approach we are, perhaps, being patronising to people by saying that we must decide what people need money for. In a sense they have lost support or they have lost earnings and we should be putting them back in the position that they would have been.

Whether the amount is paid in the form of an income or in the form of a lump sum that can be used to replace that income is a matter that needs, would need to be discussed. I think the amounts involved in this would be quite substantial. The typical sums that you see being paid in terms of loss of earnings and loss of support are very substantial, but I think if we are serious we need to face that fact. Part of the problem is that when these things are determined it is based on peoples' actual earnings abilities and that might be problematic for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, because we may be recompensing people, richer people with bigger amounts than poorer people. So that matter will also need to be addressed, but I think the principle of the matter needs to be recognised and dealt with adequately. Thank you.

MR MANTHATA: Thank you Rob. I think if Piet Meiring has not stated that very clearly in his account of the processes of reparation that we are already working on it is just, you know, an oversight on his part. We have very strong recommendations along that line. That where breadwinners are missing and children are growing up needing education this must be gone into. Where breadwinners are missing and people still need, not still, but they are in need of financial assistance, this is very important. It features high in our recommendations. The same applies to the issue of how do we determine whatever compensation that shall be given to the people. This has been a very, it is a central question that we are faced with. That is why in our last conference here we talked about the difficulty for the Truth and

Reconciliation Commission to determine the means test.

You have said it already, you know, how are we going to say who deserves how much, who deserves more, who deserves less, how do we determine that less. More so, realising too when it comes to other problems like emotional disturbances, psychological stresses which sometimes can be discovered long time after these whole things have happened. How do we keep those people within the bracket of people to be assisted, people to be attended to. It is quite a complex issue. We are grappling with it. That is why we are saying let there be as many submissions to the TRC as possible which can shed the light on how these things can be implemented and on where and how can we reach other people. For example, we know that in the end we shall not have reached everybody. What we mean is not everybody shall have submitted a statement. Not because of his own doing, but because in certain areas the turmoil, the violence in those areas like KwaZulu Natal literally makes it difficult for people to access the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for the purposes of making statements.

So we have all those complex problems that we are saying these are national problems, but we are attending to them. You know, the issues of support, issues of how to reach the people and how to restore them the losses they have sustained be it emotional, physical and material. These are our core concerns and in the meetings we have had with the inter-Ministerial delegates or representative this was highlighted where to a point where the State was even saying to us let, we should not raise the expectations of the people and we are saying we are not raising the expectations of anybody, but these are the expectations of the people in the position in which they find themselves after the conflicts of the past.

PROF MEIRING: If I can just add to that. I should have told you about the President's Fund when we talked about reparation and rehabilitation. Where will the money come from for the work that needs to be done. The Act says that a President's Fund must be established. This fund will have different sources. Firstly, Government will have to budget for the fund. We also have already received information that overseas donors, overseas agencies want to contribute to that fund. We also hope that by the end of the year when the work of the Truth Commission comes to a close that civil society, the churches, the nation of South Africa would identify with the work of the Truth Commission by also contributing to the fund.

From that fund, hopefully, money will be made available for the reparation and, as Tom said, we hope that reparation will be in money where money is needed, but especially in terms of services where services are needed for medical care of for emotional or psychiatric care or educational care, etc. One of the things that the Truth Commission is tasked to do by the Act is to make a list, a sort of an actuarial list, of all the available services already in place and that we can direct people who maybe not even know about the services which are there for them, that they could make use of that.

We need all the help we can get from the actuaries. By coming to the fore I hope you have committed yourself to help us think and help us work and help us prepare the best possible document with all the necessary information. Maybe we should during the tea break have a talk about how we can get all the actuaries in South help us with this process. Thank you so much.

MS BRUINERS: Thank you for your contributions. We now move on to our focus groups and whilst we invite the first focus group, the Ministers of Religion to come forward, we ask the Salvation Army to please render a very short song before the presentation. Is the Salvation Army here?

PROF MEIRING: No, not the Salvation Army, the ...

MS BRUINERS: They are not here. Will the Bethany Children's, they are here.

PROF MEIRING: The Bethany is here.

MS BRUINERS: Could you please come forward and render a very short item for us in song.

PROF MEIRING: While they are coming may I just remind the Ministers who they are. It is Bishop Paul Verryne and then the representative of the Alex Ministers Fraternal and the Dobsonville Ministers Fraternal. These three individuals must please come to the table in front while the choir is singing.

MS BRUINERS: Mr Tom Manthata and Piet Meiring will now facilitate the presentation of the focus groups.

PROF MEIRING: Do I understand that those other Ministers are not here yet? Okay. Let us understand the purpose of the submissions. We would want to highlight what groups would deem necessary to recommend to the State for the implementation of what the TRC is going to submit finally to the State and, where possible, throw ideas of how you see that being implemented. Whilst there is the need for the background information, how we reach, we came to this, but we are largely interested in the recommendations that the groups deem very important and essential for the future promotion and protection of human rights in this country. So with that in mind we shall request Bishop Paul Verryne to go on.

BISHOP VERRYNE: Thank you Mr Chairperson. Can I just say, first of all, I have understood my brief in two broad categories. The first is a response from some church people that I have spoken to on the work that has been done so far by the Commission and then to speak briefly on some ideas that have been given in terms of reconciliation.

The church is a complex body, because it operates, I think, on many levels. There are parts of the church that represent almost exactly what is going on in the rest of society and I think the expectation sometimes is that the church is unique and holy and pure and has not got many problems to deal with which is not true. Even in terms of the way in which the church has responded to the situation in the past. There has been an official voice which seems reasonably clean, but there is the large mass of people involved in the church, of which I include myself, who are not so clean.

Just some words in response to the Commission and first of all to say that many of the people that I have spoken to have responded very warmly to the work that has been done by the Commission. They, the legislation that they have, I think, is historical. It is unique in the world scene and I think that the work that has been done has been monumental, has been exacting, has been enormous, has been done in a proficient and excellent way on many levels recognising the enormity of the task that they have. I think one of the frustrations from the churches perspective is that in some respects reconciliation and truth lie at the very heart of the church. However, to organise church and religious bodies is exceedingly difficult and so the overtures that are constantly being made, it would be good if the church carried on the process, it would be good if the church was involved is not going to happen unless that is done quite intentionally and unless at many levels of the churches life, that expectation is addressed.

If the Truth and Reconciliation Commission are wanting to enter into relationship with the churches that needs to be specifically spelt out and it needs to, obviously, have a budget and it must not simply, in my opinion, be something that deals only with church leadership, because the likelihood is that it will simply remain in the higher echelons of the church. It needs to take seriously that the church is a very diffuse body and sometimes the church leadership even struggle to get things down to where this Commission's work really should happen, which is at the grass roots.

One critique and I bring it as a critique that I have received is a critique on the finances of the Commission and the impression that in some respects the Commission, in some of its quarters, have been on the same gravy train as many other people. We bring that as a church and would ask you to look at that. Reconciliation, our church bodies have suggested that a Council for Reconciliation be set up. Reconciliation is a lengthy process and I do not think it comes at the beginning of the process. It comes, I think, after a period of time. We would want that council specifically to include all faiths and be a proper representation of all religious groupings.

As far as most of the religious bodies are concerned, reconciliation does involve something which, I think, is not part of the Commission's mandate at the moment and that is an element, as it were, of confession and repentance. That having made the submission to the Truth Commission there needs to be a recognition by perpetrator that something wrong was done. We would see that as an integral part of the process of reconciliation.

The other thing is that we have receive an impression that because of the size of the task a lot of the work of the Commission has not been able to be done with, in a sense, due process to the level of pain that some of the people are suffering from and we think that if the religious bodies are specifically involved in this process we are looking at something that could take us up to ten years and we would need that council to take that into account that the stories that people need to tell and retell and have heard is going to take a very, very much longer time than the time that is being given to this Commission.

In some work that is being done by some church groupings throughout the country what has happened is that some people have needed to tell their stories not once, not twice, but many, many times, because pain seems to be layered and as people begin to unfold more and more of the consequences of what the violations to their person and their family and their economic situation and the effects on their children and their, all the dimensions of their life, it takes a long period for people to understand the full implications of being victims and perpetrators.

An important dimension of the, of reconciliation is that, I think, connections need to be made between perpetrators and victims. Some excellent work has been done in this regard and in many of the communities that I have worked the communities have found one of the most outstanding results of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission happening when a perpetrator has an opportunity to come into a community and speak directly to the people that have been effected and hurt by his or her actions and so the churches are in a unique place, churches and religious bodies are in a unique place to make those connections.

We are conscious, as churches, of the fact that to a large extent the White community has been thunderously silent and absent in many of the, in many of the hearings. Sometimes we do not understand that. We understand that as sometimes being apathy which was part of what we struggled during the time of repression. Some of it could be from a sense of fear, not knowing where this thing is going to be leading us and some of it could be from bad communication and ignorance.

We would, finally, want to recommend very strongly to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that, two more things, that a religious bodies hearing be given. So if you need any strength to your arm in securing a position in the work that you are doing from us we would want to support that very, very strongly.

The last thing is that we think that in terms of reparation of and healing different models need to be explored, not simply the model of one on one counselling model, but very often good work can be done in terms of group therapy and there is a great deal of international material that is available to us to be able to use in bringing healing to people on a much wider basis and less time consuming thing, but far more effective way where communities come together and are given an opportunity to listen to stories and to care for one another and to empower one another in that process. Thank you.

MR MANTHATA: I do not know whether any of the Commissioners here would like to raise a question to follow.

PROF MEIRING: I know that the questions are supposed to be directed at the speaker in front. May I ask for your patience, Mr Chairman, the representatives from Dobsonville and Alex are not here, but we have a very special person in the meeting and that is Dr Auerbach. Is he still here?

DR AUERBACH: (Indistinct) from Alex.

PROF MEIRING: You are not from Alex, but I was, there is somebody coming to the front, but Dr Auerbach, will it be improper if I ask you in five minutes also to come to the front and tell us a little bit about the input from the other faith communities, because you were involved in the WCRP in that. Please come and sit at the table and tell us about that. Tom, is it okay with you?

MR MANTHATA: Yes, no problem.

PROF MEIRING: Thanks.

MR MANTHATA: Okay, we shall give Reverend Rampatie chance to give us his own observations. Rampatie is going to speak in Sotho so adjust your earphones to, is that channel two, three?

DR RANDERA: Two, English is two.

PROF MEIRING: Afrikaans one, English two.

MR MANTHATA: English two, channel two. Carry on Sir.

REV RAMPATIE: I come from Dobsonville. Dobsonville area was so affected by the riots, because the hostel just dividing the location and just being divided by the street there. At the times of the riots many, many people lost their houses, their goods and some of them lost their lives and some of them, up to now, they are not working. Today many people from Dobsonville would have been here to come and...

MR MANTHATA: Sorry, sorry.

REV RAMPATIE: ... many of them should have been here today, but they could not be in a position to come. They did not manage to come to this hearing.

MS BRUINERS: Just a minute. Before you proceed could we just give the other people some earphones. Is that why your hand is up? You are needing some earphones. Please keep your hands up so that they can see. If you do not need it please do not put your hand up. If you do understand the language please do not put your hand up. Only those who do not understand the language please leave your hand up.

REV RAMPATIE: Can I continue? Okay. Many people from Dobsonville would have liked to be here, but the City Council set a D-day for them that if they do not pay their services they are going to be cut, they should go and report at the office and many of these people were affected by the riots which took place in that area. Now the TRC is quiet about these people. I do not know what is it saying. We have many people in our congregations who were effected by these riots and some of them got injured and I do not want to be very long in my speech.

I just want to bring forward the issue of Magnus Malan and other perpetrators. Today they get pension funds and the people who were affected by their actions are not getting anything and this is not good for the Black people. Why are we so poor because of their actions? Why do we have to pay for their pension funds with our taxes? We are really against this issue. The last point I want to bring forward is that all the people who were injured and those whose houses were taken because they could not afford anymore, the Commission should look to the plight of such people. They should be helped not to be evicted from their houses. This is winter, it is terribly cold. Their electricity should not be cut. Can such people be given attention so that they can survive. I thank you.

MR MANTHATA: We shall now request Dr Auerbach to give us ...

MR MANTHATA: Just the red button Sir.

MS BRUINERS: The red button.

MR MANTHATA: The red button.

DR AUERBACH: Thank you Madam Chairperson. Just a background. The South African Chapter of the World Conference on Religion and Peace requested me as one of its Vice-Presidents to put together a group of people from different faiths to see whether there were common elements on reconciliation in the different faiths. Now, we restricted ourselves to Hinduism, Islam, Judaism and Christianity to make the thing manageable although we also had some submissions from some of the other faiths, but what was quite, we asked them basically a single question and then we set up structures to debate the responses we received and the single question was, "How does your faith look at the issue of reconciliation in general?" Not particularly in the South African case, but in general and what is quite amazing is that there is an enormous commonality in different religions when that question is answered in detail. Not to waste time permit me to read a section of something that we put together after a lot of discussion in various groups.

"All our faiths share the same basic understanding that human beings are in a moral universe and have a conscience and thus an intrinsic understanding of good and evil. Any person who harms another damages the relationship between them. This harm affects not only the immediate victim, but all of us, because all are connected.

Thus Islam speaks of the need to develop a community sharing commonly accepted moral and social elements of justice ..."

and we have just heard how difficult that might be in particular instances

"... and Judaism reminds us that harming a fellow human being is a sin against that person and against God. For harmony to be restored between people, our faiths all teach that the perpetrator must acknowledge his or her wrongdoing, express remorse for their actions, seek and ask forgiveness and earnestly commit themselves not to repeat such wrongs in the future."

This highlights the steps involved in achieving reconciliation and we found there are seven and the Truth Commission is only tasked with addressing some of them and the message to everybody here and to society out there and to the congregations is, at least, to pick up the others.

One, becoming aware of having done wrong and you have heard in some of the amnesty hearings that there are some people who apply for amnesty, but do not actually admit that what they did was wrong, because they have not been brought to see it. Secondly, publicly acknowledging the wrongdoing. Thirdly, expressing remorse for their action or lack of action. Fourth, making restitution for the harm caused. All the religions say do not talk about reconciliation if you do not make good. Obviously, this cannot be done totally. Prof Meiring has given a very interesting perspective on what can be done and, obviously, even everything in that field may be beyond our capacity as a society. Fourthly, requesting forgiveness from the harmed person. Fifthly, sixthly, making a sincere commitment not to repeat the wrongdoing and finally accepting forgiveness where it is offered. That too is sometimes difficult.

The public acknowledgement what happened to individuals and some attempt to make restitution for what was done to these persons. Now, I want to emphasise, and not to take too long, those seven steps, becoming aware, publicly acknowledging, expressing remorse, making restitution, requesting forgiveness, making a commitment not to repeat the wrong and accepting forgiveness where it is offered, I think it would be fair to say that all the religions would say that is what reconciliation is about and if you leave out bits of it then you are not going to get reconciliation.

Madam Chairperson, let me just make a personal remark, because of where I personally come from and that is that because I was, myself, born in Germany I have some knowledge as a Jewish person of the long process of reconciliation that has been happening between Germany and Jewish people and wider context and let me just say those who say it is going to take a long time are quite right. 50 Years, 52 years after the end of World War Two, as you see in newspapers, new things are coming out, new pain is being uncovered, new acknowledgements are being made. Now if we think South Africa is going to be any different then we are wrong. We are making a special effort.

Germany after the war made a different kind of effort, because the circumstances were different of a country being defeated and the victors being able to dictate the conditions at the time, but essentially the idea of reconciliation is a long and difficult process and the more people apply their minds and their hearts to it in our country in all faiths, in all communities, the better chance we have of making a reasonable success of reconciliation in the future of the country. Thank you.

MR MANTHATA: Sorry. There seems to be no question from the panel, but I do not know whether there could be one or two questions from the floor directed to the Men of the Cloth on the whole issue of reconciliation. Okay.

DR RANDERA: The lady on the right.

MR MANTHATA: Can you help me.

DR RANDERA: Do you want to come forward? Sorry, the two people who have their hands up could you go ...

MR MANTHATA: Yes, just two questions, two people asking questions please. Let them be questions please, not two lengthy comments.

MS BRUINERS: Due to time constraints we cannot entertain more. Please bear with us.

MR MANTHATA: Just two.

MS BRUINERS: Thanks Doug. You may proceed Sir.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: I believe what Paul has said and the other gentleman said, Doctor, are, I personally feel that it would be for the benefit of the church and the Commission not to put time limit on how long it is going to take the process to complete. What else we should do, I believe what Paul has said, I would recommend very strongly that the church becoming partnership with the Commission in seeing to it that the whole process is when achieve. At the same time I personally consider about the whole second Commission, at second places towards the church. It needs to be rectified and anchor the whole thing of saying we are partners in this, but we need your hand, we need your support. See us not as turbulence in your submission, but see us as your partners that you will partner together, achieve what you want to achieve. Thank you.

MS BRUINERS: Doug.

MR TORE: I am Douglas Tore and I am an Anglican Minister from St Lukes which is in Bosmont. I want to gain, also support the idea of not just a church, but an interfaith submission, particularly emphasising the role that the English speaking churches have to make in terms of actually acknowledging the fact that they were not always there and often did not make substantial contributions to fight against apartheid. There is a myth that the English speaking churches were a bastion of liberalism and I think that is an erroneous view and we have to acknowledge that if we need to deal with our past as churches. So the churches need to deal with what is right and wrong in their own life before they can actually even help the healing of other people.

If we do not do that as churches we continue to perpetuate the myth that apartheid also sustained that we were doing something. Particularly, I think, that is a way in which you might need to incorporate English speaking South Africans into the acknowledgement. I noticed that the Afrikaans churches have been more readily available in coming forward to say we are wrong, all that kind of thing. That is the part of the history of the church which led to the Christian institute in other organisations and I just think that I want to support us actually doing something about acknowledging the role we played in the past, but also broadening it to interface communities, because it is an interfaith aspect that we have all, in one way or another, as religious communities, been caught up in the system of apartheid and the hurts of and pain of that.

MR MANTHATA: As it has been said, because of time constraints, perhaps this brings us towards tea, but I should repeat, please, to Dr Auerbach and ...

MS BRUINERS: Frank.

MR MANTHATA: ... from Dobsonville and Paul Verryne, can you please present us those papers that you have read. You still have time to write them fully, you know, put a great deal of thought into it, because we came to you at a very short notice, but we are going to expect that we submit something fairly comprehensive and lucid to the State. These things are to be submitted to the Government. As I have said already, the whole process of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is to enable the present South African Government and the future South African Governments to come out with processes that will ensure respect, protection and promotion of human rights. Thank you. Over to the Chair.

I thank we have, we thank you so much, we have come to the end for your focus group. We thank you so much, thank you, thank you, sorry.

MS BRUINERS: We are not ready for tea yet.

MR MANTHATA: Sorry.

MS BRUINERS: We are not ready yet. Can we go for the second focus group?

MR MANTHATA: Yes, please. Call the second group.

MS BRUINERS: We will continue our process. We will call upon the second focus group to come forward. These are three women from Johannesburg. Lesley Morgan, Zerilda Nel and Judy Stockill. Could you please come forward and

take in your positions.

PROF MEIRING: While they are coming to the fore may I just make an announcement. Focus group three, womens' organisations, we have Black Sash and the YWCA there and you can add a third name, that of St Annes Womens' Group. St Annes representative will be in the next focus group.

MS BRUINERS: Start with Zerilda Nel, she is, Zerilda Nel.

MR MANTHATA: Okay. All three of you, you are very welcome, you are truly welcome and relax and let us enjoy your submission, contribution and so on. Can you go on?

MRS NEL: Chairperson, Commission members and the public, thank you for the honour to be here this morning, speak to you. I followed the workings of the Commission very carefully in the newspapers, on the radio, speaking to other people and it gave me an opportunity a bit to speak to people from my own community. I am from the Afrikaans White community and I am speaking not from a political background at all, I have not used a political platform, but I am a citizen of South Africa and I am very proud of being a citizen of South Africa.

I had the opportunity to grow up in a very religious Afrikaans family from the Cape. My grandfather was a Dutch Reformed Minister and we grew up with a strong principle in our family of fairness to others, but in my family I had the opportunity that many other Afrikaans speaking people did not have and that was to be able to grow up in a multi-racial family. We had connections with many of our communities around us. Langa, Mitchells Plain, Bishops Court, those were the areas of people that we communicated with, that we grew up with, but I think for the history of our country, that was not the opportunity that other people had and in my work as a welfare worker I also had the opportunity to teach my children to get to know the other communities and to get to know other people, especially working with the aged, especially working with alcohol and drugs and in the cancer field.

If we look at South Africa over many years there has been a wonderful, wonderful project and building bridges that have taken place in this community. We must not only look at the negative things that have happened. This is our baggage, the negative things that have happened and, you know, it has taken a lot of the press, if you look at the pages, a lot of the pages in the press and on the radio has been taken up by this and, unfortunately, the hands that have always been working across the different barriers have found it, in the last couple of years, very difficult to reach out to each other. It is as if there has been a hardness that has come within the different communities and the reaching out to each other has been stored, I hope, for the time. These are perceptions that I am giving through to you that has come through from the different communities.

It was not necessary for a lot of us to become political activists to bring change. I think change has come from a lot of individuals that have had goodwill in their hearts and fairness in their hearts. It has not been just a political platform and I think these are the strengths that we have got to build on for the future if we really want to bring reconciliation, is the goodwill in peoples' hearts and the fact that we can reach out to each other.

Where are we going now, what are we going to do now? The past is painful for all of us. The White community specifically is sitting with enormous guilt and how are we going to rid ourselves of these guilts. There has been different processes and, as Dr Auerbach has said, it takes years and it takes years, not only for the person who has been through the pain, but for the person who has brought that pain onto other people, to get over that barrier and it is very interesting. I have looked at the process, and there has been one of rejection of the Commission. People that do not want to accept the work that the Commission has done. They have rejected the Commission's work. They say, ag, it is a lot of stories, nothing has been tested, is it the truth.

There has also been, as we have heard one of the previous gentleman say, indifference. Communities that have closed themselves off, they have not really come forward, they have not really brought their points of view, but there has been a lot of positive sides as well and I think this is where we have got to build and where your part of the Commission can build and that is the bridges that we have got to build between the different groups, that we become one nation. The skills we have got, that we are able to share those skills with each other, that experiences we have had through life, that we can share those experiences and build on them on the positive sides of it and this is where it has come out that the churches, I think, have a very, very important role.

That we can through, my church for instance, build up bridges with our other congregations. That the rich congregation can adopt the less rich congregation and that they can then become partners in building up both congregations, sharing on the one hand all the pain that has, they have gone through. On the other hand sharing with each other the riches that they have, not only as religion but in their finances as well. That we look at the non-Government organisations. They are going through a very difficult time, because with the new Government a lot of their funding has been cut off and the non-Government organisations in this country was very instrumental in the changes that have taken place in Government and I think we need to support them and put it to the Government that the, a nation that really cares for their people, for the poor, for the disabled, for the sick are people that are really giving from each other to each other, but that you need your Government to support those organisations and not break the structures down. That we look at each other, because we are dependent on each other. We cannot live without each other. Thank you. And I think the last important word is love each other. Thank you.

MS STOCKILL: Thank you Mr Chairperson. I am in my fifties now. I, just, I need to tell you a little about myself, because I am speaking as a Johannesburg mother. I, in fact, did not grow up in Johannesburg, I grew up in the country and in the 80's I was in Kimberley. At the moment I live in Johannesburg and my community is not a cohesive one. I move in three different circles, as it were. The church circle, then I move in political circles and I move in golf playing circles. So, when I make my submission on behalf of the community, my community I am talking about a whole range of experiences and opinions. I have also kept my submission onto the point of the impact and effects of gross human rights violations on my Committee. The executions and tortures. Although, if the Commission so wishes, I can go into the effects of apartheid in general as an injustice and the effects of change on my community, but for now I am just talking about the impact of gross human rights on my community and I have done it in this way, then and now, and I have taken the 80's as the then and the 90's as the now. So I hope that puts into perspective what I want to say.

The impact then in the 90's on my community of those gross human rights violations, in general we only heard about the high profile cases and in my community there was a reaction of shock and horror and even, in some cases, did not want to know and I would get rid of those few people right now in the now, they still do not want to know, but they really are in the minority, but those of us, that we heard of those gross human rights violations, the incidents thereof and most people had the feeling that these were isolated incidents. They wanted to believe that they were mistakes. Then there were those in the community who suspected that this was, could not be, you know, just the odd maverick committing these human rights violations and then there were those of us who knew or thought we knew, I mean we were almost certain, put it that way, that this was a co-ordinated campaign of planned gross human rights violations against our fellow countrymen. It is kind of difficult to say that in a small community apartheid was not as effective as it has been in big cities and so when I say our fellow countrymen I am really not paying lip service to the modern parlance. I really mean that in small communities we were much closer than I find it is possible to be in Johannesburg now and those people who knew then that this was a or thought, suspected that this was a campaign, an organised campaign, they were fearful and, perhaps, accepted what was going on through fear and there were others who did what they could.

Now those that did not know, well none of us knew the extent, we are only beginning to learn it now thanks to your work, as the revelations, I am talking about the present now and the impact of what we have learnt, those revelations on my community have been, in the main, their reaction has been that people are appalled and horrified. Even those who suspected that what these, what was going on had no idea of the extent and those people who actually did something about it in one degree or another, to oppose these human rights violations, they feel really regretful now that they did not do more and those who knew and, perhaps, through fear and self-interest did nothing, they feel ashamed, but on the whole we are appalled and horrified. We, there is a kind of shame about having been so naive. Are you watching the time for me? Thank you. Also those who worked against the regime at the time feel slightly resentful now, because I am talking as a White liberal and, as you will know, White liberals have come in for quite a lot of bad press, for want of a better word. So along with the and also there is a sort of sense of guilt, you know, we should have known, we should have done more.

Now, I just want to talk now on the consequences of these gross human rights violations on my community. Often they were in, then, in the old days, fear was one of the consequences. People feared a kind of breaking out of a civil war or retribution or something of that nature, not very clearly defined. The worst one was withdrawal. My community in the 80's withdrew almost entirely from civil society. It was impossible to be an activist in civil society without becoming an

agent of apartheid, because you could not have a normal life. As soon as you tried to draw or were drawn together across the race barriers it, you, it became an, it became impossible. You could not go to a cafe together and so by trying to keep a civil society going you actually became an agent of the apartheid. Sorry, that was a bit of a digression. I am trying to address myself to the gross human rights violations.

Then, of course, the other consequence was immigration. Nearly every family I know has somebody living overseas who left in the 80's, the early 80's when it became obvious that this was going to get worse and not better, because in the 70's, you remember, we were quite hopeful. Anyway, the impact now is, in my community, is a feeling of, there is a, people feel threatened, but they are not quite sure by what. Of course the impact of crime, now I do not know how, I am not expressing an opinion on whether this is related in any way to the gross human rights violations of the past, but there is certainly gross violations of human dignity at the moment and somehow my community equates the two and then, of course, an ongoing consequence of it still is immigration. Have I got time to move on to the suggestions or ...

MS BRUINERS: No, a minute.

MS STOCKILL: ... do you want me to wind up? A minute. I just wanted to say that I share those processes for reconciliation, admission, absolution, reparation, those come from my church background, but what my community seeks in this regard is somebody on which to lay the blame or somebody who will take the blame and whether that will come out of the work of the TRC at the end, I do not know, but that would be a really useful thing for my community, to have somebody else to blame. Yes, I think, too, and I am sorry, I have spent so much time on the first part, that there are other ways that this blame could be spread, but I think the agents of truth and reconciliation, of reconciliation is the Government and although we will have to do it ourselves as individuals, we will have to accept the blame, we can do it best in an era of, in an arena of peace and prosperity and, I am rushing now to get this finished.

I wanted to say the Government has done a good job in the, in being an agent of reconciliation through the TRC and in time when the President's Fund is established, if that could, that is another way of being an agent. Of course the change of Laws and the Constitution and all those things, Government has been an agent there for change and I would like, more attention needs to be given, actually, to spacial planning. Apartheid was so effective in dividing communities. We need to find ways to do, to try and redress that imbalance city planning and town planning and do it as quickly as possible before new divides set in. Yes, thank you, that is my submission for now.

MS BRUINERS: Thank you Judy. Lesley.

MRS MORGAN: I am 47 years old. I am a middle-aged, middle classed South African housewife, an elder in my congregation, a wife, a mother, a nursing sister. However, I do not come before you as a representative of any of these groups. I cannot speak for middle-aged White housewives, nor for the medical community, nor for my denomination, nor for my congregation, nor, indeed, for my family. I am here in my personal capacity as Lesley, stripped of all my titles and my relationships.

I grew up with all the advantages and opportunities afforded me, because I was White. I was oblivious of the fact that there were so many people around me who were not as privileged as I was. Not because I was unfeeling, but because I was unaware. I became more aware by the time I reached high school and can remember heated discussions in classrooms because of the inequalities I was gradually beginning to notice. In hindsight, I realised the gross distortions I was taught, but it is only looking back that I can see what, that our education system prepared me for accepting the totally unacceptable. In learning things without questioning, in obeying authority without challenge I came to accept as normal the totally and grossly abnormal. When I was in my 20's I had many friends at university including young people who were arrested and harassed by Security Policemen. It filled me with anger, but also with a sense of helplessness. We tried so hard with no result. The feeling of uselessness was quite overpowering. The State just carried on and things just got more and more difficult.

By the late 70's and early 80's I was married with a young family. Although I was fully aware of the dreadful things that were happening all around me, fear paralysed me. I was no activist. I was afraid of being arrested, afraid of being detained without trial, afraid of being tortured or killed. I do not even have the excuse of not knowing. I was well aware of what was happening. I read the Black Sash publications. I knew the terrible consequences of the Group Areas Act, the Mixed Marriages Act, the Land Appropriation Act, the Separate Development Act, the Bantu Education Act. God

forgive me, I did nothing to speak out against these obscene Laws.

The TRC hearings on gross human rights violations have devastated me. I have watched them on television and read about them in the press and in magazines and they have made me weep with anger and horror. There is a strong feeling of denial not because I do not believe what has been said and not because I do not want to believe that such cruelty and systematic destruction happened so close to me. There is a sense of complicity, a terrible feeling of failure. I remember a quotation I read many years ago. It disturbed me then and it haunts me now.

"It is sufficient for evil to prosper that people did nothing."

MR MANTHATA: Take your time Lesley.

MRS MORGAN: I have taken 47 years to get here. In April of this year I attended the first of several meetings on the churches response to the TRC hearings. One of the things discussed was the fact that so few White people attend the hearings and make submissions. I have been thinking of nothing else since then. I started talking about it in my community and discussing it with my friends. I started asking myself why I have not attended. I know it is causing great pain amongst the Black community. I cannot imagine how it must feel to bear your pain and suffering so openly and publicly. I can imagine what it must feel like to stretch out your hands in an attempt to forgive and reconcile and have no one there to take it. The hurt must be enormous and there must be anger and frustration too.

So why have I not been there. I am a Christian and I want with all my heart to make amends and start again. Why do I turn away from your outstretched hand? It is not indifference to your suffering, it is not a rejection of your testimony, it is not a denial of what has happened over so many decades, indeed, so many centuries. It is shame, it is a deep and overwhelming sense of shame. Even now as I speak to you I find it almost impossible to look you in the face. When I read of the reparation that people who have made submissions are requesting it compounds the deep shame I am feeling. A tombstone, a bursary for a child's education, a proper burial for a loved one. Such simple requests, no vengeance, no desire to get even. It somehow makes it harder to face you. Given the same circumstances I am not sure I would be so willing to forgive.

Last week after a meeting at the TRC offices I was speaking to the Chairman of the meeting and one of the Commissioners relating to them how I was feeling. They asked me if I would speak today. My immediate reaction was, no, I could not possibly. I shall never forget the look on their faces. It was not a look of judgement or anger, rather a look of sadness and resignation. It broke my heart. I spent the rest of the afternoon agonizing over this decision. I kept saying, God please do not ask me to do this. I will make reparation in some other way. I could not swallow and I could not stop crying. At about 04:30 that afternoon I telephoned the TRC office and asked to speak to the Commissioner. He had left for home and I was so relieved. I thought that I was off the hook, but God had other plans for me and he placed the Commissioner's cell phone number in my path and so here I am.

I have been thinking since then about what I would submit today. I thought about saying how apartheid has violated us all, as it has, but in the face of the submissions that have preceded mine and the millions that have not been heard, what could I say to them. I thought I could say I am sorry and that would somehow make it all right, but God kept nudging me, pulling me at my arm. I was at a loss to explain how I feel and how our past has somehow diminished me. We are so separated, you and I, our experience so vastly different. How do we bridge that gap. I am a Christian, how do I reconcile what I believe with what I practised. If you had asked me a week ago about my faith I would have said to you that I was of strong faith, that I believe in God as Creator and in his son, Jesus Christ, as my Saviour, who died on the cross for my sins and that through Him my sins are forgiven and that through Him I shall receive eternal life. That because of my faith I have tried to do the best I can, that I have treated all people as human beings, that I have tried to follow the teachings of the Scriptures. I would have said that I have always loved God with all my heart and with all my strength and with all my mind. I would have admitted quite freely that I have not always been successful with loving one another, but that God would have known that I loved Him and have always tried to discern his will for me. I am of the reformed tradition. We are not given to pentecostal or charismatic experiences.

On Wednesday I was driving to a conference on the eradication of poverty. I drove eight kilometres past my turn-off on the highway. For the first time in my life I truly heard the voice of Christ. In all the years I ignored the cries of the

oppressed, I ignored him, in my fear and concern for my own safety. Like Peter before me I denied my Lord and that is just unbearable. Like Peter, the realisation of that denial has filled me with unbearable sorrow, the realisation that my faith that I was so proud of is so small, so selfish and so empty. It has made me understand why I feel such shame. I profess to be a follower of Christ, but have been unwilling to go where He has led me. I have realised that sins of commission, omission are still sins.

I cannot change our past and it would be so much easier, really so much easier, to blame apartheid for all of it. The truth is I made my own choices. I know of so many people who chose differently. I have read the letters submitted to the TRC by Dr Beyers Naude. So many people have said of all people why should he need to make a submission? I have been greatly humbled by it. I am no Beyers Naude, but I am grateful to him for his example of humility and courage. He helped me to find my way here. The choices I made in the past avoid what I perceived in my fear and cowardice as having consequences too dangerous to deal with have resulted in consequences worse than ever I feared.

Poverty has moved into my street, crime has moved in next door, unemployment is knocking at my gate. The result of systemic human rights violations have left us all with a legacy of mistrust, suspicion, anger. I will not run away from what is happening. I acknowledge my part in the creation of our present. I pray that together we will secure our future.

In conclusion, there are two things I should like to say. Firstly, to thank my family for supporting me today. This has not been easy for them, especially my husband and our eldest child. They are very private people and to watch and listen to their wife and mother make so public an acknowledgement of responsibility will have been very difficult for them, but they came anyway.

Finally, I need to say one last thing. While making submission today has been very painful for me, the hardest part is here at the end. It is so hopelessly inadequate to make right what has happened, so puny in the face of such suffering and I am overwhelmed at my temerity in even offering it, but it is all I have to give. I am sorry.

MS BRUINERS: Thank you.

MR MANTHATA: ... there will be any need for questions. I do not think so. We thank you so much Mrs Nel and ...

MS BRUINERS: Stockill.

MR MANTHATA: ... Stockill. Lesley, we thank you. We thank you together with your families that supported you to come here. It is true this is a hearing of some kind, it is a post hearing. We would, as I have said, you know, in the end we take whatever submission, whatever feelings of the people are. I think we are going to adjourn for tea. Over to you.

MS BRUINERS: We would now break for tea and we take 15 minutes for the tea break. We would reconvene at exactly ten to 12. We would reconvene at ten to 12. Tea served in the foyer and whilst we enjoy tea we ask the Bethany Children's Home Choir to please entertain us with a number of items. We thank you so much. CHAIRPERSON: I am Reverend Calvin Harris from the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa. I am a Minister in the UCCSA and I am resident in Bosmont. Before we proceed I just want to thank the Bethany Children's Home Choir for the music ...

MS BRUINERS: And Orlando North.

CHAIRPERSON: And the ...

MS BRUINERS: Orlando North.

CHAIRPERSON: And Orlando North for the music which they have presented us with and it is much appreciated. On the stand we are having focus group three. From the Black Sash we are having Sheina Duncan and then we are having a lady from St Annes, Laurel Masinga from St Annes, St Annes Woman Group. YWCA, are they present? YWCA, are they present? No, they are not present. I am not going to allow each of these ladies to speak for five minutes and then thereafter if there is any questions, I will entertain only two questions due to time constraints. Tom, will you welcome the ladies?

MR MANTHATA: Yes, okay.

PROF MEIRING: Sheina, thank you for coming to us, Sheina Duncan from the Black Sash.

MS DUNCAN: Black Sash.

PROF MEIRING: Black Sash, how can I forget. Sheina, we are very grateful to have you and we listen with great joy to what you want to say to us.

MS DUNCAN: Thanks Piet. I do not think it is going to be too much a matter for joy. One of the things, I was coerced into coming here by Tom Manthata, because one of the things that I have regretted very much about the Truth Commission's mandate is that its definition of gross violations of human rights has excluded some of the things that pretty well destroyed whole communities in this country. The Black Sash focus during the years before 1986 was on the Pass Laws, migrant labour, forced removals, three and a half million people forcibly removed from where they were living to somewhere else, the demolition of shelters as people built them and the Black Sash consistently over the years stressed that these things were destroying both families and community, because the people that are here today, some of them, I should perhaps say I am 64 years old, in the interests of transparency, but I am find there are a whole lot of people who either know nothing about those terrible things that happened or else have forgotten all about them. And my purpose in agreeing to come today was to stress one of the things that, I think, reparations needs to take into account and that is the young people of this country. Not so much those are children beginning school now, because things are going to get better for them, but it is the young people who, as we all know, have grown up in smashed up communities, broken homes without parents, on the streets have been part of the relocation of whole communities to another place. And one of the distressing things to me at the moment is that Government is not, apparently, making a particular focus on young people as such. They are focusing on education, of course, but there is a whole generation of young people who are not in school, who cannot find jobs, because they have not got the skills.

I am on the Board of something called the Joint Enrichment Project which, amongst many other NGO's who work with young people, have developed a whole lot of pilot schemes which have been tested, have been successful, but Government drags its heels on taking them over and the NGO community cannot take on that huge task by itself. It has got to be an official programme and I would hope that when the TRC does produce its final recommendations on reparations that one of the things we have to recognise is it is too late to make restitution to the older people for what they suffered through those things through the years. There is, nothing can restore those years to them and undo what was done to them, but the best way that one can think about reparation for them is that they will have the knowledge that their children will be a special focus for this country in the future, because unless we do that we are not going to get at the root of the problems.

I know the Youth Commission is feeling the same thing as well. That it has been established, but it is finding it very hard to get Government to really focus on this question of young people as they should be doing. Thank you.

PROF MEIRING: Sheina , thank you very much. Please will you continue with your submission.

MRS MASINGA: Thank you. Chairman and members of the Commission, I am Laurel Masinga representative of the St Annes Catholic Womens Sodality and have come here split in the middle, because in as much as I coming here representing women of the sodality, mothers and grandmothers, I also happen to be working with young people and what the previous speaker has said has touched on one of the strings of my heart. I am a school teacher and I am not afraid to say I am 62 years old.

As church women we do find strength and solace in belonging to a group and we have found that spirit of belonging to be of great help, particularly, during the difficult time, but we also live among the community as part of the community and we know, generally, what the feeling is. I think that having been with this young Government and hearing how much or how little money they have, perhaps we might also look into our own selves and think of the things that we can try and do for ourselves. What I understood my brief to be was to come and speak on how we see the process of healing taking place and I believe that in South Africa, South Africa is made up of communities, one of the communities to which I belong.

We, grandmothers and mothers, understand that healing is a process, because even as we speak among our children we would say when one complains about not being quickly healed, then we say that a disease takes longer to leave the body than it has taken to enter the body. Now, I am speaking literally and for it to take place successfully all parties need to be aware that this will, indeed, take time and time in human life terms means generations. So real results of healing having taken place may be visible only decades from now. This knowledge should, however, not make us despondent, but rather make us aware of the quick passage of time and we need to act now.

We, as women of prayer, should join in the therapeutic activities, of course by prayer, but more by identifying the areas of hurt and anger being members of communities that have been hurt and that are angry ourselves. We need therapy, well I will not take the whole spectrum. That is much too much. It is a mammoth thing, but we, I felt that we needed to look at some areas and the areas that quickly came to mind were we need therapy to heal for the purpose of improving our relations with the police as communities, to phase out this them versus us attitude. We need to work on the establishment of unconditional trust between ourselves and the police, to trust them to do their duty and to trust them so much that they will fear to disappoint us, knowing that they are trusted to be responsible and trustworthy.

Now, one area which makes it quite difficult has been the possession of guns or weapons, because they are seen as means of power from the way that they have been used by some members of the police and some of the Black ones who expect protection from daddy Government, especially now that daddy is a Black Government, so to speak. Now, this power feeling has rubbed off onto members of the community, especially the criminal element who happen to be our children and our grandchildren. Even those who are not criminals per se have interpreted gun possession as putting them in a position of power to remove whatever is an obstacle in their way to get what they want, that is perhaps removal of an enemy or to force a have, to hand over what we want and with money in our hands we can buy a way out of prison, because the police belong to the overworked and underpaid group.

Now, the people named above are, as stated, our relatives, both the police and other members of the community. As women in the church we can contribute, I think, in our small way. We might embark on programmes starting in our local parishes where we can hold services of healing for those among us who are in the different areas of work or who have contact with hurt and angry members of the community. In our year plans we might include services for our Ministers to preach the truth and reconciliation and the true meaning of Catholic, especially when it comes to working among the poor and the needy and I am not talking Black and White only here. I am talking of the way we expect our Ministers to preach to us in a comfortable way.

We could include services for our professionals and workers in fields, excuse me, where most, where people are most hurt by the past situation. For example I will again emphasise the police, the prison warders, former prisoners to be present in the same service with the prisoners and with the police and the warders. We might need services for nurses and all health workers. We are all aware of how stressed out they have become. Services for teachers and social workers and specific services for the youth. It is also suggested that these services be held separately for each of the above named groups of people, because they have experiences that are specific to their different calling and work situation. It might also not be possible for individual parishes to conduct all the suggested services in a given period, but they might each choose which they will start on according to greatest need in their particular area. The important thing here is to make a start and to continue tirelessly. The power of the Word should not be underestimated, particularly among us Africans being of the oral tradition and, perhaps, with my tongue in my cheek, being women.

Perhaps, of greatest importance, being family leaders as mothers and grandmothers there is a need to start at home. We need to correct the language that we use when we speak to our children and we insist in the homes that everybody speaks in love and respect to each other in the home and then carrying it out to the neighbours. Our children should be known to be children who speak with respect to the neighbour and, perhaps, they may become role models in the streets. We have streets and we will look after one another in streets. We know one another, we get to become families, like street families.

We also need to revisit our human values attaching value to people rather than to possessions. As we encourage our children in their aspirations and, of course, our aspirations for them, we need to discourage discrimination against certain types of people and tribes and our general attitude towards non-members of our families. I am talking here about remarks that are quite well known to our communities when we talk about the Shangaans that, oh no, he is a Shangaan.

What can he know? Anything that is ugly is like that of a Shangaan. That I do not like them, because kimakule, that is does not matter what you have stolen, you have stolen it from a White person. Now I think with determination and the will to make a difference we can move towards healing and this is our humble contribution.

PROF MEIRING: Mrs Masinga, Laurel, thank you very much. Before I ask whether my colleague, Tom, has a question, can I just ask, you have your submission in writing, Sheina can we have yours in writing too.

MS DUNCAN: I will have to write it afterwards.

PROF MEIRING: Thanks, the, yes, what, the things you said are so important. I was thinking about your advice to the R and R Committee that youth should be very specifically included in proposals, in the reparation proposals. We take note of that and we will take it back home and Laurel, thank you so much for what you said about, everything you said. It is so important and we want to include that in our report on today's meeting. I am going to ask Tom Manthata whether he has a question and then with the Chairman's permission we are going to move onto the next group. After the next group we will allow for two or three questions again from the audience, but Tom Manthata first.

MR MANTHATA: This is a very important area of the youth, but my biggest problem is how do we capture that youth, because presently you can only find these youths either in ...

INTERPRETER: The speaker's mike is not activated.

MR MANTHATA: Sorry, either in the church or at schools, but otherwise outside that once they become workers they exit out of that social structure and pitifully we meet the youth, you know, in most cases in very negative or adverse atmosphere and the biggest question is just how can we capture those youth and make them demand, make such demands and come out with such projects that can be of importance and promotion to their quality of life?

MS DUNCAN: Well, in the Joint Enrichment Programme there is only one of our projects that is in schools, the rest of them are all with young people who are neither in work, nor in school and it is possible to find young people who are desperately looking for assistance in various fields, whether it is skills training or whatever, because they will find a programme if the programme is there. You do not just find the young people who are in church or in schools are not the ones who have themselves the major problems, but I am absolutely confident that it can be done, because we have done it and the projects are there, they are tested, they work and it just needs, and there are other organisations who also work successfully with young people, but it just needs that national commitment to what is the majority of our population, after all, the under 25's.

PROF MEIRING: Sheina, Laurel, thank you so much. Please sit tight, because it may be that some questions can be asked of you later, after the next session, but please return to your seats and I am now calling upon the representatives of focus group four to come to the fore. Representatives of Justice and Peace, of the Khulumani Group, of Lenz Community and of Wilgespruit, please do come to the fore. There are four chairs. Yes, please, make yourself at home and, Sir, please do not feel threatened by the three ladies. You are man enough for them. Before we start may I just to have a records ready, have your names and the communities you represent.

MR VADI: Ishmael Vadi.

PROF MEIRING: Sorry.

MR VADI: Ishmael Vadi.

PROF MEIRING: Ishmael Vadi, Lenasia.

MS SHEZI: Sandi Shezi.

PROF MEIRING: Sandi Shezi, Khulumani.

MS MAKOBANE: Hilda Makobane, Justice and Peace.

PROF MEIRING: Linda Makobane.

MS MAKOBANE: Hilda.

PROF MEIRING: Hilda, sorry, Hilda Makobane, Justice and Peace.

MS MARY: And Sheila Mary, Justice and Peace.

PROF MEIRING: And Sheila, also Justice and Peace. Let us give the gentleman the first word. The ladies also have the last word. Ishmael Vadi, we are here to listen to you.

MR VADI: Chairperson, thank you very much. I speak largely as an activist from the Lenasia community. I have been involved in the Transvaal Indian Congress, the United Democratic Front and more recently in the African National Congress. What I would like to give is a perspective on Lenasia which has as its resident population a majority of Indian people in the province of Gauteng and I think I am not using the term "Indian" to emphasise any form of ethnicity, but simply to locate this section of the South African population within the broader process of national reconciliation as expressed through the TRC and its activities.

As people might know that Indian South Africans came as, as labourers late in the last century and since then they have been victims of a systematic process of national oppression as a minority. Many might be familiar with the campaigns of Mahatma Ghandi through the establishment of the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress at the turn of the century against the forced imposition of Pass Laws on Indian people and various forms of social and economic discrimination. The police of the State for the better part of the century has been one of encouraging or forcing Indian people to repatriate to India and when that failed they were victims of the policy of forced removals and resettlement through the Group Areas Act, large scale disruption of community life, of economic activity, etc. and then since the 1960's there has been a very active process of co-option by the State through the South African Indian Council, the management committees and, finally, through the Tri Cameral Parliament.

I think as a community there has been a very proud tradition of resistance to these forms of oppression and discrimination. The Indian Congresses through Ghandi, through Dadu and Naiker, right through the 60's and 70's have played a very important role and some of the best sons and daughters of our community have become major figures in the ANC. I do not want to dwell on that today.

What I want to talk about really is alongside this proud tradition of resistance to oppression, there was a minority, a category that actively chose to collaborate with apartheid. These were people who from the 1960's worked in the Management Committees, in the Tri Cameral system, they were informers of the Security Police, they constituted a distinct network in the community, they spied on people, they would harass people. Some of them were members of gangs, criminal formations. There were also certain religious leaders who conspired with the apartheid State against their own people. What is most disturbing through this whole process is not a single one of those persons have come forward to say we are sorry. Not one person from the House of Delegates or from the Management Committees or any of these informers that have worked with the Security Police and have done such untold harm to many prominent leaders in our community, some of them have died in detention. Not a single person has come forward to say I was responsible and I was guilty and, perhaps, that is a weakness of the TRC process. I think I am truly inspired by the confessions, by the regret and the remorse that so many people have expressed, but very few have come from our community and I think that is something that needs serious attention.

Today, I think, Indian people see reconciliation as a process between White people and African people. They see reconciliation largely in the political domain. We have not heard a single Indian person coming to this forum talking in the way that the lady spoke who spoke earlier on and saying I feel guilty, because I did not do enough, although I was part of an oppressed community. We also had our own forms of oppression against African people. When Africans worked for us as domestic workers or as workers in businesses or in our social relationships, nobody confessed, nobody said we are sorry for that and that was a mistake. It was another form of oppression, another evil in society which needs to be eliminated.

So this layered form of oppression is what I think the more textured form of oppression has not truly come out through

the TRC process. I think very many Indian people in seeing reconciliation as a White, Black issue, a White, African issue are sitting, at the moment, in a comfort zone. There is not the kind of sense of guilt and remorse amongst the people. Many of them have projected the leaders who have suffered in the past and said these are our leaders and we share their burden and their pain, but they fail to acknowledge that in some ways they were also part of the problem in this nation.

There is no active involvement from the average Indian person in the process of national reconciliation. I think the attendance at many of the TRC hearings will bear testimony to the very low levels of attendance from Indian people to the proceedings here. It is only when somebody from their own community came that they were there, otherwise even villages' leaders, etc, have not systematically followed and monitored this particular process. There are no personal moral dilemmas that people are facing. They are not grappling with the issues. There is no soul searching taking place. There is no internal reflection in the way that we have seen today and in other hearings and somehow I see that minority religious communities are not actively involved. The leaders are not actively involved in championing the cause of national reconciliation and stating the work of the TRC.

What is the way forward? Earlier on there was a suggestion of a Council for Reconciliation. My own view is that national reconciliation is a long term process. It cannot end with the end of the TRC and its legal responsibilities in terms of the Law, of the Act. My own feeling is that all institutions of the State have to share some responsibility in advocating and promoting national reconciliation for many decades to come. There is the Human Rights Commission, there is the Commission for the Promotion of Culture and Linguistic Minorities, there is a Gender Commission and a whole host of other statutory organisations that the new Constitution has created or is about to give birth to. These structures must take on a central, ongoing responsibility.

There is the schools. One of the most powerful mechanisms for the socialisation of people. Schools have an ongoing responsibility to promote the theme of national reconciliation. Earlier on mention has been made about how local Governments do special planning. We have got to break down apartheid geography, group areas geography. That is the starting point of restructuring the way people live and where they live and how they communicate and interact. So the State has a central responsibility long after the TRC fades away and that responsibility must not be discounted, but then I think there is obviously a central role for civil society, for religious organisations, etc, to continue with this mission of advocating, of promoting national reconciliation and, I think, for me this notion of a Council for Reconciliation should really be located within civil society. Whether the core of that will be the religious forces in this country or other organisations, I do not know, but I think that the Council should be located in civil society and should not be another statutory organisation. The mission and, entire all other agencies of the State must carry this mission forward and civil society must support it. Thank you very much.

PROF MEIRING: Mr Vadi, thank you so much. You will present us with your written submission. It is, the content is very important to us. It is wonderful to have a voice from the Indian community with us today and thank you for the concerns that you put on the table. Thank you so much. Please do not leave, but Ms Shezi, it is your opportunity. Ms Shezi speaks for the Khulumani Group.

MS SHEZI: Yes, I will say I am sorry. My voice is a little bit horrible. I took it to the dry cleaner last night so when I come here they told me that it is not ready yet, but I will use the same one. I hope the message will get across. I am a field worker for Khulumani at Soweto and Khulumani is a victim driven organisation which was formed by the, I cannot call them victims anymore, they are the survivors and they came together to relive their pain, anger and frustration about what happened in the past. So my submission, it is a written one for, I am talking, I talk too much. That is why they have written it down so that they will limit my tongue. Starting with feedback from the TRC hearing.

"In general the victims have been gravely disappointed about the lack of action and the lack of feedback to the victims who have made statements. Victims are feeling that they have been part of process that has compromised them even further. We feel that the TRC has not been accountable to victims.

In Soweto in particular the lack of information about the TRC hearings led to the only session that was held in the area being very poorly attended. The area is very big with a long history of

gross human rights violations. There is now disappointment and frustration that there will be no more hearings.

Statement taking. The lack of effective communication from the TRC to communicate has resulted in little information being available, few statements taken and a generally awareness in the communities about why they should make statements when they can make them and how to make them. We believe that the number of statement taken us has absolutely no relationship to the number of gross violation of human rights that have taken place.

We do not see that the statement taking process has speed up significantly and feel that because of the factors mentioned above it is totally unfair to limit the granting of reparation to those who have made statements to the TRC.

Follow up and letters, confirmation. People made statements about the hardship they are suffering. Having made them they receive a complete lack of concern on the part of the TRC, because there has been no follow up. Some people that made statements have not yet received letters of confirmation. They are not sure if their statement has been received by the TRC or not.

Witnesses protection. There has been a lack of ad hoc low level facilities for witnesses protection for people placed in danger by their decision to make submissions. Victims feel that it is unethical for TRC to encourage people to come forward and thus endanger themselves for the sake of the truth where they are offered no protection. This especially applies to cases where the threat comes from police serving in the witnesses community.

Urgent interim reparation."

That is a very good one.

"There is a great concern about urgent interim reparation. There seems to be no progress. We attempted to set up a procedure for an ad hoc section 16 to the TRC on the advice of some Commissioners, but this has never actually had resulted although we have refer section 16 to them. We do not know whether a procedure has been developed for urgent interim reparation. We do not know if an office has been set up anywhere to implement the recommended policy.

Finding of victims. We understand that one of the tasks of the TRC is to make a finding about whether someone who has made a submission is a victim of gross human rights violations or not. It is disturbing to us that this process has not started or if it has that we do not know about. We expect that and believe that we are entitled to transparency and accountability in this exercise.

Investigation and amnesty hearing. There is a lack of information on progress, if any, or investigation. Victims do not know whether their cases are being investigated or if nothing is happening. There is now some concern about exhumation of bodies for re-examination. Victims want to know how it is decided to an exhumation. There is a perception that it is only for high profile activists. There is a lack of information of who has applied for amnesty, for what and what process is being followed.

To elaborate on this there is an outcry, more specially, when people heard on the TV and on the radios that certain bodies are being exhumed and being reburied whilst their loved ones are not being exhumed. So they are asking themselves is it just because we are at the grassroots. Nobody cares about us. Those who are in the rank and files of a certain organisation are being taken consideration.

Investigation, difficulties experienced by victims."

I should think this will be my last.

"The main difficulties experienced by the victims are the following areas. Shelters. Some victims had their houses destroyed. Others had illegally occupied by others who continue to occupy them. Some victims have no jobs or are unable to work and are struggling to feed their families.

Disability pensions. Some victims should be getting disability pension, but have not been able to handle the bureaucracy involved.

Medical assistance. Many victims have chronic medical needs and the public medical service makes it difficult or impossible for them to get the access."

On that note we are saying that as I am working as a field worker in the township, I came across people who have bullet pellets in their bodies, people who have bullets in their head, who need medication, but they cannot get it. For example there is a case of a young boy who stays in Vaal. He has been bleeding for 13 years, going to hospital. They have just given him a salve, our own hospital, Government hospital. That salve did not help until Father Paul Verryne came to, an assistant with Dr Martin Cornell. So we need more Dr Martin Cornell's and Dr Paul Verryne's in our township to help the people for people are suffering. They have got bullets in their bodies, they cannot even afford the money for the doctors. So the TRC must give that message to the Government.

"Death certificates. Some victims cannot claim or insurance policies and have other problems, because they cannot get death certificates for their relatives.

Education. There are children missing out on education, because their parents cannot get them to school.

Counselling. Most victims are in need of some form of psychological counselling."

And that I should think most of our generation, the youth that took part in the struggle are psychologically effected and I do not see the Government reconciling the nation when people psychologically are effected. I am afraid at the long run we will have the revenge attacks and if we want to curb that revenge attacks we must, the centres must be placed in the township nearer to the people where they can get psychological help.

"Victims cannot begin to heal until the above practical difficulties are being addressed and victims feel that they are being cared for and care about. The perception amongst victims that perpetrators are being handled with more sympathy than them must be countered. More specially when you find that Mr so and so has applied for amnesty and that so and will be heard whilst the victim at the other hand are not given that same chance as the one who has applied for amnesty.

Referral system."

I should think I have touched that one, that centres must be built in the township for the people to be referred to nearer to them than asking an unemployed person to board a taxi to town to the centre where she can get or he can get help. It is better when the centres are in the townships.

"Caring for the victims should involve the resources not only of NGO's, but of the community in the area, eg, medical communities, social welfare community, White community. Whatever is set up must be well publicised in setting up period and once it is all operation. Once victims' immediate needs are being cared for the other devices can promote healing are job creation, commemorative events, erecting memorials, Blacks in public places, naming of buildings, schools, etc, community theatre. When we can take out our youth out of the street and they must do something."

I find it disturbing here when I say, are talking about community theatre when you find that our honourable Government, the whole State President is giving, is doing something for the street kids, but he is not doing something for the orphans of the people who died in the violence. I wonder our Government is, want to promote the most kids in the street. He wants more kids to come out in the house and be on the street so that they can get tracksuit, soup and whatever.

PROF MEIRING: I think we, maybe we should move on to the next speaker. Can you ...

MS SHEZI: Okay.

PROF MEIRING: ... summarise please.

MS SHEZI: Yes.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you.

MS SHEZI: "We need a practical strategy that can begin

immediately and suitably. The NGO's coalition need to be re-established and no, organise geographically basis rather than a sectoral basis. A local level of CBO's including political organisations, civic organisations and victim support groups should be partners in setting up local structures. They should be assisting in running local committees."

Thank you.

PROF MEIRING: Ms Shezi, thank you very much.

MS SHEZI: Thank you.

PROF MEIRING: We need your statement. You have said a number of very pertinent things and we would like, we are thinking along the same lines. Thank you for readdressing all those issues. We really appreciate it. Ms Makobane or is it Sheina first, Sheina first.

MS MARY: Maybe I will just start by saying that Justice and Peace is an organisation, a Commission within the Catholic Church. We focus on our own members in trying to inform them about the best kept secret in the church and that is our social teachings. They are not very keen to hear about those and we work, as I said, with our own people, but we also work with community people, with the NGO's as well as people on the ground. I am not going to speak too much, because I want to let Hilda speak. Our people from Soweto wanted to come, but they are involved in a special meeting today. So Hilda has come.

One of the things that I want to say in terms of reparation is to endorse everything that has been said, because we have found that has been the cry, but one of the things that we found right at the beginning when the Truth Commission started, we got all the information and together with other NGO's started giving workshops. We moved amongst people who cannot read and write, who work on farms, people who have no work and they were amazed that somebody wanted to come and tell them about what was happening, that they had the opportunity to ask questions and the fact that they were being informed. This says a lot to me that maybe in our country with everything that is new, why do we not always start with how can we communicate with the most people, if you understand what I mean, and device structures that we can bring more people on board.

We also found that some people were quite angry that they had not been consulted about how the Act was formulated and we had to explain that a number of times. We have been working very closely with the Truth Commission and we want to thank the Truth Commission for this and for bringing us on board. We had plenty of times, many times that we had meetings with them and when we invited them to our meetings, when we could put complaints before them they listened to us and we listened to them and right throughout the country Justice and Peace has been working very closely with them. We have also got some of our members who became statement takers and I would like now for Hilda, who is

a statement taker, to tell the story.

PROF MEIRING: Sheila Mary, thank you so much. Hilda, we are looking forward to your story.

MS MAKOBANE: Thank you. My name is Hilda Makobane. I am a member of Justice and Peace and I do voluntary work for them. What I do when the TRC started, we were trained to run some workshops. I did run some workshops in my communities, but the turn up was very poor, but I still continue with my work. What I do when I take statements I usually visit the areas that I know some of the victims were there. Then I went door to door and asked them if they are interested in making their statements and, in fact, I start by explaining what the TRC is all about and fortunately and unfortunately some of them they do agree and then I make their, I take their statements.

Some of them, when I make an appointment, when I go back they have changed their minds, because they see, they think the reparation is very slow. They have not seen anybody getting any help from the TRC. That is all I have got to say.

PROF MEIRING: Hilda, thank you very much. Yes, let us give her a hand. The four of you please stay, remain seated. It may be, Mr Vadi, you need to leave at a certain stage I know. If you feel you have to slip away at some stage feel, please feel free to do that, but thinking back we have one more submission to come. That will be a submission from the youth groups. We, I promised that we can sit back for, just for five minutes now and allow for a few questions and answers. You have listened to the previous group, was, who were they, the, that is right, that was St Annes and the Black Sash and now these and if there are any questions, let us allow for say ten minutes for questions and answers. Then we move on to the youth group.

By then it should be round about quarter past one. Then my friend, Tom Manthata, will summarise, he will wrap up the whole proceedings and by half past one all of you are invited to have lunch with us and then we go home, but firstly now questions and answers from the floor.

CHAIRPERSON: Are there any questions from the floor? Please show your hand. There is one at the back. Please will you come forward, please. Will you come forward. Any other questions? Please show your hand.

MS BRUINERS: Calvin, can he use that mike, because they cannot hear for the interpreters.

CHAIRPERSON: Use this mike for me, microphone for me.

PROF MEIRING: Just push the red button.

BUSI: Good afternoon everybody. My name is Busi from Orlando North. I have got a question for sister from Khulumani Group. How can you explain, sorry, my voice is. Can you clarify for us when you said the Government is not doing anything for the victims of the previous fights and he is doing something for the street kids. I did not understand that.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much. Is that all?

BUSI: Yes.

CHAIRPERSON: You may step down. You ...

MS SHEZI: If I may, I have got a, quickly. I said the Government is not doing that to the orphans of the people who died in violence. I am telling that by the fact, as a field worker I visited, I do the home visit to most of the families and if you watch and see and if you can sit and watch your television you can see that the Government is throwing a party for the street kids. When have you heard that the Government have thrown a party for the orphans of the victims or for the victims. Have the Government thrown any party for the victims? No, but for the street kids they run a lot of parties from the Government and from Mr South, Ms South Africa. CHAIRPERSON: Thank you.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Okay, mine is not a question, but just an input regarding targeting the young people in the

townships. I have heard somebody asking how can we target young people from the townships. We have service organisations in the townships that are really doing work with young people and we have the NICRO's, we have the other organisations that are really dealing with criminals. That can really help us to identify or maybe to sort other problems or to address other issues that are concerning the community at large, but not to look at schools and churches as the only solutions, because not all of us are going to church and I do not think some children from the churches are making harm to their communities. Then maybe we should use our service organisations, really, to try to bring message through to the community and to use our local radio stations since that we have such services. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much for that comments. Are there any questions or any other comments? There I see a hand. Will you come forward please. Anybody else that wants to ask a question? Going to one o' clock.

MS MOLAPE: Hello everybody. My name is Carol Molape. I am from Dobsonville. Sis Linda, can I ask you a question. I just want to ask you from whatever you have said I get the feeling that you are blaming someone. I just want to ask are you blaming Mr Mandela for all these violence?

MS SHEZI: I would like to answer that in short. I am not blaming the, Mr Mandela for, what I said, maybe you did not understand me. I said I have not heard in a single day that the Government has thrown the party for the victims, but the Government is throwing the parties for the street kids and the Government, also, my Government that I voted for, has made their resources for all the health sectors, wherever, whatever, but there is no budget for the victims. I am not blaming him, but I said he must take it into consideration. This is a submission. There are going to take it straight to the Government and they are going to present it that Mr President, the community, people need this. It is not a blame, but it is a plea that the Government must consider when making all the budgets that the victim must also be included in the budget.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much. This is the last question from the Salvation Army then we are going to call on the last focus group, the youth group to come forward, youth in the region to come forward.

CAPT MABASA: I am Captain Mabasa from the Salvation Army and I was so concerned when I listened to my brother from the Indian community when he said all the facts that he stated here. My question was and is what do you think needs to be done in order to rectify the situation from the Indian community, because personally I was also concerned that we do not hear much from the Indian community and also I was concerned that we know that there has been violation of human rights and all sorts of things that you have mentioned, but what needs to be done? Maybe with us helping you in the Indian community. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much.

MR VADI: I think that this is a difficult question. It is a question that faces minorities in the process of change, of substantial change in societies and sometimes there is a kind of withdrawal syndrome that people experience. My own sense is that perhaps one needs a two-prong strategy that community organisations themselves need to take on the responsibility of the task of activating the community, on pricking the conscience of the community, on sensitising them, etc, to galvanise them to become much more active participants in the process of national reconciliation, but I think the Truth Commission itself could also play an important role.

If there are going to be any kinds of hearings in future I think it is worthwhile targeting one or two of these communities so that they feel that they are part of the process. That is the important thing. I think the fact that you have this kind of road show and you have a show in a particular community there is an immediate focal point, people come there, there is a sense of interest, involvement, etc. So it is a two way process, but ultimately I think the responsibility lies on the leadership of that community to begin to take, to provide that leadership so people can make the jump and become part of that process.

PROF MEIRING: Mr Chairman, before you let go of Capt Mabasa, please stay where you are, because I want to say something. We spoke about the church submissions just a while ago. The invitation that was extended to all the different denominations to help us with finding the truth, help us making recommendations for the future, discussing what the contribution towards reconciliation could be of the different churches and faith communities, the Salvation Army of whom Capt Mabasa is a representative was the very first of all the churches to respond. We already have their

submission at the office and may I use this public opportunity to ask Mr Mabasa, again, to say a word of very special thanks to the leadership of the Salvation Army. They really carried the torch for all the other churches. Thank you for coming to us and please give it through to them.

CHAIRPERSON: Piet, are there any further comments?

PROF MEIRING: No, thanks, you can let them go.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. Our next focus group will be the youth in the Gauteng region and I call upon Ms Sophie-Marie van Garderen and YCS. Are there any other organisations?

PROF MEIRING: Bosmont Youth, nobody.

CHAIRPERSON: Piet, any comments?

PROF MEIRING: Thank you. The YCS, we need the name of the organisation and the name of the person who sits in front of us.

MR DICK: Okay, I am Tammy Dick.

PROF MEIRING: Say that again.

MR DICK: I am Tammy Dick.

PROF MEIRING: Tammy Dick. Yes and what does YCS stand for?

MR DICK: It is the Young Christian Students.

PROF MEIRING: Young Christian Students. Thank you so much. So you will be speaking from the Young Christians Students viewpoint, from an African view point and Sophie-Marie van Garderen is a young professional. She studied at the Rand Afrikaans University and she is a young professional. She joined a firm in Johannesburg recently and she will be giving the perspective from her peers, but Tammy, you first please.

MR DICK: From Young Christian Students we wish to say that we appreciate the sitting of this meeting. It is a very historic meeting, it comes immediately after the June 16 declaration at which we presented a declaration to the Chairperson of the Truth Commission, Rev Tutu. Our commitment to the process of transformation and our commitment in view of the TRC, but I just want to reflect on the brief which informs the perspective that YCS presented in Cape Town on the 16th of June, because I am having a problem with regard to the presentations, particularly to the public. I am afraid that I am avoiding to make a thesis, but I will try to limit myself and confine myself to the statement that we presented to the Truth Commission.

As Young Christian Students we wish to reaffirm our commitment and we are convinced that we constitute a relevant societal and communal component to air our conviction and obligation to ensure that the proclamation of the ruling power of God and the fundamental realisation of societal transformation and our society is relieved of apartheid bondage. We derive our natural and historic existence from the real situation and the condition within which man and I want to emphasise that the use of "man" here is sex insensitive. That man found himself. That is global economic exploitation and political oppression of man by another man for purpose of resource monopolisation participated a number of forum and partnering organisations which rejected and continues to reject this phobia. We confirm our outstanding contribution and commitment to the building of our society, with a well built society and moral fibre.

In the context of South Africa the establishment and the consequential productivity of TRC constitute a healing criteria with which nation building and societal transformation shall be built. This is confirmed and continues to be confirmed by the multitudinal support that is observable. More over by the availability of the perpetrators and victims. This also confirms the quantity conception and notion that built and building lasting peace, harmony and justice requires a foundation with which is squarely and directly relevant in the Truth Commission and its process.

The impact of the TRC or the impact of the gross human rights violations. YCS is an international Christian youth organisation and it operates at schools and tertiary institutions of learning, seminaries, convents and committee based across the length and breadth of South Africa. By virtue of its above mentioned historical and natural relevance was also subjected to apartheid brutalities. We saw of its prominent leaders and militants losing their valuable lives and glorious lives as perpetuated by the dark forces of apartheid. Sadist teachers and reports continues to count the heads in classrooms and those said to be responsible South African youth, but deliberately neglected the psychological, mental, spiritual and physical harm that apartheid remains responsible for. They continue to mention and inflate the rate of crime its diverse manifestation.

Gangsterism which remains dangerous particularly when subversively and haphazardly read and heard about. They tend to forget that no man is consciously and logically naturally fond of being relegated and classified into crime, friendly. In the teachings of Karl Marx we learn that man is nurtured by the environment within which he lives and that must begin to inform our conception of life and that must begin to inform our approach particularly when we begin to re-contextualise and re-conceptualise the TRC process.

That, we are having two recommendations which are in view of the organisational or community strategies and the participation. The natural existence of communal or demencial organs and its historical significance can be derived from their continued existence and co-existence. It further bears testimony to the fact that there exists a potential to influence strategy formulation which shall be objectively lobbied for and implemented. Particularly and strategically located is the church which proved to have succeeded in rallying people in the struggle against apartheid, denomination and segregation. That can also be implemented in the form of prayer meetings which must emphasise an obligation to reconcile and also promote willingness for either victims and perpetrators directly or indirectly.

Services which are interned at promoting this cause should be broadened in terms of access and input. This should not be exclusive of material help base on the feasibility and affordability and finally we wish to say in view of the participation, there has never succeeded any form of a system and apartheid is an example which assumed that people are lagged in everything. That is in thinking, idea formulation, problem statement making. The review, implementation and monitoring. What failed lot of systems is the negligence and ignorance of the very in power of the democratic variances, but rather opted to confine decision making within class, within boardrooms and conference halls, if not press briefings and media in general.

Democratic centralism is the key to any situation that involves peoples' effective and efficient participation and can be realised through popularisation of the very cause, not only by the TRC personnel only, but the urgent venture to be undertaken individually and collectively by all communal components. Specific references to State, the church, the business, NGO's, private sector and community based structures. Coupled to the structural incorporation shall need to be the issue of infrastructure which shall primarily be addressing the effective and efficient pragmatization of the objective in forming the existence of the TRC, let me say the TRC, and which to say this is not a well contained statement which was submitted to the TRC, but it is very preliminary and in the process this is part of the discussion that will be entertained at our coming constitutional meeting, because I have made a declaration and a commitment to the TRC process and we are calling for support. Thank you.

PROF MEIRING: Tammy, Mr Dick, thank you. I, this is good news. Thank you for the comprehensive statement and for the news that we will even get an even more comprehensive statement after you have rewritten it and the committee has looked at it. You will present it to us. Please, we need all the information, all the input you gave us. Thank you. Do not leave. Sophie-Marie, it is your turn.

MS VAN GARDEREN: Thank you. I want to state up front that my name means a very political active or a very good public speaker. I came from a very traditional Afrikaans middle class family and is currently working for a merchant bank in Johannesburg. In talking to the people around me and at work, socially as well, there emerged three distinct groups which could not entirely came as a surprise to me. The first one was a group who had a very apathetic and indifferent view on the ongoings of the TRC. I think that was mostly due to a lack of knowledge and a minority, second group, was, is the minority group who is afraid that the TRC will be a one-sided witch hunt or a Nuremberg trial which will only stir emotions of hatred and unforgiveness and which will make reconciliation very difficult. The last group which was the majority see the TRC as an integral part of reconciliation and the building block for a successful nation.

This group has an intense desire to throw out the blanket of apartheid and to understand and recognise what did happen and the full extent of apartheid, to, and to recreate a shared history which will be a victory of the truth for survivors and victims. I think my recollection of what was, what is history is very different from everybody else's recollection of what is history and I think by having the TRC we can create a history which will be acceptable to all of us.

Although there were Afrikaans individuals who led the struggle against apartheid, the majority had been involved in the past regime and it is therefore very important for our community leaders, be it the churches, political leaders of the universities to provide support and leadership. Unfortunately, to a large extent I think we have failed in that. This has been very detrimental and has had a confusing effect on the so called Afrikaner community. I think the Afrikaner youth is feeling at the moment very confused and fragmented and to some degree very isolated from the rest of the youth in this country and I do not think they know exactly how to deal with the current situation and how to make it better.

Regarding reconciliation, I agree with Dr Auerbach, that I do not think it is a process that or something that is going to happen in the next six months. I do think the challenge will be to keep this process alive. My recommendation will be to keep or to try and get business more involved in this process, because I have seen so many people from the different churches here today and from all sorts of other community groups, but I have seen none from the business community. I think they can support, do a lot to support the NGO's and especially on the, and on the education front as well. I think they can help to construct a well thought through and structured approach to get a plan to help and I do not think it should only be a window dressing, sort of, programme with the Black empowerment, sort of, deal and, yes, that is all I want to say. Thank you.

PROF MEIRING: Tammy, Sophie-Marie, do not leave. I have a question to both of you. In a sense the youth submission is to be, is supposed to be the pudding of the meal. We have had a number of very important dishes on the table already, but things in South Africa start with the youth and it ends with the youth. I was thinking Tammy, Sophie-Marie ...

MR DICK: ... are thinking of themselves, are thinking of society. Otherwise they will be relegated to the dustbins of history.

PROF MEIRING: If an Afrikaner says to you Tammy, I feel alien in my own country, I think I should go abroad and find a new future. What would your answer be to him? Can he stay, is it worth his while to stay in South Africa?

MR DICK: It reminds of a comment that was made by one, let me say, ASASCO student who said that in the colours of South Africa in the flag there is no black and the other Afrikaner students said there is no white. I was never conscious of that fact. What I am saying is that South Africa belongs to us all. It is not considerate of colour, race, height, the physical being of a human being and I am saying it belongs to us all. The recommendation and the, the recommendation that I will impose rather than make shall be that South Africa belongs to us and you must take care of. So all of us must be in South Africa and build our own future, because I am also, I am an African by colour and by conscience. I am not suggesting that I am a (indistinct) person, but I am saying is that I lived I an Afrikaner life. I never had a perception that is given in school, what do you call, in our own school that people are being fed today and are having serious, percentile expressions.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you. Sophie-Marie, does what Tammy say give you hope?

MS VAN GARDEREN: It does, because certainly none of my friends want to leave the country. Everybody feels that this is the country they want to work and which they want to make a success of, but if I may I would like to ask my brother to answer the question, because he is very much involved in a lot of student volunteer project. So if I may, Jakob.

PROF MEIRING: So you are calling on your brother in the audience. Jakob, come sit here. That is a very clever thing to do. What are brothers for?

MR VAN GARDEREN: I would rather pay by solidarity with the youth on this side. I think the question of the youth and really the future of the youth in finding a solution in this country is a very important question. I think we have a very major role to play in the reconciliation and reparation process and if you will allow me I would just like to, from

my perspective and the organisation I am involved with, maybe just relate a few experiences.

I am currently involved in the Southern African student volunteer organisation and our main aim is to involve tertiary students in reconciliation being physical reconstruction work mainly aimed at schools and clinics all over the Southern Africa region. Specifically, at the moment in South Africa. In the coming July holidays we are going to disperse 300 students to 30 schools in Gauteng, disadvantaged schools where we are going to, together with the different learners from the schools, start a process of rebuilding the schools and with schools I mean not only the physical schools, but also the culture of learning.

In the morning, for instance, they are going to work on physical reconstruction work and then the afternoons they are going to talk about human rights issues and by saying human rights I mean human rights issues that are particularly important to them. I should conclude with that, but on the other hand I would like to say that in, concerning reparation we, I think we can make a very definite contribution. Say for instance in the Boipatong community, we would very much like to be part, as a living legacy of the Truth Commission and its working, be involved in the reconstruction of that community. Say for instance in the building of schools or community centres and get the youth involved in physical, sustainable development work and that will have a very good physical effect, on the one hand, but also a very good psychological effect on the both parties. Thank you.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you very much. Jakob, Tammy, Sophie-Marie, thank you very much for your contributions. That really was the pudding to the meal. Thank you so much. Mr Chairman, I hand it over to you. If you would like you can call upon Mr Tom Manthata to give his concluding remarks.

CHAIRPERSON: Before we call upon Mr Tom Manthata and while he is getting the last parts together I am going to ask the two people from the Bosmont Congregational Youth to come forward and to render two items for us. Are they still here? Yvonne and Prince. Prince, we were speaking about the youth.

DUET PERFORMANCE:

MR MANTHATA: ... this country to be healed and as much as possible these things should involve almost the entire nation. It is no longer a situation where we are saying this group can do it better than the other, but let all the groups perform to the optimum of their efforts. What came out very clear, more especially with regard to the final processes of the TRC, is the call for more statements to be made. It has been stressed that in certain communities people are still ignorant of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, that communication structures were not effective. As a result quite a number of people may be left out as it was remarked that let not only those who have made statements to benefit, but let everybody who suffered benefit, but I think it will be understood how difficult that proposition is. So, said and done, all these highlight the need for more statements to be made to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Therefore more statements or more victims to be recommended to the State for compensation, for reparation, for symbolic reparation. All these things are needed and they can only be given to the people once these people have registered their names.

Second, is the need for submissions from all quarters, from all sectors be they of professional sectors, be it from organisations. There is the need for submissions to the TRC for issues or things that need to be recommended to the State. Let it be very clear that until the State shall have been advised and the TRC has been set up to advise the State on issues that can be brought into play to minimise or to do completely away with the violation of human rights, we shall not have achieved anything. So this submission should as much as possible come from all quarters of the South African communities.

What became, another element is this one of reconciliation. As it was said reconciliation lies in the heart of the church and it was further suggested that let not only the Christian churches be involved in reconciliation, but let that kind of reconciliation concern all the faiths in the country and, of course, it should not be only the institutions for faith, but the Government too should be seen to be central to the efforts of reconciliation.

Then there is the need for inter-racial or projects that need to be gone into at inter-racial level. These are the projects that we have sited and we keep talking about that is projects for symbolic reparation. If we have to go into the construction of living memorials, these projects or these memorials stand to convey another negative meaning compared to the

meaning that they are purported to portray, namely that of nation building and reconciliation. Monuments, sometimes, keep the hurt alive, they keep the hatred alive, but if they have to do away with all this there must be seen to have been constructed right by people right across the board. They must not be seen to have been constructed by the Africans or by the Asians or by, but as much as possible this should be almost an inter-racial issue.

In this is involved the whole recommendation too of sharing skills. That is it has been recommended that those with skills and those without skills must so inter-relate or inter-relate, yes, that whatever projects they get into must reflect almost, what do you call it, the rainbow colours of this country, but they must not come from, they must not be one-sided and, of course, the skills are better shared when people have a common project. The kind of a projet where we are not even going to find those with sophisticated skills playing a major role as compared to those who are unskilled. There must be of a fashion where whatever effort contributed shall be seen to be equal effort.

Then, I will be repeating where we talk about the Government too having to take initiatives to bring about reconciliation of the groups. I think this is been gone into almost day in, day out where you find the President will be talking, when he addresses himself on issues of affirmative action in the light of real problems like that of the commanders in the army and so on, but that needs to be taken further to the community level.

And then there was that suggestion, I do not know whether I would say it reflects where it is said that it seems from the White communities there is a need to have either a person or an organisation that can symbolise the guilt. It seems without that it becomes very guilty to enable an average White person in the community to understand what is on, because some will individually claim ignorance of what has happened. Some will individually blame themselves on their apathy, but said and done, the blame should be located, be it a here symbol.

And then there was this suggestion too that, yes, we are a nation in the building, not only in terms of communities, but even structurally where we build residential areas. Can we begin to have some of these areas to be inter-special, if I record correctly, where as long as houses can be made affordable let that cater for people right across the board in one or in spaces as they are being given for building. Well, it is not for us to argue that or to debate that, but this, perhaps, would be another way to minimise the whole impression that whilst we are having a flow of the Blacks from their residential areas into the White suburbs we have not begun to have a flow of the Whites into what was initially the townships. Of course, it is understood. Some of these were monstrosities that were so poorly planned that nobody can get into those structures and hope to pursue a high standard or a high quality of life.

Then there is, of course this is written into all that, where we are saying that reparation should as much as possible target the youths of this country. If one has got it right even from the youths, that the youths do not have, they just have differences, they are not antithetical, they are not opposed to one another and if we capture the mood correctly, a majority of the youth were involved in the struggle. It is not a question of going to benefit, perhaps, some of the youth that were not involved. Here we are talking in terms, in national number. So and, of course, understanding too the effect or what the nation will gain should it target the youth in terms of reparation. That is giving them what they have lost.

Finally, there is this that has been said which, of course, we have not heard right through our workshops and consultations, the presence of the business sector. You know, without that it becomes very difficult, because as long as the business does not get it from the communities themselves they will always think that they are being targeted by the TRC or they are being targeted by the Government and in the light of what they consider heavy taxation that they pay, they become a little reluctant to join the mainstream of reconstruction and reconciliation.

So, briefly, these are the issues that I have captured and we would be very happy if people could come forward with those that I might have overlooked. Thank you Madam Chair and the house.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you Tom for that concluding remarks. I have just been passed a notice that lunch is not ready yet. It will be ready within the next ten minutes and therefore I am going to call on the Bethany Children's Home Choir to render an anthem.

CHOIR PERFORMANCE:

CHAIRPERSON: Just one comment from Piet Meiring.

PROF MEIRING: You speak first and I will have the last word.

CHAIRPERSON: I should speak first. Okay. Thank you to the Bethany Children's Home Choir. Just two announcements from the Ministers from the, Ministers working with the TRC is that one, is that they are going to call a workshop on healing of memory, healing of memory workshop and that will be conducted by Father Michael Rapsley. We are still working on this workshop, on the date, etc, and as soon as we have finalised it then we will spread the message about it.

Secondly, we know, of course, that there are different interpretations about reconciliation. Each faith group got his or her, its own interpretation about reconciliation, so that is another workshop in the pipeline that we are going to look at all the different interpretations of reconciliation from the different faith groups as well as the faculties of theology or religious departments within the Gauteng area. We are going to call a workshop on that, of course, to reconcile the interpretations of reconciliation. Is that not interesting and, yes, that is also in the pipeline. As soon as we finalise that workshop we will make the dates of the workshops available to the different churches and spread the message.

Of course, a word of thanks to all the groups that have made submissions today, all the focus groups, I am not going to name them, but thank you very much for all your submissions today. Also a word of thanks to all the Commissioners, Piet Meiring, Tom Manthata and Dr Fazel Randera and everybody else, thank you very much. Also a word of thanks to the logistics department and the caterers and the secretaries, Fekile and Zina and everybody else that was involved in setting up this workshop. A word of thanks also to my colleague on my right, Heidi Bruiners, who chaired the first part of the meeting. A word of thanks to the Mayor of Johannesburg as well. To the choirs, thank you for rendering all the items, anthems and, of course, to you. A word of thanks to you that was present today. Thank you for your interest, thank you for your questions, thank you for your time, thank you for your effort and thank you for being here today. Piet, you want to say the last word.

PROF MEIRING: The last word should be a word of thanks to the Chairperson, both Chairpersons. I would really like to say thank you to Heidi Bruiners and to Calvin Harris. We were privileged to have you on our, as our Chairpersons, Chairs today. Thank you very much for that and then can I just underline what Calvin has said. We are so grateful for all of you who came. This was really a rainbow nation meeting. All the different communities were represented and we know that it takes some doing to put apart a whole Saturday morning, there are so many things needed to be done. Thank you for putting aside your Saturday morning and to, being with us.

The things that Calvin mentioned, the Ministers' initiatives, the healing of memories workshop and the others, let us keep, let us let each other know of the different initiatives. It may well that the other groups here today also have projects and initiative, efforts that they want to make. Please let us network with one another and let us do these things together. If you need the list of the people who were here today from the Truth Commission, we can supply you with the list of names of people who were here. Let us do these things together. As was rightfully said, the Truth Commission can do, can only go as far as this, can lay the table, in a sense, for all the other things that needed to be done ... of all your efforts and please take heart, listen to what other people are doing, start with your own efforts and reconciliation in reaching out to others, other people. Let us know about that and let us move into a bright future together. Thank you ever so much for all of you who were here again.

Just a friendly reminder from Peter and Melanie, that if there are still some of you who have some of these magic boxes and stuff with you, do not take them along, leave them on the chairs as you go out for lunch. It seems to me that lunch is ready. Fekile is lunch ready? We can move out and we can wait, the lunch will be there, but I think there is a closing prayer first.

CHAIRPERSON: I am going to call on Rev Calvin Naidoo from the Prespetarian Church of South Africa to lead us with a closing prayer.

CHOIR PERFORMANCE:

REV NAIDOO: Closing prayer.

CHAIRPERSON: This Johannesburg follow up workshop is officially closed.

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

MPUMALANGA FOLLOW UP WORKSHOP

DATE: 08 JULY 1997

HELD AT: ERMELO

CHAIRPERSON: We are about to start now, but before we start, we call upon Bishop Nkosi to come forward and open the proceeding with prayer.

BISHOP NKOSI: Good morning ladies and gentlemen. Before we can start with our proceedings of today, I would like to read only a few verses from the Word of God, the book of Matthew, chapter five - I'm sorry, chapter six, only verse 12. The heading is

"Teaching about prayer.

"Forgive us the wrongs we have done, as we forgive the wrongs that others have done to us."

While we are seated; let us close our eyes so that I can pray.

OPENING PRAYER BY BISHOP NKOSI

Thank you, sir.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you Bishop Nkosi. We are now going to start just after this prayer. We are going to start with item number two on our programmes. That is to welcome all of you who are present today.

We are going to start by welcoming the panel in front of you. On my right-hand side, is Mr Tom Manthata. I hope that we all know Tom Manthata. We welcome you. Thank you very much to be here for second or third time; I don't know how many times, but thank you very much.

We also welcome Ms Hlengiwe Mkhize, but she's not on her chair right now, she is still with the crowd, and next to me is Prof Piet Meiring. We welcome you. thank you very much to be here. We also welcome Piet Meiring.

I am Rev Khumalo myself, the Chairperson of today. We would also like to welcome other people, dignitaries and everybody. We welcome you all. We thank you for your presence. It was such a short notice, but thank you for your response.

And now, the earphones channel number two, is English, channel number one will be Afrikaans, channel number three, Zulu and channel number four Sotho. Channel two is English, channel one Afrikaans, channel three Zulu and channel four Sotho.

We move now to item number three which is the purpose of the workshop. We'll ask Prof Meiring to tell us exactly what is happening today.

PROF MEIRING: Rev Khumalo, friends, thank you so much for the kind welcome and for the invitation to come to Ermelo. It is indeed a very great privilege and an honour to be with you all.

Just before I start explaining to you the purpose of the visit; may I just again for the young people explain how this thing works.

Ek gaan dit maar in Afrikaans doen. U moet tog sorg dat u elkeen van die oorfoontjies kry en dan sal u sien dat aan die linkerkant is daar 'n knoppie wat die kanale aandui van een tot vier. Nommer een is 'n vertaling in Afrikaans, nommer twee is in Engels, nommer drie in Zoeloe en nommer vier in Sotho. Die regterkantste knoppie is die - natuurlik die volume, die hard en sag.

If you need these translation facilities, please just see to it that you get them. You've heard that channel one is Afrikaans, two English, three Zulu and four Sotho. You may find that you to play a little bit around with this thing; just to see in which direction it works best, but see to it that you get one of these if you need the translation. There are enough headphones, earphones for all of you available, if you need it.

Now coming to the purpose of this day's workshop. The other day I was in Pretoria at a launch where 300 young students were sent out in the community to work.

The chairman of the launch started off by saying; the Truth Commission is the talk of the town in South Africa and indeed it is. It seems that all over the country people talk about the Truth Commission.

The train of the Truth Commission visited nearly every town, every city, every urban area, many of the rural areas and all over the country, people have been brought into contact with the Truth Commission and the work of the Truth Commission.

In a sense it was a unique experience to all of us; people serving on the Truth Commission, but also for the people in South Africa taking note of the Truth Commission. For the many, many victims that came it meant a lot. For the perpetrators who went to the Truth Commission to ask for amnesty, it meant a lot. For the public of South Africa, all of us who sat at the radio or at the TV at night, who saw the faces of the people who came to ask that their submission may be heard to tell their stories, it meant a lot.

All of us are caught up in this process of the Truth Commission. In a sense it has been a unique experience. Firstly I would like to report a little bit back on what the Truth Commission has done. That is the first purpose of this morning's visit and then I will explain what the rest of the morning will be about.

The Truth Commission started at the beginning of last year. On the 1st of February officially the work started, the wheels started to roll and many, many things happened. You know, that the Truth Commission consists of three committees and each has its work cut out.

Then there are a number of other support services too which I will tell you about. But the three committees of the Truth Commission are the following.

The first one is the Committee for Gross Human Rights Violations. That was the committee that had the task to invite all the victims throughout the country to come and to make statements, to tell their story to the public, because this is the Truth Commission. We want the truth to be heard. The truth of what happened to all the people in the country, because at the end a report must be written on the truth of the experience, of the pain, of the suffering of so many people in the country.

Initially when the Truth Commission started, nobody knew how many victims would come to the fore. In a sense the Truth Commission - the Act that was written by Parliament, passed by Parliament for the Truth Commission, made it a bit difficult, because it was not everybody that suffered harm in the past.

It was not everybody that was forcefully relocated from one place to another place. It was not even all the people that were taken to jail or had a very rough time that were, according to the definition of the Truth Commission, able to come to the Truth Commission, to the TRC.

The Act said it had to do with gross human rights violations. That meant murder or attempted murder or kidnapping or

very, very gross violations where people were tortured that left marks, psychological marks or physical marks which they have to carry with them through the years.

So the people who came were really the people who suffered most throughout the country. I told you we didn't know how many would come. By the end of last year, already 10 000 people came in all the different provinces of the country.

Today it is about 12 500. It may be that by the end of the year when the doors of the Truth Commission close, that it will be - it may be 20 000 people who came, who suffered gross, very serious human rights violations.

To most of them it has been a very good experience. When people come to make statements, there's a statement-taker present and he helps the person; the father or the mother or the young man or the young lady. They make their statements.

All the statements are gathered together and then from time to time in a specific area, as also happened in Ermelo, there was a public hearing and some of the people are invited to come and tell their stories.

Of course not everybody had the opportunity to tell their story. Usually we selected about one out of every 20 statements that were made. One of the - only one of those were invited to make a statement in public; to come and tell their story.

Usually they were chosen in such a fashion that the one person that brought a statement, represented a whole experience in an area. We also wanted to, at the hearings, to put light onto all the different experiences of all the different communities.

The Act of the Truth Commission says that the process must be even-handed. That all the sides of the struggle, all the different political parties; Whites and Blacks and whoever, should be presented at the Truth Commission.

We need an overall picture of all the work done, of all the suffering in South Africa. In Mpumalanga there were many victims who came to the fore. You've seen - some of you were here when the Truth Commission was here with its hearing. You have seen the face of my colleague, Tom Manthata, who was also a prisoner, who was also somebody who suffered a lot during the past.

But he, together with his colleagues, sat at the table and listened to some of the stories from this area, but you may know that the same process was repeated over and over again throughout the country and thousands of people came.

The experience we had is the experience you probably also had in Ermelo; that to most of the victims it was a healing thing to come to the Truth Commission. When you talk to the victims afterwards; some of them suffered greatly, but when you talk to them afterwards and ask: was it worth your while to come? Then usually they say, yes, we have lived with our story for so long and now we are relieved.

Sometimes the tears that you saw on television at night, were tears of healing, were tears really of reconciliation and of healing, that made people whole again.

But that is the first committee, the Committee for Gross Human Rights Violations.

The second committee is the Committee for Amnesty. When - just before the election, just before the new South Africa came into being, the multi-party conference sat for the last few sessions. They had to decide: what are we going to do to the perpetrators? What are we going to do to the people who have misbehaved; the many people who were guilty of gross human rights violations? What are we going to do with those people? Are we going to take them to jail? No, they said, we don't want to go that way. Are we just going to say let's forgive and forget? No, we don't want to go that way. We want amnesty for the people who are the perpetrators, but we want them to come and bring the truth. We are interested in the truth and if a perpetrator comes and says I need amnesty for the things that I have been involved in he can ask for amnesty, but we want first a full disclosure of every act that he asked amnesty for.

So the Amnesty Committee has been hard at work. Again, nobody really knew how many people would need amnesty;

would it be 500 or maybe 800 or a 1000 people? Nobody knew.

At the end, round about 11 000 people asked for amnesty and we don't know even if those are all the people that really should go for amnesty. But, 11 000 people came to the Truth Commission and said I was involved; I committed gross human rights violations; I am guilty of these things that happened and I want to come and ask for forgiveness; I have to come and ask for amnesty; will you please hear my story; will you please listen to make my case and will you please decide if I can have amnesty or not?

At the beginning the Amnesty Committee was rather small: three Judges and two advocates had to sit and listen, but because there were so many people who came to ask for amnesty, we went to the Government and asked please make this Committee larger; please give us more Judges and they gracefully said yes, they will do that and in a few weeks' time more Judges will be appointed and three different groups of the Amnesty Committee will sit in different parts of the country to hear all the many cases of the perpetrators who want to go for amnesty.

Today and tomorrow in the Cape Province there's an amnesty hearing taking place and tonight when you sit in front of your TV set or when you listen to the radio, you will listen, you will hear what has been happening in the amnesty court.

The third committee of the Truth Commission is the R & R Committee and the chair of the R & R Committee is just walking in, Mrs Hlengiwe Mkhize. She will tell you about what the R & R Committee does.

CHAIRPERSON: Welcome.

PROF MEIRING: Welcome. Mrs Mkhize comes from Johannesburg. She doesn't know Mpumalanga. She had to find her way first. Let me just fill you in. The idea was if there are so many human rights violation's victims that fill in statements; people that suffered so greatly in the past; what are we going to do for them?

For the perpetrators who go for amnesty, there's a lot in the process. They can come and although - even if they have committed so many murders, even if they have committed so many gross violations; when they go the Committee they can get a new lease on life. They can say I am sorry and they can go out and they can have a new life.

The problem many people had, was what is in the process for the victims, the people that really matter? What is in the process for the people who suffered so greatly? And to care for them, to see to it that right will be given to the many victims, the third committee was established; the Committee for Reparation and for Rehabilitation.

And this Committee Mrs Mkhize will tell you all about, but they were the people who are involved in trying to look after all the problems of the many victims; the present problems and the future problems and what can we do for them to see to it that the Truth Commission process is not only a perpetrator-friendly, but especially a victim-friendly process.

That was the first purpose of our visit today; that we report a little bit back to you to tell you where we are at the moment; that I told you a little bit about the hearings. Maybe I can just add this. Most of the hearings have ended now. All the victims' hearings have come to a close. There will be two or three more hearings, but that will be special cases.

In a few weeks time in the old Fort in Johannesburg there will be a prison hearings where all the people who were in prison, or some of the people who were in prison, will present statements reflecting on what was the fate of the many prisoners who suffered for so many years in the South African prisons; what can be done for them.

At another stage there will be a media hearing where all the newspapers in South Africa can reflect on their role during the Apartheid years and two or three more special-event hearings will be in the offing.

The last part of the year we will reflect mostly on what can be done now by way of reconciliation. It's the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. We have been involving ourselves for 18 months, trying to get to the bottom of the truth, bringing out all the stories, but now the last part of the year we will have to reflect on reconciliation; on the healing of the community.

Who are - what do we mean when we speak about reconciliation? Who are the stakeholders, nationally as well as

locally. But that is what we wanted to tell you.

The first part of the meeting was to report back to you. It may be that there are a number of questions you would like to ask and I think the Chairman will allow for questions after Mrs Mkhize has also spoken to you. If you want to ask us about the process, about many things that happened, please feel free to do so.

The second part of the hearing is that we want to come and listen to you. You have gracefully listened to us, but we need to listen to you. The train has come to Ermelo and to all the surrounding areas of Ermelo. Many people were touched by the Truth Commission and now after so many weeks we want to hear from you what happened to the community. What are the ties that we still need to - the strings that we still need to tie? What are the things that happened subsequently in Ermelo and in Piet Retief and in Bethel and in Middelburg and in Witbank and in all the areas you represent.

We want to hear from you all the advice you have for us, especially in the field of reparation and very much in the field of reconciliation. We would like to hear from you what has been done locally for reconciliation. Do you have plans? Do you have projects? Do you have ideas, not only for this year, but for the coming year and for the future on reconciliation and the community.

For that reason we have arranged that a number of so-called focus groups will speak. You see on the programme under point 6 that a number of Ministers will - two Ministers will speak. We would love to hear what the Baruti has to say on reconciliation and on the prospects for reconciliation in this area.

Then we will have two women, two mothers of the community that will speak to us and we want to listen to what they say on what the ladies, the women are going to do for reconciliation.

We are very interested in the business sector and the Government departments, because they represent a very important part of society. What do they say? What is their perception of the Truth Commission and of the work of the TRC and how do they look towards the future.

Then we will have the young people. Usually that is a highlight in our meetings. When the young people get up and when they get enthusiastic and say, this is the things we want to do, this is how we see the past and the present, but especially the future.

Then lastly we are very fortunate to have a traditional leader, Mr Khumalo, who will from the side of the traditional leaders will put yet another perspective on the table for us.

That will take care of the day. At the end my colleague, Mr Tom Manthata will tie all the strings together. He will try and make a summary of everything that is said by you, by all of us today.

We have tea together at the end. We have lunch together. May I just reiterate what the Chairman said: we are so glad to have all of you here. It is so nice to see that you represent the different communities of this area. The Black community and all its different segments, we have the White community, the Afrikaans and English-speaking community here. We are very, very grateful that you are here.

I hope you find it enjoyable and knowledgable that all of us will learn a lot from being here today. If you have questions, ask. If you have comments, if you have advice, we need that. Let us make this our TRC day, the final day of the TRC in this part of the country.

Thank you Mr Chairman.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much Professor. Before we ask Ms Mkhize to speak, we would like to welcome you. Thank you very much to be here, to be with us. We know that you are from Johannesburg and it is very misty on the way, but you braved the way. Thank you so much. Over to you, Ms Mkhize.

MS MKHIZE: Thank you Mr Chair, my colleagues, thank you very much.

First of all I would like to apologise that I couldn't be here on time. I greet each and everyone of you gathered here and we thank you as the Truth Commission that you are here to support us once again.

Since we have started as the Commission we are here, we have achieved what we've achieved today as a result of the support we have been given by the community in different places.

My duty as it has been mentioned is to explain briefly about the Reparation's policy. I should think the question of Reparation's policy is very, very important in the sense that within the Commission we believe that's the legacy by which the Commission will be remembered.

It's either we succeed in promoting national unity and reconciliation or we fail. So it's important for each and every person to hear clearly what we are proposing and during working groups; even if you are looking at what women are saying, you've got to test it against what we have said in the policy and make suggestions. It's not yet final. We are improving on it on a daily basis, depending on the feedback we get from individuals, from groups like yourself. So really I appreciate your comment. Even if it's one word, it will make a difference in this policy.

As we are here, the three of us, we belong to that committee. Some are in Cape Town, some in Natal, some in Eastern Cape. Besides the work of the Commission, our role is to suggest to the President things and matters that need to be looked at, especially for the victims who underwent the atrocities.

We know that many people have suffered different ordeals and some have suffered even more than others. As Prof Meiring have said and told us about reconciliation. We read newspapers and we find out there is no way people can heal just like that, especially when others have gone through serious atrocities. There have got to be things that will have to be undertaken so that others feel better.

When we started we contacted every community. Almost everyone of the people in different communities have made mention of the fact that the Reparation's policy is very important, because it is going to be an aid to those who have suffered atrocities.

There is an Act that we work within and it is imperative for us to go by it and it explicitly emphasise the fact that it is important that people should be compensated.

We know that the AZAPO group have taken the Commission to the court of law, stating that those who have committed atrocities, should not be granted amnesty in any way. That will mean we cannot revenge, you know, and we cannot even take them further legally, because after they've been granted amnesty, one won't have any authority to take them further legally. The minute one is granted amnesty, there's nothing that can be done to those people.

As a Committee we looked into that judgement and after this judgement was announced, as a Commission, we have been granted authority to go on and work despite the fact that the AZAPO was against it; saying and claiming that this Commission is against human rights.

The judge who took this judgement said, it is better if it's done this way, because even those who suffered this ordeal and the ones who have committed these atrocities, will be granted amnesty and the ones who have suffered will have to be compensated in some way.

In Reparations we don't look at the fact that you should just be compensated, but what we looked into, or what we look into is what you've suffered; maybe the family and the whole community was harassed and ...

END OF TAPE 1 - SIDE A

This Commission looks into building the person who has been affected and the community at large, not only the individual, but it goes even beyond what you've suffered.

That helped us as we looked into Mohammed's judgement, because he also supported the recommendations that we took as a Reparations Committee.

I have already said that we've contacted many communities and different communities; even those who gave in statements. We asked them as to what would they prefer to appease them. We looked also at the world and internationally to see what was done to them and referred to things that were done in other countries and try to do them and apply them here in South Africa.

As you know about the RDP; what we request from the Government for the victims is not only a hand-out to be given, something that afterwards this thing is gone and it is time-consumed. What we do: we build the people and the nation. We give them the fishing rod to fish; not the fish to feed them.

We know very well that when one is given something, they will consume that thing and after it has been consumed, he or she is left alone and cannot grow or be developed. Now we suggest to the Government to give people things that will carry them a long way.

One other thing that I would like to mention. Besides the fact that we have to have development centres, we have to get something that would be equal to everybody, not want to get something less, but some kind of help that will be equal.

As I am still on that point, please all those who have cellular phones, may they be switched off, because as it rings it is recorded as well.

We shall request the Government that there should be uniform help that is given to the victims, but there should also be an opportunity for those who have certain needs. Especially the ones who are handicapped, who need medical attention or constant medical attention, will not be given the same help as the people who have been psychologically affected, but are able to work on their own or earn their own living.

So these different groups of people will be compensated differently. Those who need immediate help should be helped immediately, especially with regard to medical attention. Then we formulate certain guidelines that govern the way in which the people are compensated, because if we do not make those recommendations to the Government, the Government will not know as to how to compensate or rehabilitate the victims.

One other aspect of the Reparation is the fact that there should be reparation officers in different areas where they will be able to help us, especially with groups such as the SACC, the South African Council of Churches, as to how they have been helping their communities to cope with certain traumas that they've undergone.

Such committees will be able to help us in giving us some suggestions as to how to deal with certain matters within the community. For instance, other groups in Johannesburg who take decisions, without consulting the other ones who are outside the other places. They should be able to have some communication within their structures so that the Reparations Officers who are connected with the families as well as the communities, are able to detect whenever there is a problem; so that there could be some changes implemented whenever difficulties are encountered.

The policy that we are referring to is governed by a certain Act. There is what we call urgent interim and there's also what we call the final, but the policy is based on the same principle. It's one policy, but the difference is that the urgent interim is something that can be done between the Commission and the Minister of Justice, but the final one is taken to Parliament and it can be promulgated into law.

That is where it can be determined as to how much can be spent on compensation. Now, as the Commission we are dealing with the interim; that is where people need urgent help, especially medical attention as well as non-governmental organisations that we would need to contact in order to grant other victims urgent interim help.

But what we have discovered is that even with that, some other people who can be helped or victims who can be helped, are far from those facilities. They are not able to reach their medical centres.

So we have asked the Government to set up a desk which can deal with these matters quite urgently. Then after we have closed as a Commission, the final will only start operating then; that is when the matter is being handled by the Cabinet as well as the other committees of the political parties together, who can actually decide as to what they would do with

regard to the policy.

There's help that is going to be implemented whilst the Commission is in process and there's another one that is going to be implemented once the Committee has finished its duties and it has closed up.

What we are now looking at as far as the injuries that people get, there are five categories. Some are physically handicapped, they need prompt medical attention. For instance those who had been assaulted and those who are on wheel-chairs, blind ones and some who need medical treatment. Those are the ones who need medical assistance. There are others who are mentally or psychologically traumatised to such an extent that they are not able to keep up jobs for a very long period of time and those we categorise as the mental health group. I think you as a community or as South Africans know that most of the people who have come before this Commission, were very traumatised, very angry and some were even crying when they vented out their anger.

This shows that they have been emotionally and psychologically affected and therefore need help. We also should approach the Government with regard to that, because some of them should go to trauma clinics, but we as the Commission, feel that helping a person psychologically, it is not the psychologist's or psychiatrist's duty only, but we do believe that faith healers can also lend a hand in this and there are also others within our communities who were looking after the traumatised families of victims of human rights violations.

We also feel that there should be some teams or groups within our communities who come together to try and find solutions as to how these people can be repaired or rehabilitated.

We are also contemplating on making suggestions that there should be some discussion groups and they should also be prominent members of the community who are going to help with regard to the rehabilitation of the victims of human rights violations.

There's also the category of educational assistance. It is apparent that some other people need educational help, especially those children whose parents died during the struggle, who therefore could not continue with their education, because of these reasons.

Some lost their parents and we cannot just say sorry to them; we need to rehabilitate them. We need to help them to be able to cope with life, to be able to fend for themselves with regard to skills and education.

There are also those who lost their houses, especially in rural areas. If you belonged to a certain political group, you would be chased away by another political group and you end up losing your shelter. We should also think about those. They should get their shelters, get their places back.

These are some of the suggestions that we are giving to the Government. We also have another category of symbolic reparations; that besides the other categories that we have spoken about, there are some people as you have seen on television that some bones are being dug. Certain people have been killed and buried at certain places where there were no death certificates issued to the different families.

The Commission should help them get the bones of their loved ones as well as getting death certificates. Some of the families, we have already started helping them in burying their loved ones and we believe that that is symbolic; that is still going to go on within our communities.

Some have got wishes that they make some - erect some memorial stones or monuments for the victims of human rights violations. Some went out on exile and their parents will need to have something symbolic to remember their children by.

One other thing that we are asking from the community; that is besides the individual families; we would like to have some monuments to remember our heroes or our fallen heroes or maybe there could be certain places where people could be educated on a human rights culture so that we do not kill each other any more.

We will try to reconcile and bring together some tolerance within the political parties. All those things should be

implemented within the community, because even today we are having new political groups coming up.

That doesn't mean that we are going to have peace, that it is going to be a bed of roses. It is apparent that we are still heading for very difficult times, especially with the new political groups emerging. Therefore we should exercise tolerance, especially with the elections looming around the corner.

In South Africa we still do not have the culture of tolerance. If you don't see eye to eye then you're enemies, but these are beliefs that should be eradicated from our community.

Then we come to a national level. There should be some principles or ways or means that should be devised that there should be some monuments which shall remind us of our past and make us to be able to cope with our future. There should be some memorial days and some monuments erected with the names of the people who died during the time of the struggle.

That is all that we feel falls under the umbrella of symbolic reparations. We believe that that is part of reparation and rehabilitation as well as reconciliation.

So that was what I was saying briefly, but the main thing is that we as the Commission are not the ones who are going to implement all the policies and principles that we have talked about.

We take recommendations, opinions and suggestions to the President's office and he shall see to it these are the people that will promote healing and reconciliation. We believe that healing is very important. The people should be healed emotionally, mentally and psychologically before they can actually accept their pasts, accept what has happened and try to forget about it.

We must be the rainbow nation who has got a pride that we are all inhabitants of this country and we love this country. That is all that I wanted to say and you can come forth with your suggestions.

CHAIRPERSON: We thank Ms Mkhize. She has put it so clearly. I think we all know what the work of the Truth Commission is. We do realise now that it has got a mammoth task.

We also thank those who have dedicated themselves and volunteered to help us without expecting any remuneration, because they are trying to heal the community, to repair the damage that has been done within the community. That is a very important aspect.

We thank you very much, Ms Mkhize. We also thank Prof Meiring for his brief explanation. It's possible that there are some aspects which have not yet been covered. Maybe there are certain things that are not clear within the Truth Commission or the workings of the Truth Commission.

Now this is an opportunity for you to come forth with any questions that you would like to pose to the panel. It doesn't matter what type of question you want to ask, but this is your opportunity to ask questions.

Anyone who has got a question, may come forward and ask the question. Then he or she may be answered.

BISHOP NKOSI: I would first like to thank you for the opportunity that you have afforded me. I thank Prof Meiring as well as Ms Mkhize and Mr Khumalo.

I am from the reverend's office in greater Ermelo. We would like to ask from the Commission, because from certain statements there were case numbers which were written on the statement; we would like to know as to how much the Commission has worked or what has it found so far?

Are they able to get the perpetrators and if so, are they prepared to come forward and ask for forgiveness to the victims now and not to the Amnesty Committee. Because as priests, when we talk to people during the process of counselling, people do intimate to us that true peace will only be found when the perpetrator comes forward personally to the victim and speaks to the victim and asks for forgiveness to the victim himself or herself.

We do appreciate the work of the Truth Commission, but the most important aspect is for the perpetrator to come forward and face the victim and ask for forgiveness to the victim himself or herself. We believe that we shall thereby find peace.

I have got two more questions. As a group of priests, we shall appreciate to get a report from the Truth Commission from time to time, with regard to the developments that are taking place; as today we are getting the first report after our last public hearing.

Lastly, from the office of the President, we thank very much that he has implemented this Commission to come and promote peace in our country. We thank you very much.

CHAIRPERSON: We will ask you to sit down for a moment, Mr Nkosi, because there's going to be a number of questions.

We shall pose certain questions to you and we'll ask Dr Tom Manthata to answer the questions that you have asked.

MR MANTHATA: Thank you. Let it be observed that our investigative unit is on duty 24 hours of the day, finding out exactly what you are talking about. About the perpetrators, about the missing victims, about where the victims could have been killed. All sorts of questions.

Some of them are even being added to by those questions that arise as the amnesty hearings are on; where the perpetrators themselves will talk about certain people that they may not even - whose names they may not remember.

So that process is going to take us a long time and you have rightly said that for that - for the communities to get answers to those questions and even for the communities to find a way forward to promote peace and reconciliation, the community will have to have an established organisation that can deal directly with this.

Whether this is going to be the office that will be implementing the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to the Government, being implemented by the Government, so that all those questions can be channelled to that office and in turn that office should channel them to the communities.

But we are working feverishly in that regard and we were supposed to have had almost a fact sheet on how many in this area have applied for amnesty and how have their

hearings fared to date. How many - this too now becomes a very delicate and a very profound work to be done - how many people were supposed to have applied for amnesty and they have not done so and if so, what should the communities themselves do?

Because when people couldn't come to apply for amnesty, it was made publicly clear that should any of those people or persons be found to have not applied for amnesty and the victims discover that and the victims decide to prosecute that person, they are free to do so.

So that is a question of what we are given and what the communities themselves are able to find out or to observe and if so, the communities are allowed, are free to take whatever legal actions they can with regard to those people who have injured people, who have killed people, but have not applied for amnesty.

When it comes to the question of the church it's true. Right from the beginning the President saw or sees so much salvation in the church or in the churches for the promotion of unity and reconciliation in this country, that we become very happy once local churches decide to make it their duty to make a follow-up in the areas of healing, counselling, advising and/or even enabling the people to get what is due to them.

So that is the situation. There are those who have applied for amnesty whose names we do not have today, but you at committee level should know about those who were supposed to have applied for amnesties and the committees must be beginning to ask themselves; what can they do with those people.

We know that there are - as it has been pointed out - that this Commission is not resting on just vengeance and what not and what not. The idea of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission; the key concept is reconstruction. It is a building process. So other things to look into, are what is it we can do to build the communities?

That is by way of symbolic reparations. What do the communities want? So it is not so much what - it is (a) a. what the people have said, their request; (b) what has, as Hlengiwe has pointed out, what has the Truth and Reconciliation Commission itself to offer to the people and are the communities now ready to take that up themselves; when it comes to putting up the committees for reconciliation and how to go all these things about.

The most important too is that you cannot go onto reconciliation without key facts of who was killed, who killed who, where did you take this person to? All those things are needed, they're very fundamental; these other things that you are going to work with and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is there to provide you with that information. It will be given to you, Reverend.

BISHOP NKOSI: I thank you for the explanation that you have just given, especially the fact that you have undertaken to inform us from time to time.

CHAIRPERSON: We thank you, Rev Nkosi. We would like all those who have questions to come forward one by one to ask their questions. We do hope that there are some people who have questions that they would like to pose.

Please come to the front seat there so as to identify them.

MR MALATO: I say thank you, Mr Chairperson, Rev Khumalo and all the other members present here on the platform. I'm Malato from Kluzi Middelburg and I have one or two things that I would like to ask in the form of a follow-up of what transpired on that day.

I remember very well that one of the members of the Truth Commission on that day, Ms Yasmin Sooka, indicated or intimated to me that there is one of - there are two lists that have been gone through of the names of the exiles wherein my child, my son's name doesn't appear.

Because, like I said the other day, it is a mysterious story. Now, my question is, I may be a bit too fast, but I think I have to, I can't do otherwise. I'm asked to - according to the invitation that it is a follow-up. If she were here, I would have asked and the question is: has the third list been gone into, because she promised that day she was going to check on the third list.

The other thing that she wanted to know was the fictitious name he was known by while on exile and this was provided to me, I had forgotten at that stage. She was known as Millard, you know the horse-trainer Millard and another name was Twala, something like that.

Now, I'm really just making a follow-up on that. If it is too immediate, well unfortunately, that would be so, but has she gone into that to find out whether in the third list that she was going to go through; whether any of these names that I've mentioned does not appear.

Because as far as we are concerned, our child has disappeared mysteriously. It's a mystery. We have not heard no head or tail about what had happened.

My second question again, Mr Chairman, is, it was a certain member also on that day who was - who told me that he is associated with Wits - I don't remember his name. He indicated to me that there is someone who - when I was giving the evidence his name came into his mind and he'd begin to scratch his mind very itchyly.

He said, this gentlemen appeared to him to know more about what I was saying and he was going to make a follow-up on that and he promised that to me ,that he was going to get into that matter so that this man should tell him what happened to my son.

I wonder - can I - am I, Professor, am I allowed to mention this gentleman's name?

PROF MEIRING: No, give the name to us in writing.

MR MALATO: In writing? Okay.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. Are you ...

MR MALATO: Yes, these are the two very important questions at the moment.

CHAIRPERSON: Okay. I will ask Prof Meiring to answer.

PROF MEIRING: I would like to thank you, my brother from Middelburg. I was there at the hearing and I remember that you came to the floor and the questions you asked.

What we usually do and what Ms Yasmin Sooka also did, is to immediately after the hearing, give the file to the investigative unit and they go into the matters.

But I will tomorrow, when we return to the office, go to the investigative unit and to hear whether they have succeeded in getting some information.

Thank you for the names, Millard, Twala, I have written that down, the fictitious names. Also the request, I think the gentleman you remember from Wits is Mr Russel Ally and if you give me that name I will give it to him.

But please, on the piece of paper, write down your telephone number too so that we can report back, hopefully by tomorrow on what has been happening to this file.

Maybe I could just explain to all of you; when all the files - when all the statements are made by people who either just make a statement before a statement-taker or people who go to a public hearing to make a statement in public; whenever we get that files, it goes to the investigative unit. Tom Manthata told you about that.

We have, in all four regions, we have a set of investigators. They go through all the files. They see whether they can find corroborative evidence of everything that have been said and after they made their findings, they give it back to us, to the Human Rights Violations Committee and they then make a finding, say, yes, Mr so-and-so has made a statement, the investigative unit went through it, they got all the corroborative evidence and now we can truly say this person and the case has been looked at, the information is correct, we can find this person to be a victim.

You can well appreciate that it takes a long time. Some of the statements we can very easily corroborate. Some of them they have to dig very deeply to get to the bottom of that.

But in all four regions people are sitting weekly with a stack of files, going through the evidence, seeing if they can make a finding.

But I will undertake to ask Ms Yasmin Sooka and Dr Ally to come back to you tomorrow, if you give me your telephone number. It may be that they've already dug up more information and maybe they can report back to you

MR MALATO: Mrs Sooka, yes, I remember. The other gentleman is ...

PROF MEIRING: Russel Ally.

MR MALATO: Russel Ally.

PROF MEIRING: Yes, Russel Ally.

CHAIRPERSON: Okay.

MS MKHIZE: I would just like to add something, I mean you might be aware that we have had political party hearings again and this question was raised. It affects quite a number of people as to what happened to their children and what is

- while investigations are going on, but it's becoming clear that many people fell in-between. Some people didn't even reach the countries that they had hoped to go to live in exile.

So I remember very well when that question was raised of people that are not accounted for, it became clear that even the ANC and the PAC, some names they don't have. They cannot account for.

But what has been said, as a Commission, we are continuously using names, interrogating people as to what might have happened, but that's what we are talking about; that with other Commissions at the end if nothing is found, no information; that's where the President make decisions about symbolic deaths and awarding of even death certificates and symbolic funerals, so to say. But the investigations will continue.

I just wanted to add that it's like - from political parties it's like there are people that they cannot account for.

MR MALATO: Yes, I shall for the moment accept, but thank you very much.

CHAIRPERSON: We thank you for having answered those questions and for you to have come forward. We will ask the next person who'd like to pose a question to come forward.

We would like you to introduce yourself please, before you start asking your question.

MR MASEKO: Thank you, Mr Chairman. My name is Dias Maseko. I'm from Wesselton at number 703, Wesselton extension.

Mr Chairman and the panel, Ms Mkhize and Mr Manthata, I thank you very much for the opportunity that you have afforded me to come forward and ask some questions. I do believe that this is an opportunity for me to ask with regard to certain aspects that are not clear to me.

Now I'm going to pose my question. I was a councillor at Wesselton for quite some time as from 1983 up till the time that I resigned my duties in 1990. I was forced to resign, because I was being attacked by my community for being a councillor.

But till today I have not been told as to why I was attacked. As a result I still do fear for my life and I feel that I no longer have the dignity that I had at that time.

Now I would like to know as to why I was attacked. I am going to speak to every individual member of the council. Now I want to know as to why I was being attacked by members of the community. I don't know whether this does fall within the ambit of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee's duties to deal with such a matter, because I still have this problem of not trusting my community. As a result I cannot interact with my community, because I regard myself as an outcast after the attack by my community.

CHAIRPERSON: We will ask Ms Mkhize to answer your question.

MS MKHIZE: Mr Maseko, maybe we could check, did you make a statement, did you submit a statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Committee?

MR MASEKO: It's the very first that I've come before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission with regard to this matter.

MS MKHIZE: I'll just explain briefly to you that as the Commission we usually encourage people who have been harassed, who have been tortured to come forward and submit statements to the Truth and Reconciliation Committee. Firstly, there should be some political conflict that existed or that resulted in your being harassed, your being tortured or assaulted.

The first is for you to submit a statement, but what we have discovered as we have been touring around the communities is that there are years where those who were activists and took those who were working for the Government as targets,

will come in front of the Commission and say, because at the time I was a councillor my house was set alight and I have suffered atrocities.

But what we have learnt and discovered is that that was some kind of a way that they could fight the councillors and a kind of way that they could send a message through to the Government.

MR MANTHATA: Mr Maseko, if I have to add, in that last hearings that we had here, we had a very good picture of what was obtained in this area from one lawyer for human rights in this area. The audience that was here was moved to come to a conclusion or a suggestion that all the people who were involved should be brought together to bring about an end to all that hatred, hunting down of one another, to begin to talk to one another.

It was even suggested that the people should even consider where and how can they have a place where they can have the names and the people who were involved, written out so that it must be a public display.

They were not talking about people from one side. Prof Meiring has put it very clearly right from the beginning; that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is for everybody who suffered. Whether it was the councillor, whether it was a youth who was mistaken for an informer, whether it was a White person where landmines were built in his house or where he was caught in cross-fire, whether it was a policeman whose house was burnt down; all those people are the people that we're referring to here.

It was said that the process of bringing the people together to talk about these issues with the view of establishing peace and reconciliation, should be started by the people in this community.

Hlengiwe has answered you very well; that if you have particular personal problems, where you have sustained certain injuries, let us have your statement with us, it will be attended to like any other statement.

So the Truth and Reconciliation Commission should not be seen to be promoting one sector of the nation, one sector of the community, one sector of what not; we are here for one and all.

In fact, in our last meeting it was such a blessed meeting that from Ermelo there even came out - I'm sorry that I may sound personal - there even came out one person who was a police after me when we were in the Modderbie Prison. We shook hands, we embraced each other. He had been following us ever since the beginning of the Truth Commission and he knew that he was, you know, behind me all the time. He is a White gentleman, very gentlemanly, honoured, honourable.

So we are saying this - the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is here to promote a healing. It is here to promote a reconstruction. So all what has happened to you, we will request - as the churches have already said, put itself to do here - can the churches together with community organisation begin to set up a body that can attend to all those things.

On the other week when we are in Sharpeville - sorry, in Sebokeng, the ex-councillors like you, came out as a body. They were saying what are you doing with us who are rejected by the community and we are rejected even by the present Government.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission has taken up that whole problem to see to it that people are restored back into their community. They are honoured, dignity and all.

I don't know whether that answers your question.

MR MASEKO: Yes, I'm very much happier of what you are saying, Mr Manthata, but could you be in a position to direct people who had been councillors in Wesselton, where must they go to lodge their complaints or perhaps to find out what is happening by now? Can you be in a position to ...

MR MANTHATA: I think Ms Mkhize has answered that, that if it is for individual purposes, let all those ex-councillors please give us their statements. Let each one make a statement to us. Then we shall attend to the problem as they raise them in their statements.

MR MASEKO: Thank you very much.

MR MANTHATA: Sorry it's still on. If we don't have statement-takers with us today, it is simply because of the pressure of work at the office. The process of taking statements is still on.

So you are still at will and liberty to make your statements; whether you would love to have it collectively, but we prefer individual statements. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Before you leave, Mr Maseko, maybe you are not aware of this fact as Mr Manthata has made mention of. There's still time, you're still at liberty to submit a statement and to get in touch with a statement-taker here in Ermelo. You may contact me or Pastor Nkosi. We are here and taking statements.

Before you leave the podium, Prof Meiring has a word to say.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you. Mr Manthata and the Chairman said what I wanted to say. There's still opportunities for making statements and we'll appreciate it if you do that.

Can I use the opportunity just to ask; it seems we have about time for about two or three more questions. There are some people here representing the social workers community in this area. I wondered whether there are some questions from that community? Some of the social workers, some of the community workers; maybe if you want to raise a few questions, this is the time to do so.

So if you would like the opportunity to come to the fore too, we'll appreciate that. I think, Mr Chairman, let's have another 20 minutes for questions before tea and then we carry on with the focus groups.

CHAIRPERSON: Okay. I thank you very much, Mr Maseko. We will entertain the next question.

CHAIRPERSON: Please introduce yourself. Thank you very much, Maseko. We will entertain the next question.

MR SMELANI: My name is Mbozo Smelani, M M Smelani and I reside in Wesselton, 572 Zwane Street.

My question is this: my son was also injured in (indistinct) and since I have never heard a word as to what happened and transpired then. Even the person who lived with and the one who led to his death, I haven't heard a thing about him, about that perpetrator.

Also, there was one child of mine that survived the incident, but has suffered and has been traumatised as a result of that incident.

But my concern is that I haven't heard anything since then, especially that I did report the matter, but there was no word that followed me after that. I would like to apologise to you, Mr Chairman, for bringing this up, but this really is worrying me.

This took place in August 1990. Since I haven't heard a word with regard to this matter.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you Mr Mkonsa - no Mr Smelani. I know very well that you submitted a statement to us and you explained your matter and this was touched right now that at times the statements do look alike and when the Truth Commission came here to listen to the victims, not everybody was called forward to render a testimony.

But if you were selected to come forward and to tell their stories, your story is similar to many other parents who came forth to tell the story.

So only one parent was called to relate a story that is similar to yours. The Commission couldn't call all of you who had the similar problem, but the Commission did emphasise the fact that it will be in touch.

All that was important was that you submitted a statement and they're looking into that matter, even to date. It's not like

it has been forgotten or laid aside.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you. The Chairman said it all. You must realise that when we work in the office with a stack of statements, it doesn't matter if somebody made a public statement, or if the statement is only on paper. We take the statements each after the other and we take them very seriously.

It is interesting that in many cases one statement corroborates the other. It's like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle on the table. The pieces are starting to fit together.

But as soon as there's information available, we will let you know. We have - we can promise you that. But thank you for raising the question and if you can just bear with us a little while. The investigators are working as hard as they can to see whether they can find all the information.

Thank you very much.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much, Mr Smelani. We do trust and hope that you have been answered.

MR SMELANE: Yes, I have been and I will hope for the best. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: We will request the next person with a question to come forward. Before he may start, it looks as if we have more males than females in the hall. We will appreciate if the women as well can come forward and lay their stories, because they are the mothers of the nation.

We'll appreciate that the women as well shall come forward. It seems as though only men are coming forth. We will appreciate and we encourage even women to come forward with their questions and their concerns.

MR MABUZA: I greet the Commission. I have one question. I reside in Changansi Street in number 739. Now I have this question; that as I was attacked at my home in a tuckshop and I was shot and the person who attacked me had disguised and covered his face that I couldn't identify him.

He entered into my tuckshop at my home and shot me twice. Now I would like to know that as I was shot on my arm and my arm is not functional now, even my tuckshop was destroyed. Today I am just a nobody. Only my wife is working and a breadwinner at home. Being a man, that affects my ego. Now I don't know what steps to take and what to do, because even the police from Pretoria came to get a statement from me and indeed I submitted a statement to them and they promised and assured me that they will follow this matter. They wanted to know if I am the right person who was attacked. They assured me to relax and give a statement to them, because they have already heard that I was shot.

I asked the very police as to who shot or attacked me? They said, that person is in Natal by the name of China and I told them that that person had covered his face so that I don't know who that person is. I couldn't see the person nor identify the person.

He showed me twice and I went home. I went right into the house after I was shot from my tuckshop, which is just on the same premises, but right next to the house. My brother-in-law was with me in the tuckshop. I don't know what happened subsequently, but I left with immediate effect the tuckshop into the house and I told my wife.

My wife was surprised and wanted to know what is that that sounded like a gun. I told her that I have been shot already and look I am bleeding profusely. I said to her don't even ask any further questions, because I have already been shot .

My wife cried bitterly. She told me to get into another room to hide, because there was the possibility that those people could come and attack me again. I could not walk properly. I was dizzy at the time and I stood there. I stood right next to the wall and she said, maybe she should enlist help. They enlisted some help for me and I was taken to the hospital.

Upon arrival there, I was admitted and the doctor who attended me is now late. He gave me medical attention and I survived the incident in that manner.

PROF MEIRING: Mr Mabuza, thank you for telling the story. You haven't made a statement already, have you?

MR MABUZA: Yes.

PROF MEIRING: Have you made a statement?

MR MABUZA: Yes, I have already made the statement.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you for coming forward and for telling the story and we will see to it that the people investigate it and if there's a finding we will come back to you. But thank you for relating the story.

CHAIRPERSON: We thank Mr Mabuza and one other thing that we would like to highlight on, especially to those who will be coming to ask questions, is that we are not coming to tell our stories. Don't tell your story or what you've gone through. Ask a question.

It's just a question-and-answer series not a hearing. For example, Mr Smelani asked a question as to what will be done, because his child was killed and he was answered and the answer was: the investigation is still on and they will get back in touch with him soon as they receive something sound to tell him.

Because he already submitted a statement with every detail. Now we please ask for those who'll be coming to ask questions, especially those who've already submitted statements; not to tell their stories, but to ask their questions direct and be given answers.

We assure you that the statements that you've submitted are being looked at. We do trust and hope that those who'll be coming to ask questions will just ask questions direct, not relate their stories.

MR MAKOBTEO: I would like to thank the Chairperson. My name is Lee Makobeto. I come from the community group by the name of Sancor. There are things that we would like to be clear on, especially that we work with the community.

There will come a time when the community ask us question and we are unable to answer or not sure how to answer their questions. As there have been statements that people submitted in the past as the Commission was here in Ermelo, we would like to know as to what will be done or what steps will be taken with regard to the statements that people submitted to the Commission when the Commission was here in the past.

Secondly, as the community and also community organisationa, we're not satisfied, especially that the perpetrators - especially the way the perpetrators have been treated, that they are not know in the community. It's not clear. Things are evasive as to how and what will be done to those people.

Mr Nkosi asked about the case numbers. There is something and there are things that we would like to know with regard to those case numbers; that as there are people who opened dockets and it was discovered that such people will be looked at and their background as to what community or organisation politically is he or she from.

So that the case will only be treated according to which group do you belong to. We would like to know that those cases, why is it that they were not investigated properly. We would like to know the reasons of such that there were some case numbers that were withdrawn and the case will only be treated according to which organisation you come from.

Lastly, we would like to be offered the opportunity or time-frame that when will we be given the list of the perpetrators and those who were in the forefront attacking people and as to when will those people appear in the court of law? So that we may know and see them in person and know for sure and be certain that the Commission, the Amnesty Commission is doing this and that about such people.

We don't want a situation where people lose credibility in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. This is why we are asking such questions and also make mention of the fact that there are statements and we'd like to know about the

information with regard to the statements so that we may be able to answer the questions when the community ask.

MR MANTHATA: You are taking us back to the first answers we gave that investigations are on. We haven't got the time- frame in terms of when are the questions going to be answered, because first the questions are so varied and many and of course one other thing we should learn to bear in mind is, there is that provision too of **in camera** in camera hearings for the perpetrators who have been cited by individuals.

If you have sighted an individual and that person affects just a few people, our Section 29 hearings, where we questioned the perpetrators, are on. You may not know if, and if what we believe can inform the people publicly would be public hearings for the perpetrators of that nature.

So that whole thing is on. Where people have been cited, people are being called to our offices. That is such perpetrators have been called to our offices to account and give us a full picture of what happened to them.

When it comes to what you say people are to be treated according to their political groupings and what not, I wouldn't know, I'm just not too clear whether that is the commitment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, because when people come, they come as individuals.

They were tortured as individuals by people perhaps of a certain political organisation, where perhaps they have even gone all the lengths to give us the names of those people and these are the people that I have referred to already who are being questioned **in camera**.

I don't know whether I have got the gist of some of the questions you have asked, because I see, and rightly so, that the community needs to know what has happened to it. But I am not too certain to hear whether there has ever been - this is what we're saying - has there been a structure here that the TRC has to report to or whether the TRC has to report to the individuals who made the statements and if there is an organisation here as we have already commented and praised that the churches would love to form that kind of a core group; that can receive some of these recommendations and see whether some of these recommendations, as they affect the communities, can meet a body to implement them or to carry them forward.

You know this is, you know whether we are talking about a similar group from amongst your group that says bring - let the TRC bring all these things to it, rather than to the respective individuals. I think we will need to. That will have to be made very clear, because this is a thing that we shall have region by region.

MR MAKOBETO: In actual fact, Mr Manthata, about the fact that people have been treated differently and according to their political affiliations, I do not intend to point that to the Commission, but my question is with regard to the investigation of those matters, especially those who were working during the apartheid regime.

You will find a case where one will open a docket and is affiliated with a certain organisation, say IFP, and my docket won't be investigated properly or accordingly, but in certain political organisations people will be treated differently from the other.

We would like for those cases who were not properly investigated to be investigated, or maybe there are reasons why they were not investigated accordingly. Maybe you know about such reasons. We would like to know thus far, why they were not investigated further?

MR MANTHATA: At this stage the level at which we are now, we are not able to say that there are no cases that have been investigated - that have not been investigated and/or; there are cases that have been investigated on political party basis.

All investigations are still made on the basis of the request of the person who has made a statement. He says I want to know what happened, I was attacked by organisation A, B, C, D and in the forefront of that organisation there were so and so and so and so and so. These are the so-and-so that we are talking about. Whether the so-and-so will be appearing to us as delegating that organisation is a different thing altogether. I don't know whether that makes any sense?

MS MKHIZE: Maybe if I can just quickly add something. You see, we as Commission we have investigators who come from Germany, Sweden and different countries worldwide. One other reason why investigators were gathered from different countries, it is because the local investigators should work in accordance.

If the statement is with us as a Commission it is in safe hands, because there is no such thing like being biased. One other that I would like us to note is the way we would like - or the way you talk about the perpetrators, that they should come forward.

The reason why we did that or why we put that structure, is to give the community an opportunity to take action and to do a few things. The Truth Commission at large seeks for the truth and the truth only, and it has separated itself from punishment.

It is painful when one goes through a certain stage, but then when you'd come and tell the truth, we are not looking into punishing individuals, but we look into the truth. The way with which you put your statement about the perpetrators, the Commission is not interested in punishing the perpetrators, but it is interested in the truth itself.

MR MAKOBETO: We have been answered and the community that is here, some of them have asked questions and I do trust and hope that they have been answered, because we would appreciate if such answers come from the horse's mouth.

CHAIRPERSON: We hope that there are some who had questions and they no longer have that question, because the question has already been asked by a prior speaker. We thank you for all the questions and we will go on to item number 6 according to the programme and call upon the focus group 1.

I will leave this chair for a while, because I am one of those who'll be coming now in front of the Commission. I will ask Prof Meiring to take over as a Chairperson whilst we deal with the focus group 1.

PROF MEIRING: Friends, we now come to one of the most interesting parts of the whole morning where we have the focus groups. Yes, please, you may sit there.

We come to one of the most interesting parts. This is where we start listening to the community. We asked a number of people from the community to prepare a short statement each and to bring it to us.

We will conduct this second part of the morning in this way, that we will invite all of the people on the list to come to the table. Each of them has five minutes to speak to us. We said to each of the people of the focus groups, please tell us what is your experience of the Truth Commission? Tell it to us.

Secondly, what is your hope for reconciliation in your community; what would you like to put on the table? What can we do?

The first persons who will speak are two of the Baruti, two of the Ministers. It is Mr Khumalo, whose just gone to his car to fetch his statement and the Rev Barnard, Gerhard Barnard from the NG Kerk.

Maybe you would like to come to the fore and we'll start with the Afrikaanse dominee.

Ds Barnard, dis baie lekker dat u hier is. U moet solank kom sit en ds Khumalo sal by u aansluit. Ek dink u gaan in Afrikaans praat, is dit so?

DS BARNARD: As ek mag?

PROF MEIRING: Ja nee, dit is hoog tyd dat ons 'n bietjie Afrikaans ook hoor hier in Ermelo se saal. Ek gaan vir ds Barnard vra en as hy klaar gepraat het, gaan ek en my mede-paneellede miskien so 'n vragie elk vra om 'n sakkie duideliker te kry of nog iets verder te hoor en dan gaan ons aan na die volgend groep.

Maar nou ds Barnard eers, u is van die NG Kerk en u het 'n hele klompie gemeentelede hier saam met u. Ons is baie bly

dat u gekom het om die dominee se arms sterk te maak en ons luister graag na u wat u vir ons wil vertel.

DS BARNARD: Baie dankie, geagte Voorsitter. Dames en here, dis vir my 'n baie groot voorreg om vanmôre hier te kan 'n woord sê. Ek sou nie graag vanmôre hier wou sit as 'n Blanke nie, maar wel as 'n Suid-Afrikaner.

I noticed that we don't notice each other as people of colour any more, just as people.

I was born in Ermelo. I am a member of this community and I am very happy to return. I want to speak to you as a representative of the Afrikaners Christian community and the first thing I want to say, is I think this is the right place for Christians to be - the TRC, because our leader, Jesus Christ, also said: I am the way, the truth and the life.

So I believe if we want truth and reconciliation in our country, then us Christians have to make a contribution and we do this through the work of Jesus Christ as he came to bring reconciliation on earth.

The work of the TRC, during my work in the TRC, I asked - made some enquiries about what Prof Meiring asked me and what I noticed is that most people that I dealt with were not very much aware, or were not aware at all about the TRC, that the TRC had held - had listened to evidence here today.

Our people are not so intimately involved or have even considered it giving evidence, because they didn't know that there would be an opportunity.

I also accept that this ignorance still exists in our community and I've asked the people around me in preparation for this movement - for this meeting, but we didn't really know about this meeting.

I must also add the work of the TRC; about that we were quite well informed. I think the TRC's work and evidence which we read in the newspapers, it was quite a fiery debate which is still taking place and I think it was a very positive debate, because our people have started thinking about the truth and started thinking about reconciliation.

Regarding the truth, it was a painful process to us. We heard things which happened in our community in the years past of which we didn't know, which we became aware of, that we were a part of and for which we felt guilty.

We have had the opportunity to speak about our guilt. We were also deeply hurt that we didn't realise how deep the pain was in our community.

The community asked me questions and it became very clear around the TRC that I got the feeling that in our community there was some suspicion about the TRC and its existence and a certain amount of fear about the activities of the TRC.

The question was asked: who is this Commission and if the answer had been easy to give, it wasn't easily believed.

The second question, why, what was the purpose of the Commission. There's a perception in our community and I have heard this over and over again; that the people don't see it as a reconciliation commission, but as a punitive commission; somebody had to be punished and this is where our Afrikaners had to take their punishment.

So the whole process around forgiveness became very difficult, because to admit the mistakes of the past is not easy, but I realise and I will talk about this again. I realised that the fear which arose, is not the fear of confessing, but the fear of what is to happen to this evidence? In which way will people be punished in future? Will this process really lead to reconciliation? These are the questions that I heard in the community. I can react very positively about what the Christian community in Ermelo experienced.

The fact that there's a lot of ministers here today, is evidence that some degree of reconciliation has happened in the community of believers here in Ermelo. If I can take an example; about a year ago, at a special meeting under the theme peace and reconciliation, we filled this civic centre. It was a Sunday afternoon. There wasn't a single seat. People were bussed in from Wesslton and there were people from all over. Black pastors came and White pastors preached. We filled this stage here with brothers and sisters who embraced each other and who asked each other for forgiveness for

what we had done, how we had missed seeing each others over the years. The fact that we didn't share each other's pain.

This is what we have been doing in Ermelo. If I think back on what happened here on Sunday night; we had a well-know Black preacher from the Ivory Coast and that is a country where the church is growing fastest and he came to speak to us.

It wasn't a mixed audience. It was a united audience of children of God. What we have started experiencing in this town it that when we gather as Christians; Black, White and Brown, we are not a mixed community, we are brothers and sisters in Jesus Christ.

We have experienced this in our own community some two weeks ago. A worker came from Natal and he came to see me after the service and he said, Gerhard, I'm astonished that you don't have a White congregation any more. There are so many Black people who are members and when I looked up I saw it was true.

God has brought so much reconciliation in our community that I cannot see people according to their colour any more. Through the grace of God we now see each other as fellow Christians. Reconciliation has gone much further than just colour.

In this congregation today there is a pastor of the IFCC community. There is a pastor of the Methodist community, there is an Anglican priest and myself and all of us can say today: we have become friends over the years. God has brought reconciliation in this country. We are not part of the problem any more.

Some week ago, I could add my name to those dominees who said: we are sorry that we were part of this division in the past; we all took part in this and we confessed this in front of God and I am confessing it in front of you. We are now part of the solution. We are on the road to reconciliation through Jesus Christ.

PROF MEIRING: Broer Gerhard, baie dankie. U moet daar bly sit. Moet nog nie loop nie. I want to ask your colleague, Ds Khumalo to speak and we would like to ask you a question or two.

Brother Khumalo, thank you for coming to us again in the new role as somebody whose making a submission from the churches, but please we are listening with open hearts to what you are saying to us.

REV KHUMALO: I thank you. As it have been mentioned and said, I am pastor Khumalo from the Anglican Church, locally.

I am pleased to be offered the opportunity like this to talk to you and not me alone. I am here on behalf of all the pastors. When we discussed this matter as pastors, as usual we do talk and discuss such issues, it was clear to us that even us, we were affected about the things that were happening or transpired in the community.

But because we pray together, we have a prayer band of some kind where we meet and pray; that helped us a great deal. For an example, I remember this one time there was a boy who was killed, shot and died. He was about 15 years old. The funeral - I conducted the funeral service. We left the church building and there were many people who attended that funeral who then headed to the cemetery.

When we got to the cemetery, into the graveyard, as we know, especially those who come from local, you go through a certain section and as we were approaching that section, extension, we were shot and people dismissed and we were dispersed by police in that fashion.

Only two boys were killed. We just left the casket right there with the corpse in it and people ran away. Those who were injured, I was the one who carried them and transported them in my bakkie to the hospital.

After all that we had to see that we bury the corpse. That wasn't easy to be done. I tried by all means to ask some people, even the parents of the late, to show them that there's nothing we could do except bury that casket, that corpse. We cannot just leave it lying around like that. We transported the corpse in my bakkie and some people came. We were about 12 in number, who came and joined us to bury that boy.

It is one of the things that brought difficulties to the community as the pastors and the difficulty we have experienced as the pastors.

One other thing. We would like to thank the fact that we had that nerve and audacity, even after we had been told not to use the churches, but we were brave enough to make it clear that the churches are not ours, but they belong to the community. So the community has a right to use the church buildings. All what we were careful about was the things that would be discussed in churches and church buildings should be things that are good enough for the community, not destructive for the community.

We only wanted things, positive things to be discussed that would bring about peace in the community, not the other way round. We attended peace - we were members of the peace committees as pastors and we tried to bring peace.

I remember this one other difficult time for us as pastors, but we knew that we had to take that step, because if we don't, there would be trouble that will arise.

There was a hostel as we know here in Ermelo. We once blocked people who were armed from the hostel, approaching the community. In an effort to attack the community the second time, because at first they did that.

We were there and we tried to plead with them, even talking to the police who were there. I think we discussed and talked about this there in the middle of nowhere - for about four to five hours, talking and trying to negotiate with those who wanted to attack not to.

I do trust and hope that what we did that day was good and positive, because if we did not do that, many souls would have been killed that day. Again, there could have been many houses that would have been set alight that very day.

We are fortunate again that the police listened to us and sided with us when we asked them to assist in some way to stop this from happening, because at first they said the people wanted revenge and there is nothing that we could do.

We should just look and see that there's no damage that would be caused. But that was very interesting, because there was no way people could attack and no damage would transpire after that.

But we tried to stop all that. It wasn't easy, but we did that as pastors. Many a times, we would set ourselves into risk. At time we'll find ourselves in trouble and I remember this other incident. There were a group of young men who were called Black Cats. There was a time when it was said they are being protected by the police and they were living at the police station.

We went there as a group of pastors and we talked to the policemen about the danger of separating these young men from their community where they belonged. We thought that would end the hatred. We thought that if we talked to them and they realised that there would be that kind of hatred; especially between Black and White, it will be as though Whites were using Black to be killing and attacking Black. Black on Black violence.

We talked to the group of young men and we also talked to the captains at the police station for the whole day until they agreed that they shall be set free and go back to their respective homes, because they had said they have a place for these young men somewhere out of Ermelo.

All that were difficulties that we encountered as pastors, trying to come and quell violence. One time we called upon the whole community as the pastors and I want to thank the community, because they responded to our call. They went to the stadium where we pleaded with them and things were terribly, terribly bad at the time and they - some of them were insulting us, but we knew one thing for sure; that what we are up to was for a good cause, that the people of God or the children of God should not be treated the way they were treated at the time, but should be treated decently.

Some of us belonged to a certain organisation by the name of SACC - South African Council of Churches. I also was a member and still am a member to date, which is now called Mpumalanga Council of Churches. It helps, it helps quite a great deal. Even to date it's still helping.

Right now we intend to call upon other pastors who were affected at the time. This SACC has helped us also as pastors. We once held and had a workshop for the whole week where we would be able to help people who have undergone or who have been traumatised from the incidents of the past and implying pastoral counselling to them, counselling them.

Finally, we would like to thank as a group of pastors, thank the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, because we have seen that there is truth in it and also thank the power of God that today we have a body like TRC, because if it never existed, there wouldn't be any reconciliation at all and forgiveness at all. Thank you.

PROF MEIRING: May I say a word of special thanks to our two brothers. It is time for tea now so we will let you go. It seems you have the easy one.

Can I just on behalf of the three of us, say in a word what I think we would like to ask you, not a question, but a request. We know that when the Truth Commission closes its doors at the end of the year, it's only the beginning of the work of reconciliation and thank you for what you said about the opportunities you have, but may we plead with you in the different towns represented here that you will carry on with the work.

There are so many people who still want to tell their stories. So many people who have hurt in Ermelo and other places. Will you be able to arrange for meetings to get the communities together to unburden themselves, to tell their stories to be reconciled.

So many things have happened in Ermelo for which we thank the Lord. If the wheel of reconciliation could turn and start turning and turning and turning and rolling and rolling in Ermelo and in Witbank and in all the other communities, what a wonderful testimony that would be.

Thank you from us and please may we have your testimonies in writing. We want them for our files. We want them to use it. It also applies to the other focus groups. We need, if you haven't have - if you don't have them with you, please may you in the day or two we have in written, written down the statements you make.

It is a quarter to 12 now, it is time for tea. We are a number of people, but I am going to plead with you that we have tea as quickly as we can and may we be back - on the programme we have 15 minutes allowed for tea - let us see if we can do that. If you can quickly have your tea, quickly go to the toilet if you need to go, but at 12 o'clock let's try and be back for the second focus group. Thank you so much.

WORKSHOP ADJOURNS

ON RESUMPTION:

PROF MEIRING: After tea, I hope you've enjoyed the tea and the cookies. May I ask the two ladies who represent the women, Mrs Methule and Mrs Barnard to come to the front. Mrs Methule and Mrs Barnard, if you can come to the table, please.

Mrs Barnard, please take a seat. I would like again to ask Mrs Methule to come to the table. Mrs Methule, maybe she'll find a way to the table just now. I'm going to ask Mrs Marinda Barnard to speak to us. She will speak to us on what women in Ermelo think about the Truth Commission, about the process, about the prospects of reconciliation in the future. We're very happy to have you. Thanks very much for coming.. U gaan ook Afrikaans praat.

MEV BARNARD: Ja.

PROF MEIRING: Baie dankie. Ons luister graag.

MRS BARNARD: Thank you, Mr Chairman. It's a wonderful privilege to have an opportunity to say a few words. How have I experienced the Commission up to now; I can say that I've not followed every detail about the TRC and that I've not always had the opportunity to listen to the TV. But I think it's wonderful that people can have the opportunity to open their hearts.

On occasion I was really touched and my eyes were opened to see the hurt and the pain suffered by people through the years. Often we weren't aware of all the pain and heartsore and also that suffered by mothers. I speak to you today as a mother of children.

The pain experienced by other parents who have lost children to violence and who have gone through so much trauma and I think it's a wonderful opportunity for people to come and open their hearts here.

As a White South African I sometimes found it disappointing that leaders from the White community were so reluctant and didn't really come forward enthusiastically to say that they were sorry for their part in what had happened in the suffering of so many people.

That it's the leaders of colour who've come forward to say that they are sorry for what they've done through their leadership to other people.

My vision of the way ahead and whether reconciliation is possible, I think there are a few matters that need to be addressed. I think reconciliation is possible, but one big factor in our community, and when I talk about this, I talk from the heart of a mother and that is that violence is not a pleasure for anyone. It scares us and as I sit here today I wonder how my children are at home; are they safe; isn't there someone who might be hurting them? I think in this aspect, we should all stand together to oppose violence.

I also think, that's only my personal opinion, there was a suggestion from the table next-door that there should be monuments so that people can be reminded of all the pain and suffering and evil and violence and aggression. But I think that's wrong. I think it's completely wrong.

Two weeks ago I went to Russia, to Moscow and the Ukraine where people are reminded all the time about their pain and suffering. I think that's wrong. I think it's wrong to use money to erect statues and to take even more money away from the people.

We must look ahead. Do you know it can be done. It is possible. So today, for every mother with children and every mother and I want to address them all and say look to your words. Do you speak badly, then your children become bad. If you speak evil against your husband, he will become evil. Do you know what I have seen in life, evil and hatred don't remain small. They grow. If you plant hatred, it grows, and mothers of children, if you sow hatred, if you sow the seed of hatred, it will grow.

Let us stop. Let us turn our husbands and our children into healthy people. Let's put out our hand to Jesus Christ and he will give us the wisdom to sow the seed of forgiveness so that our children and our husbands can be healed.

I thank you.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you, Mrs Barnard. Please don't go. Mrs Mathule is already in the audience. If not, I would like to ask from my fellow panel members at the table, my two colleagues whether they would like to ask a question or to make a comment on what Mrs Barnard said. Hlengiwe? Tom?

MR MANTHATA: Mrs Barnard, you don't come very clearly on the issue of monuments. I don't know whether you are saying the monuments for what they are worth, you mention they're a waste and therefore they must not be embarked upon. Or do you have another reason to have reservations about monuments?

MRS BARNARD: My remark about monuments; in the first instance I think to erect monuments which keep on reminding us of hatred and aggression and the evil or the anger I bear towards a brother or towards a political party, I think that's unacceptable. It achieves nothing. It doesn't bring reconciliation. It doesn't make people love each other. It reminds you of the evil and the bad things of the past.

If we can erect monuments which will bring people together, then I say that's right. That's wonderful and that will be the right thing to do, but to erect monuments which only fan hatred and don't bring reconciliation, I don't think anything comes of that.

MR MANTHATA: On practical level of people opening up their hearts to one another, have you got an idea of how this can be done, naturally across the colour?

MRS BARNARD: I want to suggest that people among each other, even people who live between each other, not necessarily Black or White, but people among themselves will reach out and take hands.

One way of doing this would be by churches uniting and work together and show each other that they also want to give each other the space and recognition that they are there, that they have dignity.

I think mothers with children in a society; Brown or White and society as a whole, we can have a function. We can do this by raising our children properly by teaching them music, teaching them art, how to improve their sport and help - we can reach out to one another. I've seen this where a mother, a Black mother and myself, a White mother, where we start talking about our children, we always greet each other in town and we talk to each other. We share in each other's pain and happiness and this is a privilege.

What I also wanted to say and what I heard here today, it won't help to sit around and wait to see what someone else is going to do. To me, you should start today. Go to that person who has hurt you. Go and tell him, I forgive you. That is how we can practically understand each other.

PROF MEIRING: Thanks very much for what you have said. I don't want to ask a question, I just want to make an appeal, it would be too wonderful it too would too wonderful if the community in Ermelo could be an example and start inviting each other and listening to each other's tales.

The fact that there are millions of South Africans with hurt and pain in their hearts who cannot go to the Truth Commission, but they also have the pain, they also have the frustration and the feelings of hatred and anger in their hearts and we need to unburden ourselves.

If in Ermelo the mothers can come together and unburden one another, if the men can do that, if the young kids can do that, if in all the other towns in Mpumalanga that could happen, what a wonderful example wouldn't that be for the whole of South Africa.

I would ask you if Rev Khumalo's congregation invite the congregation of Ermelo-Oos to their church on a Sunday night and say come and listen to our stories, will you go and will you tell your own stories to them?

MRS BARNARD: That will be a pleasure and it will be something that we look forward to.

PROF MEIRING: Thanks for your contribution, it was very nice having you here.

I'm now going to call upon the youth group first. I've learnt during teatime that one or two of them have to leave, but I'm going to ask the Afrikaans youth, represented by Tarien and Mr Mnisi. also the two young people, Mr Mnisi and Tarien.

Mr Mnisi, where is he? I'm going to do something which we haven't done yet. It would be nice to have a young person from the Black community also to come and speak.

Can I ask for a volunteer? Anybody in the audience; either a young man or a young girl to come and sit with Tarien and just off the cuff, in two minutes, say what is in your heart about the TRC and the prospects for reconciliation. Any young person. I'm looking for a hero. There he comes. Thank you so much. Yes, you can applaud him.

APPLAUSE

PROF MEIRING: I need your name. Paulus Mnisi, you're not the Mnisi on - the man that should have been here?

MR MNISI: Yes.

PROF MEIRING: Are you Mr Mnisi?

MR MNISI: Wonderful. I think you should retract your applause.

We have the two - I'm going to ask Mr Mnisi first. No, don't Tarien - yes, Tarien, thanks, you needn't - jy hoef nie te vlug nie.

MS PIETERSE: O nee, ek wil net hierso sit.

PROF MEIRING: Mr Mnisi, your five minutes and then I will ask Tarien to speak for five minutes and then the questions.

MR MNISI: Thank you, Mr Chairperson. If I may just correct one perception. You should not be mistaken by my White beard. In terms of the South African definition of a youth, I have not reached an exit point. I still have left seven years.

When they speak of youth and their problems, it is one sector that constitutes a vast section of the population. This inevitably places an enormous duty on our shoulders to focus our attention at matters related to youth development. Undoubtedly this is the sector that has wired the future of this country in their hands.

Today when we speak of the youth in a South African context, we refer to those between the age of 14 to 35. Contrary to most countries which refer young people till the age of 25. In South Africa it is so, because we are addressing a particular deliberate situation, deliberately created by policies of apartheid.

Innocent and armed young women and men fearlessly confronted an apartheid monster, defended by men who were armed to their teeth. It was due to those battles of the struggle that today we speak of a democratic South Africa.

The nation as a whole is therefore deeply indebted to these young people who are not offered an opportunity to enjoy their tender age.

Undoubtedly, Chairperson, the socio-economic scars apartheid has left, are so deep that no organisation will dare heal them unless the needs of the aspiration of young people are adequately addressed.

The youth are facing a complex array of problems which emanate from the legacy of the past. They find themselves on the margin of society with chronic unemployment, disrupted family lives and with no confidence or commitment to prevail and establish institutions.

For many, Chairperson, participation in community institutions is blocked by a lack of resources, poor education, poverty enhance the inability to compete in the main stream of Eurocentric economic structure.

The wide-spread unemployment, slow economy growth and social dislocation which were deliberate policies of the Apartheid system, have marginalised the majority of these young people and denied them the right to citizenship, confined them to townships, homelands and obstructed their access to education and training.

It is therefore of vital importance, Chairperson, that the youth, consisting a substitute quantity, a substantial quantity of the population, should be taken seriously if we want to guarantee ourselves a safe haven and prosperous future.

Young people in South Africa have the potential of becoming - of being a dynamic and positive force in shaping the future of this country. There's a need for a vibrant and enterprising new population by any Government to achieve its developmental goals.

However, current social and economic conditions often discriminate against young men and women and for a significant number it is during childhood and youth that the patterns and processes of disadvantages are grounded.

Chairperson, I have a written document here that I am going to present. I'm not going to go through it, but I will speak to it.

We should acknowledge that the young people of South Africa are not a homogeneous group which can be assessed

without locating them into different locations. **Inter alia**, age group, employed, unemployed, student, race et cetera.

The hearing from the Youth Commission from the youth our first point of view, had made sense and drawn interest of young people whom today are between the ages of 24 and above 30 years.

These young people are those who were at the forefront of the struggle for liberation, the 1980s, a generation of highly politicised young people leading on the struggle on township streets, hence the image of young lions or to the then state leader; a lost generation who had boycotted and burned down schools, instinctively violent and irretrievably delinquent.

We wish therefore, Chairperson, in brief to suggest the following programmes. It should be clear that young people

are not out there, waiting for quick type of solutions that will not last long. They are prepared and more than willing to participate in their own development.

Programmes that we'd like to propose that shall be initiated includes firstly; to promote reform on legislation, the criminal justice system with specific reference to the juvenile justice system, compel updated data and accurate statistics on youth on crime.

Solicit commitment from youth organisations to actively participate to visible anti-crime activities and programmes. This include young people working hand-in-glove with community based policing institutions, initiate programmes for victims and witness protection mechanism and show effective social engagements for young people through sport and recreation, arts and other activities.

The creation of a platform **inter alia** Mpumalanga Youth Commission, will allow the provisional Government to address in a systematic and sustainable manner the burning needs of young people, especially in relation to the fundamental issues of education, training, employment, health, welfare, sport and recreation.

Human values and rights. We want to propose networking with Human Rights Commission. Organise workshops, seminars and religious revival in human rights and values.

This in a nut-shell will actually try to actually close the gap and the river between that exist between a number of racial groups between young people. Conflict resolution, training of youth leaders immediately and conflict management, break the cycle of violence in the community.

Present democracy, political and religious tolerance, creative discussion with Government and development. Our overall mission as youth as first - or the youth commission, is to empower the youth of Mpumalanga in allowing them to realise their full potential through optimal access to opportunities and the successful implementation of any youth programmes will depend on networking, co-ordinating and monitoring and joining with all (... indistinct).

In conclusion, Chairperson, undoubtedly the youth is the future of our country and that we should invest as much time, money and energy into the development of young people to ensure that our future leadership is one which can manage our country on a sustained and a profitable basis. Thank you.

PROF MEIRING: Mr Mnisi, that was a powerful statement. Thank you for that. I can imagine many hours of thought and discussion went into preparing that. Thank you for that. We'll take it with you and we will go through it. There are many very important suggestions in the paper.

In Johannesburg, two weeks ago, we had a similar meeting at the civic centre and a lady whose name is known to many of you, Mrs Sheena Duncan, who is rather old herself; she said, I am an old lady, I am 65, but I want to say something to you. She said, forget about the old generation, think about the youth. They are the people who are really important. The Truth Commission won't forget about the older generation, of course not, but the youth are very, very, very important and you've just reiterated that.

Thank you. Don't leave. There are questions for you. Tarien, wat is jou van?

MS PIETERSE: Pieterse.

PROF MEIRING: Tarien Pieterse is now going to speak. We look forward to what she is going to say.

MS PIETERSE: I was asked: do the youth have a future in the new South Africa? I believe we have, if we can forgive 70 times seven.

On Sunday, 6 July 1997, in **Rapport**, Mr Dullah Omar praised the TRC, but he wasn't prepared to forget what happened during the apartheid era. Aren't you just opening old wounds? What about healing? Can we as the youth have a future in the new South Africa if we can't forgive and forget?

Angry and bitter, we can never form a new nation in one country. What gives an answer is Jesus Christ, the true truth and light and He is the only person who can heal this broken land; no Commission or law can ensure our future. Only God the Father can. What we need, is not commissions, but reconciliation from above.

It is a telephone line to God which reaches from me to God, but also from God to me. Thirty children from our church attended a workshop, the Joshua experience, where people from all nations, all races, all countries gathered; where we took hands as one. We are all one in Christ and that is why I believe that the youth must start coming together, irrespective of our colour, our race, our language.

We can only unite if we unite in Christ. We also attended a workshop teaching us how to go out and look at people through the eyes of Christ. How to see the poor through His eyes. Not through ourselves, but how we can help them.

That is what we have to do. We are wounded healers before we can be one South Africa.

PROF MEIRING: Tarien, dit was kort en kragtig. Baie dankie vir jou oortuiging vir wat jy op die tafel gesit het. Ek dink dat my kollegas het 'n vraag of twee om te stel. Kom ek begin by mnr Manthata.

MR MANTHATA: Mr Mnisi, you seem to push or one seems to hear you to be addressing more of the Black youths. You don't seem to say where do you fit in the White youth in all these RDP programmes that you would so love to see the Government, you know, engaging in for the purposes of reconstruction of the youths themselves.

You talk about the young lions and what they did and so on. What would you say about the youth, the other side?

MR MNISI: Thank you. I think, when I spoke about programmes on human values and rights, I did mention the organisation - and the first point I am making was the networking with the Human Rights Commission and the second point deals with the organisation of work shops, seminars and religious revivals and human rights and values.

What we're aiming at in the organisation of these workshops, we want to call all people across the ideological spectrum and apart from ideological spectrum, to also call people across the colour bar, because it is important. The past policies that existed actually created a wall that actually kept us as Black youth from understanding what is happening with the White youth.

So it is important that we meet to break down that wall as they did in East Germany and West Germany. If you break down that wall that keeps us from understanding each other.

We need to bridge a gap, to bridge that particular gap and construct a bridge that will shorten and that will actually close the river in-between and we can actually understand each other.

MR MANTHATA: I don't know if that's a repetition. Because of the past that we come from, the youths have tended to be so institutionalised along party political bases and racial bases that what we talked about some times back; this element of intolerance, you know, is still so engraved in the mind of the youth, that it seems what you say will actually require a youth crusade that will run right across each - it will no longer be a youth group that mouths the political slogans of one political party as against the other and/or even sounding like saying those that come from another group, they have to be looked at with suspicion.

This seems to come through, even through Tarien's talk, when she says, "omadala" as commissions and the Lord will not work, we want something from above, reconciliation from above. Sometimes the moment we come to talk that language, Tarien, we are trying to say to the others, I cannot listen to you, I can only listen to God as though the people on earth are not the children of God.

Once one goes along that line of I cannot listen to this, I don't want this, I would want the other; that in itself has elements of division and hatred and breaking down of barriers.

PROF MEIRING: Tarien, may I join in? Mr Manthata asked you - I heard you speaking from the heart. It was lovely to listen to you.

Have you as White youth, do you have any plans for reaching out to the Black youth, because without each other you can't get anywhere. Is there somewhere in your agenda that you're going to do what I have asked the other person; that you will sit down with your fellow South Africans around a camp fire and start listening to each other's tales?

At some stage you have got to finish with the past. You have to close the books, but you can only close them once you have opened them and when you've looked at them properly and when you've shared each other's experiences.

My big question is: have you got such plans? Tell us about your plans to reach out and take the hands of other people.

MS PIETERSE: We have already done that this week. We reached out to people of other races and cultures. We asked them about their experiences.

Something which I became very much aware of is we believe in one God, in one Jesus. Why should we be divided if we all got one thing in our minds?

We're going to launch quite a few projects. One of them is in Hillbrow where we worked with Black people on the streets, people with no food or clothing and these people announced that they wanted to buy blankets for these people. We put a drum on the street and we asked people to contribute as much as they felt and we collected R6 000,00 and we bought 200 blankets.

That morning we had collected the money and that afternoon we bought the blankets. The people getting the blankets didn't have any food either. So we said that if you didn't feel hungry that day, please contribute the food you would have had together with the blanket.

They expected so little that they put one table aside for it, but they had to collect more boxes to take all the food. We told the people about Christ, but we also gave them blankets and something to eat.

We have already made contact with the pastor from Wesselton. We are also going into Witbank and as they say in the Bible, we should start in Jerusalem before we go into other countries.

But we have to take hands, otherwise we won't achieve anything.

MR MANTHATA: If I could just start by saying, it is quite encouraging if I could sit next to her, speaking nice about reconciliation and so on, because it is where we should actually start to build a foundation for a bright future.

It is only us as young people whom we should shake hands and find each other, because if I could call the recycled youth, those who are older or younger than beyond 35, they will not be there, but the country shall still be there and we shall still be there.

So it is for us to build our own future. I wish to say yesterday we had a meeting in the office. I have my deputy director, Ms Komon. We were actually discussing the importance of the church on this whole round of acknowledging that the bulk section of our population actually goes to church and it has undoubtedly a very crucial role to play in this process of reconciliation and in people trying to find themselves and to find each other.

So that we can actually learn to live together as brothers and sisters or actually face the frustration or face the problem of actually perishing together as fools.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you. You cannot leave yet. Ms Mkhize has a question.

MS MKHIZE: It's just one small point for me. Can you just clarify to us as to your vision of the future for South Africa. I mean, I accept what you are saying, that somehow we need an element of spirituality, you know, the solution is not amongst the Commission, but there's a question also which you raised that as you went around, you were praying that people be converted and also feeding them.

My dilemma maybe with a purely Christian approach and this is that we have a problem. The past was such that other people who were recipients, you know, in terms of power relations, there were the poor, the haves and the haves-not.

So if we adhere strictly to the Christian paradigm, we are likely to continue in this country with that kind of situation where a huge percentage of people are recipients and others are givers and in that way, you won't, we won't restore peoples' dignity.

Because you know this a material world, whether we like it or not. How you are respected is based on whether you have a shelter, you have clothes, you can determine your life and partly with us, within the Commission, we've been thinking a lot about what will balance those power relations. To distribute resources in such a way that there's a balance and thereby hopefully people beginning to acknowledge each other.

So I just want your wisdom in that. What I'm saying is like we need more than spirituality. There's a question of resources as well.

MS PIETERSE: Ma'am, I understand what you say and I believe what you say is correct. We can't just base it on Christianity or through religion. It must be the foundation though. Jesus did not go on material things. They slept in the fields. I can't see why it's got to do more with the material things. Why should we who have should stop giving? We can give. We are wounded healers. We picked our own pieces and as the youth we must pick up the piece and build the jigsaw puzzle and then we can be wounded healers and reach out to everyone.

PROF MEIRING: Would you like to react? I would like to thank you then. If I heard my colleague correctly, she said a wonderful thing which I discovered recently; that the privileged White Afrikaans-speaking persons who always were the people who gave and gave; that we have reached a point now that we are also people who need things, but in a different way.

There are a lot of things, gifts that we never dreamt of that these people can give to us. One of our biggest adventures is to listen and to receive a lot of things that Afrikaans and English youth can hear and receive from people who are much wealthier in another way.

MS PIETERSE: I agree with that. That's why I say we must take hands and only in this way can we learn the stories of the other groups. But one thing we do envy them is their musical talent.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you. We appreciated your coming and we can let you go. Tarien, we need your statement in writing too as we'll get Paulus's statement.

I now would like to call - thank you, you may go and sit. You conducted yourself very well, the two of you, thank you.

We have now focus group 3, the business sector and government departments. We need four chairs. Somebody must please help us to another chair, because we have Mr Zulu who represent the business community, Mrs Ngwenya, the welfare community, Mr Mashigo, the health sector and Mrs Brits, mental health.

The four of them, please, if you can come to the fore.

Arzina, can you help us with another chair, please. Thank you.

Can I read the names again. Mr Zulu, the business sector, Mrs Ngwenya for welfare, Mr Mashigo for health and Mrs Brits for mental health. I didn't hear your name.

Thank you. Mrs Ngwenya will speak for welfare and for mental health.

MRS NGWENYA: For health.

PROF MEIRING: Welfare and health. Thank you so much. It seems - sorry Arzina, I needn't have asked for another chair, because we have one person who sits in the place of four. You are so welcome and we're privileged to have you and you will speak for welfare and for health. Thank you. Mental health.

MRS NGWENYA: Welfare and health.

PROF MEIRING: Welfare and health. Where are the other persons? Haven't they come? It seems not. It seems not, but thank you, we gladly listen to you.

MRS NGWENYA: Mr Chairperson, honourable dignitaries and ladies and gentlemen, I would like to thank you all for affording me this opportunity to talk on behalf of our department, health and welfare.

Unfortunately our MEC, Kirsty Mashigo, was unable to come today, so he asked me to talk on behalf of the whole department.

Firstly, I would like to highlight also that I'm going to focus on the questions which were presented to us by the TRC. First of all I will start of with: is the TRC helpful?

Yes, we feel it provides people with a platform to ventilate their feelings and emotions. People heal better if they have expressed their emotion and feelings, say of anger or hurt. They could also be able to forgive if they have spoken to the perpetrators of their hurt or those who inflicted injuries on them.

Again we feel one - when one understand the circumstances under which the perpetrators acted, one tends to be more forgiving. The fact that people are offered the opportunity to relive their past experiences and are given recognition and support, is very positive.

The TRC is helpful in that it follows a certain process, namely educating the public, taking statements, researching, identifying witnesses for public hearings, notification of witnesses, witnesses preparation and the hearings.

It is also helpful that in after the hearings, there are investigations carried out and these can lead to people being subpoenaed to give accounts of what happened.

Those whose rights were not violated, they also get the opportunity to know what other people underwent. This would enable us to help.

The second question which I'm going to address, is how can the victim be helped. I'll talk on behalf of our department regarding this. Pre-counselling, that to give information on expectations, benefits et cetera. These should be clearly stated so that by the time a person goes to a particular resource, he knows exactly what he's going to receive there.

The other thing is about referral to appropriate services like psychologists, psycho-therapies, doctors or social security. I would also like to mention that in our province now we're beginning to have some psychologists and also psychiatrists.

Like in this region, that is the Eastern Highveld, we've got a psychologist whose base in Secunda. And then we do also need support groups to have victims' support groups after hearings. They need to be supported, hence this could be very helpful. Then counselling, for example mourning and feelings of loss and for extreme cases maybe they could need psychological services.

Then, how could reconciliation be achieved? Through people admitting the wrongs they did unto others and taking

responsibility for their actions. The victims themselves need to be prepared to forgive, otherwise the TRC on its own cannot make people reconcile. It is for us as communities, for us as family members, for us as churches, for us as human groups to ensure that we give support to one another and encourage one another to forgive.

Then I have got recommendations here. It would be appreciated if the TRC could make funds available in view of reparation where finances is required. Some people, for instance, when referred to social security section or the offices, after the hearings they received no help, because some of them they do not qualify, but those who qualify, they are assisted.

Then again, training of people at grassroots level to facilitate support groups could be helpful to the victims. We could use organisations like FAMSA and Mental Health for training purposes. Also to use religious leaders to provide background information to the concept of forgiveness; that is forgive those who trespass or hurt as to forgive those who hurt us.

I think the religious leaders could help us a lot regarding that. The other thing is that the focus agree with Ms Hlengiwe Mkhize that the focus should be on the developmental approach. It shouldn't just be hands-out alone so that the dignity of the person could be restored too.

Relating to the department as such, they indicated that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is a national responsibility. As such we need guidelines as a province, I mean for us to work from.

At this stage no budget is available for TRC purposes. Services could, however, be rendered like you are doing now on short-term bases like provision of wheel-chairs, hearing- aids and also counselling. As you know, that with our department we've got the free health services also and also we're also helping out with, you know grants.

It would be difficult to render services to the victim who would need long-term help or services. Regarding this we feel we need the support of the national department and also of NGOs. Thank you.

PROF MEIRING: Mrs Ngwenya, thank you very much. You have given us a lot to think about. You will present us with your statement. Can we take it home with us? Yes, you can fax it to us, thank you.

I am sure that some of my colleagues would like to speak - ask a question or make a comment and I am positive Mrs Mkhize will be the first in line to say something as a fellow health worker.

MS MKHIZE: Well, first of all really, all I'll say is that the Commission really appreciated the response of the MEAC in particular. When we started, she was the first person who even volunteered to help the TRC desk. So that was a good start.

But regarding what you are trying to do, I mean we acknowledge that the resources are a problem, but I just wanted to ask you one question; have you thought of programmes whereby you won't entirely rely on professionals? You mentioned psychologists. You mentioned psychiatrists that you are beginning to have a few, but have you thought of programmes as we heard from the leaders of the Youth Commission, whereby you rely on other, on other indigenous resources to for instance deal with trauma that you are talking about? Promoting healing and care in general for survivors of human rights.

MRS NGWENYA: I think in my speech, in my presentation, I did mention that I spoke about support groups and over and above that, I spoke about training of grassroot people at grassroot level to facilitate that. Yes, I agree that the community has a major role to play, not only to rely on professionals.

MS MKHIZE: You mention also that you are hoping to get support from the national office. Well, they have made a submission to the Commission during the week of the health sector.

They didn't say much about what they were planning to do for the Commission, but as a local health department, have you been in touch with the business community, because I know even within the Department of Health, there is a thinking with certain specific problems like dealing with the after effects of violence at a local level one needs partners

even from the business community.

The Minister at national level started meeting with church groups some time back and have you identified some farmers or business people at a local level whom you think they can help in terms of skills development, job opportunities for people who - even if they're affected, let's say mentally, but they can still function.

MRS NGWENYA: Actually, like I indicated in the report, I think that could be a good thing to do from our department. Like I highlighted, at this stage our department doesn't have the budget as such for TRC purposes and I would think that maybe the Amnesty or the department itself will have to make some recommendation to the national department so that funds are made available for the people who are going to do that. I mean at local level.

PROF MEIRING: Mr Manthata?

MR MANTHATA: Our communities are still largely rural and sometimes the healing of trauma that you are talking about, is in part being attended to by our traditional healers.

Where would you say they feature in your department of health?

MRS NGWENYA: Come again?

MR MANTHATA: Where do the traditional healers feature in your Department of Health?

MRS NGWENYA: Okay, Sir. I don't think I will say much about that regarding, you know, health as such, because I am - although representing Health and Welfare, but I'm directly involved in welfare.

MR MANTHATA: Oh, in welfare?

MRS NGWENYA: Yes.

MR MANTHATA: Because even in that regard, a lot of welfare work is being done traditionally too. You know, I would want to know whether there are some special structures, you know that appeal, that will address that issue from you know, a traditional point of view.

MRS NGWENYA: Okay, at this stage I haven't heard of anything and haven't made any contacts re the TRC.

MR MANTHATA: Yes, because like we are talking here about the need, rightly so, of a grant from the national Government, where, if I understand you well, there are some institutions needed that must be erected and people must be trained to help, you know, others, perhaps you know that aspect too may feature in that whole issue. So that is why it becomes a question of can that too be catered for. Okay.

How closely does your department - okay - have you had people who have made statements to the TRC, coming to your department asking for assistance?

MRS NGWENYA: Yes.

MR MANTHATA: And if so; could you give us a rough number? You know; are they on the increase, are they on the decline?

MRS NGWENYA: Yes. Actually what I would say; there are some people who have come to us and the social workers - I will talk on behalf of the social workers - they've indicated to me that okay they did offer, you know, counselling, but the problem which they had with some of them that they couldn't meet their expectations.

After the hearings some of them they came with a lot of expectation. Maybe they thought they were going to be given some money and when they went to the social security section within our department, they couldn't be helped. Like I indicated that maybe they couldn't qualify. So that made them unhappy in a way.

MR MANTHATA: Thanks. There has been a close relationship with the office in Nelspruit which could explain issues as Ms Mkhize has done this morning, with regard to the policy, namely that the implementation is with the Government and not with the TRC and that we should try to consolidate recommendations for just that part, such that can be pushed to the Government as soon as possible.

That is reparations processes, because that is the most fundamental thing that people must know that they have made suggestions and that their suggestions are going to be pushed to the Government. Then they must later know what to expect from the reparation offices that may be established in Nelspruit.

MRS NGWENYA: Actually what I would like to say is that I am actually happy of the fact that Ms Mkhize gave us some information on reparation. I think that could, you know, help us to look at it again and come up with more proposals, because we are not informed about it and we could make all our officers aware of that too.

PROF MEIRING: Thank you very much. We would very much like to travel to Nelspruit to meet with the MECs and with the Premier and we will have a lot of talking. I think we need to learn from one another and help one another.

The Chairman says to me that I must remind you that there are a number of Baruti who stands in the wings waiting to help you. I know that the Chairman and Rev Nkosi has undergone training. They are very good in supervising and helping with pastoral care.

So on behalf of all the Baruti, I'm a minister of religion too. If he want to make use of the ministers, please do that. They are willing to help.

Thank you ever so much for coming to us and you'll fax your statement to us.

MRS NGWENYA: Thank you so much.

The very last submission is that of Mr Khumalo. It's not the Chairman. It's another Mr Khumalo, who will answer the question that my colleague Tom Manthata has posed and that is what is the role of the traditional leaders? Not only the traditional healers, but the traditional leaders in the community will be able to play.

Mr Khumalo, where are you? Please come and take your place at the table. Mr Khumalo. Yes, please.

CHAIRPERSON: We'll call upon Mr Khumalo with regard to traditional healing. We'll ask for Mr Khumalo to come forward to the podium, if he's present.

PROF MEIRING: Friends, our lunch will be ready in half-an- hour. Mr Manthata, he will use about five or 10 minutes for the summary, the closing remarks he wants to make. It seems that we have about 10 minutes to play with.

Are there any questions? I'm going to hand you over now to the Chairperson, but maybe we can allow for another 10 minutes for recession questions and answers and this Mr Manthata will give his closing remarks and then at a quarter-to-one, in half-an-hour, the lunch will be ready for all of us.

But I hand over to the Chairperson.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. Those coming from the business sector and the Government departments couldn't turn up. Maybe for now we may go ahead and tackle questions, whatever questions you may have or you need some light to be shed on. You are welcome to come forward. We have 10 minutes to entertain all that after which Mr Tom Manthata will summarise.

All those who have questions, please come closeR. We have four chairs so four of you may come forward. You are not coming to tell stories, you're coming to ask questions. That should be crystal clear.

You may ask your question, but first tell us your name.

MS MUTABE: My name is Ruth Mutabe. I'm a social worker at Sebusa Forma KwaNdebele. In December the Truth

Commission had a hearing in Philadelphia Hospital and of all the people who attended there was a question as to whether the Commission will come to KwaNdebele with regard to all the violence between the community of KwaNdebele and the perpetrators.

The answer to that was, was that they would still have a meeting and discuss about the fact if they will come back or not. We still are waiting for the response that after the Committee discussed about this issue; what was the outcome? People do come to us and ask us as to when the Commission will come back to KwaNdebele? That is my first question.

Secondly, we as the social workers, we work hand-in-hand with the community and the community depends on us in many things, especially with advice, with which way forward and also working somehow hand-in-hand with the TRC.

There are women who came forward to the TRC and it was said to them that they should get in touch with the social workers and we'll be able to enlighten them with as far as investigating. We're unable to answer when they come to us, because we end up telling them that we don't know much about the TRC and people now are discouraged, because they don't get answers to their questions.

Especially they have so much credibility in us as social workers. It looks as if we're careless with our jobs, and yet we are not. It's just because we are not informed.

We don't know and we don't have answers to their questions. It's because we don't have any connection with the TRC. If maybe we may sit down with the TRC and discuss some network of some kind so that we are able to answer the questions that people bring to our offices, because each they come, we tell them that we are not informed. There are offices in Johannesburg.

I think we should have or derive a way in which we will work together, the TRC and us as social workers so that we are in a position of answering the people, people who come to us with questions.

We are quite aware that the TRC is not only looking into our problems as KwaNdebele, but the country at large.

CHAIRPERSON: Tom, would you answer that.

MR MANTHATA: With regard to the question to Kwandebele, we duly apologise as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission; not only to the committee of KwaNdebele, but to the larger part of the nation. We have not been or it has not been possible for us to visit all communities in this country, because of time constrains.

Wherever we have been, people had questions to raise, more so that even our education - even our public education processes were never inadequate. You know, there are areas where we have never been at all, let alone for the hearing, but just to preach about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Quite a number of communities - right now communities like Bushbuckridge are at fault with us. At the beginning we had thought we would grant them a hearing, that is we would hold hearings in that area. It has not been possible. So finally I think that is what is going to come from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission nationally, that with due apology to all or to most of the communities that we have not been able to interact with them as effectively as it was supposed to do or to be, largely because of time constraints.

For the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to operate within two years to do the kind of work it is doing, it is almost impossible. That is why in the end we would have still depended on the people themselves to even make recommendations to the Government; what would they think about the unfinished work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

With due apology to the people of KwaNdebele. It is not possible for us to go back to them. Just as it has not been possible for us to establish education mechanisms, communication mechanisms that could have made the people in the entire Mpumalanga fairly conversant with the operations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

It may not be a satisfactory answer, but that's about the best we can say.

MRS MUTABE: Okay, I'm satisfied, but I would like to say - I'll end up by saying that we love it or we like it, because there are professionals here who have been invited into this workshop; if contacts can be made with them, just to update them as to where is there a Truth and Reconciliation, then we will be able to answer those clients who come to our offices for assistance.

MR MANTHATA: What we have said in most communities, we have encouraged where there are still possibilities of groups of professionals to come together; can they please organise themselves in that fashion and sent for us. Let them contact us and agree on appointments.

MRS MUTABE: Thank you.

MS MKHIZE: Well, I should think really mine is an explanation which adds to what Tom has said.

When we started as a Commission we realised that South Africa is such a big country that at the end for us to say we were able to access all the people, we'll need resources.

We tried to set up some structures, but it became clear that for instance, take Nelspruit where you have Rev Utembo, for him to move around there was a question of resources immediately. Who pays for this? Who finances his travelling? That in way has been a major, major limitation on our part that working within a Government's budget you do not - you're not in a position to communicate effectively.

So we have had communications officers being employed on a full-time basis. They have developed like the mechanisms you see with the Archbishop's message on the outside.

In some instances we haven't even been able to distribute them, because when you try to work with NGOs they come back and say, finances. Professionals they say we have a workload. It's very rare to get professionals like yourself who are prepared to add more.

In some instances they've even said, look, don't refer too many people to us, because we won't cope. So there are all those problems where - that's why we keep on asking people about other initiatives within the communities, using local resources to develop and really make sure that what the Commission hopes to do is done at a low cost. If there's anything which can be done with no resources.

So we appreciate your enthusiasm. You will get our number and also when we go back to the office, we will talk to the office and see how we can reach out to as many professionals as possible.

PROF MEIRING: May I add just one word? The stories of KwaNdebele are being researched. If that is one of the prime leads that people at the long run will know what happened in the atrocities; who were the perpetrators, what happened to the victims?

Those stories are very enthusiastically investigated at the moment. People are being subpoenaed to give information and part of the final report of the Truth Commission will also be the report on what happened in KwaNdebele. So you can tell your people that although we are not there to report back to them now on our findings, our investigative team worked very hard on all the stories of KwaNdebele and there will be in the final report a lot about that.

MRS MUTABE: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. Now we'll ask the lady. You may be seated right where you are.

QUESTION: My name is Gertrude Mahoza.

CHAIRPERSON: Please, may you be audible.

MS MAHOZA: My name is Gertude Mahoza. I come here to greet the community, because of time in the morning. I was present in June 22 when the Commission was here. I would like to complete a few things that were left incomplete

at the time.

CHAIRPERSON: We are not clear, lady, as to what you are referring to.

MS MAHOZA: I left my reserve when I was testifying for the Commission. I didn't complete my statement then. May I be offered opportunity to complete my statement that was left incomplete at the time?

CHAIRPERSON: We do remember your presence when you came and told the Commission about your sufferings and all that was taken and noted. Everything you said was noted. When you came here, you were telling us about what you have already written on your statement and what we already had in your statement.

What I would say to you, is there is no need for you to repeat and tell us or to complete the statement that you say it was incomplete, the testimony. Because today we are not giving opportunity to testify.

This is a workshop where we've got questions and we answer those questions. Not to give stories and we would like to know how the Commission will be working as from now on and the way forward.

I wonder if that satisfies you?

MS MAHOZA: I just arrived now. I wasn't aware of what was happening here this morning.

CHAIRPERSON: Well, one other thing that you shouldn't miss is the summary that Mr Tom Manthata will render. He's going to touch and leave no stone unturned. That we do hope that will satisfy you.

MS MAHOZA: Because I left some things that I didn't mention.

CHAIRPERSON: No, as I have already said that you've left those things unmentioned, but it doesn't matter. Don't go on ahead and imagine that, because we have those in writing. Don't worry about the things that you did not say, because we have those in writing.

Maybe if you start on that, you will also be touched and you cry maybe and a lot of emotion, but what we're concerned about is that we answer questions that people have, but not repeating our statements of the hearings.

We won't allow you to complete your testimony that you left hanging in the past hearing, because this is not the day to be telling stories. What my advice will be to you is that you shall be assured that your matter is under investigation just like all other matters. Your matter does not mean it's less important than others.

Mr Manthata is going to summarise and people will even who were not here in the morning, will get more clarity on what today is about. Thank you.

Because of time constraints, maybe the two that we have in front here should be the last ones and also requesting you to have brief questions and direct questions.

MRS: I was also confused about the fact that as the Commission is coming here in Ermelo, why were we not informed, but thanks to the facts that you've told us why, I feel terrible and bad, because I lost all my possessions, everything of mine was burned.

I wonder and I really would like to know how is the Commission looking at this and what will the Commission do with this regard to this?

PROF MEIRING: Can I just ask - thank you for asking the question, because it seems it's a great concern to many people. Have you made a statement in writing?

MRS: Yes.

PROF MEIRING: Then you can rest assured that the statement is with us. I explained earlier this morning that we have

a huge stack of statements and we are working through the statements and in due course you will receive a letter to say that your statement has been worked through, all the evidence has been corroborated and that you were given the status of a victim.

What we do is, let me explain to you. Each week, in all four regions of the Truth Commission, we have what we call case conferences. All the stacks of statements are being brought to the case conferences.

Then the investigators say to us; here is the case of Mr Kumalo. We look through the case. We went to Pretoria and to Cape Town and we checked all the evidence. We have corroborated the evidence. The statement is true. You can accept it.

Then the case conference accepts the statement, gives it to Mrs Hlengiwe Mkhize to the R & R Committee. Then they have to come into contact with the victim and another form will be sent out to get all the information about the circumstances of the victim; what the real needs are and then when early next year, the whole big thick report of the Truth Commission is being handed to the - by the President to the nation, then the implementing body, the state will have an implementing body and they will receive all our statements and they will start acting upon that to make reparation.

But if - the only thing you need to be worried about is, have I made a statement? If you made a statement on paper and gave it to the Truth Commission, you can rest, because you've done what you've needed to do and we are working with that. So you can be assured. Thank you.

MR.: Thank you, Mr Chairperson and the honourable members of the TRC, for granting me this opportunity to come and say something.

In fact, I am not here to ask any question, but there are some concerns that I wanted to raise concerning the submission that were made by the Afrikaner youth.

Mr Chairman, we feel disturbed as the marginalised youth to know that once we're trying to reach out to other members of our community, that we should engage it rather in finding common grounds whereby all of us, Black and White, can live peacefully together.

There are people who use this opportunity to shed crocodile tears. It is quite disturbing also to know that our White youth are hiding behind the Bible; to hide the evil past. We should remember that it's not Jesus Christ who created this divisions, it's man himself.

So let's put the Bible aside and come together and find common ground, because the most important thing we are saying as members of the marginalised community; that as youth we want opportunities to empower ourselves so that we should have life skills, not hand-outs from the White community.

That's basically what I wanted to say. Thank you.

PROF MEIRING: Just before you go; thank you for what you've said. We take note of that and I think the Afrikaner young people need to hear that. That you have to reach out to one another, not necessarily putting the Bible aside, but taking the Bible to each other and with the Bible in the hand you can talk to one another about empowering one another. Thank you for what you said. It is an important thing.

MR.: Can I elaborate further; just for a minute? To prove that our White community, especially those who are here, are not genuine about reconciliation; let me make a practical example.

During tea-time, they were just running forward. I don't know maybe to them they do not want to queue with Blacks or so they just want to get rid quickly.

It's unacceptable really. We feel strongly about that. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much. We'll ask Mr Tom Manthata to wrap up and thereafter we'll ask Bishop Nkosi to close with a prayer.

MR MANTHATA: I thank you, Rev Khumalo, the Chair, and I thank the house. As it has been indicated right from the beginning, our work is not an easy task. This stems largely from what the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is supposed to be, which is a completely new dimension or a new focus.

If we have to put it very clearly, internationally. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission seeks to restore people's dignities. It does not want to punish. It does not want to revenge. It does not want to force anybody to do that which is not in his or her abilities to do.

But it recognises the paramount issues of this country being the divisions and the hatreds that have occurred over our history of shame. So it's for this reason that when all divergent opinions come here, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is there to listen to them, sympathetically, to accept them and even be able to say what is it that it is going to present to the Government; for the Government to build on that for unity and reconciliation.

So you will appreciate that what came out very strongly right from the early morning here is; to inform the community here about the policies of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, regarding reparation and rehabilitation.

We hope that will be noted. Flowing from that, this workshop was meant to get opinions and proposals from the house regarding the reparation processes that they think would be ideal for themselves, even at community level.

Still stressing the point of communities may not be the same, the country through. So we don't at long last want to say there is a blanket proposition or there is a blanket plan for all the communities. We will still want to have the communities respected, because this is the main hallmark of respect, protection and promotion of human rights.

Out of this it became clear that to do this broadly, people ought to - we need to have as many statements as possible. It came out very clearly in this meeting that there are people who still have burning concerns, but have not made statements. That appeal goes to them once more: could you please make your statements whilst there is time.

Of particular reference here are the ex-councillors who feel that they have not been accepted in the communities. They are not admitted in the communities first and they want to know what can they do? Which is not just a blanket question. It is a question premised on what they have suffered as individuals.

What came out next, very paramount here is; this house seem to say the way forward is reconciliation and along that line it became very clear that the churches say we have a role to play.

But we haven't had, subject to correction, we haven't had any other organisation represented in this house, saying that we want to work together with the churches along this line. Except, of course, the youths.

The youth came out as a distinct organisation, representative of its constituency. So that's why you remember Mr Chairman read here about our expectation of people coming from the traditional rulers, expectation of the business sector, because we want to hear from these communities which are part and parcel of this broader community, how do they see themselves going to inter-relate to form or to embark upon processes of reconciliation?

The youth perhaps by virtue of being fully and that powerfully represented, came out very strongly in this that they need reparation and rehabilitation processes that can focus on them. By virtue of the role they played in the anti-apartheid struggle in this country. Here we are not talking only about the Black youths. We know what was happening even amongst the White youths, who were involved in anti-conscription campaigns.

When we were conducting youth hearings in Johannesburg, we had to get the youth who were forced into the Army to come and declare of the gross violations of human rights on them when they could no longer be able to make individual decisions.

So in that aspect, it becomes very clear that that finally - okay that may be just a guess - that when the country finally

realised that the youth is becoming increasingly opposed to apartheid, perhaps this could have been another factor that made our parents right across the colour, right across political spectrum to say: is apartheid viable for the future of this country? Therefore, let us reconsider and renegotiate and come out with the Government of National Unity.

What became very clear too from the racial groups, that is people expressing their observations from various racial groups, is that there is the need to build bridges. There is the need to have organisations or inter-relations right across communities. Whether White mothers and Black mothers cannot begin to come together?

I remember when we were in Sharpeville, there was that challenge where the challenge was, it seems the two groups of mothers do not know what is obtained in their communities. One community had to invite another, where they would be taken a tour of the projects that are undertaken by women in each and every community.

Be they literacy, be they what, be they what, that is the only way they can learn to understand and respect one another in terms of their commitment towards defusing all these racial barriers.

Already it has been suggested - of course what became very clear too is that all these communities take off from their cultural base. If other groups saw the only way of coming together or the only way of talking the truth to others, is through the churches or is through religion. This is how they see it. But other communities, which suffered physically and morally, if they see it as something material that has to be done to them, this is how they see it. But certainly now that there is common acceptance that the two need to be juggled together to come out with something very realistic and very convincing to one another.

For example what the youth was saying here. I think you are just meeting for the first time here, for just this occasion and to expect that someone would have jumped overnight to appreciate you or you to jump overnight, I mean, please let's be very factual.

We are talking of processes of life or processes in life. We are not talking about a thing that can be constructed overnight. So all what we want or what this exercise means to create is; can we have just an idea of what other communities are like and whether we can commit ourselves from now on to having permanent structures that can take off from where we are or from what we say today.

If I have omitted anything, please come out with it. Of course another thing that I have not omitted, but I think we shall be repeating is; people came expecting to know what actually happened to the requests they made to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. We have said right from the onset that what you have requested needs to be investigated.

Where you need to know who did what to your child, you need to know about that person, not just a blanket assumption that it could have happened like this and to get to that person, is not that easy.

Let us be very honest. We work under very trying conditions. Records have been destroyed in some cases. By the time the Truth and Reconciliation Commission assumed shape, some of our policemen whether in the Army or what, had a chance to destroy the records.

So to go and work where the records are destroyed, is not that easy. So just be patient and accept that you have made statements to us. You have made requests to us. We are investigating those requests and as we have sent you letters acknowledging receipts of your statement, so we shall respond to your request.

Thank you. Back to you, Mr Chairperson.

PROF MEIRING: Just before we close, may I, on behalf of the Truth Commission thank our very able Chairperson who guided us through today's meeting. We really appreciate it very much. He will thank all of you for coming, but it's my privilege to say thank you to him.

I want to say to my young friend over there, go and get them, the young Whites; maybe they are hesitant. Maybe they don't know where they fit in. Your challenge is; "Gaan vang hulle, gaan vang hulle!" Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: We thank you very much. Could you please leave your earphones on your way out, because they are of no use outside this room. Even if you may try to use it at home, it won't function. It only functions in this room.

We had requested Bishop Nkosi to close with a prayer, but I would like to apologise to Bishop Nkosi. It is apparent that we have been visited by Father Joseph from the Roman Catholic Church. He's from Piet Retief. We appreciate his presence.

There are also other members of the community of Piet Retief who have just come to grace the occasion. We appreciate their presence as well. They've come together with Rev Father Joseph and we request Father Joseph to come forward and give us a closing prayer.

He's from Uganda. He's Ugandan by birth, but he's here with us in South Africa. We welcome him in South Africa and as well as in the church.

FATHER JOSEPH: You may remain seated as we are. There are surprises in life. I couldn't imagine to be here with you to close this occasion. I accept in faith the honour you have given me. Thanks a lot.

Just maybe, before I say a closing prayer; two things to say. When I received a passport, it said to all countries except to South Africa. Where they have said except, is where I am.

Being here I have learnt really a very great thing which remains a challenge, not only for me, but I think also for my country, Uganda. People who are coming together; I like the word process. Since we have started, may the good Lord who have started this good work in you, bring it to fulfilment.

Another thing which I would like to comment; all this is prayer, spontaneous prayer; that let us give God His rightful place in the process of reconciliation and do not forget also our responsibility.

Some people say, whatever is received, is received according to the natural and the condition of the receiving part. If we want to receive reconciliation, let us dispose our natural condition to receive it.

If we want to offer reconciliation, may we also offer it in truth.

CLOSING PRAYER

WORKSHOP ADJOURNS

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

PRETORIA POST HEARING

FOLLOW UP WORKSHOP

DATE: 19 JULY 1997

HELD AT: PRETORIA

NAME: MARINDA VAN SCHALKWYK

FATHER SHAUN O'LEARY

DR BOTHA

MARJORIE NKOMO

SANDI LUBISI

MANDLA SELEOANE

EDITH MAHLANGU

LIEZE DU PLESSIS

HELDA VELDTMAN

JUDITH MOTAUNG

MR MUKURUNDI

DAY: 1

CHAIRPERSON: I think we will have to continue with our programme as planned. We are now on item number two and let me just say it is my opportunity to or, let me put it this way, that it is a pleasure for me to be with you to having been invited to come and facilitate or chair this meeting, this workshop of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. We hope other people are still coming. We tried our best to invite a number of people around Pretoria. We also rounded a number of churches to come and join us, to come and present what they think it is need to be presented, submission and so forth. Also, I would like to apologise on behalf of the Mayor of the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council. He could not make it in this workshop. I think she was not properly informed, probably, but she said I must just send apologies they, that she could not make it.

I hope that we know the importance of being here together. This is the workshop which will try to help together with you so that we will be able to give submissions in terms of the problems which occurred to you, the violation of human rights which happened to you. You will be given time to present your cases. I hope you were briefed of what is going to happen today. I am going to request Mr T Manthata on item three to explain the purpose of this workshop. Mr Tom Manthata. I had hoped, I think it is important for me to introduce the commissioners who are here. We have Ma Joyce Serote.

MS SEROKE: Seroke.

CHAIRPERSON: Seroke on my extreme left. We have Tom Manthata. We have Ms Hlengiwe Mkhize. We have Prof Grobbelaar. These are the people who are managing, people who are in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. As

others, maybe they will join, I will, Tom would introduce them or inform me about them. Can we then move to item number three, Tom.

MS SEROKE: Yes. You have to just switch on.

MR MANTHATA: Do you have this audio equipment? There may not be sufficient to all of you, but those who have them. English and channel three, Tswana and channel four Sotho, not Zulu. Okay. Zulu on four. You are able to fix them in terms of the buttons on the outside. If you can handle it alright, it will show you which channel you want to listen to from channel one to channel four. Setswana is channel three, channel four is Zulu. Are we able to turn to those channels? I will continue now. Are they okay now? Do you hear? Can you hear properly? Thank you.

As the Chairperson has said already that the most important thing is the purpose of this gathering. I hope you have these papers. After the agenda you have the paper that reads "Pretoria post-hearing, public follow up workshop". That is as you go down there you will find the purposes of this workshop clearly stated numbers one, two, three, four and so on.

MS SEROKE: Summarise.

MR MANTHATA: So, in short, what we are here for is to find out from the people and to give the people a chance to express themselves about their own observations about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. That is, the impact it has had on them, the impact it has had on their communities and the impact it has had, be it nationally or internationally as it would, as it could have come to your hearing or to your knowledge. Do you hear me in Tswana? So, we are actually here to find out from the people what their thinkings are. As we have said, people should and our appeals to make submissions as you know that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has been introduced or given us by the Government, the new Government, to find out our understanding of what we call human rights and our understanding will come out clearly in the light of how the human rights have been either respected or violated and violated grossly and, further, how can we initiate a culture of observance, respect, promotion and protection of the human rights in South Africa. This is done in a manner that we are seeking the public support and public opinion that is for the Government, not for the TRC itself, to get into that culture, to apply themselves seriously to this whole concept so that all what we experienced during the years of conflict, does not happen again.

We come from a history of shame and we want to say we can give the history and the lives of our people in this country such a facelift that it can be counted amongst the democracies of the world and this should come about through the involvement of everybody and the involvement is such that we require submissions from each and every person, what do you think our democracies should be like. So, you will find we have there number one of the reasons or of the purposes of our gatherings, that is to find out how the hearings have impacted on the people. Not only the hearings, but even the making of the statements, submission of the statements to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Two, we would love to identify the avid difficulties experienced in your community, that is, what is it you experienced in your community in the process of making statements, making, coming to the hearings and what do the people say after the hearings, what have they experienced and all these things, we are not only talking about the HRV hearings, we are talking too about the hearings at the amnesty applications, the Amnesty Committee applications. What do these disclosures mean to you, what impact do you have. We have heard people saying when people talk about how they killed or they murdered people, this sometimes gives an impression that all people of that nature or all people of that class are tarred with the same brush, but we say the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's activities are for individuals. What people say, they say as individuals, but now how do these things impact on you?

Then, of course, it will be very clear that after this, what is it you think should be done, first, to what we call victims and, of course, even to the perpetrators. They need to be rehabilitated, they need to be reaccepted or admitted into the communities. How can this be done in the most human way? We do not, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission wants to stop this apportioning of blame. We want to build, we want to unite the country, we want to reconcile the peoples and the communities. So, we look at these things in the light of the effort that has to be directed towards reconciling the communities, reconciling the people. That is why, finally, we would want to know whether the processes of reconciliation are possible in our community.

Pretoria comprises a variety of communities. Communities of all colours of thinking, of all hues of philosophies and

political ideologies. We hope even in this gathering that we have the NP's, we have the Freedom Front, we have the AWB, we have got people from the army, people from the police who can tell us exactly how the TRC has impacted on their lives. The TRC is not meant to speak about people behind their backs. The TRC wants everybody here, whether you are a community councillor whose house was burnt, who was forced out of the township, you are needed here so that you can talk and have a sympathetic hearing from each and everybody present. We cannot promote reconciliation if we talk behind the backs of the people for fear of misinterpretation, because some people want to say that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is for witch hunting and/or even putting the Black people on a moral high up against other communities. This is not the purpose of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Whoever says that he still needs to be informed, he still needs to be given and to be made to understand the whole processes and the functions and the activities of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. This is meant to reconcile the people. This is meant to restore the peoples' honour. I thank you Mr Chairperson.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you Tom. I hope we all understood what is the purpose of this coming together. Now we will move, unless there are questions and clarity, that would be probably asked by you if you need clarification on what Tom has said. So we all understood the purpose of us coming together? Can we move then to item four and allow Joyce, I think it is Joyce.

MS SEROKE: Thank you Chairperson. I am just going to give you a short feedback about the work of the Human Rights Violations Committee. This committee is one of the three committees of the Truth Commission and it is responsible for taking statements from people whose, who suffered gross human rights violations. The Act defines these gross human rights violations as killing, torture, abduction and severe ill-treatment and all these gross human rights violations should have been committed within a period starting from 1960 with the Sharpeville massacre extending right up to the 10th of May 1994. So, since the last time we were here for the hearings in Pretoria and in this region, in fact, we have been trying to have a massive statement taking campaign so that we should have in as many statements as possible that will give us as complete a picture as possible of the conflicts of the past and I am just going to give you a brief overview of what some of the statements that we have taken from this area indicate, what kind of conflict those statements reflect.

Starting from the 60's when all the political organisations were banned after the Sharpeville massacre, we saw in the country, the 60's witnessed a clamp down on political opposition. As a result many organisations went underground and people, especially young people, decided to skip the country and go for training. We have cases like Festus Boikhutso in 1963, who disappeared and was allegedly killed in Zimbabwe. Then, of course, we have the infamous 1976 unrest which started in Soweto, but spread to all over the country and you can see that even the area of Pretoria and this whole region was affected by that and we see students now joining the campaign of militancy and boycotting schools and having protest marches and so on. Then, of course, as a result of those protests, there were lots of casualties.

Ezekiel Oupa Masuku who was a student activist was detained in 1977 and his parent's home was bombed and his mother was killed and then it goes on in the 80's. The 80's witnessed frequent boycotts. In 1980 in Silverton, Pretoria, 25 people were held hostage by three alleged guerrillas in the Volkskas Bank and this resulted in a shootout. Three guerrillas were killed and two hostages. Nine hostages and two policemen seriously injured and so, amongst the statements we have taken, we have some of the victims of that conflict, Ms Landman, who was an employee of the Volkskas Bank, who was injured and Ms Annetjie de Klerk, who was killed and Mr and Mrs Christie were, who were customers who had just gone to do their business in the bank and became victims of that conflict.

We also have the infamous KwaNdebele Youth Massacre in 1985 when the South African Government was trying to incorporate Ekangala and Moutse into KwaNdebele and the people resisted and we know what a terrible conflict that was and young people came, left Mamelodi to go and protect some of the ANC properties there and, of course, that resulted in that horrible massacre where nine of them were killed and got burnt in the house that was bombed. I can go on and on, but you can, we can see from these statements that we have received that we have covered the conflict that started in the 60's right up to 1994, but here I will not give you all those details, but all I can share now is how many statements we have taken in this area and, when we talk about this region, we are talking about Soshanguve, Pretoria, Mamelodi, Calinen, Hammanskraal, Winterveld, Saulsville, Atteridgeville.

Up to now we have received a total of 290 statements and, as far as we are concerned in the Human Rights Committee,

we feel these statements are not enough. If we have to write a report at the end of the year which is going to indicate the number of gross human rights violations that were committed in this country within this period that has been stipulated, we still need to have more of those statements. In Soshanguve we have only received 41 and in Pretoria 99, in Mamelodi 77, Calinen three, Hammanskraal 42, Winterveld 23, Saulsville tow, Atteridgeville 13. I earlier on mentioned the type of gross human rights violations that we are considering according to our Act and I said killing and with the violation of killing we have a total of 600, total number of killings. There is eight which was through explosions, 14 through shootings, two burning, petrol bombs two, torture four, electric shock one and the land mines one, and nine are unknown as to how they, how they received, how they were killed.

So, these are those statistics that we have, but now, nationally, just to give you a picture of what is happening all over the country. We have a grand total, at the moment, of 11254 statements that we have taken and, if we have to break them down, in the Western Province we have 1450, in KwaZulu Natal we have 2579 and in the Eastern Cape we have 2197 and in our Johannesburg office, which covers four provinces, that is Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Northern Province and North West, we have collected 4486 statements and I would like to explain to people who have given statements and also who came to our hearings and some of them are wondering what is happening with their statements, what is the TRC doing about what they have shared with us? You can, I can well understand how people are anxious to know, because some of them have told us about loved ones who have disappeared and they would like to know the progress as far as those investigations are concerned.

We are going through our investigations and with limited resources the process is not as fast as what people would expect. So, sometimes we write letters of acknowledgement just to give people an idea of where we are at the moment and, I must say, that all the people who gave their statements are not necessarily victims. We still have to go through a process of making findings and that is where, that is why people do not know about what is happening now, because we are now involved in the process of making findings. This is a painstaking job where our investigators should go out and corroborate the statements so that we can verify the authenticity of those statements and, as you can imagine, if we are going to make recommendations and write a report, we have to base that on factual information. So, that is why we have to go through this process of finding out whether the statements we have received are genuine or not.

Some of us and I mean there are some of the, there are some problems that have arisen now since we have started the process of findings. As you know some of these conflicts and, happened in the 60's and in the 70's and so on and when our investigators go to hospitals to verify whether the person was shot or had any injuries according to her statement, we find that most of the records have been destroyed. There are no medical reports to substantiate some of the information. When we go to police stations to get dockets we find that some of those are also destroyed, because of the period of time. So, it is very important for people who have submitted their statements to really co-operate with our investigators when they ask you for death certificates or even hospital cards, which could give us an indication that, indeed, somebody did go to that hospital or to that clinic. So we will find out that we will go back to you to say that we are not able to verify, could you furnish us with something else that could make us substantiate your story and is very important. Some of you did promise that you will send death certificates, but up to now some of them are not forthcoming.

As you know that the work of the Truth Commission is coming to an end on the 14th of December and so the pressure is now really building up and we would like to say to people, please try and tell as many people as possible to come and give us your statements, because at the end of July we shall no longer be taking statements and we would like to give many people a chance to come forward and give us statements. We were very disappointed, sometimes, with the response, you know, of the people about giving their stories. It is very important that we should get those stories and just to give you an example, with the massacres, like the massacre that happened in Sebokeng, with so many hundreds of people who were killed in that massacre, we find that when we go through the statements, there about five people who have come forward to report about that massacre. So, we are really saying bear with us, you will hear about the progress we have done about your stories and I know when you see the headlines in some regions where bones are unearthed, everybody who has had a loved one disappearing is also hoping that very soon they will also know where those bones, where the bones of their loved ones are, but it is not as easy as all that. Most of the results that we have heard in untangling some of these intricate stories was through the applications for amnesty. When people applied for amnesty they made full disclosures, they confessed and that is why we have had the progress that we have had, but bear with us, our investigators are still trying to do their best and you will hear from us whenever we come up with a story.

So, Chairperson, that is just a brief feedback I had to give about the Human Rights Violations Committee. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you, Mrs Seroke, for the overview of what transpired and gross violation of human rights. I hope you are all listening as well as there is that translation. I would now move to item number five, the Chairperson of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee, Mrs Hlengiwe Mkhize to also address us. Over to you Mrs Mkhize.

MS MKHIZE: Thank you, Chairperson. I would also like to add a word of appreciation to the, to you as representative of the community for co-operating and wanting to work with us.

My task is to discuss with you our reparations policy. Before I do that I would like to add a voice to what Joyce Seroke referred about the question of statement making. Also, for our committee, that is a crucial part of the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, because if communities have not come forward, if people have not made individual statements it is very difficult for us to estimate as to what are we talking about when we talk reparations. Many people have been wanting to know what is the committee doing. We have been formulating policy guidelines, but for this policy to be implemented, we should have a certain degree of certainty that we have captured the extent and the incidence of human rights violations during the stipulated period and that you can only gauge by looking at the statements that have come forward.

In terms of the enabling Act, our Committee, the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee, is expected to advise the President as to measures which should be followed in granting reparation, rehabilitation and the restoration of human and civil dignity of victims of human rights violation. You will recall that, at the time when negotiations were taking place, one of the statements which was made by the President of our country, Nelson Mandela, was that in accepting the political settlement, he endorsed it by saying he is hoping that there will be a systematic way of dealing with the after effects of human rights violations. So in terms of the enabling Act we are then expected to advise the President as to what are measures which should be taken to implement reparations, rehabilitation and generally to restore the dignity of those who were criminalised, of those who were dehumanised through the process of human rights violations.

Many of you, who have been working closely with us, you will agree with me that in this country, human rights violations were not aimed at people as individuals, but as representatives of certain communities, as representative of certain political groups and, as a result, we have really struggled to come to a position where we are regarding proposals that we are making to the President. I must say this community today you are lucky, because you are the first group whom we address after the Commission has just made a final decision about what is it that we are taking to the President. So, you are the first group to get the final thinking of the Commission around reparation and rehabilitation. When we started we consulted with individuals, we consulted with communities, groups like yourself, sharing our ideas, sharing what was in the Act, what we were expected to do and we made use of all those ideas in coming up with the proposals that we are bringing today.

Okay, the first point to highlight is that, having looked at the statements, the statements that have been made by people, we look at information which we have in our offices and say, really when we say people were killed, people were tortured, people were abducted, what happened to those who survived? Clearly, based on the information we have, it is clear that the conflict produced many casualties. Human rights violations not only destroyed individual lives, but also affected families, communities and the nation as a whole. Some people have suffered severely, they are left with severe medical needs, some are left mentally handicapped, some are left not in a position to access education resources in this country, some are without shelters over their head. I am just mentioning a few categories around which we have grouped the harm categories that we are presenting before the people of this country.

Then, of course, the major task has been to, what is it that we are going to propose? As I have said that people who have made statements, they do not suffer as individuals. In some instances there are other casualties who might not qualify in terms of the limited act, who might have been part of the grouping, but they did not suffer as a person, for instance, who have imprisoned, but they have equally suffered, they could not hold jobs, they were on the run most of the time. So, the question which we are struggling with is do we then want to be punitive to those who managed to escape, to survivors, and only say reparation should be for those only who suffered.

So, in our reparations policy we have looked at two packages, if I might call it that way. An individual package which

looks at an individual survivor as us trying to respond to a question of saying, how does then this person begin to meet the pressing needs. As I have said, they are usually medical, mental, educational, shelter, in some instances symbolic. As Joyce Seroke referred to people who needs to know about what happened to their loved ones so that they can come up with symbolic reparations. When all of you, as you are sitting here, I don not have to tell you about, if you look at medical needs, as a Commission we could not say, okay, people should access Government services only.

When we started as a Committee that is what we were saying. We were saying the country has no resources, those with recurring medical needs, they should go to hospitals and those with a mental health care needs should also go, access Government resources, but, also, the Act expect us to do a State Audit of existing resources. It, I do not want to say it is shocking, maybe I must say it is overwhelming to see what the planning of our previous Government did to the people of this country. You find that a few street away from the main city, many people do not have any of the services. So, in all fairness, for a person whose rights were violated we felt it would be like double victimisation if we simply say, in terms of the reparations programme, what we give you, a systematic way of dealing with your health, or educational needs is to, say, go to Bharagwanath Hospital, go to Galafong Hospital. We realised that services, because they were also divided on racial lines, there was a gradual deterioration on the part of the oppressed, but we have not lost that out. We realised that is an important part of our package.

Partly what we will recommend is that the implementing body should embark on an ongoing negotiation with different ministries so as to make sure that five years down the line there will be at least a balance in terms of access to resources for all the people. That is what is hoped for. So, finally, as a Commission we have taken a position, that look, what we will recommend, what we are recommending to the people of this country, of course, to the President is that there should be a pension award for those who are found to be victims which they can access over a number of years depending on what economists advise. That is an acknowledgement of the harm suffered, it is not a compensation.

There is no amount of money which can be given to a person and restore his dignity. People who were tortured, you saw recently as demonstrations were shown how people were tortured, they were reduced almost to nothing and left with scars which we cannot say they are rands and cents which will restore that person's inner sense of self. So, the acknowledgement of the basic harm is really an acknowledgement. It is a form of apology, it is a form of saying we, the public, the community of South Africa do acknowledge that you were unfairly treated, your rights as a person were violated. It is not a compensation as the Act does not expect us to come up with that.

Having said that, some people have argued against that form of assistance on grounds that in the past whenever people were given money they did not use it appropriately, also that it will divide communities further, but we have moved around the circle over a long period of time and we did not have a way out. Hence, we have felt that given all the controversies we have had to take a reasonable position in favour of those who are found to be victims and are qualifying for the reparations grant. Then, of course, another added problem, besides the acknowledgement of harm through a pensions scheme, is that peoples' needs differ a lot.

The question then has been to say how do we assist people especially those whose needs will be beyond what can, what will be given across the board as an acknowledgement of harm. So we have come up with a differentiation criteria of some kind, which we have said, look, it should be defensible in other words, we should be able to explain to the public, as we are doing to you, in a convincing manner, in a manner which will make people feel that well that is fair enough. We have had to make use of lessons learnt from other organisations like the South African Council of Churches and many others in terms of ... at the time of the violation. It will be fair, nobody will say it is unfair to say these people can apply for extra help if the basic pension grant seems not to meet the needs.

You know how families differ in this context. In some instances, the survivors of human rights violations or even those who actually were murdered and died, they were in complex family relationships, not with, living within a nuclear family and that will complicate things for whoever access the, qualifies for the pensions, but also another thing which we have been worried about is not to come up with a reparations policy which will be too costly in terms of its administration, which, in other words will take all the resources to the administration. So, hence, we thought we need to be clear about the criteria and reduce a possibility where by, let us say for instance, the assessment of people which will cost more money, need more resources can drain the very meagre pension that has been given to a person.

So we thought it is better to use the criteria which is easy to evaluate, which does not call for extra financial resources. Of course, we are ever, ever conscious of financial feasibility as to the resources of this country, that building a nation which was in a phase of deterioration over many years, because in any context, once you have the oppressed, the haves and the have nots, obviously, that country is not growing. It is embarking on gradual deterioration, it, which meant our economy gradually diminishing to almost nothing. So, the question of financial feasibility has been a major consideration, but we were balancing that with the moral obligation that if peoples' right have been taken away through the amnesty process, there is no way in which we can say the country has no resources. All the way through there has been a call made to the Commission that you have got to have the, balance this amnesty clause with a systematic reparations policy if you want to promote healing and reconciliation in this country.

So, that is, in just broadly speaking, this is what we are proposing and then our policy is really, is going to be implemented in two phases. There is what we announced last year which was called urgent interim reparations. That is within the Act. Since this policy is based on the same principles, basically, people who qualify for urgent interim assistance are those people who have got urgent needs. You know, amongst yourselves, we have heard people from communities saying in that family things are really bad, in that family so and so will not survive, will not survive this year. So, those are people whom we think, if needs are, we have developed a method of reviewing each and every applicant. We sit down for hours, we go through them, we look at what has been said and we are isolating those with urgent needs so that at least they can be in the front of the queue, but, of course, since our policies are related, they are not two, the urgent and the final.

The difference is that the urgent can be implemented now through the Ministry of Justice. The final one will be implemented within the President's office, will be debated by Cabinet after the life of the Commission, but people who have benefitted through urgent interim, in other words, let us say, a person was allocated a certain amount of money, no matter how small, our recommendation is that when the final one is being implemented that will be taken into consideration, because it is basically one policy. The difference is that with the urgent one there is a window opportunity for people to make a claim as a matter of urgency as soon as they are told that you qualify for a reparations policy. So, those are just broad guidelines to what we are proposing to the President and to the people of this country. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much Mrs Mkhize. I think time-wise we are doing very well. We are, before we go to, you know, questions, we would ask, there is a lady who would like to submit and she has other commitments and she has asked us to put her forward. So, I would ask her to come forward, that is Mrs van Schalkwyk, if she is around, to come forward. Yes, you can sit there and press the button. Yes, just press it so that we should see the light. Yes, thank you.

MRS VAN SCHALKWYK: Good morning everybody present here, honourable Chairman. Prof Piet Meiring asked me to come and say something here on behalf of the women of the Dutch Reformed Church, the NG Kerk. Can everybody hear me, may I continue? It is a privilege for me to be here. Firstly, I can only tell you what the General Commission of the Womens' Service decided in February regarding the Truth Commission. As a bit of information, the General Commission consists of two representatives from 11 synod areas and we discussed the submission made by the NG Kerk, which it must make to the Commission and 20 of the 22 women present there accepted the recommendation that the General Commission of the Womens' Service request the General Commission, with great seriousness and for the sake of the future of the Dutch Reformed Church in this country, to reconsider, indeed, to go and make a submission to the Truth Commission.

As Christians we, as women, feel very strongly regarding the portrayal of love and reconciliation in our country. I wish that I could tell you today with great enthusiasm that all the women in the church are positive about the Truth Commission. However, there are quite a number of people, I spoke to as many people as possible over the last few weeks, some very informally, and many of them said that they do not really know what it is all about, that they are not properly informed, probably they do not read enough, they probably realise that it is not adequate knowledge that they have, but sometimes they feel as, Mr Tom Manthata had said earlier, they often feel that it is a one-sided affair to which they are listening, but, fortunately, there are many other women whom I would say that they are really finding it hard in their community to hear about these things, but they realise that it is very necessary that these matters be made known in our country. We know very well that hurt has to be opened up, that we have to talk about this, that we have to be able to look each other in the eye and tell each other that we are sorry about what had brought about the hurt in our community

and this is the only way in which we can carry out the Christian message of love and reconciliation.

Prof Meiring also asked me to say something about what we already do for reconciliation as women of this particular church group. I am very thankful that I am able to say that we already have quite a bit of liaison with women of all Christian churches. We, for example, have a joint project on the 9th of August, the National Women's Day, annually, where we call upon all women, Christian women, to pray against crime and violence in our country, but, particularly, for those perpetrators and criminals so that change will also occur in their lives so that they will not continue to live in the way they have until now.

We also dream of uniting with women in other communities, to reach out to these criminals and violators so that, perhaps, we can also discover what is behind their actions and assist them so that they will also change and lead new lives. We would really like to co-operate in joint projects and here we can, for example, think of what the South African Council of Churches, Women Division, have as a great task so that they will also communicate to us where great needs exist so that we can co-operate. We have talked about the victims of violence and I really think that when we receive information, I have not discussed this with others, but this is what I have been thinking about, the way I know Christian women, they would like to help where there are real emergency needs and we would also like to become involved with the victims. I do not know exactly how, precisely how, but if you come to us and speak to us, we would really like to hear how we can assist.

Then, I can only say that I speak on behalf of a large portion of the women in our church when I say that we are really excited about the future ahead of us, that we would really like to build together, the future of our nation, but we realise that before we can really go forward with great enthusiasm we, unfortunately, have to close the books on the past, we have to bring out and deal with suffering and struggling and only then can we continue with enthusiasm on the road forward. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much Mrs van Schalkwyk. Can you please switch off.

MRS VAN SCHALKWYK: Would you please remain seated for another five minutes?

CHAIRPERSON: Sit for another five minutes. There are some questions. Yes, who would like to ask a question? Anyone who would like to. Hlengiwe?

MS MKHIZE: Thank you very much for your submission, but we would just like to ask a few questions so as to be clear about what you are saying. You mentioned that women within your church are positive about the Truth Commission and that some have, concerned as to whether the process is even handed or not. Regarding healing of those who suffered the most in the past, have you, as women within the church, thought of possible programmes which can bring about the balance in the lives of women in this area?

CHAIRPERSON: Just press it again.

MRS VAN SCHALKWYK: We have not really worked out a plan. I think the main object is that we have to first liaise with each other, become aware of the hurt that exists everywhere, because, as I have said, there are, unfortunately, so many people who have not yet heard of how many people had been hurt or the suffering that had been brought about. We have got to get this across to everybody. I will not say that everybody will always understand, but the more people understand the hurt that had been brought about, the easier it will be to establish a plan. I do not know whether this is a complete reply.

MS MKHIZE: Well, I was just thinking that, I mean, even in your own community there are many women who are deeply hurting, because they have heard for the first time about their spouses involvement in human rights violations, especially as it emanates from the amnesty process. So, we, the feedback we have got, as a Commission, is that in some instances families are disintegrating. Because of those revelations, children are changing schools. So, I was thinking, I was wondering whether, within in the church, you have thought of a ...

MRS VAN SCHALKWYK: Not particularly in our congregation, there are no instances in our congregation, but I know, definitely know, about families where problems have arisen where wives and children have not known about the

things which have been revealed and those families are receiving specific support to process this new information and to really assimilate this in their lives and they are definitely receiving assistance.

CHAIRPERSON: Any other questions?

MS SEROKE: Mrs ... (intervention).

DR BOTHA: Is it possible to come or not at all, to also just try and explain something.

MR MANTHATA: Yes, please.

DR BOTHA: (Indistinct) very well, that is why the architect, because I would just like to ... (intervention).

CHAIRPERSON: I think that will be allowed, but I will just ask first the Commission to, you know, ask clarity, then you can also come in.

MS SEROKE: Mrs van Schalkwyk, I just want to ask one question. You mentioned that you are also trying to work with other groups to find out how you can assist victims and normally people think victims are only those people who suffered the gross human rights violations and it is also come out in the fore that even the alleged perpetrators are victims and it has been said in some quarters that the Truth Commission should begin to see, to explore ways of how they can bring the perpetrators together with the victims. I know that is a very sensitive issue, but, ultimately, if we are going to achieve this national unity, it has got to be done. How do you see your church beginning to look into this process, not only just helping the families of the alleged perpetrators, but also helping them to come together with those that they have violated and so on and so on.

MRS VAN SCHALKWYK: Perhaps Dr Botha should assist me in this regard.

CHAIRPERSON: Dr Botha can also come to the microphone.

MRS VAN SCHALKWYK: I would perhaps just have to say that I do not know exactly how to reply in this regard, except to say that we feel that the perpetrators should also be assisted so that they can also travel the road to recognising that they have been wrong, but that they can continue with new enthusiasm on the way forward.

DR BOTHA: Chairperson, sorry for just now, but I thought, perhaps, what I should just explain is the structure of our church, the way in which we work and then, perhaps. For example, regarding the first question just now, we, as a church, we are decentralised. So, we do not always have a policy for every congregation, because every congregation, we work according to geographical areas and they are responsible for everything within that congregation. I think the other churches, there is a bit different, you know. The Archbishop will say this has got to be done or the Archbishop or the Pope or whomever will speak for the church, but with us, because we have these congregations, it is up to the Minister and his Church Council, usually the Elders, who take responsibility for the pastoral care of all the members in those congregations. Therefore, that is what I mention just now, is that if there is, if there are members in a congregation at a certain street address, if they were victims and, there are some in our church, not many, there are more perpetrators I suppose, it is up to that Minister and that council to care for those people.

So, I just wanted to say we cannot expect of Mrs Marinda van Schalkwyk, who is the Chairperson for the Auxiliary Organisation of our church, to really know what goes on in every congregation. I neither know what really happens in the congregations. What we do have is, at least, once a year we get, the congregations get together in a presbytery and there they have to report on what they are doing or not doing, pastorally, to the members.

On Joyce's question, no we have not done anything what I know about and I think there you must help us. Usually, they say if a person asks a question it is the person who knows what the answer should be and I would ask help us think about how can we do that. Well, of course, all perpetrators and victims are not members of the Dutch Reformed Church even if they speak Afrikaans, but I accept that quite a large percentage are. So, please help us in what way we could assist people to, because what I read and what I hear is unbelievable things that happened that one, above expectation, when these people really meet each other and look into each others eyes. I just read about the Bihl family, I accept that it

is God's grace the way in which they say, okay, we accept. So you must help us.

CHAIRPERSON: Any other questions? Hlengiwe?

MS MKHIZE: Just to proceed with this. I was having in mind, also, Brian Mitchell's case in Natal, and I do accept that he may not belong to your church, but I feel he has tried to make a step of meeting the people that he harmed and he was brave enough to go in, of course, with the assistance of the TRC, but sometimes I feel these people who are trying to ask for forgiveness and see what they can do are, find themselves all alone and they do not have the support of their own people to say that, ja, we do admit you were very bad, jy was 'n, you committed terrible things, but in the name of peace and for future we can come together and help you find your way into this community that you have harmed. Sometimes things can be suggested by the TRC, but it is the people who need to push them, because it is very difficult for us to go to the perpetrators in our positions right now, but some of them need that help of saying, go and meet the people you harmed and so on. I do not know whether other people have.

CHAIRPERSON: Another question, yes?

MS SEROKE: Well, for me, I want to go back to the question I was trying to raise earlier on. In terms of the renewal of the church do you think you are, I accept what you are saying that your church has got, is decentralised, there is no one policy, but if the records we have are correct, it is like the, your church all over the country, somehow became the machinery of the State in terms of promoting discrimination, having different churches for different people based on colour. So, in that way, much as it decentralised having, not having one policy, in operation it acted in a similar manner. So, if that is correct and it is true, have you thought of a renewal programme for the church to position it in such a way that maybe they can begin to do things differently?

MRS VAN SCHALKWYK: You asked quite a lot. It is true in many instances, there are discussions to get people to come closer, there is renewal taking place and we believe that very soon we, as Christians within the church, we will be able to get together. This is why I think a lack of knowledge is a big problem and a lack of knowing each other is a problem, but we are working hard at it and we believe that it will improve in due course. I do not know whether the Reverend would like to say anything else in addition to this.

CHAIRPERSON: Oh yes, Professor Roland.

PROF GROBBELAAR: Mrs Van Schalkwyk, may I ask you, you referred to the 9th of August earlier on, of a meeting a women's action with regard to perpetrators of violence. Within that concept of perpetrators do you include, as is clear today here, do you include the large number of people from the White community who were perpetrators of violence in terms of the conflict and the victims, and we have about 10000 victims within the political context on our books, do you include the perpetrators of violence against these people, the greater majority of whom are members of the White Afrikaner community, to a very large extent, and I am just wondering whether the women's action have started working on an argument that will lead it. One has to recognise this kind of thing before you can ask for forgiveness, you have to admit to this type of thing before asking for forgiveness and you often, you have stated before that people have a feel that the Commission is biased and one-sided, but how will you be able to explain to these people that there have been wrongs done to others and that we are aware of this and that after admitting this we can go ahead on the road into the future, because often the victims are very unhappy, because they do not know with whom to reconcile, they do not know the people with whom to come into a relationship of peace, where are they? Please, tell us something in this regard?

MRS VAN SCHALKWYK: Well, as I stated to you, it would be easy for me to speak on my own behalf, but I cannot speak on everybody's behalf. We know a violent person and a perpetrator of violence is a perpetrator. Anybody who does this against anybody else is a perpetrator of violence and that is why we want to emphasise that we are not just a little group of privileged people who will pray for our own property and for our own purpose, persons. We want to pray well beyond our community and pray for other communities who suffer as much violence and as much crime as we know in our personal community. We know that we are dealing with a disease which is spread throughout our country and we emphasise very strongly that we do not just want it to sound as if we are trying to protect only our own goods.

We really want to place the emphases on changing the hearts and attitudes of people, also the White violators of human rights. Those who participated in this process of war over the last 30 or 40 years in this country, people who hurt others

for political purposes, so called.

PROF GROBBELAAR: Do you include them as well?

MRS VAN SCHALKWYK: Yes definitely, but I do not know whether everybody who was there will regard it in this manner, but many will do so, many will realise that this is what we are talking about and I cannot say that many 100's of people will do so.

PROF GROBBELAAR: I think in South Africa, just to relate to the company in question, the majority of people regard themselves as Christians, the majority of people do regard themselves as Christians. Do you not think that the church can play a very important role so that we can go across many boundaries and is it not then very important for the church to work with these acknowledgements of wrong doings? You belong to a church, many members of whom have done a lot of harm to other people. Do you not think that it is important for the church to get this kind of admission in your church so that we can go ahead?

MRS VAN SCHALKWYK: Personally, yes, I agree, it is important to get this kind of admission. There are quite a few Ministers of the church here and I think this should start from the pulpit so that the Gospel is really preached from the pulpit and if it starts from that level, then it will be wonderful, because it will syphon down to the people then, but we have a long road to travel and it will take quite a lot of time for people to reach that point.

PROF GROBBELAAR: Just a concluding question. The tremendous publicity that the Commission is receiving, also as regards the security force activity, it is quite widely disseminated public knowledge. Why do people still regarded as unilateral, why do they not just deal with it as a reality?

MRS VAN SCHALKWYK: That is a very difficult question for me to reply to, but my personal opinion is that it is, perhaps, a way of not wanting to hear, of not acknowledging, because it hurts, it is psychological escape. That is the only opinion that I as a person have in this regard.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you Mrs van Schalkwyk. Dr Botha still wants to add or it is okay?

DR BOTHA: Chairperson, I just wanted to, in the beginning, just to help with, you know, that structure thing, because I think many people present did not realise how it works. That is only what I wanted to help. I said she must swim further.

CHAIRPERSON: Okay.

DR BOTHA: I just wanted, Chair, I just wanted to give that information.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much for your presentation. Okay, thanks. Now we are coming to the questions and you are all going to be allowed to ask questions for clarity about what the speakers, the Commissioners have said. You are also welcome to ask about the, I mean, if you were not quite clear about the reparation policy. I think this is the time now for questions and I am opening for you to ask questions. Yes Mama. Mama, (not translated). I would request you that you do not have to tell us the stories again, but we just want, you know, you to ask questions about what has been said so that you go out of this hall with, you know, a clear mind about what has been said.

MRS MOKOENA: I am Mrs Mokoena from Mamelodi. I went to the TRC on the 12th of August last year, 1996. They promised me, after having handed in my statement, to investigate my matter and they sent me a letter on the 13th of August and on the 30th of January this year, still promising to investigate my matter. What is surprising and almost shocking is to see my child's name in a newspaper dated the 18th of May this year, mentioning that he has been killed and they explained that they handed the list of names to the TRC of the children who have been killed. I would like to know if the TRC is not working with the people who have been in exile or is it only concentrating on people, on White policemen who have been killed and the White people? Is it really assisting us with our children who have been killed in the camps, because there is this finding about my child who has been killed only in the newspaper and not from the TRC. I would like to know.

CHAIRPERSON: The Commissioners would like to comment on that whether are you focusing on what happened in

the country or are you also looking at what, you know, happened, the violation of human rights that took place outside this country.

MR MANTHATA: Your question is very clear and it assist a lot of disturbed parents. As I have mentioned, the TRC is investigating all atrocities that happened in general to perpetrators and to victims. When we investigate what happened to your child, we have to find out extensively as to where did all this happen. We find out from the PAC and the ANC as to what happened to those people who were in their camps and never got back home? They must explain to us as to what happened to these people, but their response is one that is waited upon by both parents and us. As soon as we got a response from the ANC that was very helpful. It is true that the fact that you saw it only in the paper-heads, but what we are trying to say is that if someone was in the ANC party, one should actually go to the Shell House and find out from them as to what actually happened to your child, because it is not always possible for us to get first hand information. Sometimes the information goes straight away to the media, the newspapers and yet we are waiting on that answer and we are the last ones to get that answer.

The other thing that Mrs Mkhize would like to explain is that we also find out from the ANC as to all these people who suffered whilst in the ANC are going to get this special pension. In other words, the response of the ANC is the one that we have been long waiting on and we are also trying to find out desperately from the ANC as to what did you do with all those who could not come back to their parents?

MS MKHIZE: I would just like to add on, you should recall that in other political parties, including the ANC, were requested to make submissions to the TRC. They handed in their first submission and, where they explained in detail what they were doing out there and in their second submissions we learnt that, we learnt more details from the ANC about the things that we previously asked them. The same questions that you think that we are not asking about the people who disappeared in your camps, it is only when in their second admission when they responded to our question about these people who disappeared and that is how you found this name in the newspaper. It was in the submission that was handed in Cape Town where your son's name appeared.

Just, perhaps to round off, I would like to explain that when we say we dig out information, we cannot dig out everything, because of our limited resources, but our investigators do try, but as Mr Manthata has already mentioned, we have sent out letters, should we have letters enquiring about the PAC and the ANC activities, but we do not just sit back and do nothing about it, but we demand information from all these parties.

INTERPRETER: The speaker's mike is not on.

CHAIRPERSON: Press the button Mama. Yes.

MRS MOKOENA: I went to the Shell House several times. They are the ones who told me that my son passed away in 1983. I heard this on the 22nd of May 1997. I would like to know that if you, if someone wants to kill your son, because he was a spy, would you not, the killer, inform the mother of the spy that I am intending to kill him. Mandela was released from prison and we were all happy, we looked around for our children and we never found them, we went all over to the Shell House. I asked everybody from the ANC as to whether they knew this one, showing them the picture, but no one knew about him. I went to the Shell House and they told me that he passed away. They wanted to, I wanted to know how did he die. They said to me that he was killed as a matter of mistake, but they could not give me any further information because they told me that they were busy in Soweto, because that is where most things are done. You would never hear that people come here in Pretoria to try and assist us and heal us.

I told this woman that I am going to the TRC of which I did and I was the last speaker on the 12th in UNISA. I gave a clear, my clear statement and as to how he died and he had a wife and where was his wife working, trying to assist them with information as to how to find him, but if they can just assist me and unite me with his wife so as to, she can explain as to why did she sell out my son and why was he killed?

The other time we saw on TV how this White man terrorised our children with a sack on their heads and we saw how they terrorised and assaulted our children in these camps. In 1980 I went to Zambia to look for my son and I found him there, he was studying, and I was told that he was killed in 1980, in October, and he was, I was told that he was a spy, but I have got a right to know, as a parent. The ANC wrote a book on page 69 mentioning as to how he was killed and

he was a spy and he was an Assistant Treasurer, but what I want to know is why does the TRC not tell us the truth? It is not that they are not aware, they had this book about who was killed by when and where. All we need is the absolute truth and to show us the, a picture of the ANC as to how did they kill the people. It is not Mandela's fault, but it was his assistants and his followers who killed all these people because they were spies. It is a long list of children who were killed, but I pray and beg that investigate where his wife is. I want to see her, I do not want to talk to her in private, because I am not sure as to how will I be able to face her, but I would like her to come forward and say her part so that I can be able to forgive her. as the White man explained how he killed this person and sat on top of him and suffocated him. Let our beloved Government confirm and confess as to how it killed our children, because they were spies. How can a spy be part of a Government? Please let us investigate our matters and come out clean so that we can be free. We are, thus, begging, thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: We thank you. We have noted your concerns and it has shown that the TRC has limited resources and, thus, it cannot reveal and expose everything, but everything is being tried to come up with all these revelations. We have heard what you have pleaded for. Is there anybody else who has got a question?

MS SEROKE: Yes, I would like to mention to you that all the information that we get from the TRC, there is no one yet who applied for amnesty regarding your son's matter but as soon as there is an application we will be able to know as to who did this, but on Monday we will be having special hearings, Monday and Tuesday, and we will be discussing all the events in the camps of the ANC. You should not think that the ANC is hiding all these matters in the camp. All these will be discussed openly in our prisons hearings that will be held on Monday and on Tuesday. I thank you.

MRS MOKOENA: I thank you although I am not satisfied.

CHAIRPERSON: Is there anyone else with a question? Please come forward. If you may try to ask questions in terms of the policy of reparation and rehabilitation so that you should understand it better, that will help, but I will give you an opportunity to ask your question.

INTERPRETER: The speaker's mike is not on.

JABULANE: I am Jabulane.

CHAIRPERSON: Okay.

JABULANE: I appeared during the hearings during the Truth and Reconciliation hearings. So, ever since I never knew anything. I got surprised on Wednesday when I came to town that you had at a conference. So, what I want to ask is that I was somebody, Longly, in, from 1980, for 1982 and 1983. I was born in 1966. The police harassed me whilst I was, you know, toy-toying, I can put it so, at Wits University. If I can remember it was in 1987. So after that the police came to my place, they ask what is our whereabouts my, you know, that I can talk. So, what I want to ask is how is this TRC going to help us about the police when they harassed us?

CHAIRPERSON: You mean they are still harassing you know or you mean the previous, you know, harassment that was ... (intervention).

JABULANE: No, they will never do that, they will never do that. What I want to know, again, is that, how are they going to help me so that I can go back to that situation when I was born, I could not be harassed and all those things?

CHAIRPERSON: Okay. Yes.

JABULANE: (Indistinct) I thought for now (indistinct) I will be the one who will (indistinct). So, (indistinct).

CHAIRPERSON: Okay, I think.

MS SEROKE: Well, that is what we are explaining our, about our policy that some people who were tortured or ... (intervention).

JABULANE: I never went outside. I stayed in South Africa until today, but, you know, (indistinct).

CHAIRPERSON: Yes, that is what, yes, okay, that is fine. We will address it.

MS SEROKE: People like yourselves will be, letters will be written to them and asked to, and advised what kind of help and where can they access it, yes, as soon as possible, but we do acknowledge that many people lost opportunities, those who were at school, dropped out.

JABULANE: So, what are they doing (indistinct).

CHAIRPERSON: We understand that those, the perpetrators who have done those things, what would be done to them. That is the question. Members, would you like to make a comment on that one?

JABULANE: And ... (intervention).

INTERPRETER: The speaker's microphone is off.

JABULANE: ... I was (indistinct), you know, (indistinct)

CHAIRPERSON: Is there any other person who would like to ask a question about the policy, about, you know, reparation? Edwin, come forward please.

EDWIN: Yes, my question is based on reparation and rehabilitation. I think there is no clarity, especially on that, and maybe what I just want to know is if they can, the Commissioner there, give us the statistics how many people have they attended this issue of, the Commission have given them the issue of interim reparation, because there are a lot of problems and misconception out there. You, I am a DST around Pretoria and the problem is that, you talk to the people, the people approach you, want assistance from you and information. You refer them to Truth Commission. The Truth Commission they phone, they will refer them to many people and then without any answer. People will keep on coming to you, back to you that there is nothing which they can do and, again, the issue of Mrs Malangeni. I read, we read, I think it was last year that Mrs Malangeni was assisted by this thing of interim reparation for the operation of her eyes, eyes problems, but we found that it was not true. The, Mama Malangeni was helped by the Khulumani Group to assist her on the operation of eye sight. Now, we need to be clear and maybe to be given statistics that is it really there, the interim reparation and rehabilitation and maybe just to confirm that, to give the statistics to the people around. Thank you.

MR MANTHATA: Okay. I give you statistics. I do not know what kind of statistics you are looking for, because DST and Khulumani Group where people, are people who know that you, you know that all these things have not yet begun yet. Those things are going to be paid by the Government, not the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. We have (indistinct) we (indistinct).

EDWIN: I am looking in terms of the interim, the statistics, because if you ask me, interim reparation, because if you are talking that it is in process now, we need to have statistics that how many people have been given that assistance.

MR MANTHATA: You are, urgent interim relief has not begun yet. All these things are going to be implemented by the Government. Do you understand each other? Those people who have been helped were those whom we were able to talk to, health institutions or trauma centres. Those who will be able to help them voluntarily, because we, as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, we are not yet in the position to give people money to travel and to consult doctors as we say that the money would come from the Government. You should reply people in that way, that there is no money yet which the Truth Commission has been given by the Government to start the interim rehabilitation or reparation. Are you answered, Edwin?

EDWIN: Can I get clarity, maybe, on the issue. With due respect, Commissioner Manthata, we are talking in terms, I am talking in terms of two things, reparation and rehabilitation, which it need, the report need to compiled to the President, yes, I understand that and then we are talking in terms of urgent reparation. What is the difference maybe, because if you are saying the urgent one is going to be given after the report and then I get confused, because there are

two issues, reparation after the report and then the urgent one and how is that urgent one maybe ...

MS SEROKE: Yes, okay, maybe let me slow down and I hope you listen and understand how the process works. Urgent interim reparations is part of a final one. Even the urgent one is not, the Commission is not an implementing body. Even for that, even the urgent interim according to the Act, will be implemented by the Government except if they decide to delegate that task to somebody else, but there is a lot of work which needs to be done before an implementation like the reparations form, the identification of all those people with urgent needs and we have done all that. As far as I know the Government now has got a committee representing different ministries. They are working towards the promulgation.

You see with Government money, is unlike an NGO where if we have money anyone can come and get it. They have got to go through bureaucratic rules. They are setting up the structure, they will be implementing it, not the Commission. Our part is to identify those with urgent needs, is to make sure that those who have got urgent needs access the form and the body, the Government will implement and, maybe the other issue is confusing is that when we see that there is a person who needs, who has an urgent need, maybe in terms of psychological help or counselling, we do not wait for the Government to act. We go around the person's services or health institutions or volunteering institutions like Khulumani Group, like trauma Centres. Then we request them, are they not able to help that, those victims, because we see that those, per case, is very urgent. She may not be able to wait for the implementation of the urgent interim reparation policy.

If you know that or you heard that people were helped by a certain organisation, maybe is that, that you believe that the interim, the urgent interim reparation has come from the Government. We are trying to have support systems around the Community whilst we go in after hearings and before hearings, when we see that people cannot wait for the Government to act, because the Government may take time. So, I am asking that you should try to understand that urgent interim reparation which comes from our policy has not yet been enacted. It is going to be referred to the Government and the Government will implement it, but we are not sitting on our laurels whilst we see that people are suffering. We ask help from different organisations or NGO's which will try to help those people. I do not know if I did explain to you.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. I think we are running away from time. I would now move to, unless you have got a specific question around reparation policy. Mama, you will be the last person to ask a question. From there we will request the focus group particularly Father O'Leary to come after we have just dealt with this last question. Come forward mam.

MS RAMAGOLA: I am Mary Ramagola. I am not asking about policy, I am asking a personal question, because I have realised that we also have got a question that I would like to ask. In 1995 I was arrested by the police and they tortured me. They tortured me very painfully and I was innocent. They were suspecting that I had killed a person and I did not know anything of that, about that person and those people who had arrested me, I wanted to see them because I was accused of something I did not do. That is my request, that I had been tortured by the police for something that I did not know. At the moment I cannot even use my hand and even when I tried to lay a charge and a complaint in 1995 nothing came out of it. That was in October. That is my request.

CHAIRPERSON: This is with regard to the torture in police. We had already announced that on Monday and Tuesday people must come. If you could please avail yourself on Monday and Tuesday, because now we would like people to understand this policy, but please you can come and raise this issue, because some of our prison torture and detentions are going to be heard, there is going to be a hearing on them on Monday or Tuesday, on the 21st and the 22nd. Have you make the statement to the Truth Commission before?

MS RAMAGOLA: No, I did not make any statement.

CHAIRPERSON: Just to make an announcement. There are people here today who are going to help you with statements. If you do want to make a statement, please make sure that you see those people. I will show you the people as time goes on or Sis Dudu here she is, would help you with statement, those who want to make a statement.

MS RAMAGOLA: Okay.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. Is your question in regard to reparation? Please come forward. Let us hear your question.

INTERPRETER: The speaker is not audible.

CHAIRPERSON: That is the mother of Emma Satege.

MS SATEGE: My question is that when am I going to stop crying? When I am going to get rest? I am not getting rest at all, I am not at peace, I am struggling, maybe my child could have been working for me. I do not have a child who is working now and this is not my normal body, it is because I am sick. I am having a heart problem. It started immediately after the problem with my son, because his father was shot by, was hit by a car. I will stop there.

CHAIRPERSON: Is it what you wanted to understand when the, this problem is going to end, because it gives you a problems emotionally?

MS SATEGE: Yes.

CHAIRPERSON: Okay, I will ask one of the Commissioners to reply or respond to your question. They tried to explain that the Government is going to be given a report and the Government will see how it will help those people who were victims during that conflict, those who should not died. Thus, the Government, which will later, will try to see how it will help. I think they were trying to explain how the policy for reparation will be implemented, like the relatives of those who were killed, that is what Mrs Mkhize was trying to explain. Maybe later they will call you to a meeting and explain to you how they will help you. Thank you.

MS SATEGE: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Alright. I would like now to take this time to call upon Mr or Father S O'Leary to come forward.

FATHER O'LEARY: Commissioners, ladies and gentlemen, good morning.

CHAIRPERSON: Morning.

FATHER O'LEARY: I am from the Catholic Church and unlike my colleague, the Reverend Botha, we have a very centralised culture and from the inception our church backed the work of the TRC and gave it all the support it could. I think our relationship could be described as critical solidarity with the Truth Commission. When Mr Manthatha asked me to prepare something he left it very open, he did not say that I have to do any one specific thing. So, I thought for us it is important to look now at the post TRC, what is going to happen after December 1997 and what can the churches do to enhance the process that already has taken place and I written what I would like to say, so I am going to read it.

"Perception is a strange thing. Like it or not South Africans perceive issues, realities and situations very differently. A clearer example of this was seen at the Magnus Malan trial of KwaMakhutha Massacre when the former Military Intelligence Officer, Johan Opperman, said, and I quote,

"The operation was successful, but the wrong people were killed".

It was quite a statement. The operation was successful, but the wrong people were killed.

More recently at an amnesty hearing in hearing in Cape Town, one of the accused in the killing of Amy Bihl, when asked why he did it, explained that she was killed because of the land. That is also quite a statement. There is not one perception of our past, but rather a kaleidoscope of opinion and perception. If we do not perceive the past in more or less the same way, it is rather unlikely that we will perceive the healing of the past in the same way.

In this regard, an objective understanding of what really happened would help to dispel conflicting perceptions and move towards one acceptable history.

The report that Mrs Seroke spoke about, that the TRC will write at the end, I think it is very, very important. This report could be our official history. However, there would be need for a massive education programme around the report to help South Africans really own it. This, I believe, would help us to begin the reconciliation process, but it will not be easy."

I had an example this week, we, I was at a workshop with some of a very committed church leaders and we watched a Eugene De Kock prime evil video and after it we had a debate on whether we are ready to forgive him and even church leaders were divided on whether they could forgive him or not. The pain is too deep, the memory is too fresh for a lot of people.

"This variation on perceptions is further confounded by an ongoing and systematic change in language. The classical retort today whether it be collective or individual is, I did not support apartheid. If you listen carefully to the news these days, we hear the expression "the situation we inherited", which sounds like a legacy, some ground old aunt bequeathed us. No one it seems, nowadays, is willing to talk about a situation we created, the reality we are responsible for or acknowledge the past that was ours. In fact, the whole country seems to be in denial.

From all quarters people deny their complicity, silent or otherwise, in what is a horrendous history, particularly the period being covered by the TRC. Anyone in the counselling business will tell us that it is very hard to deal with a person in denial, be it an alcoholic or a deviant youth or whoever. Usually the person has to hit rock bottom before they begin to come to their senses. As a nation, we too might have to travel the road to rock bottom and we are well on our way with an unacceptable crime level and a breakdown in the family and social structures. Only when, as a nation, we hit rock bottom can we be brought to our senses and engage in an exercise of healing and reconciliation. Will the TRC be still around to pick us up or will it be too late?

Like it or not, we have a TRC with all its qualities and all its imperfections. I have often criticised aspects of the TRC, but it is not my intention to do so now. However, I would like to make an observation. Through the amnesty hearings, in particular, and to a lesser extent with the human rights hearings, we have succeeded in marginalising society, that means all of us, of our responsibility for what happened in the past. Civil society can now point a finger at those people who committed such awful atrocities, putting the blame squarely on their shoulders and exonerating themselves from any complicity. This presents us with a major problem when we begin to talk about healing our nation. They and not us need healing, seems to be the perception. The unawareness, verging on apathy by the majority of people of this country to what happened in the past will prove to be our greatest obstacle in the attempt to articulate a vibrant and practical process of healing.

From the inception of the TRC, I was saddened to see that it was the politicians, alone, who drafted the legislation surrounding the Truth Commission. Words like "healing", "contrition", "reconciliation" and "forgiveness", to name but a few, are not political words. They are moral words and the churches are the custodians of these words. They are our words.

I believe that the churches now must grab the mantle and build on what the TRC has achieved. Therefore, when the TRC ends, the work of the churches begin. This will not be a two year programme like the TRC, but a long and difficult process. If the churches cannot do it, no one can do it, but let me come back to the word "reconciliation". I honestly believe we are using the wrong word. In fact, I believe there is great misunderstanding between the word "reconciliation" and the word "forgiveness". They are so often confused in our church language. No where in the Bible or in any of our respective church traditions, are we asked to reconcile good with evil, love with hate, justice with injustice.

When the townships were burning in the early 80's there was often a call from some sections of

my own church for reconciliation. This we rejected. We had people who were sinned against and we had sinners. What we wanted, but was unthinkable at the time, was for the sinners to ask forgiveness from the sinned against. Obviously, that did not happen at that time. The question is, can it happen now or should it happen now?

At the same time I should point out that we did not expect the people were are sinned against to reconcile with the oppressor. You can imagine that some of the armchair theologians who had no idea of what was happening in the townships, found this position difficult to swallow. We use the word "forgiveness" far too lightly in our churches. We rarely acknowledge the pain and hurt people experience and, worst still, we often take the prerogative away from them to forgive and decide to do the forgiving ourselves."

I said I was not going to criticise the TRC, but I would like to make another observation. I believe it is the survivors and not the State who have the right to forgive the perpetrators and only if they so wish.

"The Amnesty Committee of the TRC makes a mockery of the concept of forgiveness, mainly because the perpetrator in no way has to be contrite or sorry for what he or she did. All they have to do is to make full disclosure and prove the offence committed had a political motive. One wonders if true reconciliation can come from such a distorted idea of forgiveness.

So, in a nutshell, I do not believe that the South African situation is one that calls for reconciliation or rather one that calls for confession and forgiveness. Only when this happens will we truly be able to talk about reconciliation.

This might have been seeming a little bit negative, so let me try to be a little more positive. April 94 was a supreme moment in our country. Not only was the Black community liberated, but so also were the Whites. They could now be human in relation to their Black brothers and sisters. Our daily lives are littered with examples of this taking place all over the country and it is good news. It almost goes unseen these days. Sports, music and the arts have done more to reconcile people than all the politicians and, dare I say, clergy put together. The Rugby World Cup and the African Nations Cup are clear examples. Bafana Bafana's qualification at the World Cup in France will enhance this process.

The scrapping of apartheid liberated all who wanted to be human and reconciled people in one nation. Obviously, it will take time to get the majority on board, but at the same time it has to be said that we are off to a good start.

Let me give one example. For four years I ministered not far from here in KwaNdebele, from 1983 until I was banned in 1987. I personally witnesses the horrific events that tore KwaNdebele apart. At one stage in 1986, over a three month period, I was officiating at around six funerals a day. No one knows the toll of human suffering that community experienced. It was, therefore, with some trepidation that I attended the KwaNdebele TRC human rights hearings in December last year. In a hall filled to capacity about 400 people listened with bated breaths to the testimony of five White security policemen. They told, in graphic detail, the circumstances surrounding the killings of leaders in that community in the 80's.

This, you must remember, was not an amnesty hearing, but rather a hearing into gross violations of human rights. The five policemen had come, had been encouraged to come and face the community for whom they had caused so much pain and grief. Family members of the victims listened in silence. There was neither admiration nor condemnation of the policemen for their presence and what they were saying. Something very deep was taking place between the perpetrator and the victim. The beginning of healing was taking place.

Anyone who has attended such hearings cannot but see that for the victim, the pouring out of grief, of loss and anger and allowing themselves to fully feel the extent of their suffering has

brought about a measure of healing. It has shown to be important that the Commission in no way minimises that suffering and ensures that the victim is always treated with dignity and their pain acknowledged.

I really think the TRC should be complimented for the way the human rights hearings were conducted. However, it is strange that those who suffered most are open to healing while the vast majority of South Africans do not realise that they too need healing. At no stage did the five policemen in the KwaNdebele hearing say they were sorry. Like it or not, contrition cannot be forced. You are either sorry or you are not, but restitution of some kind can be forced. I know this is a late hour to be talking about this, but the amnesty hearings offer a golden opportunity to impose some form of sanction on the perpetrators.

This, I believe, is important for the victim to see that the perpetrator does not walk away scot free and for the perpetrator to realise there is a price to be paid for wrongdoings. It would be an attempt to bring some form of individual justice into the equation. Something that is totally lacking at the moment, but we could go a step further and create some form of trust where civil society could show restitution.

There are millions of people and businesses that profited from apartheid. Should they not be willing to show some form of restitution? I would like to see this as a voluntary request, but should a voluntary approach not work, then I would not be adverse to the imposition of a once off restitution tax right across the board and this would go into the coffers for the victims.

What also saddened me with the KwaNdebele experience is that, as far as I know, no Comrades have asked for amnesty, despite the fact that there are many responsible for horrendous deeds. This is a tragedy. The ones I spoke to, of whom I know have done foul deeds, did not see the need to ask for amnesty. They believe it is only the oppressor who needs to ask. This is a dangerous situation which I believe adds to the level of lawlessness found in South Africa today. The tragedy is heightened by the fact that they will, in all probability, get away with it. A dangerous culture of impunity has been created, which will take years to get rid of. As I said before, South Africa is fast becoming a moral wasteland. It seems to me that the purpose of the TRC is not just to give amnesty to the perpetrators of a crime and some restitution or reparation to the victims, one of the major contributions of the TRC, one of the major contributions the TRC can make is to help all of us in South Africa acknowledge that certain things are wrong and should never happen in human society. Put simply, the TRC is best placed to restore our sense of right and wrong.

Apartheid and other factors have almost destroyed traditional African values and, indeed, traditional religious values that guided different communities. Now, as a nation, we find ourselves with no common moral heritage, no common moral foundation on which we can build our economy, our society and our new fledging democracy. As the TRC draws to a close, it would seem the ideal body to launch a campaign to introduce a new era in morality for the common good of our country. The churches then could run with it and become the active participants of the campaign.

Just imagine the difference if we had a society where all postmen delivered mail, all teachers teach and all students learn, all companies and employers pay just wages, all taxi drivers respect their passengers, all businessmen make honest contracts, a society where people could go to bed or walk the streets without fear, a society where the dignity of the human person is paramount. Would it not be wonderful? Well, if so, we must try and the, with the TRC to get this kind of campaign going, as a kind of monument to what has been achieved and as an inspiration for the future. I believe we must seize the moment now and not be found wanting. Thank you."

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much, Father O'Leary, for the submission. Do you have any clarity or questions from the table, from the Commissioners. Time is against us, we are supposed to break at half past 11 for tea, at 11 o' clock and now it is already 25 to 12 and my worry is that we have not, you know, really dealt with the key issue that we thought we would also address in this workshop, the reparation policy, so that we all understand what is meant by the reparation policy, how is it going to be implemented. Nevertheless, I would allow a few comments from the table, questions, if there are questions.

MS SEROKE: Thank you very much for once more co-operating with us. I just want to check your thinking on one thing where you talk about the importance of confession and forgiveness. We have had a couple of workshops, not only in Gauteng, but in other provinces as well where we are looking at this notion of reconciliation and what seems to be emerging is that looking at reconciliation from a religious perspective alone, is not likely to help us to achieve our goals. There is a strong feeling that we need to look at the distribution of resources, that people will not, even if in terms of the amnesty clause, people who are coming forward expected not only to make a full disclosure, but also to ask for an apology. That would not make a difference as long as we have no mechanism to make sure that there is an improvement of the quality of life, especially for those who lost out the most. So, ...

FATHER O'LEARY: Yes, I get your point. You see, I am coming from my background, which is a church background, okay, and I can agree with you that maybe not everybody thinks that the way I think is the way we should go, but I do not believe that you can have reconciliation without some form of forgiveness. That the, that there has to be, prior to reconciliation there has to be some form of saying I am sorry for what I did, please forgive me, and then you can talk about two sides being reconciled. It is something very serious. I have always felt, in the amnesty legislation, that this concept of asking forgiveness is not there and I am looking, you know, we are trying to reconcile a country. If we cannot admit the wrongs and say sorry for them, it is very hard to see how we can actually bring that reconciliation into being, but that is, you know, it is a Catholic perception of, we have, and I am not saying that everybody (indistinct).

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. Any other, Tom?

MR MANTHATA: It is on those, it is almost the same question. I see here the conflict when we talk about confession, forgiveness and at the same time we talk about a restitution tax. How would you see the morality of taxing a person who might have confessed and who might be forgiven?

FATHER O'LEARY: Yes, I would have no problem with that. I feel, let us say, if somebody has done something, they have come and they say I am sorry for what I have done, that some kind of a sanction saying 10% of your salary or something for a year should go to helping the victims. I would also see, yes, I would also see, I would love to see a wealth tax, a corporate tax, a mines tax for the victims, so that we are not asking the, we are not expecting the State to be the one who has to pay, but, and I think there is a lot of people in this country would actually feel that they should contribute, because they lived off the fat of the land during the apartheid period. You people are in a position to start putting that idea into circulation and it would be very interesting to see how far it would go.

CHAIRPERSON: Any other questions or comments?

MS SEROKE: Well, just to react, because I should think it is all related. You propose or mention the involvement of the corporate world. You might have seen some newspaper articles that a committee or a working group has been formed by the Commission which is looking exactly at these questions, but as you know that we are a Commission which has got a limited period of time, things like whether to come up with a wealth tax or any form or tax for those whom benefitted during those years also will depend on what the Government's thinking is, because they might be thinking of that for other reasons as well. So, we are looking at the involvement of the business community.

FATHER O'LEARY: But if that is a recommendation from your sub-committee, it will go a long way. You see, it will really go a long way.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much Father O'Leary. I was just informed that tea is ready. Can we, yes, ShaUn, is it possible to give us the input please?

FATHER O'LEARY: Yes.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. What do we do? I just wanted to find out. I know I am suppose now to call to Dr Botha to, you are covered now. Can we then break for tea and, please, we all come, shall all we all come back and finish the work? There is tea ready for all of us. Thank you.

DR BOTHA: Chairperson, just at the outset, I should just say that some people know about that, that the Dutch Reformed Church, the Executive at this stage, they did not decide to make a formal submission to the TRC. Perhaps, I can say, because I had to count the votes as a Secretary, that after a very hectic debate, as it was pointed out by Father Shaun as well, people do not agree on all these things and when 30 people had to vote, it was only a difference of two votes. So, if one person voted on the other side, the Chairman would have taken the final decision and I know where that would have gone. So, but in any case, I am not here to speak, really, on behalf of the church, but I, Prof Piet Meiring asked me, he said, please, not more than five minutes, just to give the people some indication of the position of the Dutch Reformed Church.

The first thing I want to say is that two years ago we acknowledged the importance of the TRC. We realised that, you know, we are not against the TRC, the importance we said at a decision in 95, that, as a church, we pray that the points of departure, the actions and the findings of the Commission will lead to reconciliation, forgiveness and peace. We also said that we are convinced that truth must, at all times, be served, because truth, like justice and love, is one of the cornerstones of a civilised or Christian society also and, then also, that we pastorally, as congregations, want to care for all the people affected by the past and that we, as a church, we, as, we promise that we, in our intersession and in our prayers, we will never forget the work of the TRC. That just as a background.

Chairperson, let me say that, as a church, we were also not aware of the things that are surfacing now by the investigations of the Truth Commission and it was, it is often mentioned that why do we not, as a church, somewhere confess and some of the people present will know that we realised our mistakes of the past as a church. It was asked earlier, yes, when Mrs van Schalkwyk sat here, it was asked by the Commissioner, I think that, was the Dutch Reformed Church not involved right at the beginning of apartheid. Yes, we are busy with our studies on this whole thing and it is true that when the Government approached the church and asked is apartheid, according to Scripture, could one say apartheid can be accepted according to Scripture and our leaders, at that time, or some of the theologians, others did not agree, but some said, yes, according to Scripture, yes. Perhaps I must read what we officially decided in 1990. We said in church and society, which is available,

"While the Dutch Reformed Church over the years seriously and persistently sought the will of God and His Word for our society, the church made the error of allowing forced separation and division of peoples in its own circle to be considered a Biblical imperative. The Dutch Reformed Church should have distance or distanced itself much earlier from this view and admits and confesses its neglect."

I can read more, because you, the time problem, I will not do that, but it is repeatedly said and we have confessed publicly, you know, about Rustenburg and other places, that we were wrong and we say, again this morning, we are sorry about that.

At our Synod of 1990 we also called on the congregations and the synods and so on and said, please, let us look at our society. We have the Afrikaans word, perhaps I just should say it in a sentence or two. We talk about showing consideration and love and this means, in its original meaning, that you have to put yourself in the shoes of the other people. You must put yourself in the position of the other people and then understand their situation, what their needs are, what their views are. That was a decision of our Synod.

The last thing, I think, that I must just mention is the whole question about reconciliation. You are a Committee for Truth and Reconciliation. Truth sets us free. We are in favour of investigating what is the truth. Reconciliation, we also, already decided in 1990, before the elections, seven years ago we said, please, let us work as a church for peace and reconciliation. You will know that there are some people who say, but, when the Bible talks about reconciliation, it is only reconciliation God to man, that is what the Bible talks about, but we seriously said that is not correct. Of course, that is the primary meaning of reconciliation, man, the sinner, with God, but also then and there are Scripture, there are many places in Scripture which teaches us it also means reconciliation with fellow men and, therefore, in 1990 at our

Synod we called on all the Dominees to preach reconciliation from the pulpits, it was mentioned earlier today.

Mr Chairman, you know, Father Shaun also said how important the role of the church is in the situation. A couple of years ago I heard, and I do not know what the situation is now, that on one Sunday you have more people at church services than you will have right through the Curry Cup season at the rugby stadiums every Saturday. You know how many thousands people, especially White Afrikaner people, attend Curry Cup matches. Through the year, if you get that number of people only on one Sunday, you have more people in church than the whole year attending Curry Cup matches. So, there is an opportunity and, therefore, we said and one of our other Synods in the Gauteng area also said they want to start a programme on reconciliation. We also said that at the Bible study groups and at conferences they should make more about peace and reconciliation between the people of this country.

The last thing I thought I must just mention is, although the Executive officially decided that we are not making a formal submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Committee, people were talking in, lobbying about this whole question and then it was discussed at the Executive, but is it not time that, for our own people, we should write this story about apartheid and the Dutch Reformed Church, because that is what the TRC was also asking. Why do you not sit down and while you are busy, as Piet Meiring often calls it, a whole album of the history of South Africa, there is a blank space, the history of the Dutch Reformed Church regarding apartheid and three weeks ago or a month ago, we decided, but we are going to do just that and in my hand I have this report. It says "The Story of the NG Churches Travels through Apartheid", where everything from 1960 to 1994, the history of our church, regarding apartheid, Cotterslow, Rustenburg, etc, is written down. It was not for the TRC, it is for the members of our congregations and it is for everybody who is interested in this. Somebody from the TRC asked me when will it be publicised, available. Well, that will take another month or so, because we are busy in the printing process. So, we will have our story available for whomever is interested.

With rehabilitation, I do not know. I just say, yes, there is so, I feel we have restraints with the finances and so on, but, personally, if I read about the money lying around or flying around in this country I say, yes, there must be some way. The pension idea, I think it is good, at least one of the things. I support you, personally, fully with that idea. If there are other ways, yes, please, that we help the people who were hurt and who had done damage in the past. Thank you Chairperson.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much Dr Botha. I will allow the Commissioners to ask questions for clarity, if there are.

MS MKHIZE: While other people are still thinking, I will just ask you one brief question. You mentioned, thank you very much for supporting the reparations policy. That is really encouraging. My specific question is, if the Commission had asked you to make a submission, as a church, and you preferred to write your own history, do you not think that will land the church in the old position, so to say, where you do not get an opportunity of being confronted by the Commission, but you talk to yourself and, I should think, things went wrong in the past, mainly of this separation, whereby it was separate development, so to say. It is like you opt for an opportunity to reform yourself.

DR BOTHA: Do you want to help me?

PROF GROBBELAAR: In the light of church and community of 1990, which you referred to just now, why would the church, at this stage, say no to the Commission? That is to link up with what Commissioner Mkhize had asked.

DR BOTHA: Perhaps I should reply in Afrikaans. It is easier for me and you have the interpreting facilities available. Piet Meiring also asked me this question and he requested that I try to give more or less the feeling of my people. I did attend the debate and my impression was that some people in the church did not or are still not completely trusting the Truth Commission, rightly or wrongly, but they do not trust everything. My impression is that right from the beginning, when there was even the first references to the Truth Commission, people, and I do not know whether they had specific information, advised us, informing us to stay away from this thing, because in the end, they said, we would be very sorry for being involved with it.

One reads about certain things in the paper, specific papers from the Afrikaans press side, I will not refer to them by name, are quite negatively influential about what is happening. They are being read by Afrikaans community and we

often believe what the media dish up to us and I think that is probably the most important reason or these, this set of reasons why people have not, in the past, been prepared to come to the Commission. I do not want to state here what I, perhaps, told Piet Meiring to give through to the Chairperson of the Truth Commission, but, perhaps, I should refer to it in broad terms.

The Truth Commission has different heads and it all depends on which head you are talking to. Some people say that they really wish to achieve reconciliation. Others, they say, are looking for vengeance. Whether they are correct or wrong, I do not know. So, on the one hand that is the problem that they say they are prepared to help with reconciliation, but they are not so sure whether some people are not looking for revenge and that makes it quite difficult for them.

CHAIRPERSON: Okay. Any other questions? If none, Ma Seroke.

MR MANTHATA: Sorry.

MS SEROKE: Reverend Botha, you sort of confirmed what Father O'Leary said about the involvement of the church in this process, especially after the TRC has disbanded. Would you see this new process, this ideal body, which he referred to, as just being denominational or the churches should all be coming together in an ecumenical way to get into this process?

DR BOTHA: Thank you. Yes, it is true that, until a few years ago, that the Dutch Reformed Churches was set aside by the other ecumenical church or the movement for reasons which I personally understand, but the wonderful thing that we, as a Dutch Reformed Church, experience is that for the past three years the doors are opening up, that we expected that people will, what is the English word, would shun us away or push us aside and isolate us and just as churches work together and, on the contrary, the other churches are pulling us into this family as a ecumenical bodies and, not only as Christian churches, but also with other religions, we are invited to discuss certain moral problems in our country.

So, yes, you can be assured that we will be very interested and we will support, in any way, an ecumenical movement to carry on this work that you have started. There is no question about that. We do not have to vote about that. I can assure you that we would join everybody who is working on peace and reconciliation and we will just be, we will appreciate it if such a structure can be erected to carry on the work.

MS MKHIZE: Yes, just you know, thank you, thank you. I am just thinking that you mentioned that your church perception is that some people within the Commission are looking for opportunities to hit back, so to say, and yet, at the same time you say you are really committed to peace and reconciliation. I am just wondering as to whether, as a county, we can succeed in wanting to talk about reconciliation if we are not together in establishing the truth as to what went wrong in the past. The reconciliation you are talking about will it be sustainable without a foundation, because I see the truth, the establishment of this truth as establishing a common ground, so to say, for the people of this country. If something went wrong to say, yes, this and this went wrong. Then they can move forward in reconciliation and peace initiatives.

DR BOTHA: I think the one problem that we, as a church, have, almost on every issue, is the difference of opinion. That is the problem. That there are so many current affairs and issues that we have to discuss and take decisions and, almost on every issue, there is this difference of opinion and you can, I suppose you will also understand that with 1,2 million members, they are divided in so many political parties now, that we often experience that, I think it is also a psychological thing, personalities also differ. The social background in which people grew up also influences them. That I suppose all I can say is, unfortunately, I do not think all our members will wholeheartedly support these issues.

A time ago we had a discussion of the three Afrikaans churches with members of the TRC, Mr Tom was here as well that day, and he could also tell you that even within the three Afrikaans churches there is almost a difference of character regarding these things. So, I personally cannot promise what the outcome will be if you ask every member of the 1,2 million what they think about this. They will not all agree with me, that I can assure you.

CHAIRPERSON: You still have another question? Thank you.

PROF GROBBELAAR: Mr Botha, with respect, the spirit of goodness, the support of the principles underlying the

TRC that you talked about in 1990, I am not yet sure how I should understand why the church would refuse to make a submission to the TRC. I heard you, I heard you say there is a lack of trust and there is a problem about the TRC might be, is viewed at some point as an organ looking for revenge in South Africa, but if I were to quote Father O'Leary and his suggestion of a moral wasteland or the fact that we need a new era of morality, surely it is the churches role to take a lead in providing a framework for this and to make a decision, because ultimately, what the Dutch Reformed Church is suggesting to the TRC, is that we are not a legitimate organisation in terms of the Act and in terms of our task and that is, it is a very strong point to make and I would expect, in the light of "kerk and samelewing", etc, that you have quoted, that you have as well developed arguments about why not taking, why not making a submission to us. So, excuse me, I know, I am not talking to you personally, but can you help us understand a little bit better something of that kind of dynamic.

DR BOTHA: I mentioned to you that in the debate I had given one side of the debate. I have not been prepared for this type of question or else I could have thought, in taking my time about all the other points of debate mentioned, but it is so that some of the members there said that they do not trust the Commission, they do not know what the outcomes are going to be, that they doubt whether such a structure would lead to reconciliation, that they are of the opinion that some other way should have been explored and these are the kinds of arguments that were raised and, you know, we all have our own frames of reference and ways of thinking and we do not always hear what others have to say, but, I think, that even if the other side had talked till they were blue in the face, people would have voted the same way, because they simply do not listen to arguments. So, in the end I would say it is, probably, also just human factors. The matter was put on the table, brought to the vote and that was the result.

I did not mention to you some of the positive arguments. The really serious arguments, emotional arguments, whether we like the TRC or do not like it, whether we like its Chairperson or not. All those factors were raised. It was also stated that it would give such a wonderful message to the rest of the world out there if this church, together with its members, had been involved over the last three or four decades with everything that had happened. Would it not be a wonderful message if this church were to come and make a statement. Does the Bible not talk about truth. All these wonderful arguments were put on the table and then brought to the vote and that was the decision. I cannot really personally answer to, I cannot really answer to this question. I can give you personal opinions, but that was the formal situation. That was the result.

Perhaps in five years time when everything has come to a conclusion we would perhaps be able to give a clearer reply or perhaps in five years time I would be able to come to you and say the church took the right decision. I hope not. I truly believe as, from my individual point of view, and I am positive that with the influence of the church and the ecumenical structure, our country has the potential, research has been done in this regard, 96% plus of people want peace, want reconciliation and I am really full of courage. I am sure that we will be able to effect this.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much, Dr Botha, for your submission. I do not see any hands, so, there are no other questions. Can we then move, thank you for your submission. Can you hold your question until we allow also everybody to participate? We will open for that. Time is just against us. I would like to call on Mrs Marjorie Nkomo to come forward and do the focus group presentation or submission. Thank you, continue.

MRS NKOMO: In our culture there is saying that (not translated). Therefore, the experience of pain and hurt is a result of what happens to the other members of the family. In fact, in our community, Mrs Masuku, who was mentioned by Mrs Seroke, died in the process of holding the knife by the sharp end. Therefore, comments on behalf of these focus groups are relating not just to women only, but to the community as a whole. It is because of this that women are always creators of peace rather than creators of war.

The impact of the TRC hearings in the Atteridgeville community, the impact of these hearings in this community cannot be considered in a collectivity. It remains to be seen as to whether this is going to be a healing or a heightening of the pain. In some instances, the preparation of the hearings brought people together. Maybe, through sharing, people will begin to help one another to cope. In other serious incidents, people had begun to forget. The hearings have revived the memories and the deep rooted feeling pain which had no controlled intervention. In the context of the hearings and counselling, the post traumatic syndrome can be dealt with in a direct intervention.

There is a category who has not been reached and where no one knows how they are coping with their scars. It is difficult to assume that these people have forgotten about their experiences of the past. There is yet a category, having an outright negative response of our attitude, which can only be pacified by outright punishment of the perpetrators. They are calling for more than just the truth, they are calling for justice. Now that their memories have been revived, perhaps a mechanism has to be devised for healing.

The impact and consequences of human rights violation in our community has resulted to the following social problems. There are orphans, there are widows, loss of offsprings, destruction of homes, loss of property, loss of businesses, physical and mental disabilities resulting from various kinds of torture, people demonised and alienated according to their allegiance, either to the status quo or to the forces of change. Families and communities were divided according to those allegiances, families were separated, educational careers were disrupted, those disruptions have manifested in joblessness, limited upward or lateral career mobility. Where there was cohesiveness in communities, now they have become fragmented and that individualism that may be manifested in the high crime rate. General collapse of symbols and in institutions of authority.

Community endorsed strategies to address the consequences highlighted and which will promote healing in the community. The TRC is a once off event with a limited lifespan whilst healing is a process. A consideration to hand over the process of healing to the more permanent structures so that this process may continue long after the TRC books have been closed. These structures could work in collaboration with the affected communities. Considerations to be set, to set up mechanisms for continuous psychological counselling. The following organisations may need to be involved so as to facilitate the addressing of the specific needs: Then National Youth Commission, non-Governmental organisations, churches, the inter-denominational churches, women groups. That is about all I have.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much Marjorie. You all heard about the impact. If there are questions from the floor or from the table. I think from the table in particular. Please, you are welcome to ask them for clarity.

MR MANTHATA: My question is directed to your last recommendation of the operations of NGO's and community organisations and other structures. What we seem to be witnessing is almost the dying out of community organisations and it is a question on how can they be revived, because there was a time when they were so vibrant that, perhaps, this hall would be full by now, but now we have realised that, you know, something has sapped all that, you know, drive and desire to serve the people. How do you see that being revived, as much?

MRS NKOMO: Firstly, Tom, I would (speakers microphone not on). Is it off again? Yes, I think there is serious lack of awareness of even this TRC process amongst our communities and, you will, remember in many occasions I have actually phoned concerned and asking as to what is happening, you know. We do not know how one comes about to give a statement, you know, and you can imagine, then, if that happens with somebody like me who is actually a person who says, is a representative of a community, what happens to the ordinary member of the community and that was actually happening, because people were asking as to what is happening. There is quite a lot of lack of awareness. I do not know, there, perhaps, how the TRC communicates with the different, you know, with the communities in the, at the different places, but I think there is still quite a lack, but at the same time, yes, we have mentioned that the people, the hall would be full at some instances. We know that people will always stand up for something they know about and halls use to be full when people came along when there were campaigns of release, the prisoners, and things like that, because those instances were made known to the communities, but at the same time I see this as a start of things which might happen to keep the communities together.

For instance, Mrs van Schalkwyk, I did speak to her. It is a pity she could not stay on until the end, because right now there are a lot of women who are very bitter, as you have seen. Women whom people could take hands together with those women in order to heal their wounds. So, I think if this can be taken forward, a strategy from this post hearings, that the people should come together and, actually, address whatever problems have to be, so that the communities are also involved in what is happening.

CHAIRPERSON: Yes, any other questions.

MS MKHIZE: Just one brief question for me. Also, I would like to express our appreciation for your commitment in seeing the process through. You are one of the people who appeared even before the children and youth hearings. We

really appreciate your commitment. Ma, my question to you it relates, maybe, to what was asked by Tom. I saw one woman who came here who says she has not got peace and she was in tears, for how long will she be crying. Then I was saying to myself, today in your community, people who are in leadership are people who are also survivors. So, what is it, there has been an RDP programme in this country, what is it that your leadership is doing in making sure that, at least, while Government at national level is planning, but people begin to be afforded opportunities to survive.

I am thinking of people who are today members of Parliament who were voted by the very survivors who are crying before the Commissions. I am thinking even at local leadership, people who were pushed in there by the very people. So, what initiatives are there, because the way I see it, whether there are policies which are coming at a national level, they will have to feed into local initiatives.

MRS NKOMO: Mrs Mkhize, I think I did mention, because of the very same concerns you are having, you know. We also, as you have rightfully said, are survivors of what has happened and in many occasions we also feel we do need counselling, because, and our children do need counselling, because at many a times we feel very stuck, you know, and eventually one does not know whether at the end, is the affect of the things of the past or not, but in what I am, in my submission I have mentioned, because of considering the same issue you are talking about, that perhaps considerations to set up mechanisms for continuous psychological counselling, as an urgent matter, could be looked at, you know, because even now it is not just, there are many women, at least it is better for a mother who actually comes and says something and you see that mother that, okay, this happened. We have got parents who have never had any chance of saying anything, you know.

When I did, I made my submission on childrens violations, rights violation, I mentioned that my submission was dedicated to a child whose head was blown off at, when she was about three years right at her own yard, you know. We have mothers like that who are just walking with this heaviness for all these years, you know, and I saw her. She was around when I, this morning, you know. Yes, there are things you hear, there are still more things you have not heard which are very serious. So, that is why I am actually stressing this awareness problem.

MS MKHIZE: If I may just, through Chair, complete my question. You see, as I said to you, I was trying to link it, Tom said in the past this hall will be full. My question to you is, really, can you not inject the same spirit, evolve the new patriotism, in setting up structures whereby people can come forward, because you are talking about psychological services and I can assure you, if they are imposed in your community, they will come modelled on what is working in Europe and America and, yet, if there is an initiative from your community you might come up, in the past we did not have psychologists and if my knowledge of the field is right, up to today, universities are not training people who can come and speak the languages that are spoken in Mamelodi.

So, if you are talking of centres for healing, if they emerge from the community you might find that you work with Minister ... (intervention)

MRS NKOMO: If there ... (intervention)

MS MKHIZE: ... with Ministers, if there are people who are good in counselling, you can look at models which will be culturally appropriate, but if you call for the introduction of services which will be just imposed upon the community, they might be there and not utilised by people. In the 80's some universities who were curious in learning more about what happens to people who were detained, they set up structures, saying they are counselling structures and they closed them down, because they were not utilised. They were not culturally appropriate. So ... (intervention).

MRS NKOMO: I think, Hlengiwe, this might actually be a stepping stone to that, because the people you are having here are people who have been affected, you know. So, if there could be a way forward, you know, resulting from these meetings, you know, then it would be realised as to how many people, you know, do need this psychological counselling. You know, just now we have heard somebody who is so affected to who, I mean, who came and asked a question here and it was clear to all of us that what has happened in the past has affected him. So, it is in meetings like this where these people will come and with them we can, actually, set up as to what can be done, but I, yes, I agree with you, just from the people who come being consultants from somewhere, to come and impose a service. That will not be as relevant as it would be if the people themselves, who are affected, start it.

PROF GROBBELAAR: Marjorie, as you know we are not an implementing body, we are a policy making body which is, I think, why Hlengiwe asked some of those questions. Could I ask a kind of follow up question? In the beginning of your submission you, I think, left the question of the impact of the Truth Commission on the community of Atteridgeville as an open question. You said as a result some people, having had the Commission there, some people now want justice, because memories have been re-opened. I think you also suggested that other people might be happy with the Commission's activity, but it was an open scorecard, if I can use that language. Can you comment a little bit on, again, understanding that we do not make, we do not, we are not an implementing body, we make policy. Can you comment on the question of memories being re-opened and people wanting justice? Can you comment a bit more on that?

MRS NKOMO: You know, in fact, what I was referring to, you know, I think the statement takers will remember that in this, in our communities there are people who are so bitter and who will not even want to make a statement, because they do not know what will happen eventually, you know. It is these people, in fact, who could also benefit from whatever, you know, counselling service there is, because there is no way people can be expected to go through their life with that kind of attitude.

CHAIRPERSON: Okay, I hope there, let us see now, is there any other hand? No, thank you very much, Marjorie, for your presentation, submission. Can I then, according to the programme, we have now to go to focus group three, which is

to present, because I am chairing. I do not know whether I should present being here, but - or Jean can do that. My presentation is not going to be a formal one, because the organisation I come from are, you know, which is the civic organisation in Mamelodi, they are going to submit formally what transpired and what is it that they are doing in trying to address some of these things. So I do not know whether, should I briefly ...

MR LUBISI: Thank you, members of the Commission, the house at large. I have been asked to present, but I received this information very late. As a result I could not prepare thoroughly, you know, about what I was going to submit. So I got this information at short notice. But save to say that what I would say here is not a formal presentation of the organisation where I come from, but it is because of - I mean, it will be of my experience, because I have been involved throughout, since 1976. I will not go to those, you know, to the history of what transpired in Mamelodi about the gross violations of human rights. But save to quote a few families that suffered terribly, that I personally worked with, because I worked for about 12 years for the Council of Churches, the South African Council of Churches. So I was directly involved with some of the families who were, you know, grossly violated, or their human rights were violated.

To quote Stanza Bopape who was the general secretary of the Mamelodi Civic Organisation - you have heard a lot about him. I was serving with him in the same organisation for a number of years. His family, obviously, was devastated; his family was, you know, suffered a lot. The father died because of the disappearance of his son. The mother also, you know, died. I think it was the step-mother. The family was disorganised. There were a number of problems. The SACC gave some grants to try to assist the family, but that did not help that much. I would not get to Dr Fabian Ribeiro and his wife, whom I worked so closely with for many years, who were brutally murdered by, you know, the apartheid regime, if I may put it that way.

I would not get into Mama Hlangu, who is staying with me, and who I, you know, looked after or I took care of her for many years through the SACC. She suffered a lot because of the hanging of her son. She is still, you know, having those traumas and so forth. These are some of the impacts, you know, in Mamelodi around this violation of human rights. Mamma Suku in Mamelodi, you know, who was harassed, suffered a lot as well. His son went for many years in prison. Louis Khumalo, you know, his house was bombed, he was terribly tortured. He worked with me and these people I am talking about, some of them I worked with them very closely

There are families who disintegrated as well. Louis' family for instance, you know, after the burning of his house, when there was a huge, I mean, a massacre in Mamelodi of about 13 people who were brutally murdered. When the entire community was marching against the high rents, against, you know, pure civic delivery in Mamelodi. A number of people were shot, and imagine, what is happening to those families who lost their loved ones, who you know, lost their children in the process. And you know, when they see, they hear about the Truth Commission, they have got high hopes,

they are looking forward to get some reparation and some, they are indicating to us as an organisation, that the whole process is too slow. You know, they are anxiously looking forward towards the results of the Truth Commission. Once, you know, the results are made, the findings are made and so forth, they are worried what is going to happen to them and to the perpetrators for that matter.

Young people, whom I participated in holding memorial services in Mamelodi, those young people who were burnt in a combi, killed when they were, you know, robbed to sort of skip the country, to find that the involvement of the security there, was to, you know, trap them and kill them. You know, all those people are in Mamelodi. I am talking about Mamelodi, because I am coming from Mamelodi.

Very little has been done to counsel these people. Very little has been done by the community itself to you know, give the necessary support to these victims of apartheid, to these people who were grossly violated by, you know, the apartheid, you know, regime.

But save to say as well that, you know, the community of Mamelodi has been in a way supportive to these people, because we usually, every year we hold memorial services for the massacres of November 21, 1985. That, I believe, we are sort of bringing the families together and comforting them and sharing with them other experiences and indicating to them that they are not alone. It is not only them who suffered, but a number of people, throughout this country, suffered. That in a way we were sort of, you know, trying to comfort and support them, as an organisation.

I played that role as individual as well, because I worked for the church and I felt it is necessary for me to keep on visiting even these individual families who suffered. Many people suffered in Mamelodi. Around Pretoria as a whole, especially in the Black townships, we had a lot of casualties. I am talking now, right now I have people in Mamelodi who have lost or who are mentally disturbed because of imprisonment, who are struggling, they cannot get employment because they are not balanced, mentally balanced. They cannot, you know, they are just loitering in the townships. They are seriously affected because of detention.

You know from 1986 upwards you know, a number of young people were tortured in Mamelodi. I am one of them. I do not have to talk about myself, but you know, I am just indicating that many people suffered because of, you know, this gross violation which was perpetrated by, you know, the Police, the Army and so forth. By the previous government, of course.

Obviously, what is lacking is the support that should be given to those stake-holders, those community structures that would like to further, you know, assist, you know, these people who really suffered. You know, those who suffered psychologically. What is it that we are doing? It is a question that I am also asking. What is it that the community is doing for them? Very little has been done. You know, a number of them they still need psychological, you know, treatment and so forth. So that kind of - and I see churches to have a serious role here, to counsel, to comfort, to, you know, to visit, to bring together such people, but very little is being done around such, you know, people who are living with us there. But deeply they are hurt, they are injured, you know, that is what I could say around some of these things.

I can say so many things about them, because I have been in the fore, in the leadership throughout of what was happening in Mamelodi. You know, mass meetings were disrupted throughout. You know, many people for instance, in July, I think 1985, many people jumped big fences, parents with children. You know, in a mass meeting police came in and threw in teargas canisters and people were disrupted, having their own meetings, you know, meeting. A number of them had broken limbs, you know, and some broken ankles. I ask myself where are these people, you know. Were they helped after they got broken limbs and legs and so forth. You know, the last time it was when we were taking them to hospitals and they were helped. But whether they came forward to come and submit, to come and put forward their problems, one is not quite - I am not in the know-how about that.

But save also to say that I really personally welcome the reparation policy. Probably it will be one form of healing, helping these people to you know, realise that at least the outcome of the Truth Commission had an impact to heal them, to better their living conditions. As I heard, you spoke also about the - not individual assistance, but what is it that can be done to better the conditions of some of those areas, of you know, where there are no services at all.

In my mind I think there is still a lot to be done, particularly to those who are psychologically affected. There is a lot to

be done around those mothers who lost their loved ones. Those whom their children have disappeared. I think very little has been done, but we do not know whether, you know, some of them came forth.

Mr Chairperson, I would just put it at that level. But indicating that some of, you know, I was excited about the reparation policy, as it was explained. I think many people are looking forward to that as well. While they need more than that in terms of you know, helping them to take out the traumas that they had, that they experienced and so forth. I thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much Mr Lubisi. We are focusing on the communities now, the community. Questions?

MS MKHIZE: Mr Lubisi, you have mentioned that in your community some people keep on asking what is going to happen to the perpetrators. I think Marjorie also alluded to that when she said that people want justice. Do you feel perhaps that the TRC has not done justice in explaining the question of amnesty in the Act, why they decided that perpetrators can come forward if they are going to give full disclosure and confess and so on, that they would be granted amnesty?

MR LUBISI: Yes, I think people are aware of that, but you see sometimes it is hard to reconcile with a person who is not prepared to reconcile. If I know that so-and-so was torturing me, and so-and-so disclosed and you know, without, you know, hiding some of the things that he was doing to me, definitely, because I want peace, I want reconciliation, I would, you know, reconcile with that person. You know, I will pardon that person. But what happened to that one who is still refusing to say I am sorry, what happened to that one who is still, you know, beating about the bush telling the truth what happened. You know, there are still a number of people who are not found, who disappeared into thin air. Some of those families are still saying why don't people who killed those people come forward, you know. So I hope I have got your question correctly. But I am saying, you are saying people - you have explained very clearly, but it is not enough to say you know, disclose, then after disclosing and you realise that the person has not disclosed the actual deed, then what is going to happen to that person?

MS MKHIZE: Just to (indistinct) your question. If perhaps, I mean, you heard that Father O'Leary said that one of the problems with the Act is that it was written by politicians and there is nowhere in the Act where it says people should say I am sorry, people should confess. Now after having done the full disclosure, and obviously then they do not apologise or confess, what do - where do you think the onus lies, which organisation - should it be the TRC with their limited life-span or do you see that being a process taken over by other organisations perhaps? That process now of bringing people together so that the reconciliation you are talking about, can be finally affected?

MR LUBISI: Yes, thank you. I think obviously with your limited resources, that will be beyond the task that you are given. But I believe the Government should be able to act and say then what about these people who have not disclosed, but we have got their names, why can they not be - I mean charged, bring to book, because they are failing to disclose? I mean, probably you are not forcing people to disclose. The Government was, you know - the Truth Commission was saying people, let them, let people come forward. But failure to do that, what is going to happen to those people? I mean ...

MS MKHIZE: Are you aware that the people who have not come forward to us for amnesty, at the end are liable for prosecution?

MR LUBISI: I think that is what the community, our communities are looking for.

MS MKHIZE: Do you mean they do not know about that?

MR LUBISI: Some they do, some they do not know. You know, they think that, you know, it is going to be just, you know, just reconciliation. People run away with murder, you know, and that would not make them happy, you know. It is better to come forward and when you pardon such a person, it is when he has disclosed what he has been doing.

MS MKHIZE: Maybe that is why I then felt that perhaps when we were having public meetings with the communities and NGOs, we did not really discuss the issue of amnesty in depth like we did the reparation and the violations, the

gross violations, and you see that there should be a follow-up on that, whereby people really could now discuss this amnesty question in depth.

MR LUBISI: Definitely, yes, and some of us were not quite clear about the reparation policy, you know. So you cannot, you know, say things that you are not sure of, because you raise hopes and promises and make empty promises. So that, I think, will be the task of organisations, you know, community structures, local structures to take the message that we got here today, further. So that people should not lose morale, people should not lose confidence to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. Any other questions?

MR MANTHATA: Sandi, mine might even seem like you know, the usual questions. Perhaps I am coming to a point where I am saying, the organisations that existed before, and perhaps even some of our representative which is what Ms Mkhize was saying, can safely be accused of having abandoned you know, these people. Last year we were invited to a meeting to commemorate the massacre. I am sorry to say it was a shambles, it did not even take place. Unless I am corrected that we had gone to the wrong one. Where people can no longer even can come to such meetings, you know, how do we account for that? Because those are the meetings, as we are saying, that can give a psychological feeling, just the sense of togetherness, you know. It is very important itself.

MR LUBISI: Thank you, Tom. I do not think I am accusing organisations here or, you know, to say that they have not done anything. But, what I am saying is that people have lost hope. Maybe we have been doing now and then to call you know, the - not mass meetings, but you know, commemorations. The attendance sometimes they are poor. I do not know whether it is because of the organisations not taking it up very seriously, to co-ordinate and organise properly. That might be also the case. But we also have, you know, a commitment, you know. Once people do not have commitment on some of these issues, those things will disappear, you know. We have been in particularly, Mamelodi, have been successful, you know, commemoration services. The November 21 has been previously well-attended. The March 21 has been also commemorated in Mamelodi. But, you know, what affects the attendance recently, one would maybe say there is a lack of people you know, no longer interested. Maybe we have got freedom now. They are not interested in attending all those kinds of meetings now and then. But, Tom, I would just say, those activities, we are still putting them in our agendas, to ensure that we do not forget those people who died during the struggle. We will always, despite that we are few, we will always want to remember and pray for those people who died during the struggle.

MR MANTHATA: That is my one question. My other question, I hope I will be able to phrase it well. When we had meetings with the survivors of the Mamelodi massacre, their cry was on that day they had gone to campaign against the rent increase, and that their cry, is that that phenomenon of rent increases is still going on, and some of them want to say what are the organisations saying about that, more so in the light of their being disabled. You know, it is a thing that was never addressed and now it is being addressed with, you know, escalating costs, but at the same time, not addressing the fact that the very people who were casualties of the day, are the grown-ups, you know, without the means of sustenance, and yet, you know, the same - now our people who are in power are still promoting the same issue that brought them into the street.

MR LUBISI: That is a very difficult issue. But I can put it this way. I do not think as a councillor, for instance, at the greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council. I was voted in by people - I do not think I am there not to represent people. I am there definitely to ensure that you know, services are being addressed, they do not pay high rents and so forth, because what led to the massacre - the massacre that we are talking about, was precisely of those kinds of problems. There are, yes, there are problems in the City Council of Pretoria. There are, you know, with regard to finances. We have been urging our people to contribute as much as they can. You will remember the culture of non-payment, you know, is not something that we are going to address as quick as we can. You know, within the Council, which is local government, there are a number of problems. Services, we have to - I mean, we buy electricity from Eskom, we buy water from Water Rand Board, and we have got to pay those services. Now it is unlikely that those services can be given free to the people. While we were elected by them, obviously we are there to represent their needs, their interests, and we are trying our utmost best that you know, they must pay very low rent or service, very low services. The prices should be low.

Just to share with you, that in our budget for 1997/98, the City Council of Pretoria has never increased tariffs for that matter. So our people are - they have reached the stage where they say they cannot pay more than this, and we listen to this, and in Council we thought that there should be no increases with regard to you know, water, sanitation, you know, garbage and electricity. So the whole year there would not be any increase. We are very sympathetic to those people, because we are coming from the very same communities that we are representing. We are still staying with them. So they should understand the problem. It is the financial constraints that local government is facing in this country. In particular, the City Council of Pretoria, is having enormous problems. On the other hand the City Council is trying its utmost best to deliver services, to put tarred roads in the township of Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Soshanguve. They are trying their utmost best to improve the quality of services that we are putting forward. You know, electricity is one of the services that we are improving. If you go to Mamelodi you will see things that you have never seen. You know, you will see robots which we never had in there. Now these are (indistinct - microphone switched off).

But I think you know, I do not want to get deeper into that, but it is ... (intervention).

MR MANTHATA: Yes, it sounds like now you are promoting yourself.

MR LUBISI: I am not, I am talking the truth ... (intervention).

MR MANTHATA: Okay.

MR LUBISI: ... of what is happening ... (intervention).

MR MANTHATA: Okay.

MR LUBISI: ... actually.

MR MANTHATA: Okay.

MR LUBISI: Despite problems what are faced by our people of the high rent.

MR MANTHATA: Thanks.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you for answering the question. I am just a bit concerned - yes, of course. We must just check our watches in the meantime, but I think there is, we must make it one last important question, please.

MS MKHIZE: Yes, just one point. You know, when we started - there is a woman sitting right at the end there. She came forward, saying she wants people who were not on the part of the State to come forward as well and to tell people how their beloved ones were killed. In your remarks you kept on referring to what the security forces did, and Shaun spoke about the society living in denial. As a person in leadership do you think the community of Mamelodi will begin to heal and move forward if we are not addressing the conflict of the past in its totality, because some are very bitter and angry. Not so much at the security forces, but angry with people who represented liberation movements.

MR LUBISI: Yes, definitely. People are still angry. In Mamelodi people are still angry. They will not be happy, you know, until some of these problems are being addressed. It will - it is a process that is going to last for some years. I mean, you know, I am talking about conditions in Mamelodi, are still terrible, are still depressing. I mean, and people are not happy about the conditions. Despite that we are, you know, the Government are trying to do something, but you know, that is not going to be done overnight. So the anger of the people is still there. You know, and it will take a number of years to heal. But the community is appreciating what you are doing. But I do not think that will happen, you will be able to heal the entire community over a short space of time. But with what you are doing, definitely, it is, you know, another way of healing the community. Not only psychologically but I think it will also be of help if the Government is also addressing the concerns that are raised by the communities, of service delivery, of, you know, of pensioners, for instance, who are still paying like any other person who is employed, you know. These are still problems and I am telling as a ward councillor, I know what it means.

MS MKHIZE: Specifically, if I might interrupt, what I was putting to you was that maybe what will promote healing

more is for you especially in leadership, address the question of spies within the communities, people who co-operated with the security agents and people who actively engaged in human rights violations, whether they represented the thinking of the liberation movement. Because as long as we keep on saying the police did this, the representative of the government did this, it means we are not really addressing the problem in its totality. That is just a comment to think about. Thank you.

MR LUBISI: Yes, I think that is important. Just to make also that comment, that is important really. Not only from the side of government, but if there were those who were assisting the perpetrators within the communities, I think those also need to be brought to book. I think those problems need to be addressed as well. I think that is a fair comment, you know, we need to look at that. The community needs to look at that as well, you know.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much, Mr Lubisi. I think it was, thank you for the information. Thank you.

MR LUBISI: Thank you, Mr Chairperson. I think there is a person who has asked, I do not know whether Dr Maphai is around, but I was informed - it seems he is not around. Mr M Seloane from Human Science Research Council. Oh, yes.

MR SELEOANE: Thank you, Mr Chairperson, Commissioners and everybody. Firstly, may I start off by apologising on behalf of the Dr Maphai, he is off sick, he was going to phone Tom, I do not know if he did, but that is the reason why he is not here.

Then I would like to indicate, and nothing I say really reflects the views of the HSRC. I cannot even claim to be speaking from a mandated position. I would like to leave two sets of papers. They come from Ian Liebenberg, HSRC who has been doing a fair amount of work on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The one document - I am not going to speak to the documents, but the one document talks around issues of truth bodies, not only in South Africa, but case studies before the South African experience of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It deals with some philosophical arguments around the Truth Commission. Some political problems around the Truth Commission. But as I say, I am not going to speak to them, I will simply hand them in, if you please.

Then I would like to say that - let me put it this way, I would like to register my agreement with a number of things that were said by Father O'Leary, particularly, but also a number of things which were said by other speakers before me.

At issue from where I stand is the question of human rights and the question of reconciliation. The TRC stands basically on two legs and the one leg is truth and the other leg is reconciliation. Father O'Leary has made, I think, an important statement about the role that is played by perception in establishing the truth. He gave us two sort of anecdotal examples of how this happened in real life situations. The fact that two people can witness the same event, but arrive at different conclusions about the same event. I think that that is important. I just wanted to underline that because I do believe in a serious way that in a large measure, when we are speaking about truth we are always speaking from certain conceptual frames. When I say something is true, I say it is true from a given conceptual frame. That raises a practical problem as Father O'Leary has said, in that if we cannot even agree on what constitutes the truth, how can we hope that the truth will lead us in the path to reconciliation. That is a problem, I think that not only the TRC, but indeed the South African community at large is going to have to grapple with for a long to come still.

Notwithstanding those philosophical problems, I just wanted to indicate that it has been possible to establish some truths, notwithstanding the limitations that are imposed on us by our conceptual frames. I mean, we know for instance, thanks in part to the work which has been done by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, about who killed certain people in the past, something which we had never hoped we would ever come to know, but thanks, as I said, in part to the work which has been done by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, some of those truths have emerged.

Now in order to fulfil the requirements of the second leg, that is the requirement of reconciliation, the TRC has been given powers of amnesty, powers to forgive people who have done certain things, and if they do, some of the things which the law says needs to be done in order for them to invite the amnesty of the Commission. In other words, they have to make confessions and so on and so on. So if they make those confessions, the Commission has been given the power to forgive these people.

The TRC has actually hinted in the past that it is this power to forgive people who are guilty of gross human rights

which will make it possible in the end for people to come forward and confess to their sins before the TRC. That may well be so, but I just want to point out that it is precisely in the powers of the TRC to forgive the sins that the problem for many lies.

I have indicated that there are two things at issue, and I have indicated that one of the things at issue is human rights. In terms of our Constitution it is one of our fundamental rights that if we have been wronged we shall have the right to approach the courts in order to seek redress from those who have offended against us.

A case as we all know has been brought against the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the President, by the Biko, Mxhenge families and also by the Azanian Peoples Organisation. The rest is really history. The Constitutional Court has ruled that the powers of the TRC to grant amnesty are not unconstitutional, because that is provided for by the Constitution.

In a rather learned article appearing in the **South African Year Book of International Law**, Dr Zihad Motale raises the very interesting question; whether the Constitutional Court is not perhaps guilty of political convenience in the way in which it has handled the particular case that I have referred to.

I am raising this because I think it is something that we all have to bear in mind in walking the path of reconciliation, how things like these are going to influence the extent to which people are prepared to forgive and forget; the extent to which people are going to be prepared to reconcile with other people.

If there is a perception that people are being denied the right to approach the courts in instances where they have been wrong, in order to seek redress, it seems to me we have to deal with that issue in our endeavours to reconcile with other people, because it seems to me that that perception is going to be an obstacle in the path of reconciliation, that we all have to walk.

If there is a perception that not even our courts can be entrusted to interpret a law correctly, if there is a perception that our courts will choose political convenience instead of applying the law as it is, in dealing with such sensitive questions, that is an obstacle that all of us are going to have to negotiate in walking this painful path of reconciliation.

Now I have no doubt in my mind that reconciliation is a must. We cannot survive as a community, as a nation, unless we are able to find each other and reconcile. The emphasis, however, is on finding each other and the point here is that I think it is important to recognise that and Father O'Leary has already referred to this, but the point I want to underline is that reconciliation has to be organic. What we have to do is to create the environment in which the seeds of reconciliation in our community can take off. I do not think that reconciliation is possible unless the parties who are contesting themselves, want the reconciliation in the first place. We can plant the seeds of reconciliation, but whether they will germinate or not is something really that does not depend on us. All we can do is to create the conditions in which reconciliation can take off. I do not think that it should be our task to foist reconciliation on people. We have to create those conditions in society which will make it possible for the seeds to take off. Thank you, Mr Chairperson.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you, Mandla. There are questions? Please, members, you are welcome, of the Commissioners.

MR MANTHATA: Mandla, you rightly say the courts tended to take political convenience, but since May the 10th, we have not seen people coming out accusing some of their known perpetrators or putting them into the courts, for not even having applied for amnesty. You know, for what they did to them. Do you not think that the whole thing is two ways? That the people themselves must be coming out with the cases against the perpetrators and those themselves would be a test for the courts, and of course, in itself too would even hasten the process of reconciliation, where the perpetrators realise, you know, what they stand to find themselves in, if and when they have failed to apply for amnesty?

MR SELEOANE: Yes, Tom, that is possibly correct. It is a worrisome thing that we do not have nearly a sufficient number of people who have come forward, and incidentally, this includes both you and me, for instance, and a lot of other people - Sandi there, who are sitting here, knowing fully well how - what sort of treatment we had received from some agents of the previous regime, and we have not done anything by way of pressing charges against them, which may or may not have resulted in the sort of thing that you are suggesting now.

Having made that admission, however, I just want to emphasise that one does not really know what is happening in the minds of people. One cannot discount the possibility that one of the reasons people are not coming forward is precisely that they know that if they did come forward, these people would apply for amnesty in any case, and that the TRC is likely to grant them their amnesty. There is also that possibility.

MR MANTHATA: No, Mandla, the thing is, the cut-off date of the 10th was that if a person had not applied then, his application would no longer be admitted. So there was no longer a question of if people prosecute, people still run for application for amnesty. That thing is true, right now there has been a problem of the cut-off date not being gazetted, you know, all these what you call, difficulties. But even before this could be clarified, we say there has not been any indication from the victims to test their right for taking recourse to the laws or to the courts of law.

MR SELEOANE: That is correct. I agree, and of course the cut-off date has, as we all know, been shifted at least once in terms of making those applications. But I agree in principle with what you are saying. It remains true, however, that those - there are people who may have done precisely what you are suggesting. The Ribeiro family would have done that, the Mxhenge family would have done that, the Biko family would have done that, but as we all know, they have now been forestalled by the amnesty provisions of the TRC. So whereas I accept what you are saying, I think we can also not deny that there are some people who would have done that you are suggesting, but the fact that they have not done it, seems to me to be attributable to the amnesty provisions of the Truth and Reconciliation Act.

MR MANTHATA: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Prof Grobbelaar?

PROF GROBBELAAR: Mr Seleoane, I note with interest your theological qualifications at the start of your submission, and then you identify ... in the light of that I would be interested to know, and it is a question I could have asked Father O'Leary or you, so let me ask you now. In the first place, Father O'Leary argued that we have competing histories, and therefore competing ways of healing and that possibly the Truth Commission could write an official history. You yourself suggest that methodologically you are very sensitive to what you say, but you suggest that we should facilitate primarily the process of reconciliation. You do not spell out how we should facilitate that. I would be interested in the ontological assumptions you are making, in this regard. You are suggesting that you are not making any, I think.

MR SELEOANE: Yes, it is true, I am not making any ontological assumptions perhaps. But I think that one of the things which struck me, for instance, when I walked into this room, and I walked in after the session had started, but one of the things which struck me was that most White people were sitting on the one side of the hall, and most Black people were sitting on the other side of the hall. Now I have no problem with that, I think it would have been incorrect to insist on mixing them if they did not feel like mixing. What I am saying is we have to kick off from where we are. We have to accept for starters that we are a deeply divided society. And it is only in our acceptance of the fact of our division that we can begin to deal meaningfully with the processes of reconciliation. I think it would be counter-productive to dictate to another person to reconcile with another. We have to create a number of circumstances where people mix and learn to relax in each other's presence. Not only at the TRC and I think I like one of the examples which was mentioned by one of the people who spoke before me. I think he or she made use of sports as a medium that could be used in order to help foster reconciliation, unity amongst people. I have not thought about these things nearly as carefully as one should, but all I am prepared to say for now, is I do not think that forced reconciliation will ever work. All I am prepared to say is we have to work hard at finding at societal level those sort of things around which people can work together, people can play together, people can interact with each other across racial lines and perhaps also across the lines of atrocities that have been discussed here today, and hope that in the process of those things people will be able to find one another.

CHAIRPERSON: Any other questions?

MS MKHIZE: From me it is not a question really. We thank you very much, we will invite you in some of the seminars we hope to hold in looking at what we are going to say around the notion of reconciliation. We will welcome the submissions that you said that you have. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much, Mandla, for your submission.

Is there any person who comes from the Lawyers for Human Rights who would like to make a presentation? The floor is yours.

MS MAHLANGU: I am here on behalf of Lawyers for Human Rights. We would like to thank the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to involve us in their post-hearing workshop.

Lawyers for Human Rights was established in 1979. Our intention is, we uphold and strengthen human rights associated with the rule of law and administration of justice and the protection of fundamental liberties in accordance with the universal declaration of human rights. Our main objectives are achievement of equality of opportunities, to represent the rights and interests of the individual. To ensure that Lawyers for Human Rights services are accessible to the oppressed. Eradication of all forms of discrimination in South Africa, work towards the creation of an independent credible and impartial judiciary. The accessibility of legal services for all in South Africa.

The organisation's Pretoria head office engaged in discussion with committees and staff and the following views have emerged. We have a positive - we think that the TRC has a positive impact in the communities. Although the same impact differs from one person to another. To one person it can influence their attitude to come forward. Although to the other it can suppress them. I think prior to the setting up of the TRC, the community was unaware of most of the truth. Those who were not aware of the truth, they now know. Those who were living in their cocoons, they are either out or they will soon be. Those who were beat up by the (indistinct) evidence, they have either found out the truth or they are about to. Finally, those who did not want to admit responsibilities, they have realised that now is the time.

The Truth Commission is one of the commissions that our democratic Government could not be without. Before one can receive amnesty, it must be evident from the testimony that the wrongdoer is aware and is admitting his or her wrongs. The TRC is the same Commission that wants perpetrators to admit and ask forgiveness. It requires people to tell the whole truth.

When we come to the issue of reparations. We appreciate the manner in which the TRC has set out the reparation and the Rehabilitation Commission, as well as the aims of the Committee.

We would like to make the following inputs, that it is not sufficient for the Commission to focus only on victims who suffered gross human rights abuses, which were committed within a political context. Considering the fact that the 1960 to 1993 gross violation of human rights affected the life of each and every South African citizen. We suggest that a permanent monument being a hall of remembrance, should be erected in South Africa. That this should be done in one of the major cities, and possibly in one of the capitals. It is either Cape Town or Pretoria. This hall of remembrance should remember and honour all victims of apartheid from across the political divide and could as time passes, become a place of pilgrimage and reconciliation for victims and perpetrators alike. As well as reminding future generations of South Africans of their past and that the crimes of apartheid should never happen again.

Young people whose education was either interrupted or ceased because of apartheid repression, should be given the opportunity of further studies. Perhaps a state-aided bursary scheme which would also accept donations from private citizens and business, could be set up for this purpose. Counselling for victims of apartheid is likely to continue for many years. Some form of scheme should be devised where this could be provided, either free of charge or at minimal cost to survivors. These would entail the co-operation of health professionals and clinics. Non-governmental organisations who provide this service, although in small ways, should be brought on board and their expertise utilised.

It is to be hoped that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission will be publishing all its records, including the findings of the various Committees and the individual stories that have surfaced during the life of the Commission. Every school and institute of higher learning in South Africa should have this volume or volumes available to students. Material should be devolved for use in the new school curriculum, which incorporates the findings of the TRC and the lessons to be learnt.

Women have suffered immensely under apartheid. Apart from the trauma counselling and education initiatives mentioned above, the continuation of small groups that can share their stories and come to the healing through the process shall be encouraged and subsidised.

Places of worship can play an incredible role in the reparation process and shall be encouraged to participate in any initiative. Religious leaders shall be consulted and the process shall be seen to be inclusive.

When we come to other consequences of human rights violations, we believe and know that there were gross human rights violations committed on other aspects or institutions, which did not have political context like schools, churches, hospitals, workplaces and prisons. We suggest that the TRC must also consider such victims. Such actions will assist the citizens generally. They will not feel or think that they are being directly or indirectly discriminated against by the Government. As the Government set up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which seems to be on a temporary basis and deals only with particular cases, we think as Lawyers for Human Rights, that it will be in the best interests of South African citizens, if the Government could continue with the above issues. This will ensure that eradication of all forms of discrimination during the apartheid regime will be taken care of. Thank you very much. (Applause).

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much, mam. Questions for clarity?

MS MKHIZE: For me, I have no question, except to thank her and hope that if they have any documents that they think can help us, we will welcome them.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. Thank you very much for submitting, if we can get that document. Emily Mahlangu.

MS MAHLANGU: Edith.

CHAIRPERSON: Edith Mahlangu.

MS MAHLANGU: Yes.

CHAIRPERSON: Oh. Edith Mahlangu is the name. If we can then move to our last presenter. Or let me first indicate that Lieze Meiring has indicated that she is not ready to present but she would make her submission later. I do not know, are you ready to come and present? Okay, can you please come forward? Thank you. Okay. Yes?

MS DU PLESSIS: I am Lieze du Plessis and the only reason why I am here is just to inform you what the young people in my environment as a student think of the Truth Commission, and I would also like to talk about how I see reconciliation could be achieved.

I want to read to you. The young people whom I am associated with as a student can with regard to their opinions regarding the Truth Commission, be divided into three groups. The first is that who is neutral or virtually apathetic. They think it might be a good thing, they do not really mind and they do not really pay any attention to the country matters. They do not know what exactly its task is and they hope that whatever happens and is done, will be for the better. They do not really feel responsible for what has happened in our country, they feel it is something that belongs to the previous generation and they do not really associated or identify with it. When they were old enough to start thinking for themselves the previous dispensation was already crumbling and they did not feel very strongly about who the enemy was, when they as 18 year olds did military service.

The second group is a group who feels negatively or concerned for various reasons. Firstly, there are those who think the Truth Commission should really concentrate on the leaders instead of the officials who just carried out orders. They are concerned because they feel that the Truth Commission is conducting a witch hunt on the ordinary officials. They feel that they should be more concerned with the people who are not prepared to accept responsibility for their decisions. They wish to continue with their ordinary lives and they do not want people to just be belittled on national television, because it will not effect reconciliation. The leaders who were responsible should together discuss these problems.

Then thirdly, there are those who feel that the Truth Commission should not dig up old matters. They feel that bad feelings will just be enhanced and driven up if people concentrate on the past. They should rather look forward and not look back and make a clean start.

A friend recently said to me that he felt the Truth Commission served no purpose for the ordinary victims of apartheid, that they are not really doing anything to improve the matters for those victims. The money could be used more constructively for housing and for providing the necessary resources for communities who suffered under the apartheid. The victims do not really feel that reconciliation affects them and they will really feel better if their immediate circumstances are improved.

Then there are those that feel that the structure must not force and foist reconciliation on people. They should be more spontaneous, even though it might take longer.

Then there are people who feel that the Truth Commission is simply a political body which enhances publicity for people.

Then the third group with whom I associate more closely, it is that group of people who feel that the Commission is essential to establish reconciliation in our country, because they feel that confession and forgiveness are very important. These things play an important role in interaction among people; to confess what is wrong is a way of eliminating it and the Commission then is an instrument in bringing about reconciliation for that which has happened in the past.

A second argument is an historical one. It teaches us that the book first have to be opened before they can be closed. Everywhere in the world where these wrong things have just been swept under the carpet, they tended to raise their heads again in the community. Psychology teaches us that one should argue about problems, you should not ignore them because they do not go away.

The Truth Commission is therefore an opportunity for South Africa to make peace with what has happened and to really assimilate these things.

One of my fellow students said that confession is a Christian principle. To confess one's sin, whether it was for something one has done or for which one has omitted to do, is the Christian road to reconciliation. In a country where most people regard themselves to be Christians, the Truth Commission creates a forum where people can confess their sins and establish good ties with their community and God again.

The Commission also creates the opportunity for people to reconcile themselves with the past, either to clear their consciences or to see the face of suppression, whatever is the case, we cannot misjudge or over-estimate the value of the Commission.

The way in which I and my friends and everybody else feel reconciliation can be effected, firstly the Commission should inform people more closely about their agenda and activities. The fact that many people's opinions are formed from the subjective side of things, gives a skew perspective of what people are trying to do. This is the subjective perspective of the media. Should we have a fuller picture then people will be more prepared to work with the Commission.

Secondly, the groups in South Africa remain stranger to each other because they never got the opportunity to learn to know each other better. If you do not know somebody you can experience that person as a threat. It is only when you realise that the other person has emotions, a name, etc, that you will start making space for such a person in your life. I feel that the Commission and other bodies in the country must go to some trouble to introduce the different population groups and groupings to each other, so that they will understand each other better. Particularly at school level, people have to get to know people who differ from them as persons, so that they do not experience them as threats but create space for them.

CHAIRPERSON: I am opening for questions.

MR MANTHATA: Your second group that you say is negative, seems to say we should concentrate on the leaders, that is -I guess you mean politically? Leaders of political groupings.

MS DU PLESSIS: Yes.

MR MANTHATA: But what do they say when the leaders of political organisations themselves tend to be either evasive, negative or even to dissociate themselves with the poor perpetrators who are applying for amnesty?

MS DU PLESSIS: It is so that particularly those young people who were in the Defence Force are afraid because they do not know whether they should apply for amnesty, because they collaborated with everything and they went along with these things, but they feel that the leaders of the old dispensation should accept responsibility for the things which they knew about and the things which they did not know about, so that we can get these things over and done with, because those youngsters at grassroots level want to continue with their lives. Some of them did terrible things. The ordinary people whom I know, who were in the Defence Force are afraid, they are scared. They co-operated, but they were carrying out orders, and that is their fear.

MR MANTHATA: (Indistinct) to comfort, to heal, you know, and to rehabilitate those youths?

MS DU PLESSIS: By the churches.

MR MANTHATA: (Indistinct - microphone not switched on).

MS DU PLESSIS: No, there is nothing that I know of, not being done for those young people who are afraid of what they were involved in. I do not think the churches are really knowledgeable about these things. I think that people talk among each other. Because I study theology, I realise the people who are studying with me, and the lecturers and everybody else that I am associated with, are positive about reconciliation and will do what they can, but I do not think the church really knows about the problems experienced by these youngsters at ground level.

MR MANTHATA: (Indistinct ... microphone not switched on) ... engaged in what I might call inter-racial groups, you know, which can even, you know, address the plight of those youths who have turned timid because of their previous involvement?

MS DU PLESSIS: (Indistinct - speaker's microphone not switched on).

MR MANTHATA: Are you beginning to have youths across the colour that can meet, discuss, to a point where even the youth who was a perpetrator, you know, could find a home in that kind of, you know, inter-personal, inter-group, inter-racial group or inter-racial discussions, if what you call them.

MS DU PLESSIS: (Speaker's microphone not switched on). What I feel is that we as people at university are involved in many different efforts, like during Rag time when money is collected for different service groups, for example for the Winterveld Project, where they go and do community service in areas which have been disadvantaged, but I do not know about any and I am not really involved in any groups where the youngsters from the other side can be accommodated. These youngsters who are concerned about their involvement in the past. I am not involved in such a group where these youngsters are involved. All that I do know is that from the side of the university, there are tremendous efforts to establish reconciliation among the various groups in our country and the disadvantaged people, and they try to assist where possible, and that is all that I am aware of.

PROF GROBBELAAR: You make two statements which interest me. The first statement is I am young, we are young. You talk about the context within which Father O'Leary spoke of a distantiation from the past, to some extent. The fact that you ignore and that you do not want to admit to the responsibility of the privileges which you enjoyed as White person, in terms of legislation. So that is what you are saying on the one hand, but on the other hand you are telling me that you would rather associate with a group that is positive with regard to reconciliation, confession, that you yourself would like to read the books before you close them. How do you associate or how do you bring together these two things, the distancing from the past, because it seems like denial as psychologists would call it. I am not responsible as well, I am young, I am a youngster who can look back and build up. Would you like to talk about this?

MS DU PLESSIS: In other words, the two different perceptions and how they can be brought together, how you can reconcile these two differing thoughts.

PROF GROBBELAAR: Well, you say you are sitting between those two groups. You are young and there is some

distance between yourself and other fellow youngsters, but you also say that one should look at these things. Is this not a way of avoiding your own responsibility, that you are saying that it is not really your responsibility?

MS DU PLESSIS: I do not want to distance myself from this. What I said is that the way I see it, and how people in my environment regard these matters, that is why I mentioned in these groups. I do not want to distance myself, I feel we all have a responsibility, and to continue on the way forward in this country, for our future together, everybody else, we have to look at these things. We have to confess our sins and what has been wrong and we as privileged White children should know how much suffering there was amongst the other race group children and we must know of our own benefits from this, and I just wanted to say how the people in my environment feel about the Truth Commission. It is not my personal opinion.

PROF GROBBELAAR: You know, this matter of we are young, people who said the other night that I was not part of it, I am young, how do they feel about this?

MS DU PLESSIS: Okay, I would like to explain something here. I am studying theology and we are doing church history, and we are looking at present at the apartheid years in the NG Church, the Dutch Reformed Church. And something which struck me as we were sitting in class, and the lecturer would tell us everything that happened during these years, and we cannot believe what we are hearing. We cannot believe that people committed this kind of thing. It is totally alien to us. It is as if life has already gone beyond that and that we do not know anything about this, and it is totally strange to us. And that is what I mean when I say we are young. We hear about these things. I know we grew up in those conditions when we were younger, but now we hear as a matter of history of these terrible things that had happened and we stand astonished, because time has already progressed beyond that point. And I think that explains perhaps my situation.

MS MKHIZE: One question from me. I just would like to tap on your thinking about this, because I think you have been thinking a lot of these issues. That was my impression when you started making your input. What do you think should be done to rescue your community, if there is a generation of young people who cannot relate to their past and who is living within their community of people who, whether they are denying or coming forward, are living with their amazing amount of guilt. So I just think this is likely to have serious impact on the community and family life. You as young people how are you engaging and making this an issue within a text, within the African community?

MS DU PLESSIS: I think firstly, it is absolutely essential that young people should be made aware of history. They cannot stand alone without being involved in history. As I said reconciliation can be achieved if from early days we are taught that strangers do not necessarily pose a threat. They must be able to work together. We at university must take different people from different communities to do community service together, because then they get to know each other together, they see the suffering of the people, because they are involved in outreaches to assist disadvantaged communities, and then they will learn more about their history and together decide on our new future.

MS MKHIZE: Upon referring to community service, from my experience in the universities in South Africa, have always had projects in communities, but because that kind of outreach is on different levels, in terms of power relationships, it has not really helped them. They, you know, they study people and they write up whatever they write and they forget about it. I do not think that in the past word, and so I am not sure whether today those kinds of visits to communities will actually help the scholars to have a deeper understanding, to empathise and to do something, because in the past it has never worked.

MS DU PLESSIS: I am of the opinion that this is not something, it is not one-off community project that we are talking about, because these things do not work. I think various faculties must make it their priority to use students in the field of study that they have chosen, to go out into the community and to do that for which they are being trained, on a long-term basis. And I do not think it should just be on a voluntary basis but that the university should make an effort and make this compulsory because that is the university's side, from its side to correct matters which have gone wrong, and this will involve people in long-term projects. That is the only sort of solution that I can think of.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you Lieze for your submission and for your time.

Then we ask immediately Helda Veldtman to come forward.

MS VELDTMAN: Good afternoon members of the Commission and ladies and gentlemen. I was actually the one who spoke to Mr Lebisi to ask him just to tell him about my submission. I was informed about this at a very late stage and I was not informed about the format of this workshop either. But whilst I sat there I thought that I would just make a few notes in connection with the youth.

My following statement I am going to make is as an ex-teacher and specifically a teacher in the community that I come from.

A very small percentage of our youth or pupils actually read newspapers or watch the evening news. The result of this is that they remain ignorant and uninformed about issues that would undoubtedly have effects on the future. Few of these youngsters actually know about the TRC and some only have vague notions about the TRC. Earlier on Mrs Nkomo mentioned something about awareness creation, and I still feel strongly about this, that at our schools pupils should be made aware of certain things. That is the only way that one can get through to our youth.

These awareness programmes should be implemented in our tertiary institutions as well. Because a lot of ignorance still prevails.

Then I would like to move on to the concept of reconciliation. This I feel can be attempted and achieved if amongst other things, we reach out to our young people to overcome racial barriers. For older people this would be a more difficult task. For these racial and cultural barriers to be broken down, interaction in various forms is necessary. I think the previous speaker spoke about that too.

Then lastly, I think that focus should also fall on methods to teach our youth, and not only adults, how they could work towards reconciliation. After all, they will be our future leaders. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much, Helda. Is there any person who would like to ask a question? I think she was quite brief and she indicated that she was not properly informed and she did indicate to me actually. Thank you very much, Hilda, for sharing with us as well.

Can I also take this opportunity to ask Judith Motaung, this is not in the programme, but there has been that request from somebody who is coming from Hammanskraal, a lady who wants to render a poem to us, a brief short poem for us. Please, those who had written papers or submissions, could you please forward them to the table? Lieze Meiring, please if you had a written copy, please submit it to us. Thank you.

MS MOTAUNG: I want to speak about democracy.

"A right formula for food for our democracy is a belief in the reality of fellow citizens, co-operation, to work together, high productivity, to work more effectively, since off duty and forced to do or what not to do, tolerance, ability to make room for other people's views. Without equal responsibilities there cannot be equal rights. To have a good job, one must be reliable and have a sense of duty. To have a strong economy our productivity will have to rise. This is impossible without respect and tolerance. Freedom is impossible without responsibility. Everybody in the world has some duties to perform. Those who have influence on other people have greatest responsibility. Their duties are greater and their task difficult. The man outside whose task it is to discover new truths, neglects his duty when he does not reveal what he has discovered. The ministers of the church, the teachers, the parents, they have all influence to the best. People of the lowest ranks have also their duties to perform. Everyone must help in some way to improve the condition of his fellow creature and try to help each other. This is done especially by doing what is possible for the welfare of others. What do you expect from the new democracy in South Africa. Equality of rights, equality of freedom, equality of (indistinct), equality of non-discrimination, equality of movement, equality of religion and respect for the property and the freedom of others."

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much for rendering us your poem. Can we now call the last person before I allow a

summary by Jean Grobbelaar. Mukurundi, MJS, can you come forward. Please come forward, we have got only five minutes.

MR MUKURUNDI: Thank you, Mr Chairman and the members of the Commission. I am usually a late starter. If the Chairman gives me five minutes, I will try and do the best with five minutes.

Actually in introducing myself, I am here because of an invitation that I received from your organisation to the Lawyers of Human Rights. I went to them and I made my submission on my problem. Mine is a unique one in that it touches on some of the issues that were discussed here. I am a victim of arson, a criminal offence by petrol-bombing. I have taken my matter to the South African Police. It is quite a long story, it is through anger and frustration and maybe I am here to, if it is going to relieve me a bit, I will be happier when I go home.

It has taken me five years. This crime was committed in 1980 - 1990, I am sorry. And on three occasions I submitted written affidavits to the police to investigate, and each time somebody being irresponsible did not want to attend to it. Now I have decided to go to the Office of the Public Protector. I spoke to one or two fellows there. They counselled me or by way of discussion and then they said all right, we will attend to this matter. It took a bit of time again, and I decided to go to George Fivaz's office. And from George Fivaz's office, I managed to get the internal investigating unit to be interested. I had my case started already, investigations are going on.

But now the scenario around this problem is based on human rights violations. I am involved in Atteridgeville in a lot of community organisations. The recent one is Phabablof where we have created a project for women to work and to earn a salary. Now I was spokesman of the Atteridgeville Concerned Citizens Organisation, which was totally not a political or civic organisation. But for one reason or another in the township during the rent boycott, people did not understand, not the group, I think I was targeted, because I think I was as a retired social worker I knew what I was talking about. I knew what I was talking about and even today I know what I am talking about.

Now what actually happened there is people not understanding what you are talking about, they gang up against you and fight you.

Now the principle in human rights, like the lady was saying here, is freedom. I must move freely in Atteridgeville and I talk freely to anybody I want. I must associate with anybody. If you do not understand me and you do not stomach me, please come to me and ask me to explain why I am saying that, not what I am fighting over. Now ... (intervention).

CHAIRPERSON: Let me interrupt you, Mr Mukurundi, because now you are making a statement. Would it not be possible if you see Mrs Chetty to assist you with that one, if you are making a statement.

MR MUKURUNDI: I am not making a statement, the information is already with your offices, it has been faxed to your office.

CHAIRPERSON: Okay.

MR MUKURUNDI: For those members on your Commission who I do not know, like Mr Lubisi, I have got to fill him in. You see.

Now the whole thing is that all what I have got in my affidavit is the Section 300(1) of the Criminal Procedure Act should be put into place.

CHAIRPERSON: Okay.

MR MUKURUNDI: Now we have said we do not want to discuss that now. I am asking for compensation. Before compensation can be paid, I do not see how we can sit down and talk.

CHAIRPERSON: Okay.

MR MUKURUNDI: You see. Now finally I say here what I want from the Truth Commission is support.

CHAIRPERSON: All right.

MR MUKURUNDI: Can they help the process to go on, and at a later stage like Tom you are asking, what is happening to organisations in Atteridgeville. They are not dead. People have said that because of intimidation. People are not sure whether your Commission can protect them. Who is going to do the work for you in Atteridgeville? You have got to find that group, you have got to find the person who can say I can talk. Like the young lady says we must go to the schools. We have got a project on now where we want to fight crime, through organising sport. These are some of the things that the TRC can do, but the most important thing is, who are you going to talk to in Atteridgeville, who will be willing to accept what you are saying; who will become a partner to what you want to start your process. It is going to take long, but you have got to start it now. You have got to meet people who can say we can start from here.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you, Mr Mukurundi for sharing with us. As long as you have made your statement and you have presented it to the Truth Commission, I think that suffices. We will see how they are going to deal with it. But I do not want to ask you to continue with that, because you know, we are not looking at, you know, the sort of statements, but we wanted impact and so forth. So I would request, if a person would like to make clarity on this one, clarify this one?

Tom, Mr Mukurundi is indicating that he has submitted a statement, and I think they will look into your case as well, because you have submitted.

MS MKHIZE: I am pleased that Mr Mukurundi has submitted a statement and I am sure your statement is you know, very descriptive of what actually happened and who did it and so on, because when we started here, we said that our statements that we get from people should be balanced and should represent the different players in the conflict. We are not only concentrating on what the State has done to people, we must also listen to what people have done to other structures like councillors, like you know, police, and so on. What people have also done to those people, and we are very pleased that you have raised what was done to you, because it was done by your own Black people in the township. So, we will look into that statement and from time to time you will get, you know, some letters from us to say are, where, at what point are our investigators and how are we going to corroborate this and that. So, thank you for bringing it up again here in the presence of everybody and we can just promise that something will be done about it.

CHAIRPERSON: Yes, thank you very much Mr Mukurundi. Can we then allow Prof Jean Grobbelaar to give us a summary of what transpired before we go to Mrs Mkhize to come up with closing remarks.

PROF GROBBELAAR: Thank you Sandi. Let me just try to highlight one or two of the important points made today. I think we began the session by spelling out the aims of our work. Before I summarise that, let me say, we, that was followed by Sis Joyce talking to us, a little bit about the HRV statements and, let me make this point again. If you have come to the Commission to make a statement as a victim or an alleged victim of gross human rights violations, your case, like everybody else's case that comes to the Truth Commission, will be corroborated, we will look at that case. Everybody will get the same attention. The process is long, the time is short and the people are few. That is the problem, but you have our commitment that all statements will be corroborated at the Truth Commission in the same way. Some people are not going to get more than other people. We have a basic rule, a basic methodology that we follow for everybody. I think that is the major point that Sis Joyce tried to make to all of you.

Hlengiwe talked to you a little about, about the reparation policy which was ratified yesterday in the full Truth Commission meeting in Cape Town and she tried to explain to you that the Truth Commission, itself, does not carry a cheque book, but that it makes recommendations to the President's office, that an important recommendation that the Truth Commission will make is a recommendation on pensions for people who are found to be victims, who have suffered gross human rights violations. What you need to understand is that we write that as a set of recommendations and that goes to the President's office for consideration and implementation. The Truth Commission, itself, is not an implementing body and you might say to me, what is the Truth Commission, what is your aim, what are you doing?

The Truth Commission is trying to start a process, to promote a process of reconciliation and national unity in our country. What is our work? Our work is to go to communities and talk to them about they, themselves, coming together, promoting reconciliation. It is a process, it is not an organisation which delivers on material goods in any way. It is an

organisation starting a process, a process of talking, a process of healing, a process of getting together. When we started this morning, Bro Tom spelt out four purposes of today, today's meeting.

In the first place, he said what we would like to do, us, I work for the Commission, with the Commissioners, all we would like to do, we would like to measure, to understand the impact of the Commission. Are we reaching our goals, are people understanding the Commission, what kind of impact do we have in the community and just listening to the presentations today, there were a number of things that I could list that were noted in terms of impact. I think, in the first place, a whole series of speakers, from the NG Kerk on said it was unclear what the Commission was doing for many, many people and I think we have heard you on that. It was unclear. You said there is a problem in understanding and many people did not know what the Commission was saying.

When you listened to Father O'Leary, what was he saying? He was saying that somehow the Commission has created a context in which people are becoming us and they. A distancing mechanism was developing, a denial mechanism was developing amongst people, a marginalisation process was going on. He also said if you listened to the Commission it became clear that there were competing truths. Some people saw things in this way and some people saw things in that way. There were competing truths. Not everybody was saying the same thing. He was saying we should understand that that was a very important impact that has taken place over the last year in the mass media in South Africa.

When we listened to Dr Botha, Dr Botha said to us the Commission's impact has been such that the Dutch Reformed Church has found it difficult to present us with a formal submission.

If we listen to Mrs Nkomo from Atteridgeville, she said to us she thinks, in Atteridgeville, the Commission's, the impact of the Commission is still open. Some people have felt a relief, a catharsis, some kind of healing from making a statement, from talking to a Commission. Other people have been opened up and they feel the need for justice in some way. This morning, pardon me, Tom also said we should try and identify, you know, and it is the same question put in a different way, we should try and identify what was positive and what was negative about the process over the last months and I have already done some of that, but let me put it in different words.

One, negative, negativities, difficulties. A failure to understand what the Commission is about. That is clear. Another difficulty, the expectation on the part of communities that the Commission is an implementing body. Enormous difficulty articulated by many of the speakers today.

Something positive, the young lady who spoke at the end, Ms Meiring said she believed that the, one of the positives of the Commission, that the Commission had brought to her was that we cannot live in a psychopathic world, we cannot close the books on the past as if that did not happen that we had to read those books. Other people said that there was relief for them in making statements to the Commission. What must the Commission do, implement? The Commission cannot implement, it is not an implementing body, it does not have a cheque book. We can, in again the words of Father O'Leary, profess. We can act as an advocate, because we make recommendations that we gather from the process of work-shopping, of talking and of listening to you. We can act as an advocate for particular points that are made. I think Father O'Leary was particularly talking about restitution in the one point that he made.

Then on the question, the fourth point that Bro Tom made, the question of the possibility to reconcile. A quite strong Catholic position that Father O'Leary himself took in and he said the Commission was not in a position to promote reconciliation. It was in a position to ask for restitution, to do a whole series of other important things, but he gave a particular theological meaning to the concept of reconciliation. My brother, Sandi here, made a point in which he said reconciliation is a time taking process, but he made the important point, it is a process and a process starts by talking and by hearing what people say and by understanding that we need to change things and our friend, Mandla Selwane, made the point that he thought the Truth Commission could help create an environment which would facilitate what he saw as an organic growth towards reconciliation in this country.

So, Bro Tom started off with four questions and I have tried to put some of the responses of those four questions to you at this point in time and I have tried to say to you, it seems to me that one of the major problems is a problem around our understanding, all of our understandings, of what the Commission can do and our, concluding comment from me would be it is very important that you understand the Commission as something that is part of a process. In the wider sense, something that will write a report on its understanding of what the people have said and what the people need. Thank

you very much.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much Jean. Thank you for the summary. I would now ask, you know, the Commissioner, Ms Hlengiwe, to do the, you know, the closing remarks for us before we complete, close.

MS MKHIZE: Thank you very much, Chairperson. Maybe before I do that I would like to thank my colleagues starting with Joyce Seroke. As we sit here we really represent the face of the Commission. I did not think about that, but as Jean has been giving a summary, I have been thinking about which component of the Commission we all represent. Joyce Seroke really represents the face of the Commission, which is working tirelessly in making sure that people of South Africa make statements. If people do not make statements at the end, as you are saying now, we, as it has been said that people perceive the past differently, there will be a good case of saying, really, there were just a few people who suffered. If you look at the statistics of the people of this country, we just got a small number of statements. So, she is one of those people who is here partly because of that commitment, that for us to create a case that, to establish the truth about the past, we have got to reach out to communities and invite them to make statements.

Tom, to me, with, if I am looking at him and locating him within the Commission, he is one of those people who symbolises the part of the Commission which is saying the Commission should not be a pie in the sky. It should be with the people, it should be informed by the peoples' thinking. To a certain extent, most community outreaches have been monitored and managed by him, single-handedly, and I would like to acknowledge that, especially because we have reached this point in our policy formulation mainly because of the input we have got from all sorts of people in this country.

Prof, I have never called her Professor, but today I learnt that she is a Professor. I often call her just by her first name. She represents the part of the Commission which really is putting what has come before us in a systematic manner, information management. Often when people make statements in Government bodies they say, oh, I went there, I was told that my papers were lost. Within the Commission we decided to form an information, the system, which is carefully monitored and managed so that we can check at different points what happened to this statement. Did it pass stage one, did it go to stage two, did it go to stage three, has this person been found to be a victim. It was done in such a tight manner that nobody can say I am sure they were biased, they took out mine, because it was talking about what was done by their friends or their fellow Comrades. So, we felt we need to come up with a system which we can defend at all cost.

So, earlier on, my input was on the reparations policy. Besides what we get from people, what we have said, we have pulled down, we have interrogated that information and got ideas as to what has happened to people whose rights were violated, where they are today, what is happening to them and that information, which we have within the Commission, it helps us a lot to think about our policy.

Just, also then, I would like to thank our Chairperson, who, I should think, has chaired very efficiently and has helped us a lot, because we see him as a representative of a community and as a person who has given us a warm welcome. Also, it assures us that when we leave, as you all have said that the Commission has got a short lifespan, but what is important is that what, the seed which has been planted is nurtured by communities. So, I hope he will remember this day and say I chaired this session of the Commission when they were putting forward to this community their reparations policy and be morally obliged to talk, at all levels, about what has been said and make sure that in this community there are follow-ups which will make a difference in peoples' lives.

Of course, I would like to thank the media and I would also like to thank the interpreters and, even more so, people who made their presentations, the submission to us. We thank you very much. A final point, today I have presented to you the reparations policy. The question which might arise in peoples' mind is why reparations, because most people who have appeared before the human rights violations hearings, in particular, have been amazingly forgiving and humble. Whenever they were asked whether they had any demands or any requests, people were very humble. Some say, no, I am just grateful that I have appeared before the Commission.

So, the reparations policy, in some people's minds, it comes as an unnecessary gesture, since people have expressed appreciation for appearing before the Commission. At the same time, the very people who have left the Commission with a feeling of relief after making a statement or appearing before the Commission, have expressed amazing amounts

of suffering. What we talk about are high levels of pain, mental pain and anguish, suffering, dissatisfaction about our past and that has clearly indicated to that, that we are dealing with a kind of pain which is too deep to be healed only at phase one, that is the truth telling phase. Clearly, it has become clear to us that there are questions which people are struggling with today, as it has been clear from submissions and also questions which will engage future generations, people would be asking even about what was done for people who appeared before the Commission, hurting and because of that insight and awareness, it is our conviction that the kind of wound that we are dealing with is a septic one and if its healing is not, it has not got easy solutions, it is like moving along a steep hill with a winding road, sometimes thinking that I am healed and at the same time finding yourself falling back to where you were.

So, dealing with memories is that kind of process which needs to be nurtured in a systematic manner. Those who have a feeling of relief today might still need another form of support tomorrow. So, our reparations policy, really, is a systematic way of making sure that people have a handle through which to hold while they are dealing with the past. Thank you very much.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much Hlengiwe. Finally, as the Chairperson, I would like to also express my sincere thanks especially to the Commissioners, the members of the TRC for having appointed me to Chair. I was very reluctant, but knowing Tom as I worked with Tom for many years, I could not resist that, I had to Chair this meeting, but thank you for that, you know, experience that you have afforded me. I would also like to apologise for those who wanted to make inputs, for those who wanted to contribute in this workshop and they did not have time to do that. Please, my, bear with me, time was against me. My apology for not having allowed you.

Lastly, to thank, again, once more, all those who took their time to come and participate in this workshop. The members of the different communities, coming from different communities, the victims, I thank you for making a submission and I hope we will, as we have said, we will, you know, we will continue and we will see what is going to happen. Finally, I would ask, before we go for lunch, I think we, there is a closing, item number nine, which is the closing prayer, if there would, we would, somebody lead us, yes. Sorry.

Here is an announcement. Those who would like to be reimbursed for their transport to come here. There is a Reverend Minela outside there who would, able to assist you with refunding you the money that you used to come to this workshop. That is the announcement I was, I am asked to make. Minela is from the Council of Churches. Can we then ask a moment to lead us, prayer, a hymn and then and ask any volunteer to close by a prayer. Reverend (not translated).

CLOSING HYMN AND PRAYER

**TRUTH & RECONCILIATION COMMISSION
HEARING**

HELD AT

BLOEMFONTEIN

ON TUESDAY, 29 JULY 1997

[PAGES 1 - 74]

OPENING READING AND PRAYER

ACTING CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Reverend. To those who do not know me, my name is Moses Pitso, and I am the co-ordinator in this province for the TRC. In the absence of the Chairman, Reverend Dr Mgojo, I thought maybe I would give you the main purpose, or the statement of purpose, the reason that we have called all of you here. It's primarily to get an input from you that will advise eventually on the final TRC report that will be presented to the State President. We had tried to invite as many people as possible, a broad spectrum of people from all the communities, and - well, though there is about 50 of you here. It's not that really, but at the end of the day it's the quality of the work that should come out of this workshop which will be more or better than the quantity, or the number of people that are here.

So, without really standing long here and saying what is mainly obvious, that we want to get input from you people that will advise eventually on what we say this - on the direction this country should take hereafter. I'll give the opportunity to the mayor, Mr Mohapi, to give his address.

MR MOHAPI: Thank you very much, Mr Chairperson. The Chairman of the Truth and Reconciliation conference in absentia, Dr Mgojo - I understand they are being held somewhere in Kimberley, they can't fly to Bloemfontein as a result of weather - Professor Sidilwane, Professor Verster, delegates, we are gathered here today as men and women who have experienced and seen the bad side of repressive laws. We are gathered here today as men and women who have been on the receiving end of apartheid. We are gathered here as witnesses of the worst violation of human rights ever experienced anywhere in the world. Men who were in authority then turned moral holds into an agency for class supremacy, and it is this class supremacy that created the apartheid monster in this country.

But though still the purpose of our gathering here is not to revenge or plan a revenge, but the purpose of our meeting or conference is to see how best we can say, "We are sorry for the evil deeds of the past." We are in fact here today to see how we can achieve a true reconciliation in this country.

One does not need to be a philosopher nor a social worker in order to understand what is meant by reconciliation. However, one needs to understand the meaning of the word reconciliation, so that a true and real reconciliation can be achieved. Reconciliation, according to my understanding, is a process of healing after the wound has been inflicted. Reconciliation means to make friends after an estrangement with another person, or to purify by special service after desecration.

So, if we, the citizens of this country, have been at war with each other, and therefore in a way got hurt, we need to develop a mechanism to achieve a true reconciliation. We need to say, "We are sorry for what we did to each other in the past." To achieve this we commonly agree that everybody who played a role in the past should come out and fully disclose what he did, and say, "I am sorry for my part." Without that there can be no real reconciliation in our country.

Mr Chairman, there are victims who suffered in the past, and there are victims who still suffer the trauma of the past evil deeds of the former government. There are people still listed as missing in this country. There are people who are coming up with confessions and telling the whole nation what they did in the

past. The conference you are having today is important as it gives concerned men and women an opportunity to see how a real process of reconciliation can be achieved, so that an everlasting solution and peace can be achieved in this country. Your conference today is therefore an encounter, and we must come up - we must come out of it with the wisdom necessary to ensure a real reconciliation and peace for both the living and the unborn in this country.

We are rejoicing, and at the same time mourning the deaths of many lives that were lost in the fight for freedom, and it is indeed through the efforts and sacrifice of the dead countrymen that we are where we are today. So, the conference of today should produce decisions that will save this country, decisions that will produce reconciliation and everlasting peace. We are superior men and women, and we must therefore understand what is right. We are superior men and women, and must at all times be liberal to each other's opinions.

With these words, Mr Chairman, I wish to welcome everybody to this conference, and at the same time wish all of you in this auditorium a happy participation and stay in the city of Bloemfontein. Thank you.

ACTING CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr Mayor, for those wise words. You have in fact captured the theme of the conference today, that we are here really to engage ourselves in finding ways that are practical in bringing a true reconciliation to our country, especially this province. Without further ado I will give Professor Sidilwane a chance to address us. He'll be giving the main address today.

PROF SIDILWANE: When these young men came, and lady came, to court me to come and speak here, I insisted to them that I was going to speak in my mother tongue in my mother country with my people, and I was going to speak in Tswana or Sesotho. And they begged me that I must speak in English, even though I was to add in some other languages, but the theme should be treated in English for the sake of some people who may not understand Setswana. But I would like to make it quite clear that it is my contention that you are in Rome you speak Italian, and when you are in Sotho-Tswanaland you speak Sotho-Tswana, and when you are in the Free State you speak Sotho-Tswana.

The second thing I want to mention as I come into the subject - you want to know that my subject here, I have put it down as - it is in the thing - reconciliation and healing. I notice when I look at the programme that I am described as a retired Methodist minister. Now, in Methodism a minister does not retire. In Methodism a minister supernumerates, that is he becomes an excess number. So in actual fact I am a supernumerary Methodist minister. The late Reverend Z R Mahaba used to say, "I am like a spare wheel to a car. Fully pumped, ready for an emergency, and able to work like any other heap." But I am not retired. A retired one is one that you have sent to the ash heap.

Also I do not come here as a Methodist minister. Some of you will notice that I have not put on a clerical collar, therefore I am not going to labour here as a Methodist minister and speak to you the kind of things that I used to speak, or that I still speak, when I am in the Methodist gathering. Because really I am already, I believe, much more than just a Christian, much more than a minister. If I am professor I am professor of legal studies, and if you ask me how I look at myself - by the way, we are passing through a time in our land, in our country, all over the country, all over the world, of coming out. The gays come out and declare who they are, and people you have been living with all the time, without being aware that are gay or lesbian, are now coming out and declaring themselves, and say, "I am this." And very prominent people come out and are being known now to be what they are, gay or lesbian. This is a coming out perhaps that needs to be recognised, that I don't regard myself primarily as a Christian minister, but I regard myself as a teacher of religion. And if I am professor in that field it is because I am a teacher of teachers of religion. Not necessarily the Christian religion, but all religion, be it Islam, be it Buddhism, be it Judaism, be it the religions of the aboriginal people, how

religion works where people are. And it is in that respect that I am here, and that religion out of which I am speaking is the religion of our fathers in this land. They did not call it religion.

It is out of that that I have now emerged, after I have studied all religions, in particular served in the Christian faith, that I can stand up outside and say, "I speak in the name of God, no, in the name of divinity." Because, you see, when I say God you start thinking about that Christian faith that you have been taught by the missionaries, and which the missionaries have made us believe the way we believe. I speak in the name of Mudimo. I speak in the name of divinity, that mysterious thing which nobody can describe, which the old men told the missionaries, "It is like oil which you put on a blotting paper. It penetrates and percolates and spreads until it fills the whole paper." I am speaking as a teacher of that faith, of the people who are actuated and pushed by that, that mystery, that energy, that power, that intellect, that strength, that dynamism, which makes us what we are.

Because, my dear brothers and sisters, some of us who are up against - most of who are up against and know a little bit about what it is, have been hoping that when we were fighting for independence and liberation, we were fighting from liberation even from those strictures which make us think the way other people thought, which have made us slaves to the religious thinking of other people. What is needed, we thought, we were going to get into a stage where we were not only going to be politically and socially decolonised, but where we would be decolonised also spiritually. Then we would have gone back to the ways of our fathers.

I have a huge grudge. I have a guilt grudge against the government of this country and those who make it up. And the grudge that I have is that when they were looking for ways of setting up the new South Africa they were able to run around the whole world and find out the various constitutions that could be found. They sat down at the Tate House and then they came out with a constitution, after they had gone to observe in Canada, in Switzerland, in Germany, everywhere. And they came out with what is acclaimed worldwide as a wonderful constitution humanly speaking, guarding human rights, caring for people. But they never, during all that time, sat down not one moment to say, "How did our fathers govern before the white man came? What was it that actuated them? How come that we in the Orange Free State and the Highveld here could have so many peoples living together? The Barolo, the Botswana, the Korana, the Namaqua, the Sotho, and all of us could live together, and all in peace. What was the political system that was at work here?" Nobody ever tried it to go and ask about that. Why? Because they were told by the ministers, by the missionaries, by the colonisers, that all that time was a time of barbarism. All that time was a time of no knowledge at all, and there is nothing that can be learnt out of it.

Now, I am saying this is continuing to this day. When our leaders sit in Parliament, or in the provincial offices - I am sorry, I don't see them here, and I am amazed exactly why they are not here if their concern is peace and reconciliation and progress for our people. Have they really grown so big that they cannot come and listen and sit down with the people and exchange ideas? Up to this day nobody ever says, "How did our fathers do it?" Instead our people are ashamed of it. They hide away from it. They are educated. They are PhDs, they are doctors, they are psychologists, they are everything. They are ministers of religion. Therefore they don't look at it.

And yet Gabriel Sidilwane, a teacher of religion, can sit down and look at Tutu - I wish he was here. I am not saying it because he is not here - can sit down and look at Tutu, and say, "There Tutu is acting as an African. He is doing his tradition. He is not acting necessarily as a Christian."

You remember one time Tutu had a huge work-out with P W Botha. We were living in Cape Town, and they fought together at Tuynhuis. The story goes that they hurled at one another like West African market women fight, and they shouted at one

another, Tutu telling PW that his uncle fought for this land in the Second World War, and that he has as much right to this land as anybody, and it was very bitter at that time. And then after that Tutu went and was met by some journalists, and they wanted to know about it. He said, "Oh, P W Botha, oh yes, he is my brother." He says, "Oh no, he is my brother really." And when they said it I said - I was teaching at Cape Town then, and one thing I wanted to do with the students is to make them see how our African ways cling to us in spite of all the sophistication of the world that is put on top of us like mud. I said, "What was speaking in Tutu at that time as not because he is Archbishop of Cape Town, but he was speaking because he's an African?" It was the African-ness in him that was speaking that made him say, after fighting like anything, and being an enemy of PW, as everybody knows, "He is my brother."

And he has shown it in many ways. The other day when Mrs Botha died Tutu was there. Not because he was Chairman of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Not because he was Archbishop of Cape Town. If he went there in those capacities, and was seen in those capacities, he saw that it was proper - by the way, FW was not there, who had worked with PW. He saw that it was proper, as an African, to go and stand and do the last respects to P W Botha and stand by his side. That is the African speaking.

I can go with all these examples throughout. I can give you one. All I am saying is that, look at yourself, whoever you are, African, and see how you do the things that you do, and analyse yourself, and you'll find that the best of yourself as a person, the spring from which you draw, is not that Christianity that you boast so much about, it is not that education which you have got, it is not that cleverness which you learned in the discipline that you did, but it comes out of that which you can't resist, your African-ness.

I get mad when people stand up, like my brother Thabo Mbeki, and say, "I am an African." I get mad, because as far back as 1976 - 1969, I myself wrote a meditation, "I am an African, black son of the soil of Africa, black as my fathers are, and my brothers." I get made when people start speaking very glibly about applying ubuntu(?) without really going deeply to find out what it is. It is that mysterious, if you want it, bewitchment with which we are born as sons of the soil and daughters of the soil of Africa.

And therefore it is my contention, Ladies and Gentlemen, that until we go back to those roots we shall not be able to find peace and reconciliation in this land. The good thing about being African is that Africanism does not know discrimination. That's why the white people were able to conquer us, because when they came we accepted them as people, and we did not know what dangers they were harbouring behind their cloaks. When they came up as missionaries we took them on. It is part of African-ness to include.

So, my dear white brothers, don't feel cut up when, once you have left this land, and once you have drunk of the waters of this land, when once you have gone down into the abyss of this land, into the mines, to get the treasures of this land, and become rich on it - sorry that you have kept it mostly to yourselves. The blessings of this land apply as much to you as they apply to the sons of this land and the daughters of this land

Another example - am I giving another example? No, I am going on with the question of reconciliation. Reconciliation after conflict, after struggle, after war, is part of African life. We strive in Africa. Conflict is a known thing. It's a pity that when the foreigner came to observe us, and put us down on books, he recorded us only as violent and destructive people, and never took time, in spite of all his education - psychology, sociology and the rest of them - to sit down and find out really what happens.

I am doing reconciliation in the African tradition. In 1986 I wrote an essay on the 7th anniversary of the University of Natal, and I entitled it, "Social salvation from an African perspective - how healing comes into society." As an African, from an African perspective. After every war there is a coming

together. First the people go back, the soldiers go back, and in African custom every one of us - don't you hear those people coming to separate you, applying apartheid, telling you that the Zulus did it this way and the Xhosas did it this way, the Tswana and the Sotho did it this way, the Venda did it this way. In actual fact they all did it the same way, each in its own different way according to the place where they are. Right up to Zambia, right up to Fernanda Po. I am talking what I have researched, not what I hear about. I am talking about what I have lived and seen. They come back from war, and the men will never come back into the village and have peace and enjoy the warmth of their wives until they have washed all the blood that has been spilled by them. In Setswana we call it "kaswa marumo." They will be cleansed ritually. They will be washed, so that when they do come back in they are back to where they were.

If there is conflict between two groups - if there is conflict between two groups, after some time when the conflict has been - when some have given up and others say they are conquerors, there is a coming together of the two groups, and they come together in order to get reconciled one to another. In Zulu they call it, "ukuthelalana amanzi." Then they slaughter, and after they have slaughtered - by the way, when they slaughter, slaughtering is a means of prayer. They are saying by slaughtering the ancestors, divinity, the forces that make life, come here and confirm what they do. Slaughtering is the greatest sacrament of an African life, because by that we are putting on that switch which connects us with divinity, with Mudimo, with Badimo, and what we do after that, or in that ritual, is done in the presence of Mudimo and Badimo. Then these enemies, who murdered one another out in the field, sit together, and they eat together and they drink beer together.

The nubile and little girls amongst them from one village carry the water on their heads across into the other village, water from the bowels of the wells that gave them life, and they carry this water into the pots that give life to their enemies. And the others on the other side do the same, they bring the water this side. This ritual is called "ukuthelalana amanzi," and after that there is peace in the land.

Friends, I am doing this to say to you the capacity to reconciliation, especially for us, the African people, is not a capacity that we are being taught by the foreigner, be he priest, be he ruler, or be he professor and teacher. The capacity of reconciliation is a capacity which we in Africa have always known and have lived by.

Then there was a quarrel between the Buthelezi family. There was a Bishop Buthelezi present, Manas Buthelezi, who was a black theologian and did not agree very much with what his cousin, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was doing. I am talking about the seventies and the eighties. And he was very fed up with him and there was strangeness between them, there was no peace. They did not need one another. And as it went on that way I think the elders - I don't know how it came about, but I presume the elders in the clan said, "This is not right that this should happen this way. There must be a coming together." And they came together, "bathelalana amanzi." They slaughtered in front of their ancestors, Buthelezi Mangosuthu, BA (Fort Hare), leader of a party, very high up, Manas Buthelezi, PhD through university, presently bishop of the Lutheran Church, "bathelalana amanzi," and there was peace between them.

I am giving you this instance to say to you these things you are doing in your homes. The only thing is that you don't want to come out. You are like a lesbian and a gay, who does not want to come out. These things are the practice that we all do. I quarrel with my brother, and we come back together.

So, when you speak about reconciliation and all this, and you ask me to come and speak to you, I am not going to proceed to repeat all the platitudes which have been taught to us by the Christians. Yes, by the Christians, by the Methodist Church. Which Methodist Church, by the way, I still want to come to the Truth Commission to accuse of abrogating my human rights ever since I joined them in 1948, stomping me and pushing me aside like a little calf not to suck at its

mother, so that I could not grow up to the full structure of the man I could have been if I had grown in a free land. Yes, I speak it in front of Methodist ministers here. I wish your Chairman, Dr Mgojo, was here, because he knows that I am talking about. And they were Christians.

Then there are other religions that have come up in the land. There's Islam, there's Judaism, which have been opened up now. And what has happened since multiplicity of religion has been opened up? Instead of learning from Islam, what it means to be - what they have said, Islam, is submission, to be a submissive person. We in South Africa, as indeed all over the world, are experiencing Islam as violent, resistant ... (inaudible) Yes, it is only after Islam has come up that Pagad has come up. And when you look at Pagad, whatever you wanted to say at the beginning, you start saying, "How could any religion breed people who can go on to this extent? Amidst all the torture that we had we didn't go those extents."

The Afrikaner to this day, in spite of his civilisation and his ... (inaudible) ... does not forget the concentration camps which the Englishmen had in this land. Yes, brother, they were bad. I ... (inaudible) ... them, and my parents suffered with them in those concentration camps, if you want to know, in this land. But it's a sin that they, with all their Christianity, still think about the wrong that has been done to them, and old men tremble when they think of it. Even FW, when he speaks about the concentration camps. Speak about the Jews, with their wonderful religion which has given us Christianity and even Islam, what has happened, they never want to forget the Holocaust. The Holocaust is always the thing that is brought up forward, grudges and grudges and grudges. And if you come up as a foreign party, like me, and you say, "But it happened. Why don't you forget it?" then you are an anti-Semite, you are anti-Semitic.

But we, we know how to do it. We know that after conflict there is a sitting down together, there is a calling out to our common origins, that divinity, Badimo, Mudimo, whatever it is that makes life breathe, and drawing on those energies so that we, who have been separated, can now come together and live together in peace. And that's how our fathers lived in this land. You never hear us saying, "Your Zulu fathers came and murdered our fathers." Whereas we have stories of our families - I have stories in my own family where parents, grandparents, aunts, were mutilated by the Zulus during the "lifakanu" (?). Today my children grew and married Zulu girls, and if a Zulu man knocks at my door and says he wants to marry my daughter I don't say no. Why? Because ... (inaudible) ... this thing about "ukuthelana amanzi," the coming back together and reliving life together, under that power which was there, and has always been there, and always shall be there. That is faith, that is religion. So, when you speak - today when you speak about reconciliation I draw your attention to that.

Friends, for 50 years next year I have been a Methodist minister. I came into this ministry at the beginning of apartheid in 1948. I have been a member of the ANC from 1945 as a young teacher in Kroonstad under Reverend Z R Mahabane, been secretary of the branch there. Throughout my life it has been my prayer for some peace to come to this land, for equity to come to this land. When I was in Cape Town, and young men would put down their slogans on their doors, and there say all sorts of things, wonderful words that were spoken by Samora Machel about Azania, about coming up and living with Azania. I had one on my door there, and it was written by one of the freedom fighters from Mozambique. "If ever you pass by this grave when I am dead whisper to me and tell me that Africa is free, grown free." It was my prayer, because right from our time when we were at Fort Hare our prayer was freedom in our lifetime, and I was not seeing it come in our lifetime.

I prayed for the freedom fighters. So much so that in my church, the very Methodist Church, I was seen as a terrorist and a communist, and when I was in England, and wanted to come back home and get a circuit, they refused to give me a circuit, because when I was serving the church in Africa I associated so much with these very same people, the Oliver Thampos, the Mbekis, the Mzos, the Nkobis and all those, when they were terrorists. But my prayer was one, the

freedom of Africa, the freedom of my people.

But I must tell the truth, friends, I was coming to the end of my life having given it up, that those prayers will never come true any more, be heard, and I was beginning to lose confidence. Then by grace of Mudimo I discovered Mudimo. I discovered the religion of my people. I discovered what a great thing Mudimo is. I discovered that I move with the grace of the ancestors. I applied it in my ministry. I applied it at Bethlehem in 1980. I applied it at Kroonstad when the people there were fighting with one another, chasing ministers around, and I was sent there to be chased around. Not so much because I could do any good, but so that I should get it, because they were my people. And we slaughtered and we went through a ceremony, and there was peace and progress.

What I am saying, friends, is that they ways of our fathers work. And, by the way, they are not made any duller, their demands are not made any duller by all kinds of sophistication and learnedness that we have put on ourselves. They are still there. I'll give an example.

Over in Natal there is a place called Driefontein outside Ladysmith. This land was a missionary clique where the black people were put by the missionaries, and they had little farms that they grew up those farms very well. At the height of the last regime this land was to be taken away from them because it was a black spot, and they fought and they fought at law, and they couldn't get through. One day there was a meeting in Natal at that place, Nzondalelo, of Methodist ministers and laymen, and one minister there called - I'll give you his name later. The minister there called the people and said - the old men came, there was old Gcabashe, there was old Nxumalo, there was old Musimango, and when they gathered he said, "Fathers, here is this ox. We have been praying for God that our people don't move from this land, and today we ask you to slaughter this one and speak to our ancestors, to go through our ancestors that the people do not be moved here." They slaughtered, they ate the thing, they did this prayer, having tried every prayer. To this day the people of Driefontein were not moved. The government relented and they left them where they are.

It works, friends, to be yourselves. It works to do that which your fathers have done. It works better than any medicine you can ever have which comes from a foreign land, and which even the owners of that land are not using properly. We have travelled in Europe, Christian countries, we have travelled all over. We don't see the message of the medicine that they used working. See Bosnia, see what is happening there. See Ireland. By the way, do you know that Bosnia is ... (inaudible - end of Side A) ... as Macedonia. It is a place where Christianity started. They still do not leave peacefully with one another.

So, here is my recipe for healing and reconciliation in our land. My recipe is that we come back home, we try the medicine of our fathers, that we come together and we do a proper African service of reconciliation. The Truth Commission will be handing over its job next year. What an opportune time for us all to come together and do what the mayor said here today. I don't know if he heard himself. I don't know if he heard himself. He said reconciliation is when people come together - he didn't use the word celebrate, but he spoke of a worship, a ritual. He said it is a service of healing which is done. I advocate an African service of

reconciliation which is not done through the churches, which is not done through any organisation, but which is done out of our African-ness and in the African tradition, where in an obvious way the whole nation will gather and we shall slaughter bullocks, and we shall call on our ancestors, the ... (inaudible) ... deities of this land, and they - "What has happened to us? We have killed one another. It's enough. We want to live now in peace with one another." And then bring the victims and the perpetrators together. You know what, the African will do it without any difficulty. I challenge the other people to do it. And you know what, I am sure P W de Klerk will be very glad to come. I am not sporting. Nee. Ek sport nie. Ek praat uit die diepde van my hart. I am sure if we said to PW - to FW, "There is this huge African service which will be done the African

way by the doctors," I don't say sangomas, "by the doctors of religion, where they will call upon Mudimo and their ancestors, and all divinity that we come together and forget. Not forget the past, but to put away the past, and we live again as brothers, as Mudimo has ordained us to live." You will say as a Christian as God has wanted us to be. I agree with you. I say as Mudimo and Badimo have ordained us to live. Let us do it this kaffir way and see if it does not work, because everything works. Look what has happened in Natal. They tried everything to bring peace there. They have been doing it - they have not done it rightly. This is challenging. I have been praying all kinds of prayers, but none of them has worked. What is needed today is the whole of South Africa coming down and praying in the octotonous(?) African way. The problem with us is that with all our education and religiosity. We do not recognise spirituality where it works. You know where it works? I was looking at TV the other day, the manager of Hartebeestfontein Mine, where people have died recently, they were interviewing him, and he said to the interviewer, "You know, this thing that happened here is not something that anybody can anticipate, but it is something that should always and does happen. When you go down," he says, "when you go down into the bowels of the earth and release from there all the forces that are out there," and he said, "the forces of nature that are out there, you can't help but expect that there will be these seismic traumas which bring about these things." And he says it. He is not an educated man, he is a ... (inaudible) He is not a religious man like me and you, but he knows about the powers and the dynamism that lie in the bowels of the earth, and which can come up and affect human kind. It is these that I think we want to try - remember in our tradition there in the bowels of the earth, in the musima(?). That is the home of Mudimo. That is where Badimo are. This is where, without hearing yourself, you say when you bury your uncle, your grandmother ... (inaudible) ... and you put her down there, to go and strengthen those forces down there. Those forces affect us all.

And you, my dear brothers, Europeans who are with us, anybody who comes to live in the land is affected by them as much as everybody else, and I say we go and say, without any shame these are the powers we are going to call on, and anybody who really lives in this land, and wants to live in peace in this land, will accept them. There may be some others who may not accept them. I don't think Eugene Terre'Blanche will want it. But you forget about him. I am sure FW will understand and will want it. I am sure there are many Afrikaans people in this land - I can speak about the Afrikaners because I grew up with them. Ek is een van hulle, alhoewel hulle muyu nie aanvaar nie. I am one of them. I know the Afrikaners will accept it because they are part of this land.

Friends, I am saying when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission comes to an end you want - I don't want to use the word celebrate, but I can't get a better word, but you do want to have a huge service which lets them go through, because they are the doctors who have diagnosed our illness and told us where we are, and we will listen by coming together across our races, across our groups. Because these groups of ours, by the way, are not black and white, they are groups between ourselves. The man pointed it out the other day. It is not only the white man who did harm to the black man. The black man did harm to the white man, and the black man did harm to the other black man. So, there is need to be peace. There is need for coming together.

But you see, as a teacher of religion, I will be unfair not to recognise that this kind of thing has happened, and can happen in other religions as well. The Jewish people of old used to have a time when they stopped everything and they forget the past, and they sweep the board clean. And they used to have what is called the Year of Jubilee. Once every 50 years, after seven time seven years, the last year was the Year of Jubilee. Men, women, everybody came together. The wrongs of the past were cleaned, the debts which people owed one another were left out, and people started anew. They were able to face one another, the victims, the sufferers, the cruel ones, were able to get out of their shame out of their having lost their human-ness and meet again with the other people. Yes, reparation perhaps, but reparation is an alien idea. The important thing is everybody went back to square one and became human again, and started to deal with one another as muthu, as at present, in spite of the faults that lay in

between them.

48 years ago apartheid started in this land. Next year will be 50 years where this land has been under the cloud of apartheid, the shroud of apartheid. It is only right and proper that we say to the Jews, "We are borrowing from your ancestors also, but we are doing it in the African way." The Jews can also show us another way, and we can declare 1998 the Year of Jubilee, the year when the people of South Africa came together and cleaned the slate so that they could start back again, so don't throw banks(?) on one another any more, like the Afrikaners are always saying of the English, like the Jews are doing at the Germans, but that they live as people, new. That will be the new South Africa, and that is the South Africa I pray for.

And in order to say that I pray for it I suggest that you all stand up and we pray together for it.

SINGING OF NKOSI SIKELEL 'iAFRIKA

We will be only fit to pray that way when we have gone through the feast of reconciliation. Thank you.

ACTING CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Ndada Sidilwane. Before we listen to the response from Professor Verster here I would like to indicate to you that the committee members have landed and they will be with us in the next 10 minutes. Thank you.

PROF VERSTER: Thank you very, very much, Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen. I have a very difficult task. I have to respond on a very inspiring lecture that we have had just now, and I am doing it from a totally different perspective, from the perspective of a misologist, a person that teaches missiology, from a Christian perspective, so you must excuse me for actually coming to this from a totally different viewpoint and from a totally different aspect of this question.

The question in our midst is the healing of the land, and I believe that Professor Sidilwane did indeed discuss some serious issues on the theme of reconciliation from the African perspective. One must observe that from this perspective, that in the African mind secular and divine are not separated - the divine, the numinous, is present in the secular, therefore the role of the fathers is so important. What are you without the ancestors?

One must realise that the community needs healing. We long for a situation in which peace and true humanity can be found. We all long for reconciliation and healing. Professor Sidilwane does find consolation in the possibilities recognised in the traditional communities and in their living.

Would it be possible from the Christian perspective embedded in the Western view to look for reconciliation and peace? Do we have to call on Luther's view of the two kingdoms? How can we reconcile secular and religious aspects, and what is our view on this? Should we say that in Western Christian view it is impossible to bring the secular and the divine together? Calvin suggested that every inch of our lives should be under the realm of God. No part of life can be separated from God's influence and His sovereignty. That would be correct, but it does not mean that it is seen in the way as seen by the traditional African communities, and the influence of the divine present in that way. God is indeed the God of the whole world, and His sovereignty must be proclaimed to all, and all must realise that God is a great and powerful thing and the divine source of all life.

But then the question, should we accept all that has a part in the salvation, and the only thing that is needed is a realisation of that salvation, that true

human friendship will lead to true salvation? I do wish to suggest that a true humanity is seen in God's total presence, and in His salvation. But this salvation must eventually be seen as salvation in Christ, that shall be found in Christ as he reaches out to mankind.

Salvation must always be seen from the perspective of 2 Corinthians 5, verse 11 to 21, in which it is stated that God is the one that brought about the salvation, and that all must be seen in Christ who died for others and gave us the redemption. Through reconciliation should that be seen from the perspective of this salvation? In this sense Professor Sidilwane's view on comprehensive salvation is both accepted and challenged. It is accepted in the way that it's important, both for the reality, to accept God, but also to the relation to the fellow being.

True salvation must, however, always be viewed from the salvation in Christ. Christ brought salvation about. Reconciliation and healing without this salvation in Jesus Christ will not lead to a comprehensive understand of our situation.

What do we do to hold to this view about salvation if we say that it is a Western view and Western Christianity? Should we not recognise the powers of salvation in traditional African beliefs, and also in Island and other beliefs? God's grace is incomprehensible. His good and His grace is seen in the world. Christ, with his substitutionary death, opened up new ways of living before God. He is the one that opens up new possibilities before God. His salvation is so comprehensive that it's also important for other traditions, but we must state that the centre of reconciliation, healing, and reconciliation with God is in Jesus Christ and his vicarious death.

But this does not mean that the church should take over society and bring about the new society. The church should keep the calling of proclaiming this salvation in society. A regeneration of God through His people will bring about new life and new situation. Thus we are called to be positive in proclaiming this new life in a new situation.

We do not view the church as the only one that can bring this about. The Christian statesman, the Christian lawyer, the Christian businessman should proclaim the reconciliation where it is important. This is also asked of other traditions. This leads to a new situation in which the salvation of Christ brings about new hope and reveals the possibilities of new life. This new situation needs a question in our relation towards each other. Christ called us to be salt and the light of the earth. Christ called us to live a new life of substantial love. The love of the Christian should bring about the healing of the land. The love of the Christian is founded in the calling which comes from God, and God alone.

We should listen to the tradition in Africa and in other religions. We should listen and hear how they relate the possibilities of healing for the land. In this way we should also mention the healing that is seen in these traditions, but in the end we should say the substitution of Christ, his vicarious death on the cross, his reaching out towards the whole world in love, will bring about a new way of living and reconciliation and healing, is essential to our view of how we should live and what we should do. I thank you.

CHAIRMAN: We want to apologise. If we were to follow Dr Sidilwane's article, we don't know whether was it because there's something between us with our ancestors. Why should we leave so early in Durban, and then arrive so late here, when we left about 6 o'clock? Anyway, we thank God that we were able to come here, and I think that the Mayor will be leaving very soon, and we are very pleased that we have been here. It's very nice when we see our black Mayors running our cities. And we know that we are very busy, and that we could satisfy ... (inaudible) ... really shall be praying for you, and we value your presence.

Thank you very much. Go well.

May I also bring the apology of Professor Magwaza, who was supposed to be with us here. We are supposed to be a team of four, and because of the work in the office we had to excuse Professor Magwaza to attend some of the assignments in the office so that we could come here ourselves.

We are just sorry that we have missed two contributions, especially the one from Brother Gap(?), because we wanted to get the basis of the African world view to understand reconciliation, especially that it's most of the Africans we are really talking about who really suffered, who have appeared before us in our hearings. It was good to get that background, so that when we go around speaking to them we have this foundation. Anyway, it's good that we have the tape. I have read the article, and it's very interesting indeed, and we are sorry that we have missed the contribution of the respondent, and again Professor Meiring could not come, and he was gracious enough to get somebody to substitute him. We just came when he was about to finish his presentation.

In these sessions of the conference we usually want also to hear from those people whom we term the victims, to get the victims' perspective as far as reconciliation is concerned. We do this because some are still very angry indeed about what's happened to them, and some have started the process of healing after they had said something to us about their suffering. So we want to hear from them. And we also give the opportunity to the perpetrators, to get the perpetrators' perspective. This is when we shall be moving forward. I hope, Moses, all these people are here. These people were given 30 minutes according to the agenda, which means that 30 minutes divided by three is 10 minutes each. If you can just say what you feel about reconciliation we are going to allow you for 10 minutes.

And after they have made this presentation there is going to be what we call the buzz(?) which will be facilitated by Mrs Virginia Gcabashe. Let me repeat this. There's a tendency and a temptation when we come to that, when people start making their presentations in the buzz, of also asking questions which they should be asking in their groups. The buzz is that you listen carefully as you listened to Prof Sidilwane and the respondent, and to the people who we term the victims, and also perpetrators, and then the buzz has to do with the questions of clarification, if there are some things you want to be clarified by those who had given the contribution. Other questions will be discussed in the groups.

Here on my left-hand side is Mama Virginia Gcabashe from Durban, and then on the other extreme end is Mr Mdu Dlamini, also from Durban, and I am Mgojo myself.

Can we now call upon the first victim to give this victim's perspective. That is Tong. 10 minutes. Just be honest. Just say what you feel. Don't try to please anybody. Give us your feelings on reconciliation.

VICTIM: I am going to try to give you the ... (inaudible) ... before I was called to come and give ... (inaudible) ... as to what happened to me during ... (inaudible) ... by the government I was - I know what it is to be ... (inaudible) ... but during the process the police ... (inaudible)

MACHINE SWITCHED OFF

ON RESUMPTION:

PRESENTATION CONTINUES IN AFRICAN LANGUAGE

CHAIRMAN: Before you go on, we will need somebody to interpret what you are saying, because we are - unless you are going to make a summary after that, or somebody is going to make a summary. Okay, thank you.

PRESENTATION CONTINUES IN AFRICAN LANGUAGE

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. Can we get the summary.

INTERPRETER: Before I was arrested I was an outspoken person. I was very active. After the torture by the police we were so fearful, and we were invited to the TRC offices, where we opened up, where we talked about the past. But it is difficult to forget some of these things. They will still remain with us. I will not forget them. Now, I come to what I would like the TRC to do. I would like the TRC to find out how these things happened. Most of us do not function as before. You must have realised I wanted to express myself in English, and I decided to change to my mother tongue because I am very forgetful these days. I thank you.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. We appreciate your presentation. And the next one is going to be Mosidi Moghale.

PRESENTATION PROCEEDS IN SETSWANA

INTERPRETER: I will speak in Setswana. Before I came to the Truth Commission I was very disturbed and I was very sick. Since 1978 I was tortured by the Special Branch members. They were harassing us every night. We knew for a fact that the night was their time. And I came to the TRC through its invitation and I told them my story. I was a little relieved. I was then referred to Pilanomi Hospital for psychiatric treatment. I was under the supervision of Mr Masutu. My son was killed in 1986. He was a member of the MK. He was killed by the boers at Thaba Nchu, and the TRC, after relating my story, promised to find the remains of my son. But it is difficult for me to believe that my son is still here at home. I know for a fact that he was in Tanzania. I am expecting the TRC to help me with the death certificate, because that is what I need. We were invited the second time to the TRC offices in Cape Town, and I found out that it was not myself only who was harassed. I realised how many people had been harassed, the people of the ANC. And since 1980 myself and my husband are not working, we are unemployed, both of us are at home. My other son was also assaulted in Ficksburg and he bled too much. I am satisfied because I told my story, it's really made me relieved, but I am still expecting a lot of help because the Segoli(?) son was exhumed here in the Free State. I do not know whether my son will be found. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. Now the last person to give the victim's perspective is Martha Khoso.

PRESENTATION PROCEEDS IN AFRICAN LANGUAGE

INTERPRETER: I greet you, ladies and gentlemen. I am Thandi Khoso, the mother of Comrade Thabeng, who was harassed by the police in the 1980s. When I arrived here - excuse the interpreter. The police would arrive at night, and if they do not find him at home they would harass me. And he was arrested in 1989 during the state of emergency. During his arrest he left behind a girl who was pregnant, and on the 10th of June 1989 he was released from the state of emergency. After his release, that was in 1990, the 1st of June, he was killed. There was no peace at home because of this incident. Myself and my husband were fighting all the time until we separated. On the 15th of October the child was born.

After coming to the TRC I felt very ill, because I thought myself that the wounds were being opened the second time. And I was given help by Mr Masutu, the psychiatrist, and I thank the TRC for the invitation they extended to us. We went to Litala Bantu in Cape Town, where we met with other women. At first I thought that I was the only one affected by this, and yet it wasn't the case. Many people were really affected. Bishop Muthalingwe and them prepared us for forgiveness. They gave us lectures, telling us that it's good to forgive ... (inaudible - end of Side B, Tape 1)

CHAIRMAN: (Inaudible) ... the victim's perspective, and now we are going to listen to the perpetrator's perspective, and I am given the name here, Matshabe

Thulo.

MR THULO: Oh, I have already forgotten this is midday. Let me just say to you, pardon me by saying good morning, because I am not on the other continent or whatever, I am in Africa.

Thank you, Chairperson of this sitting today, to the members of the TRC, the victims, ladies and gentlemen gathered here today. I must say to you that I feel honoured to come and say what I am going to say today, also labelled as a perpetrator, although I don't believe so, but that's how the situation has changed for me today.

After being released on the 12th of December last year, through the TRC Amnesty Committee, hardly four days I was democratically elected as the Chairperson, African National Congress, in one of the branches in Kroonstad. By saying this I want to give you another picture that really the citizens of South Africa are reconciling. After doing what we have done, although we were defending the community in Kroonstad, but I do hope that people who are ... (inaudible) ... that humanity cannot easily reconcile with you when coming to remembering what happened in the previous years, by using maybe some firearms, killing some people on daily, but they have showed to me that they have got a trust in me and then had elected me ... (inaudible) ... the chairperson of the ANC. After some few days also ... (inaudible) ... was there, and then I was elected as a member of the ... (inaudible) ... committee, and also in the working committee of it. But due to financial constraints I failed to make it in the region and then resigned.

From our view as perpetrators I therefore think that okay, here in - there in Kroonstad things are running smooth even one or two things have to be ironed out. Because at the present moment I am busy trying to solve the problems of the community. Every member of the community who is having a problem is regarding me as one who can be coming up with the idea to solve her problem.

At schools the principals always invite me and ask me to motivate the students, because they always think that what has happened in the previous time, by going up and down with firearms and trying to shoot someone, it's in honour of it, it's whatever, pride or whatever, then I always show them that that is not how to approach life.

And then also the station commanders ask me to be part of the meetings of them, and those structures that have been set up there within the police. Because of laws I always got invitation from the prosecutors when coming to child abuse, and then women abuse, etcetera. And this shows that really there is reconciliation in South Africa, and then the community accepts me, and then I cannot fail going up and down in that region, and then seeing that maybe people regard me as an animal or whatever. I feel in my bones and in my veins there is some reconciliation.

But I think I will be very much unfair to myself and my fellow comrades who have been released with me, because we are not only perpetrators as such, because if it was not because of apartheid regime we could have not shot the people, maimed the people or tortured the people, as all what I have mentioned happened also to us. We were tortured, maimed and then even thrown into prison. That's why I said when I opened up my statement that I don't regard myself as a perpetrator only, but also the victim for the previous regime.

In understanding that this is the process of reconciliation and healing, but one has to be open and frank and exactly straight to the point. What I do believe the TRC should do is that the people, you know, the community who went through this - because at the present moment in Kroonstad there is that again that those small gangsters. This shows that those young children who were young at about that time, and then witnessed what happened previously, they enjoyed this. They are now starting to go up and down with their firearms. And then when I move in the street maybe some people when they see me they do see me as that guy with

guns, and then also labels me, and then the recognises the gang that I was fighting with. And then whenever they see that township where the gangster was residing they also remember what happened, and keep on talking about that.

So I do believe that I can comment to the TRC that the trauma that the community of Moukeng and South Africa at large went through, it must be judged in another way. I believe that the people need to be - need counselling, the people of Moukeng. Because if they can be counselled and then they can stop talking about what happened in previous years, and then by stop talking about that - not forgetting, but stop talking about that so much, it can give an impact to the reconciliation process that we are on. And then to stop this, to become a lifetime albatross to the coming-up generation that has already stigmatised the whole community of Moukeng.

And also the members - the former members of the SDUs and the victims of - the families of the victims should be taken into consideration when coming to the counselling. And it's spontaneous they want to say that -also the perpetrators are also the victims, but the fact is we went out of prison as perpetrators, and also the victims of the previous regime with vision, with courage, and full of enthusiasm. We drafted plenty of documents. That goes hand in glove with the reconstruction and development, and at the present moment our morals as far as those documents are concerned are dampened, because we don't know where to go.

And now some of those activists who have been released through the Amnesty Committee, whom are not maybe politically inclined, at this stage they are sitting now without jobs and nothing whatever to do, because life needs resources, whether outside or inside. So then they may turn out to be hard criminals. And that - I would recommend that the TRC must do something.

But all in all I will say that if the TRC doesn't consider what I have already said in front of them, this is leading to the self-destruction of our future, Presidents and Ministers. And then with this high note I will say that we also need physical and mental check-up, or to undergo physical and mental treatment, because as you can see we can move from here maybe about a kilometres with foot, but when we sit down we can feel that no, something is wrong here. And sometimes when you laugh or do something you feel pains in your body. And then we need reconciliation.

And then my last word to the TRC is that let them not ignore those who are released, because they have firearm experience, and they have that do-or-die cause, so they can destabilise our country with crime because they are getting starving, and then our country is already angered with crime. So, but generally we say that the community is reconciling with us, but do take consideration what I have already said as far as the suffering of the comrades who are released from prison, Mr President. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. Let me revisit the programme before I hand over to Mrs Gcabashe. Well, maybe there is a need for summary in Sotho. Did all the people understand what was said here? Okay, this is all right.

If we look at our programme, I have just said that the buzz has to do with the questions of clarification, so that item which comes under 11.15 to 11.25, and 11.15 to 11.45, it's just going to be one thing, because we are going to deal with the questions of clarification. that is to say questions which have to do with what has been said and you did not understand it. Let us not start opening wider discussions because we have got prepared questions we'll be dealing with in the groups. And again we'll have the groups allocation to be done by Mrs Gcabashe again, and she will also lead us into the group work. Now, may I hand over to Mama Gcabashe to deal with the next item.

MS GCABASHE: Thank you Professor Sidilwane, and all the other speakers. Now is the time for us to mull over what we have heard from the presentations this morning, so what I am going to ask you to do to start with is to turn to your neighbour and have a brief discussion about what has strike you most in the

presentations that you have heard. We'll just give you five minutes for that, and then after that we will allow for questions of clarification only. You have already heard from the Chairperson that we will not have a discussion, because discussions will take place in our work groups. What will happen after the buzz groups will be to give time for questions of clarification. You can pose your questions to any of our speakers.

MS GCABASHE CONTINUES IN AFRICAN LANGUAGE

MACHINE SWITCHED OFF

ON RESUMPTION:

MS GCABASHE: (Inaudible) ... him also. Okay, let's exhaust Professor Sidilwane's questions first.

MR ?: In your response it seems to me that you dealt with the subject of reconciliation, and if I understood you correctly you were saying that reconciliation - you dwelt upon the fact that reconciliation is of God. But my question to you is, don't you think that reconciliation is also essential in the building up of a new South Africa, a new - a brand-new democracy, that - that's the question. Otherwise I'll go too wide.

MS ?: This to Professor Verster. The one thing that I -message that I thought I heard from your presentation was that the only way to reconciliation is through Jesus Christ, and my question to you is that implies that - or rather are you implying that there is no other way to reconciliation? That's the first question. Is it only through Jesus Christ? And then the second question would be - I would like some clarification on what your thoughts are, and specifically what you thought of Professor Sidilwane's recipe for healing and reconciliation, whether, you know, that is acceptable to you, whether you would be able to accept that as a true way to reconcile?

MR ?: Thank you. I like the borrowing of the jubilee, the idea of the jubilee from the Greeks, that - from the Hebrews, that you allude to. Now, I think that's one of the things, but I don't know how it could be done as one has - all the speakers have already mentioned here the other people, especially in business, who are controlling the economy of this country, those who are controlling the farms, where the sheep of Bethel have gone to, and the cattle, and so on. If those people could be brought on board somehow in a conference like this, I don't know, to let them - because we will then have to wipe away all the deaths, you know, and all that, and that really affects them. And I agree with my brother here, to whom, you know, do you reconcile under such circumstances? So the question of jubilee, if you could say more about that I'll be happy.

MS GCABASHE: Thank you.

MR ?: (Inaudible) ... is from other meetings that I have attended, where a way forward was explored in reconciliation and healing. It has just been as it is today. You have one party, and the other party is absent. Can healing and reconciliation take place when the other party is absent?

MR ?: This one is addressed for Professor Verster. The problem is of equating reconciliation to salvation, and salvation is very far more removed - removed from people. And now healing itself is a process. I find it difficult to find how he reconciles reconciliation to salvation, and salvation is ultimate, whether reconciliation is a process, together with the healing as a process.

MR ?: My questions is to Ndada Sidilwane. I heard Ndada Sidilwane saying he lost confidence in Christianity. Now, I would like to know if I interpreted you well on that. You said something like you lost confidence in Christianity. I would like to know what does it mean to a young man like myself if the minister of religion, if I may say, is saying he lost confidence in Christianity. Thank you.

MR ?: My question is directed to the Chair in relation to ... (inaudible) ... presentation that the remains of her sons, because she gave some indication that maybe they are somewhere, somehow in Thaba Nchu, and then she has an information that she knows where he was murdered. I just want to know whether anything has been done so that maybe he can help to heal here if he can recover the remains of her sons really.

CHAIRMAN: I think that question - such type as those questions can come when we summarise everything. I think at the present moment we must not confuse the issues. The issues here now are directed to the people who have made presentations, so that they may be point of clarifications. Our methodology will be very confused indeed. We need to follow a certain methodology pattern so that we don't lose what we are here for.

MR ?: A further question to Ndada Sidilwane. If he could clarify to this house the difference between the human-ness of man and the African-ness - the human-ness and the African-ness. If you could clarify to this house if ever there is any difference.

MS GCABASHE: Have we exhausted the questions to - because we need to watch our time. You had your hand up, but were you going to - oh, you have been covered. I think I'll now take the last question. I see two hands. If you could both be brief so that we can give our respondents time to respond.

MS ?: My question is that I would like to know is it not too soon for us to be talking of reconciliation and healing when most of the victims they don't even know who the perpetrators are?

MS GCABASHE: Can we suggest that - you know, that kind of question, because the questions that we'll be looking at in your groups will have a reference to your question. Maybe we could discuss that in groups, so save your question also for the group work. Thank you.

MR ?: I just want to know from Professor Verster how does he relate Luther's two kingdoms to reconciliation, because I heard him mentioning something about that?

MS GCABASHE: Thank you, I think we have had enough questions, and if there are those who still wanted to ask questions they could continue doing that in their working groups. I will now give Professor Verster an opportunity to respond.

PROF VERSTER: Thank you very much for the opportunity, and thank you for the questions. The first question is whether we should think of reconciliation as something we all are in need of, black and white, even though we are black and haven't experienced all the bad things, and on the other side if we are white and do not see ourselves as perpetrators? I think that we really are in need of reconciliation in this land. I think we are in need because the whole system brought separation, and endless wrong things and wrong deeds, so that we are in need of working together, of coming to each other. Therefore I think we are all in need of reconciliation. Reconciliation is of God. That I mentioned very strongly, but that does not mean that we are not in need of a new South Africa, a new way of living, a new people. We need new people. That's the - to my insight the meaning of the bible, that a new people is being brought about by the gospel of Jesus Christ. And that new people bring about a new society, and that we are all in need of a new South Africa, new society, new democracy, because that towards which we strive in the name of Jesus Christ.

That brings us to the next question, whether Christ is the only way to reconciliation, and what then about the suggestions of Professor Sidilwane? I do believe that Christ is the way of salvation, that he is the one that reconciles us with God, but I do also believe that his reconciliation is as powerful and strong, and that his reconciliation has meaning for all people, and has a depth of meaning, spirituality, that all people can see that God reaches out to them. But I must say that I am a bit worried that we should say that we should all

accept inter-religious kind of service. I think we must give one another the leniency to be of the opinion of having our own preconditions for inter-religious meetings and such sort of things.

Then the other question was what shall we do when only one party is present and the other party is absent? I think that's very sad. I do think that we should try to bring about all the parties, and that all should come to a place like this so that we can reach out to one another.

Then the question about reconciliation and salvation, is reconciliation and salvation - must it be seen as the same thing? I think reconciliation is the reconciliation with God in the first place, through Jesus Christ, through His blood - reconciliation with God, and then that leads to salvation, total salvation, in this new way of living with God and near to God.

Then the question are we not too soon with reconciliation, should we not first of all see all the perpetrators, and hear them all out, and see all the victims and hear them all out? I think reconciliation can never be too soon. I think healing can never be too soon, but then we need to find that by God's grace.

I mentioned Luther's two kingdoms just as a sort of a way of discussing the whole thing that Professor Sidilwane mentioned in his article that was given to me, where he mentioned that the African view is not to separate the divine and the secular, and I just wanted to show that in Western theology there's also the viewpoint to separate divine and secular in a certain sense. But I do not agree with that because I said that Calvin suggested that every inch of our lives should be under the realm of God.

I thank you, Mr Chair.

MS GCABASHE: Thank you. Professor Sidilwane, your turn now.

PROF SIDILWANE: Reconciliation is of God. I am just coming on a little bit from what the professor says. Reconciliation is of God, and this brings me to the answer to the question which one of my sons here says that this ... (inaudible) ... he has lost confidence in Christianity. Yes, I have lost confidence not in Christianity as it was taught by Jesus Christ, I have lost confidence in Christianity as it has developed over the ages, and taken on ideas of other people, other civilisations, other traditions, other ethos. I am even more - lost more confidence in Christianity as it has been practised, especially in other lands - especially in this land of ours, by people who have come here and taught us Christianity and not lived it themselves. You see? Christianity and what has been practised are not the same thing, and I say, my child, after I have studied it for many years, and taught it, I have not lost faith or lost confidence in God, in Jesus Christ. I do believe that in Jesus Christ there was something happening that God was wanting to do for the world, but I want to believe that the world has taken off in another direction and it is not doing what Jesus Christ wanted us to do.

So I have answered that question, and I - that is why, you see, I can still continue to be a Methodist minister, and not only a retired one. I can still preach. I can still be recognised so much that when Professors of Methodism throughout the world meet next month in Oxford they will write to Gabriel Sidilwane and say, "We want you as a professor of Methodist Christianity to come and be with us, and participate and share with us." I am still that much of a Christian, but not a Christian of the practice that has been here. I show my confidence in the church's God, and why. So that part is straight.

About the human-ness - I will just take them at random. About the human-ness and the African-ness. When I speak of human-ness I never really come in - I think when I use human-ness, human-ness as I understand it is what the tender European way comes in, which I have learned from the dictionary and book. Humanitas, that which has go to do with the human, over and against that which has to do with the animal. You see? But when I speak of African-ness, and I then use the word

"buthu," Africa "buthu," I mean much more than that, because in Africa - read my Image of God among the Sotho/Tswana. Read my African Theology and Introduction. In Africa ... (inaudible) ... there is sacredness in the person, and therefore African-ness, using the same "buthu," sees in this person more than just the flesh and blood and all the tender feelings that go along with it. It sees in this person an embodiment of divinity. It sees in this person something that is involved, in which the ancestors come to me and speak to me about. And that's what I mean when I say African-ness. There is much more to it. You can't do anything you want to do with it, but if I speak about human-ness I speak about human ... (inaudible) ... is to say there is in the human person a tremendous amount of divinity. So that when I meet the person I don't need to go and look for divinity elsewhere. And the living of my divinity, my closeness to divinity, is going to be the way I go about with the other person.

Then I speak to divinity. Christianity does it. Christianity - that's why I was a student of Christian social change, you know. I went and studied social ethics all the way in America, with the experts, Darryl Neber, John Bennett, and the rest of them. But still I find that the greater one is my father's ways. When it comes to it they never really get to where my fathers were when I touch you, when I meet with you. And if I don't do it, if I don't do it, then I offend divinity and I suffer, and then becomes the essence of that article which you have read, "Xaba." (?) Because I did not act to you as I acted with divinity.

Next one, about the parties. We should ask ourselves questions, we who are Africans, we who are ANC, we who are PAC, we who are AZAPO, we who have been kicked around and so on, why the other people cannot come here. Is it not because they have felt too kicked out, too estranged? Is it not because we ourselves have not yet come to the point where we can accept them? And that's exactly what I am saying. It is this that will have to be healed. We ourselves. So that we can be that big, that African, that ... (inaudible) ... so much so that we can accommodate them and make them feel at home. And the point of reconciliation is exactly to do that, so that that brother of mine should come and know that I accept him.

That Alwyn Schlebusch, who lives in Kroonstad, who signed the order that burned me, as Minister of Justice at the time, should know that Gabriel Sidilwane over there can still accept me. And I have gone to his house, you know. When his wife died I and Reverend Dow(?) went to his house and we prayed in his house, and I want to believe to you that Schlebusch now knows that Sidilwane sees him as a human, and accepts the person. And, by the way, when I speak about African-ness ... (inaudible) ... is not restricted to Africans. Yes, I am. You want to be taught. "Buthu" is not only for Africans. All humans ... (inaudible) ... in the African sense.

African theology, my African religion, does not discriminate because somebody was born somewhere. It is something which has been there from the beginning of time, and by the way the archaeologists say that humanity started here in Africa. The other people went off away from it. We kept it, we lived with it here, and therefore the white man can know African-ness. The white man can be "muthu." If perhaps he has forgotten ... (inaudible) ... which must help him to come back. I am talking about reconciliation ... (inaudible) ... you help that poor white man to come back to the state of "buthu" finally ... (inaudible) ... my son-in-law asks, "Is it not this kind of attitude which has made slaves of you?" He is a Nigerian and he happens to be my son-in-law.

That question we answered with Reverend ... (inaudible) ... as we were coming this morning, and we were looking particular at us, the Tswana people, the Sotho people, people who are not pushy, people who are not demonstrative, and people who are losing, especially today in South Africa, when the new South Africa comes, we are getting forgotten as if we are not talented like anybody else. We know it. We see it. And we are talking about it. Why? Is it you who are downtrodden, turned into this, that you are the ones who are talking about reconciliation? Yes, we are the ones who are doing it. Kicked around by the white man, kicked around by our own fellow black men. That's because Moroka(?)

was so nice, and so much of a human person, to be able to extend a hand of help to the dying Afrikaner here at Verkeerdevlei. Your job in that case is to know that is your "buthu" which ultimately is going to conquer ... (inaudible) ... at the end of the day it is Mudimo who acts, who wins, and we come along.

About slaughtering, you, my brother, who wants to slaughter ... (inaudible) ... we are talking about national issues ... (inaudible) ... people don't have anything to slaughter, but at the present moment we are trying to heal the total nation, and the total nation should be healed, and it is when we shall be healed as a nation that things will go, so that this lack of employment, there will be blessing from the ancestors, there will be blessings from Mudimo, and there will be work, and we will develop because we are not developing with some people having the grudge in their hearts. Away from there ... (inaudible) ... I understand you. But just hold on a little bit. Let us think nationally for now. We are talking about national salvation, and if all are healed the individuals in the homes will also be healed by the grace of God. Thank you.

Oh no, but there is jubilee thing. Ja, that is very important. I want these TRC people to know it, because I have been howling this thing in the South African Council of Churches, and they tell me that - they tell me that leaders of the church, what do they call them - heads of the church - will not like it. It's more than a year that we have been howling about this thing. When you do the jubilee thing you are not going to do it necessarily - well, you are going to do everything. You don't have to be literalist.

First you want to appoint people who will go out and preach the gospel among the people, and talk to the people about the need for coming together in a service or an expression of reconciliation, African-style, where you would understand that there are forces at work deeper, and which affect everybody, whether it be P W Botha, Alwyn Schlebusch, PW, FW, Mandela. All of us we are in the same pot. And then you can devise how you are going to do it. You can't gather the whole South Africa at one place. You could have this huge service at one place somewhere on behalf of the whole, and it is at that service that the priest, the truth commissioners should then come and hand up their final work. I don't say report, but in the same way as they were inspanned at the beginning, this is where the oxes have got to be - the cattle have got to be unspanned.

They have done their jobs. We thank them for what they have done. And we do it in the right way, the African way, and we also commit ourselves there at that service to a life - to a reconciled life in the African sense. But as it will be the 50th year after the coming of apartheid we also call upon our brothers, the Jews, who always feel that everybody is against them - they always have that kind of psychosis - and we say, "Out of your tradition you have a good thing. We in South Africa want to celebrate the 50th year of the rule in this land under the blanket, under the shroud." You can say, as you want to put it, "We want to celebrate the end of apartheid, that devilish thing which turned brother against brother, which made my brother the killer, which made my son to be able to hear and, dash it all, call himself a perpetrator, because of apartheid." We celebrate the end of that, and then we can work on it, we can work on it countrywide. It may well be that at the end you want to do it province by province also, but there should be one principal place where this is done.

By the say, this will also be following the African way, because in the African tradition the ... (inaudible) ... that is the celebration of the green feast, is started at the paramount chief's place. You can declare one place to be that, and then from there it is done at the various places. Mandela and Ramaphosa and the rest of them would be knowing this if they had asked themselves, "What did our fathers do to live together as different groups of people before the white man came?"

MS GCABASHE: I would like to thank your two speakers from the way in which they fielded your questions. I am also aware that in answering your questions they may have brought you to want to ask further question, so you will have that opportunity of asking further questions in your work groups. We are now going to

break into groups. I believe that when you received your folders you noticed - pardon? Oh, are you hungry? You can't be that hungry that you can't even - okay, we are quite aware of the fact that you need to have lunch. Let us just go through this exercise first. In your folders you have colours. I hope there isn't anybody who is colour-blind, we are all colour literate. So, we have those that have yellow on their folders. Those that have yellow on their folders will be going downstairs. I believe that's where you had tea this morning. So you can't be that hungry, you had tea this morning. Then, when you get to that room there will be a ... (inaudible - end of Side A, Tape 2) ... or something that will indicate to you which room, because there are two rooms there. You will then choose your own scribe, and choose a facilitator. Then those that have the colour blue will also be going downstairs, and there will be an indication of having that same colour, or whatever, to indicate to you to which room you need to go to. And when you meet you will also choose a scribe and a facilitator. Then those that have the colour red on their folders are going to remain in this room, and they also will choose a scribe and a facilitator.

Now we come to lunch. Lunch is going to be served downstairs, so what we are requesting is that because our time is fast burned we need to try and cover up for the time that we lost earlier. We will ask one group to go and get their food and then go back to their group and start working. When they have done that the next group will go down, and will also go and get their food and will start working, so we are all going to have a working lunch. Those that are in red will also be called later to go and collect their food, and we all have a working lunch. We hope that you may be back from lunch at about quarter past two. Instead of 2 o'clock quarter past two we should be back, but it should be quarter past two sharp, because we would like to finish our programme timeously.

Are we clear now that the multicolour has no relevance to the groupings. It was only for the speakers and - ja, the speakers, and those who appeared on the panel. Can we now break into groups and can we ask the yellow group to be the first ... (intervention)

CHAIRMAN: Before you go on can I make this - can I persuade you. From my experience there is this tendency that when people have had lunch and they have listened to the speakers they just go away and it becomes useless. I mean there are many things which have been raised here. We have been going around doing these conferences, but with this background which has been missing, this one of our brother Sidilwane, I think it's really even helping us. I have just been speaking to ... (inaudible) ... that he has helped me, because I have said to our Commission we need to have - I call it a day of thanksgiving. But it was not clear. When he spoke now about this 50th year or celebration he has really helped us, so that we can really try and pursue this. What I am trying to say here is this. This conference here is going to help other conferences which we are going to have by what we have heard here, so go and have your lunch, and come to your groups so that when we come to the way forward we know what we are going to be talking about when we leave this place. Thank you very much.

MS GCABASHE: Just one more thing before you leave. The questions that we'll be dealing with are already in your folders. I just want to make a certain reference to question number - is it number two? Question number two in your folders. That question refers specifically to the Free State in terms of the farmers, the relationship between the farmers and the farm workers. So, if you could make a note of that. When you answer this question you must have in mind the farmers and the farm workers.

Then also, because here you don't have a very strong, powerful party that we have to contend with, we hope that you can look at that question also in terms of the small other parties that we have. We have PAC, we have AZAPO, and you are in a position to know more other small parties that we need to take into consideration when we do our - when we answer this question.

And then the last thing that I want to say is that we have listened to the victims telling us about the pain that they have had. What we would like to hear

now is, in terms of having been victims and suffered the pain, what do the victims themselves think should be happening to try and facilitate or to try and bring about reconciliation? I want to repeat that in Sesotho.

MS GCABASHE CONTINUES IN SESOTHO

MS GCABASHE: Come out with suggestions that would help us to facilitate reconciliation from the perspective of a victim. Is that clear for everybody? Now we can go to our groups. Would the yellow group lead us, the yellow group. Remember you are meeting in Ubunga, Ubunga Hall downstairs. Can the blue group follow, and please collect your food and go straight back to your group. The red group remains here.

LUNCH ADJOURNMENT AND GROUP DISCUSSIONS.

ON RESUMPTION

CHAIRMAN: I am going to ask Mr Mdu Dlamini to lead us on the next item we got back from the groups.

MR DLAMINI: Thank you, Baba Mgojo. Good afternoon everybody. I hope we managed to write down our responses, and we also decided as to who is going to report on our behalf. May I also suggest, in order to save time, that whoever is reporting does not have to discuss or elaborate on each point, unless you feel that it's necessary, it was not possible to put it in one word, so you want to add a few things. But just do it by exception rather than as a rule. If there is something that is not clear we'll always ask you to say more on it, or the members of the group to say more on it. That will help us to save time, which will help us to work on the say forward adequately, and also there were one or two questions that Dr Mgojo promised that we were going to pick up towards the end. So, for us to be able to do all that in time we need to save time with the reporting. Can I start with the yellow group. I think it was the first group that was mentioned earlier on. Yellow group, could you please come forward and share with us.

MS ?: Okay, here are the points written down here for question 1 (a), based on what was presented this morning, as well as on your personal experience, what would you say was the meaning of reconciliation? It's a way of forgiving people for what they have done to make others uncomfortable. The people who have done - the perpetrators should be collectively sorry; that reconciliation can be done through Jesus Christ and through the African perspective, that African religions and Christianity, and in fact all other religions, should be looked upon as one divine or sacred entity; that there should be an acknowledgement that pain has occurred, and move onwards ones life to better oneself.

For question 1 (b), which was, what in your opinion should happen before reconciliation takes place? There should be full disclosure of what happened. The person should go through the process of bereavement, counselling, and other stages have to be gone through. Victims who are pained have to accept - actually this first one comes first. The perpetrators should be sorry for what they did first, and then the victims who are pained have to accept that apology. Reparations should address the ultimate need of the victims. Question 1 (c), what should be done to achieve reconciliation in our society? We should address the socio-economic imbalance between people before reconciliation can take place. The TRC in these sessions have been interested more in politically active people. In the next phase the TRC should look at all other human rights violations.

Question 2. In the context of the Free State, where people are still polarised and divided among political alignments, what special processes do we need to follow in this region? We need to effect or implement the new land reform laws. The infrastructural support to make land reforms - ja, there should be infrastructural support to make the land reforms effective. The perpetrators should not be put in charge of the land reform laws. There is a need to organise regular meetings which bring together people of different political

orientations, in other words to enforce the constitutional laws.

And then number 3, can your organisations be in a position to facilitate reconciliation within the community? The organisations that we had are all listed over here, ANC, ACP, PMUC, CP, NICRO, Department of Psychiatry, Vista, SACTU ... (inaudible) ... of Businesswomens Association, CPSA and SACC. And from Vista they said they would assist the educational and infrastructural know-how. Then we made a note that at the next conference there should be a balance in the representations. For instance there was a conspicuous absence of the police force, the defence force and other political parties.

MR DLAMINI: Thank you. That was nice and brief. This purple, the purple group. Oh, the blue. Oh, blue, thank you.

MS ?: (Inaudible) ... aware that there is something like this happening today. Although some were aware, but others, maybe they don't know. Our response to 1(b). Organisations or representatives therefore can be used to reach out to communities, eg, women's groups. All parties should disclose their side of story, instead of one party coming up. Parties should be brought together, and there must be interaction in order to removed fears and hatreds and frustrations. The TRC can also - the group felt that TRC can also help in responding to cases where people have been asking for their assistance, and Mrs Moghale's case was - the group really felt that the TRC needs to do something about it so that, although they cannot help everybody, but there are cases they can be of assistance. And then there was a question that was raised whether the white people have to apologise on behalf of those who were perpetrators, and this might help in the process, or in the interest of finding who must really reconcile. And then the group answered this question by saying that maybe those individuals who are here today they can go out and preach to others that it's not a matter of, "You did wrong to me," or "Your father did wrong," but now as South Africans we need to reconcile, because that attitude is still there that, "You are black, I am white, so we don't need to talk, we are from different worlds." So, maybe if individuals can just interact that may also help in the reconciliation of the country.

And then our answer to question 2 was reaching out to farmers through education. Farmers should also be involved in the process of reconciliation, and organisation that are women's groups, sports groups, amadodana, women's church groups, they can also take part in reaching out to farmers and the workers.

And then our answer to question three, we said women's groups, that Oranje ... (inaudible) ... YWCA, women's church groups, amadodana, sports groups, ministers, fraternals, SACTU unions, all political parties, the Government itself, eg, councillors and MPs, tertiary institutions, NGOs, ratepayers' associations and individuals, we felt all these groups can play a part in reconciliation. Thank you.

MR DLAMINI: Thank you to the blue group. Can we have the last group - not the least - the red group. (Pause)

MR ?: The red group - red is always an unpopular colour. It signifies blood. What did you find useful this morning ... etcetera, etcetera, based on what was presented this morning, as well as - now, here we find that what is reconciliation? We find that reconciliation means that the entire South Africa is polarised. Then comes the victim and perpetrators, and then these two, the whole South Africa, whether it's families, whether groupings, they have to engage in reconciliation, because if reconciliation is only on a victim and perpetrator it becomes meaningless, because political parties up until now they are still polarised, others they say the TRC is ANC orientated, and it's irrelevant, hence the political parties themselves fail to address this issue of working together as a team to accept TRC, then from there we can have a very good base.

And then we come now to (b). We find that reconciliation should begin with the

individual himself. If the person himself is not prepared to reconcile we can do whatever we like, we will never come to reconciliation. Then that will follow then all political parties, stakeholders, should also re-commit themselves, because what we hear in the news, television, read, etcetera, we still find that other political organisations they still disregard all the effort and sacrifice done by TRC. Unless those people had to re-commit themselves again, and then that will stop most of the issues. Some of the perpetrators were forced to reconcile, we must understand that, but if the people don't come themselves forward it becomes meaningless for the whole entire exercise.

We also find that the church must preach

reconciliation exercise, forgiveness, and healing of the past wounds. We had to be - let me close that door because I am afraid. We have to understand. If you have got friends who are Afrikaners they will give you the truth about the whole issue. Apartheid, etcetera, was blessed, and was even encouraged, and workshopped in school camps, in Sunday schools, so the whole entire issue we find out the church is the one that has to unwind the whole thing of even blessing those people and giving them the credit after killing pregnant women and children. The church themselves must go back and say what we did, like in the past that what was done was wrong, let us reconcile. It's because we understand Afrikaner, they are more - of the whites mostly they respect the Bible. I think from the Bible which was quoted to justify apartheid, the Bible must be used also to justify reconciliation.

And also find that tertiary institutions, through their professionals, and ... (inaudible) ... and other consent groups can also become involved. What mechanism - the mechanism that can help now, this is the issue of the farmers. We must understand the farmers see the black liberation as a threat, taking their farms, their house, etcetera. So mechanism is now we have to change their mindset, because while the people have been brainwashed that the black swart gewaag, etcetera, you can never even try to reach them because they have closed minds. When they see a black man they see a danger. We have to change their mindset first.

And also the empowerment of workers and farmers. This of course, we understand that this is now - we have kind of touching communism here, but nevertheless we said now if farmers themselves can be given - the workers can be given farms, part of the farms, which we understand the owner of the farm will never agree, unless the Government has to buy the farm for those others, and then the owners also must understand the terms of possession of land. This issue has to be revisited, because it's very broad. It has a lot of fears upon the whites as we understand them.

You find also the correct approach to farmers. You cannot go to the farmers and say, "Hey, you people, we have got unions, we have got rights." The rights in terms of the farmers, once the farmer becomes involved in this thing he is going to be thrown out, and the next day you will find him on N1 being thrown out of the farm. So you have to approach the farmer, try to understand what you are going to say to them. And the farm unions also we must approach the top structure before you can now go to the grass roots and go to the farm, after the farmer has said, "Ek verstaan my boontjie, jy kan nou my boontjies gaan sien."

Now, the churches also. We find that the churches, CBOs, NGOs, and political parties, SANCO, etcetera - we can mention thousands and thousands of them - are in a better position to facilitate the reconciliation process within the community. That's our short answer, thank you.

MR DLAMINI: Thank you to all the groups. I must say that the quality of the presentation is remarkable. It's a demonstration of the amount of work that you put into the group work, and the ideas that have come forward will be really useful. What remains now is for the way forward, the ideas that have come forward, how do we put them into practice? From here where do we go to? On that note I will hand over to Dr Mgojo.

DR MGOJO: Can you please continue. You are doing very well on the way forward.

MR DLAMINI: Thank you, Baba Mgojo. One of the realities of the TRC is that it will have to close shop end of this year, and then from January to March a few of us, to be precise the Commissioners, will remain behind to put together the report that will be presented to the State President on behalf of the nation, who will receive it on behalf of the nation. The same report will be available to all the people of South Africa through our libraries and all other various sources of information.

But the fact of the matter is that there will be jobs that will remain behind unfinished. Reconciliation is one of those programmes or processes that are going to be unfinished by the time we leave or by the time we close down. It's for that reason that we are very much concerned about reconciliation, because the aim of the TRC is not only to uncover the truth, it's not only to expose people who did what, it's not open the wounds, but it's to uncover the truth with a view to healing the nation, as well as uniting the nation, reconciling the people of South Africa, so that when we talk of a rainbow nation, when we talk of a one nation, united nation, it's because we are reconciled to each other. The things that happened in the past that divided us, we have addressed them. There were various ways of addressing them, but we decided on this way, namely the Truth Commission. Other ways that people mentioned were the Nuremberg Trials, where you bring people and charge them, etcetera, etcetera, and some people felt that that was going to divide us even further. And also to control it is not as easy as we might think. And some people felt that, "Look, let's forget about the past. We are moving forward now as a nation," and some of us felt that it's like somebody burying a relative without opening the coffin to see whether the person lying inside the coffin is the person that he thinks, or he or she thinks he is burying. So, to try and forget what you don't know was going to be very ridiculous, so we decided on this method through the TRC, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

I think to a certain extent we have achieved the truth uncovering. To a certain extent we know what has been happening in the past. To a certain extent we know who has done what. To a certain extent some families today are in a position to point out the graves of their beloved ones, and we still hope that more information will still be coming forward. But, if we are unable to bring people of South Africa together, reconcile people of South Africa, the Truth Commission will have failed. So, as we say that we admit that with the time at our disposal we are not going to achieve that. All the groups said that reconciliation is not cheap. They said that there are prerequisites that should be in place before you can talk of reconciliation, which means that reconciliation is a process. We can only set that process in motion, but to take it forward, to make sure that it happens, and to see to the finish, definitely it is not going to be the Truth Commission to achieve that, and somebody has to do that, and we believe that the people of South Africa, the structures that we have in our community, NGOs and various bodies that are involved in reconciliation, and people who are available and prepared to offer themselves to promote reconciliation, we feel that we need to identify those people. We need to identify those bodies. We need to empower those people. We need to make sure that the reconciliation takes place. So, the ideas that you have presented this afternoon, we need to have a way as to how do we make it happen. What should happen from today to make sure the things that we discussed in our groups do happen, they don't remain as ideas on paper? So, briefly that's what the way forward is all about.

Mama Gcabashe and Baba Mgojo and the professors as well, if there is anything to add please? But briefly that's the kind of request I am making to you this afternoon, if you could help us about the ideas using Free State as a base, if you could come up with some ideas as to what is the way forward, what should happen for reconciliation to start, for the reconciliation process to start, and to continue, and to achieve its objectives.

Any ideas? Thank you.

MR ?: As ... (inaudible) ... we summarised one of the points.

MR DLAMINI: Yes.

MR ?: (Inaudible) ... the key factor that can penetrate the very strong minds of the ... (inaudible) ... is the church. I think the TRC at this point in time it is possible that they ... (inaudible) ... hold a workshop of all the ministers of all denominations, and especially where our white counterparts are mostly attending, and ... (inaudible) ... the idea of reconciliation to them so that they should be ... (inaudible) ... in the process, in the ongoing process. Those people should continue when your term of an operation comes to an end as at the end of this year, so that those people, the church and others, especially those which are influential, should carry on indefinitely with the process of reconciliation in the smaller groups and smaller ... (inaudible)

PROF SIDILWANE: I agree that this work should go on, as has been talked by that brother over there, but I don't think it must be necessarily left in the hands of the church.

MR DLAMINI: Baba Sidilwane, can I just check, have you noted it down, Moses, consultation of the church leadership. Thank you. Thank you, Baba Sidilwane.

PROF SIDILWANE: I don't think it must be left in the hands of the church. I don't trust the church any more. The reason is that the church keeps on - each little group keeps on pushing its own self.

MR ?: Its own agenda.

PROF SIDILWANE: Its own agenda. It should be what you say, my brother, but it should be a national thing, I think, for the whole society, with your NGOs and all the other groups that are there. You see? And that could be the workshop above. If you workshop the churches the Anglicans will do their own thing, and take it and make it their own. The Methodists will do their own thing over here, and bring in the Methodists of their own kind to do their thing. The Dutch Reformed Church will of course not come in. And so on. So, please also note that there are people in this land who are not necessarily Christians, and we are multi-religious. But even more, as Gabriel Sidilwane mo Afrika(?), there are really more basic forces that guide us, our own traditional African ways, which guide us even stronger than our Christian confessions. All these aspects need to be taken into account.

MR DLAMINI: Yes, I think Baba Mgojo wants to ... (incomplete)

DR MGOJO: Please, let us not open a debate on this. We just get your insights, and we are going to put them down as a way forward. Whatever a person says he has got a right, but don't try to answer that person. It's sort of brainstorming you. We'll go and analyse these things. We are nothing them.

MR DLAMINI: And also to have - I don't think the two points are necessarily mutually exclusive. I think Baba Sidilwane was developing, building on what you said, that it should not end with church leadership, it should include other stakeholders, and he mentioned the NGOs, CBOs, the other religions or faiths. I think it was a development from what my brother said here. I don't think there is any conflict. Thank you, Baba Nyegezi, I saw your hand there, and my brother there, Tikwane.

MR NYEGEZI: Thank you, brother. Just to follow up on that issue of churches. The South African Council of Churches has a definite programme set to move, and in our midst here we have Bishop Mathilonge, who is appointed recently to head a special department within the Council to lead this, and within the Free State province we have recently had training, a whole week training workshop, of ... (incomplete)

MR DLAMINI: I promise you, Baba Nyegezi, I did not do anything to cut you off.

MR NYEGEZI: Okay. A panel of - resource persons we call

them, who are now planning and working on models to use in different situation, both in congregations, individuals, and among the clergy and other religions. One of the items we have in that programme that is on now is to include, to put on board other religions that are in various towns within the Free State. And I can assure you that this is a very broad-based kind of movement, and it's definitely on our agenda now.

MR DLAMINI: When is it taking place, because I think it's important for us to know about the existing initiatives and resources so that we don't re-invent the wheel and do the things that are already there. It's that we enrich what is existing. When is it taking, Baba Nyegezi?

MR NYEGEZI: This has - the training has taken place, and we have set ourselves programmes already, and we are working. And our main aim was looking at the end of the TRC's work, you know, after December, so that the churches takes a pastoral role. That's our chief concern, that the churches have really to take a pastoral role in this whole exercise.

MR DLAMINI: My brother there and - my brother, thank you.

MR ?: Mr Chairperson, thank you. I think if maybe we can start - the TRC can start about the victims, the people who ... (Speaker continues in a mixture of English and Sotho)

MR DLAMINI: Can somebody help and summarise it? It was a mixture of English and Sesotho. I would have understood it if it was only Sesotho. Can you please summarise it for us, my brother.

MR ?: The first point relates to what Mrs Khoso referred to earlier on when she said she is left alone and there

are children depending on her. The Government must take a look at that. The second point, the people who have been released from prison must also be met halfway, they must be helped to go back to their communities. Sports also plays an important part. It can unite the people. And lastly, the individual himself must make a contribution. People should start concentrating on forming street committees, and they should come together and discuss their past.

MR ?: Can I just quickly share with you that with regard to the first point, they fall under reparations, and our reparations and rehabilitations subcommittee within the Truth Commission is busy working on a policy on how people - victims will be repaired and - ja, the whole process. And once they have finalised the proposed policy, and it's approved by the Truth Commission as a whole, it will be presented to the Government for consideration. And the idea is to have a special fund which will be known as the President's Fund, from which reparations are going to be implemented. Whether the resources, the money, will be enough to address all the needs, that will be brought before the Government. We are not sure, but definitely there are efforts to that direction.

With regard to the last suggestion of the street committees, individuals, yes, it's a good idea, but my question is to how do we bring about that? Because I think for the way forward we need to be practical, we need to have a way as to how we can implement it and how we can promote it. Do you have any ideas, my brother? I am not putting you on the spotlight in case you have ideas, but if you don't have ideas at the moment we'll just capture the point and we'll think about it as to how it can be put into practice.

MR ?: We have spoken of SANCO, which is a mother body. We can consult with them and they can spread this issue of street committees.

MR DLAMINI: Thank you very much, this is very useful. Thank you, my brother.

MR ?: Sir, the television media is a very, very, very powerful and strong media, and it is my feeling that before the TRC disbands something could be worked at that will be presented over the coming year on TV.

MR DLAMINI: Thank you. Then my brother there.

MR ?: I think with the experience of what happened in the universities and the technikons, especially in the Free State, we need to have a programme within the learning institutions which is informed by the process of the TRC itself. I am not sure the 2005 curriculum programme, whether does it in any way address that, but because what we are doing now will not necessarily address the present generation's problems, but the future generation, so you need to have it inculcated in the education programme. Thank you.

MR DLAMINI: I think we need to follow up with the education authorities, but I think it's a valid point. And also that point of the media, that is very important. We can use the media to our benefit. Thank you very much for those ideas. Baba Sidilwane, I will come to you. There was a hand there. Thank you, my brother.

MR ?: Well, it's in addition to what my brother just

said there, that he said about - he only said something about tertiary institutions, but it needs to start correctly even at the primary level, because that's where the problem is. I am saying all this just because I am at the tertiary institution, and as a leader in the tertiary institution, so I know exactly what is happening. This comes from the onset. If this cannot be worked out from primary level we can't control it at the tertiary level. Thank you.

MR DLAMINI: Thank you. Let me take my brother's one, then I go to Baba Sidilwane.

MR ?: Thank you, Mr Chairman. I don't know if people heard from group yellow about our concern that the policemen that were used in harassing the people are conspicuously absent from this audience, and I think if there is to be a true reconciliation those policemen and security police that were used against people have to come out with information. Otherwise we're going to stay with these grudges all the way, and like the gentleman said earlier, something will happen in the future that we are going to regret. Let me give you an example. Recently on Saturday I went into a supermarket, and as I got into the supermarket a former security police who was one of the people that harassed me was coming out of the gondolas and carrying his ... (inaudible - end of Side B, Tape 2) ... for how do we reconcile? Somewhere we need to meet, and come together and say, "Let's bury the past and forgive each other."

MR DLAMINI: Ja, maybe for the TRC to continuously extend that invitation, especially to the so-called perpetrators, that if they need facilitators to help them to meet the people that they wronged that facility is available. I think that could help, because some of them are not now brave enough to face you. I think from the TRC we need to convey that invitation, and persuade them and tell them that you people are ready to meet them, but you can't forgive a person who is a distance away.

Baba Sidilwane, I have been keeping you at abeyance.

PROF SIDILWANE: Ja, that point of yours emphasises the point I make about the need to come together ... (inaudible) ... a service of reconciliation, where that man will come, and he can be with you, and from that time you can go on together. This is it.

And, Sir, in that same strain, I want to suggest that for us in the Orange Free State especially - there was a talk somewhere in some of us - some of us are

spare wheels in the car, supernumerary, but there are some talks especially that come from us that there is need for a service of reconciliation at Kroonstad. First of all of our provincial name, provincial people, who have fought together here and broken up the provincial government. And in which there are involved Kroonstad people, Lekota and Ivy Matsipe, that we in Kroonstad - that we in the Orange Free State, but from Kroonstad, bring these children of Kroonstad, and the groups that go along with them, and say to them - to them altogether, "Look, you are our children, and this country of the Free State is ours, all of us," and all their followers who are still battling outside who can hear should know that they are all our children, and sort out reconciliation between these factions which have torn our clothings into pieces.

Not only that, that service of reconciliation should also reconcile in Kroonstad, the various groups in Kroonstad. Mohapi has spoken about what is happening in Kroonstad. He knows that in Kroonstad the factions are still there, and they are bad. He knows. And he and I are one of them, are in them. I expect that he'd say that. That's what I pass.

Number two, to the TRC, we stand, these representatives of the TRC, to say, when you say there will be a presentation of the report to the President and the nation, we suggest that that presentation should be done in a big way and in a national way. It should be a service of reconciliation for the whole nation, and it should take the form of a celebration of the year of jubilee. And that service must be prepared for thoroughly, not just wake up in the morning and go and do it. And then the TRC should make means, together with the President, for such a thing to be prepared for from now. Not to make it their own thing, but to give it to the people who really know what they talk about, and whom it burns inside ... (inaudible)

MR DLAMINI: I am not sure whether you are clapping hands because he declared UDI, he spoke of the country of Free State. I thought it was only KwaZulu-Natal who had the kingdom of KwaZulu.

Mama, and then bishop that side. Mama and then bishop.

MS ?: My point is heal the families. I here particularly thinking of families where there has been either torturing or death or loss, where the perpetrators have not been found, where the families have nobody to reconcile with. Heal the families. And the way to heal the families is to provide support groups, provide support services, like clinical psychologists, family therapists, and people that can handle families in crisis. So, my point is the family as a building stone of the entire community. Let's start with the families. Go to the community, go to the nation. If we start there we are starting at the heart of the nation.

MR DLAMINI: Thank you, Mama. Yes, one thing I forgot to mention when I shared with you as to what will be happening after us, and mindful of that fact, we also tried to train trauma and stress counsellors, and - ja, unfortunately because of limited resources we couldn't train as many as we would have loved to, but that is still in our minds to continue training. People who are going to remain in the community and give support as you have mentioned. That's one way we are trying to address that, and we are glad that you have mentioned it, and we have noted it so that we will reinforce it again. Thank you, bishop.

MR ?: Mr Chairperson, just some advertisement. The SACC has a lot of resources. The SACC is a conglomeration of churches, and your churches are members of the SACC. We are available to train people in different provinces, and I think that - you know, we are available, we are ready, but we don't force ourselves down your throats. We come whenever we are invited. And so I just want you to know that with that commercial. Thank you.

MR DLAMINI: Yes, thank you, Baba. As I said earlier on that definitely we need to take stock audit of the existing resources. That's what is going to help us if you want to be serious. Any other suggestions? Okay, in the absence of any

further suggestions I just want to say thank you. I know that Baba Mgojo will wrap up, and in his wrapping up he will definitely thank you for the wonderful work you have done.

And to Mama Moghale and the groups, who have been very concerned about her case, unfortunately we don't have an answer for you now because every case that has come to us in terms of the statements, and also the hearings, the testimonies at hearings, is in a different stage, so it's very difficult to say, as I am, that where your case is at the present moment. I can only check for you and tell you what is happening.

But what we will plead is that if there is any new information please update us on the information that has come forward, because that helps us with our investigation. So, if there is any new information since the time you gave us your statement, or you testified at public hearings, please keep us informed so that we can use that information with our investigation. So, if there is anything I would ask Mama Moghale to contact us at the end of this session and give us more information so that we can check, and also update the investigating team in order to try and find out about your son. Thank you very much, Baba Mgojo.

DR MGOJO: Well, I want to thank my colleagues for performing so well here at Free State, though we came very late and we are sorry about that. I must say that we leave this place very much convinced that the type of contributions we had here from the speakers up to the questions are of a high quality. I must say that. Really of a high quality, and we want to thank you very much for that because we have something to take back with us which is of a high quality.

And I want to thank the people who are here. Before I do that I want to thank the staff of TRC here at Free State for preparing for this so well, and for also starting this exercise when we were delayed at the airport. I think it was through God's providence that we said Moses, when we had the conference in KwaZulu-Natal, must come and observe. So, it was very easy for us to say that, "Moses, let the conference begin even before we come," and everything has gone so well.

I want to thank the ministers of religion. I know they are very busy people and they are here. It's always very hard to get the ministers. They don't want to attend things, I don't know why. They are always reluctant to attend things. They say they are very busy. But there are some ministers who are here, and including even two bishops, Bishop Matholangwe and Bishop Gill, and we really appreciate this very much.

I want to thank the different organisations which have come here representing their organisations. We have heard, we have listened. We don't want to impose anything on the people. And we have met with some of the Cabinet Ministers of this region, and we have found that it is easier to work in this region than in KwaZulu-Natal, because in KwaZulu-Natal we are very much divided. You meet these, and the others refuse to be part of the whole assignment.

We shall be taking what you have asked us to do, and we are going to reflect on it and it is going to help us, especially this major suggestion of this jubilee celebration. It's very exciting indeed. It is indeed very exciting. And Brother Gap has warned us that we don't just - when we are left with one month or one week say that we are going to prepare for it. We need to do it now, and make research, and get the inputs of other people to make this thing as a success. We have listened to that because this is a new idea which is adding to what we have been getting.

We understand - and I want to thank our - I am sorry to use this word, please, I am saying it with love - our white sisters and white brothers for ... (inaudible) ... until this time. In most of the cases that is why the reconciliation is going to be very hard. Some of the people are scared to be in this type of a meeting, but you people you were very courageous to sit with us

and listen, and we hope that you are going to carry the gospel to your own communities so that the gospel can spread. We appreciate this very much what you have said.

When I came here, when we were hearing the perpetrator, I said that, "What is he saying now?" and this also told us that there are some perpetrators who were perpetrators because they were defending the communities from some of the gangs, especially Three Million Gang here in the Free State. And then the regime, because it was working with those, the old regime, had to put them in gaol, and then they are called perpetrators because they killed. Whereas in fact, in reality, they were protecting the communities. And we appreciate that it came out very clear.

And there's another question which was exciting, which helped us in fact when those questions were directed to Brother Gap about losing confidence in Christianity, etcetera, because I fear ... (inaudible) ... when some of these people go away here they are going to say that, "Oh, a senior father of the Methodist Church said this and this," and Brother Gap ... (intervention)

PROF SIDILWANE: I am apologetic.

DR MGOJO: No, no, don't defend yourself because you answered it very well. You answered very well. Don't rush. Don't rush. And Brother Gap answered it so well that he doesn't mean Christianity as it began, he means how it is practised today. And that really helped us that he means the contemporary Christianity, which is not even contextual, it does not deal with the issues of the day, whereas the Christianity as it began started by Jesus and his followers, it was the Christianity which was relevant to the issues and the problems of the people. That is why most of the apostles in fact were executed because of their testimonies and what they believed. So, that really helped us. That is why I say that everything here has been very high, of a high standard.

Having said so I think we are coming now to an end, and I am going to do something which is very good for me as an African again. I want to recognise one of my mothers, Mama Sidilwane, the beloved Mama. And why I say so is because this is the lady who really initiated my wife in the pastoralia of a minister's wife. We were young at Lamontville, just come. My wife was a nurse, we were just married, and Mama Sidilwane - they were living at Lamontville with Gap, who was in the Youth Department, and she was one of the leaders in that - at Lamontville. And she used to carry that baby on her back - that one was the baby - moving from house to house, doing pastoral visiting and so on. You could not miss anybody who was sick who was under Mama Sidilwane, because she knew all the ... (inaudible) ... and my wife got a model from her. And I want to recognise you, Mama, for being here. And my recognition is going to go further, because I think it will be very relevant if you close this for us by word of prayer. The mothers always pray. If you can bless us here by the words of prayer when we are closing this that is going to be very important. So, we are going to sing the national anthem, and then after that - if you would just move forward. I want you to stand here and then close by the words of prayer. This comes from the bottom of my heart. I am not trying to impress everybody. You are gold in our home. When I tell Estelle that you were there she is really going to be very excited because of the model you gave to her.

MS ?: (Inaudible)

DR MGOJO: Brother Sidilwane says that you will get your paper through the TRC, this one you wanted, and I advise you you need to get it. You need to get it to understand the basics of what this reconciliation is all about in the African world view. While Mama Sidilwane is moving to stand here to pray for us can we stand and sing the national anthem please.

SINGING OF NKOSI SIKELEL 'iAFRIKA

CLOSING PRAYER BY MAMA SIDILWANE

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

R & R WORKSHOP

HELD AT: JOHANNESBURG

DATE: 18 FEBRUARY 1998

DAY: 1

CHAIRPERSON: I apologise for the spelling mistakes on the first sheet but that's my fault, no anybody else's. My name is Faizel Rander, I'm a Commissioner in this office and on the National Commission as well. This is a very important workshop. We are coming really to the end and having used that word end, let me say that we're finding it very difficult to accommodate to that thought ourselves because this Commission has become so integral to our lives in the last two years that it's suddenly difficult to realise that in a few months' time, the Commission as such will be at an end but the work that we have initiated will be there to continue for all of us, particularly this area that we are looking at today which is really looking at how we take recommendations forward on the trauma that people have experienced, what areas do we clearly recommend to Government on how we remember this period because that is a question that many people ask, so what, the Commission has taken place, the Commission has accumulated a body of knowledge that is undeniable, acknowledgement to an extent, I don't think it's complete, has happened, but where do we go from here and I think hopefully you will help us and our international speaker today and contributor will bring her wealth of experience from America as well as the holocaust period and will, I hope, to these discussions. So let me stop there and ask Hlengiwe to introduce our international speaker and then continue with the proceedings. Thank you very much.

MS MKHIZE: Thank you colleague. I would also like to greet all of you. Colleagues and friends we are really grateful that you have managed to come and spend the next three days with us, examining issues which are central to our work. I will just make a few comments before introducing Dr Yael Daniel. I will say a few things about where the committee is and some of the issues that we are struggling with in finalising, formulating, we have formulated policy proposals but in finalising our recommendations. Maybe it's important, especially for those of you who are part of Victim Support Group to understand that we are holding this workshop at the time when the Reparations Committee is like a woman in labour, anxiously awaiting the outcome. As you have picked up from the media, time and again, the Minister of Justice is at the point where we hope they will at any time now be announcing the promulgation of Regulations which will guide the implementation of our policy proposals, that's the reparations plan. Having said that, I need to say something about some of the problems we have had as a Committee. I will start off by quoting one of the top psychologist, but it's in relation to our work where he says what the history of flashback tells, is therefore a history that literally has no place, neither in the past in which it was not fully experienced nor in the present in which it's precise images and enactments are not fully understood. In it's repeated imposition as both image and amnesia, the trauma thus seems to evoke the difficult truth of the history that is constituted by the very incomprehensibility of it's occurrence. Just to explain why I thought of this Commission is because we have been looking at our data base, trying to look at the ...(indistinct) of our witnesses and wanting to make sense of what they said with an aim of assisting with the reparations policy. But this captures the struggle which we think people had, the difficulty in remembering what they went through and actually

saying it. If one doesn't appreciate the struggle that they went through in terms of their memory, in some instances you might think, oh, a gross human rights violation didn't have an impact because people say very little in some instances. As you know, we have held quite a number of workshops and you will agree with - and we have also been part of the Human Rights Violations Hearings and you will also agree with it that most people who appeared before the Commission, they tend to get caught in some instances in a trap where they want to say something, also there is a wish not to say the things which will hurt them the most. I went to our data base office and I picked up Lacocheba's statement. He was the first witness when we had the hearings in Reginamunti. Most of you, you will remember him, he's now a member of Parliament. His experiences of torture, detention and imprisonment as far back as the '60's but you could see he had suffered. He was breaking down in tears but in terms of memory, what he could clearly remember was only one part that he hated the part when he crumbled, he cried before the perpetrators. And again, if at face value we do not know how to make sense of that, we might think he didn't suffer much but as we were face to face with him, we realised how much he suffered. But no matter how much we pushed him to articulate what was on his mind, the only thing he could say, "when I look back, the only thing I think about a lot and which I hate the most is, when I asked for apology or I cried before my tormentors". I'm just scanning through what I've said here. Really what we have begun to think and to believe is that the manifested trauma that you have all witnessed through the media really indicates repositories for notions of self worth and humanity that are either denied or under estimated in every day dialogues and representation of history.

And again I picked up one quotation from the same person where he says, "show us our earliest years, not as they were, but as they appeared at the later periods when the memories were around. Memories did not, as people are accustomed to say, emerge, they were formed at the time and a number of motives with no concern for historical accuracy had a part in forming them as well as in the selection of the memories themselves". I've gone on and on in really looking at each and every case and showing how, what we know and what we are dealing with is what is often referred to as green memories, what people are prepared to construct at any one time. So partly this gives the context of this workshop. In this country we had an opportunity of interacting with many of you, bringing your own experiences of exposure to human rights violations. Some of you coming here because you work with victims on daily basis. Some of you being specialist in your own fields. But having done that, it has been like in our proposed policies there is a missing gap and in the process of doing a search we are fortunate because one of the consultants in this country went to an international conference and came back with the name of Dr Yael Daniel. Some of us we knew her work but given the fact that we hit the ground running when we started, we just didn't think of any outside specialist but we are privileged to have Dr Yael Daniel in our midst. She has, over the years worked with holocaust survivors. It is our belief that experienced gained in her work we will enrich our thinking.

I will just say something briefly about her. Hopefully you will get to know and understand who she is as we interact with her over the next three days. A brief introduction is that Dr Yael Daniel is a Director of the group project for holocaust survivors and their children. She founded this project in New York as far back as 1975. There is also something, most of you have her résumé in your files but I thought it's important to say, she is a founding Director of the International Society for Traumatic Studies. She was it's President from 1988 to 1989 and continued as it's international co-ordinator. The initial report of her presidential task force on curriculum education and training for professionals working with victim survivors was also adopted by the U.N. That was as far back as 1990 an implementing instrument for the United Nations Declaration mentioned above.

She also has been the senior representative to the United Nations headquarters of the World Federation for Mental Health and of the International Society for Traumatic Stress Studies and the past Vice Chair of the executive committee of non governmental organisations associated with the United Nations Department of Public Information and Chair of it's Publications Committee. I can really go on and on but she is remarkable and well respected within the field as it is we can't cope with requests for invitations, people wanting her to come and formally address their organisations or to meet with them as individuals and what I've seen I should think it's a challenge for us that if this three day workshops is of use in this country, we will all have to come together and see how we mobilise whatever resources and make sure that this begins, this is a beginning of a long term relationship. With those few remarks, I should think Faizel and myself we are finished our task and will hand over to Dr Yael Daniel to - I don't think she will still introduce herself but she will begin to interact with you. Thank you. Maybe let's just give her a warm welcome.

DR DANIEL: Since I came here all the way from the United States, I would like to be closer to you, so maybe you can

move the chairs a little closer and maybe form more of a circle so we can see each other closer. And try to form a circle. Hlengiwe why don't you come closer. That's much better. This way, so we can - the ideal situation is that we see each other. All of us see each other. I tried to structure it so everybody sees everybody else. You can't see anybody else the way you sit except for me. So make it more of a circle. Ideally everyone should see everyone else so try to situate yourself that way. And we will begin actually not with a formal talk. What we will do is start the training as we started elsewhere. As we said the first part is an experiential part and for that I will need each one of you to have a large page in front of you so you can write on it and do other things with it. Actually create space for yourself so you are comfortable. You will need to be able to write so do you have enough pages to do that? Are you all comfortable? Not yet, okay. Oh good I see there is help there with pages. Here. In this first part there are other people who need pages here. This first part will be between you and yourself really. So if you get comfortable because - sort of create internal space, you can even close your eyes. So you can focus inward. And for this first phase the conversation is, the dialogue is internal, it's between you and yourself. Okay, so focus in. Take a deep breath too, to come in. And the first thing I would like you to do is to focus in on the most meaningful trauma to you. The most meaningful trauma to you. And when you have, would you please draw everything that comes to mind, any image that comes to mind of that trauma. Take your time. It's really important that we go together through this process so you may start. Anything that comes to mind, any image. And take all the time you need. Let me just repeat that for you, to gain from this experience, it's good to do everything that I'm asking you to do. If you've just about completed this part, you can turn the page and please write down, just jot down freely every word that comes to mind, every word that comes to mind. Doesn't have to be in any order. Every word that comes to mind about this experience. Just about finished this task, draw a line underneath the words and close your eyes for a moment. Sort of roam around your mind. Are there any other words that come to mind, when you just let your mind roam freely into any corner, every corner. Are you missing any words that say would describe for you or articulate for you this experience. Particularly emotional words, you know, words of feelings. Take your time and add those if you find them. The first time you ever heard of this trauma or ever encountered it. Can you remember the very first time, again you can close your eyes. I think it helps to sort of focus in. Can you visualise the very first time? Can you imagine yourself in that situation? How, in that situation try to get into that. How do you hear about it or how did you see it or what's your first encounter? What is it like for you, in that memory? If it's a matter of hearing about it, who did you hear it from? If it's a matter of seeing, what are you seeing? How old are you in that memory? Where are you? Are you at home, in the street, in the kitchen, in the bedroom, in the living room, in class, in a movie, in the park? Are you alone or with other people, your parents, your family, friends, strangers? You can start writing it down for yourself. What are you feeling in the memory? Do you remember any particular physical sensation? What are you thinking? While you are still in the memory, are you making any choices? For example, about life. Do you say something like, because this happened therefore life is - or about people because this happened people are or the world is. What are you telling yourself in that memory? Are you coming to any conclusions? This is extremely important so try to remember any thought like that. Now think of yourself today. Look sort of back at that situation. Are you still holding the choices? Do you still believe what you concluded then? Would you say this is still me? Or this is not me anymore. Do you still have these beliefs? If they changed, what is the difference? What changed and why?

If at any point I'm rushing you, stop me, okay, say I need more time. I need that from you. Who did you talk to if you did? Both in the past and now. What was your reaction to their reaction? Let's try to examine the other side. Secrets. Not sharing with others. Is there anything about this that you have not told anyone that you decided is not to be talked about? That it's like, unspeakable. Is there any area in it that you feel is totally your secret, that you dealt with all along and kept to yourself? If there is, put it into words, you can even say to use words like, I haven't shared it because - or I'm very hesitant to share it because -

Now this is very very important so take your time and if you can also mention the particular people with whom you won't share it and why. Do you personally know survivors of this experience? If it's you, that means other survivors and if you do, do you know them as family or friends, neighbours, colleagues? Now there are secrets that we keep from others to protect either ourselves or them and there are secrets that are self secrets. Now this is extremely important. You can again close your eyes. Imagine the situation of the very first time you ever heard or experienced anything about it. And roam inside your mind. I know it could be scary but it's important to do it. Is there anything about it that you have never talked to yourself about? A secret that you have kept from yourself. An area that you've sort of pushed away and kept away from yourself. Or about which you said to yourself, I can handle that. Why is it the one thing that was too much for you? What haven't you put into words yet. That is still sort of lurking in the corner of your mind. You haven't looked at it yet. Take your time and we are here together so even if it scares you, we are together. Will you please write

down what is your personal relationship to the trauma. Some of you chose your own, some of you chose others, right, so. What is your personal relationship to the trauma that you chose? And please write it down, it really makes a difference whether you write it down or not. We'll see it later. Did your place of birth figure in your relationship to the trauma? That is, where you were born. Does your age, hold you are or you were, does that figure in your relationship to this trauma? What about your religion? Will you go through a few dimensions like these now, right and we'll ask ourselves, with each one of these identity dimensions how do they figure in your relationship to the trauma which means and the choices that you make about it right. Whether these dimensions influenced your experience.

So let's go one by one, your religion. Your ethnic identity. Your cultural identity. Your political identity. Your racial identity. Your gender. Your sexual orientation. Let us move now to your professional self. If we were to use it for research I'd ask you to note your professional discipline and it's a good idea to do. What is your professional discipline? How long have you been working in it? What is your professional relationship to the trauma you chose? As I mentioned before it is really good to write it down. Within your professional practice, have you seen survivors of this trauma or their children or their family members? How many? Now if you're a mental health professional, answer it from the point of view of mental health. Now or any other orientation. What therapeutic modality or any other have you employed? That's for mental health professionals. Was it emergency or crises intervention, short term, long term, individual, family, group therapy?

Those of you who are not mental health professionals try to answer these questions from your perspective. For mental health professionals, has it been in patient or out patient basis? Or in an institution or out, whether it's prison or any other. What modality have you found or would find most useful and why? That is if you were - even as a non mental health professional, if you were to work or if you intend to work or you have worked with people with that trauma, what do you think is the best set up? Is this the only victim survivor population you have worked with professionally? And our very last question in this phase. Have you ever been trained to work with victim survivors of trauma? If you have, was it in school or on the job? And if you were trained, what have you found to be the crucial element of your training? Without which you will not feel prepared to do the job. As it's easier for you to figure out, your relationship to the trauma is the most important element in training in my perspective.

Now we will move to the sharing phase. You can take a deep breath and come back to us. So everybody sees everybody, so you don't talk to people's backs. This is getting to be much nicer. There's a free chair here for anybody who looks at backs. There's a chair here. And let's - you're very far away, come closer. Come join us, don't be outsiders. And this phase of our work, conceptually I call processing event counter transference, which I'll explain to you, it sounds technical, it's not that technical. For those of you who are not in the mental health professions. Let's make a deal that anything you don't understand, you ask me immediately, okay. Because I don't want you to leave without getting everything you can. And I'll do the same with you. We have plenty of microphones all over the place, so each one of you can speak to it so everybody hears.

Let me just explain what I mean by event counter transference quickly and then we'll get into the sharing. In my research and that's where we call it processing the conspiracy of silence. Let me share with you a little bit how I've got into this field because you are going to share yours and you should know some about me. When I was a doctoral student in psychology, I actually chose to do my dissertation on the psychology of hope. And I interviewed many many people. I was also teaching at a university at the time and my students interviewed people in the thousand and the idea was to explore the internal experience of hope, okay. It was an experiential study of hope. You see that I believe in experiential things as the best mode of learning. And what we tried to explore is from the minimal challenge to hope, like missing a bus. Or the seemingly minimal challenge to hope because missing a bus if you have a job interview could be a real trauma, you know, so we learn that it's only seemingly that we think things are of small proportions. That's one of the things we learn.

But from the minimal to the most oppressive challenge to hope and in those extremes we were interviewing at the time, this is in the '60's okay, it's 30 years ago, it's hard to believe. We were interviewing holocaust survivors, POW's, prisoners of war. Those people who, again seemingly their hopes were totally challenged, okay. And I forgot a major category which was the terminally ill and their families. You remember, this is 30 years ago, none of this was talked about, remember. Those of you who will look at my age, you remember, people didn't talk about "bad things". Life was supposed to be pleasant. Well, and people told me, in fact when I would tell, they'll say well survivors don't talk. They

don't want to talk. Well my experience was rather different. I took upon myself the tough extremes, I didn't want my students to deal with that. It turned out to be a wonderful project because, for example, disabled people took upon themselves to interview these disabled people so all my students got very involved in different aspects. Well, it was when I talked to holocaust survivors that people told me, don't talk to anybody. But actually they wouldn't stop talking. I'd come to their homes. I believe in working with people in their own homes. I'd come to their homes, thinking for an hour and I'd end up staying overnight. They couldn't stop talking. It was as if they'd been waiting all these years to talk. And in fact, totally uniformly, they said to me that nobody would listen. And in fact, even if people sort of tried to listen, they wouldn't understand. And they sort of concluded to themselves, it's a phrase that I heard so many times I can't tell you, that the only people who can understand me are people who went through the same experience. I'm sure I can see some of you nodding your heads. You know, through my career, you know the more work I've done and the more people like you I've met, you know it seems like we talk the same language almost, you know, it's quite amazing. Even if the experiences are vastly different. And what hurt me the most at the time, what got me into total outrage - sorry, I talk with my hands, that's what happened. I was an idealistic graduate student, I believed in the ideals of the profession, helping people and I learned that listening is the most important aspect. But here survivors of, then the worst atrocities that human beings inflicted on others, were telling me that nobody would listen. And in fact, even worse to me that when they went to therapy for any reasons, no necessarily related to the holocaust, in fact they didn't even know, as many of you know, they didn't even know that having been through that had any effects on them. They didn't know that there was a connection. But they told me that even those who went to therapy found that therapy as well wouldn't listen. Now to me that was, I was really hurt, right. I mean these were - this was my profession. I was outraged. And this is because you see the difference between just anyone in society listening to the hurt of others. That makes us good human beings, that's what kindness is about, right. Moral kindness.

But in addition to moral kindness, when we are professionals, we have a contractual obligation to listen, don't we? When we don't listen we cannot help, we cannot understand, we cannot intervene in a meaningful or helpful way. So in effect, when, as professionals we don't listen, we betray our professional contract, not only our moral or societal contract. That got me totally outraged and what does a young scientist do with outrage, research. So I changed my dissertation from the psychology of hope, I came back to it later on when I did everything else first to the conspiracy of silence. It was trying to learn, to try to understand what is that about.

And at the time, I interviewed all therapists I heard about around the world, in depth, to ask their understanding as to how come this phenomenon happened. What happens to you when you don't listen? What happens inside? Right. What leads you to not listen, to not being able to listen because it's not a moral issue only? I very quickly understood that, gee, it's real hard to listen. Right. So it was not only that. It wasn't like you're bad people, try to explain to me what badness is happening to you. But how does it happen inside that you start listening, right. What do you do to shut the person up really, right? Like do you change subjects? All kinds of strategy, what happens. All of these people were very highly trained people with experience from five to forty years in the profession. Those of you who are mental health professionals will know the word psycho analytically trained, they went through own training analysis supposedly, they were trained at looking at themselves, right, at introspecting. So I chose to study them because I figured they would be the most skilful at looking at themselves and understanding what's happening to them inside and help me understand, right, how they participate in the conspiracy of silence and that I believed also that that would shed light on the general conspiracy of silence, right, between survivors and society and children of survivors in society at large. It took a long time and I learned a great deal. I will share with you this afternoon what I have learned in a more systematic way than telling you the story. One of the findings - I found 49 ways in which therapists manage not to listen. We are good at it. And I will share them with you later and also it's been published so - and we have copies so I'm sure that Hlengiwe can help make copies for people who are interested in that research. If I volunteer you wrongly - tell me, or you make copies - in other ways. Confronting the unimaginable, but I need it. I need it now, afterwards. But above and beyond finding that those 49 ways or what we call technically counter transference reactions. I found something else that was very very illuminating, really like, blew my mind so to speak. And that was that people shut their minds off, not necessarily to this particular person that sat in front of them telling the story but their reactions, those reactions, right of dissociating, pushing the things that you are listening away, that the reactions were not so much the person or the persons behaviour as is the original definition of counter transferring. How many of you know what counter transference means? Let me define it. Counter transference was a term coined by Freud, he coined most of the terms in psycho-analysis.

It started really from his concept of transference. Now transference is the ways that the patient or the client, right, relates

to the therapist, okay. Now what Freud said is, that person, and it doesn't only, it's not only in the therapeutic situation, okay, it's the way we relate to people, that is not based on the reality of the situation now or on the rational, whatever that means, situation now. But, that those reactions are unconscious, right, they come from our unconscious, they started or they were decided by us in our childhood towards people in our childhood, significant people, primarily our parents, our siblings etc., our caretakers, right, our significant others that we call them. So really what it means is to relate to a person in the here and now, like today as if we were in the then and there and with another person. So, for example, I can relate to you as if you were my mother or my father or my brother in our childhood so it would mean that I am inappropriate today, wouldn't it? Well, counter transference or not so much necessarily inappropriate but I'll sort of like be off, you know, I'll be in another place, in another time with another person.

Now, counter transference is the therapists reaction to the patient transferences okay, the therapist is, by the way a human being for anybody who doesn't know and the therapists have the same human tendencies, right. They behave also sometimes as if they were children, with their own parents or sisters or brothers, in another time. But counter transference supposedly originally theoretically made that it was those reactions of the therapist to the transferences of the patient, got it? Okay, I hope you did, it's a little, you know, abstract but I think if we took, if we did examples right now, you'd know exactly what I mean, right.

How many of you have said you know I'm not your mother, stop talking to me like a father, you know. So it's common sense really, except when you put it in technical terms. Okay, so I had those definitions. But when I did the research what I found was that really the therapists were not responding to the persons but the response of not listening was to the story, to the trauma story, okay. So the bad news was that the therapist really neglected the unique individual sitting in front of them. The good news was that I found a way to help train therapists, not at the expense of the patient but ahead of time. What we did this morning, right, is a result of many years of supervision and training. We have tried to find a way for you, for any therapist, but of course it's not only therapists, right to do, to process what I then called event counter transference because if the reaction is to the event, not to the person, is it? It's to the story of the event, it's to the story of the trauma. Are you with me, do you understand what I'm saying? And I devised this, of course we can improve on it, anybody who has suggestions, I continuously try to improve. I found this to be a very good way to confront our own reactions, right, and to process them to the trauma, prior to going and working with somebody and not listening to them. And what we've done this morning really is try to come in touch with how each one of us, and by the way I do this very often. Every time I'm stuck, every time I find myself, my mind is wandering or I can't stand hearing or at an impasse, I do this exercise with myself. It opens you up. One of my students said it's like an inner shower, you know, you clean up inside. You open all the veins inside again to listen, you open the ears or the heart or the head, wherever it is that you say, please, I don't want to hear this, this is too much for me etc. And of course the assumption is that our inability to listen or our not listening is contingent on who we are, at any particular point in time. In fact, if we did the same exercise, Friday afternoon, after our workshop, you'll see that you respond differently. You'll write differently, you'll draw differently. You may choose another trauma. Okay.

So this is not where - you may be stuck on this one today but at different times you may choose something else and respond to it differently. So this is where the training exercise is at now. We called it today, right, the conspiracy of silence and of course the conspiracy of silence, as I mentioned exists between survivors in society, it's exists within the survivors' families as we'll discuss tomorrow and what we began with is the internal or psychological conspiracy of silence, right, between you and yourself, within ourselves. The next phase is sharing with each other.

Just to explain before I open the floor to all of you so that you are with me on this, the way I chose the sequence to do it, right, from the drawing to the words, to then place it in the memory, right, and then place it in inter personal relationship between you and others, right, and then inside between you and yourself, right, and then to analyse the different dimensions, how the different dimensions, the identity dimensions effect our relationship to the trauma, right. And only the last was your professional self. Did you follow that?

In some ways, what I've done, what we've done this morning was to traumatise you, isn't it? That is to re-live through a trauma. And I know, I've seen, you know, some of you were in pain and when I do that of course we are touching on painful areas of ourself. But you see, so I apologise for that. And of course, the idea here for training rather than to inflict harm and we are sharing and we are in a group, so we'll be able to see how to work through that. But of course if you think of yourself in a clinical situation or as a care giver of any kind, that is what the patient's story does to you,

doesn't it? It traumatises you, whether you know it or not. He or she described events so you see them, right, that's the imagery. You are listening to words, you are seeing by the reactions, right. So isn't it better to do it this way rather than to sit with a patient and not be able to listen? And it makes the point indeed, that trauma work is painful. And when we come to the professional issues of course a lot of us have chosen trauma work because we were traumatised. In some ways having been traumatised trained us the best way to work with trauma. In some other ways it crippled us from working unless we integrate our trauma, right, unless we know what to do with it internally, we can't really help anybody else. We can say what I call me too, me too, me too, me too. I call it the "me too" phase. But that's just the beginning of things, right, to really integrate trauma, there's a lot more involved. So let's now do it together. How about sharing.

There is no particular order here so, go ahead. I see you sizing up each other here. That's exactly what trauma victims do when they come to therapy, they first size you up. Okay, so let's size each other first. So that's the part of the conspiracy of silence from the point of view of the sharer, right. You're not speaking. You want to talk about why you're not speaking first? Come on.

SPEAKER 1: There are two things, maybe there's a

DR DANIEL: I think if you say at least your first name, you all know my name so it's unfair. Go ahead.

DOUGLAS: I'm Douglas. Maybe there are two reasons. One is, there's a vulnerability about it, I don't know half the people, they don't know me. There's a couple of people I may know and then I think in a big group it's always very difficult to know that you're safe and you're secure and there's a third reason, I feel that my personal trauma is perhaps a lot less significant than other peoples' trauma.

DR DANIEL: Thanks. Anybody, go ahead, speak to the mike. The mikes are all over the place so just grab them.

MS MANGELE MKWASA: I think one of the reasons is that having re-experienced and re-lived the trauma just a few minutes ago, you get into a state where you feel you want to protect yourself from further vulnerability, you know, it's still too painful to start sharing it and you don't want to be overcome by the feelings, especially in a group of this size. So in a way it's protective, that's the way.

JOHANNA: Most of my trauma is sort of secondary trauma but that doesn't make it any less traumatic, I think. But I think what also happens if you see, I'm a psychologist so I see a lot of trauma. What happens is that somehow, I find it goes to a very deep place and to drag it out from there and the conspiracy of silence is not only between the client and the helper but also between the helper and their environment. So I've become used to not talking about it, that it's actually gone into a very deep place and I don't know if I can or want to get it out.

GEOFF: I think, aside from the purely psychological issues that are going on here, this particular context, political context, we come from a history of silence essentially. We come from a history of several decades, probably more than that where people have not been able to express themselves publicly, where people have not felt safe. So I think there's a sort of a cloud hanging over this whole gathering which derives from the sort of political background from which we all come and which I think has had an incredible influence on South Africans in general, of all persuasions, of all colours, of all ethnic groups, so the psychological aspects are not operating by themselves here. There is this tremendous cloud of denial. I mean, whites, for decades in order to get up in the morning and look themselves in the mirror had to deny a lot of the reality around them just to kind of get through the day without acknowledging what was going on around them or the basis of the lives and the same applies on the black side and I think that's a big factor that operates here as well. And I don't know how one takes that into account but I have that feeling that that's a strong element here.

DR DANIEL: That's just remember that psychology as a psychological aspect is never in isolation, it's always related to the rest of the dimensions of the person. That's why we went through all of those dimensions, right. Absolutely.

MS MKHIZE: Well, personally I'm quiet because somehow the exercise scared me. I don't know why. I was prepared. I saw yesterday the - everything, I knew in my mind that this is how you're going to start but I just got scared. When you said we should write, I noted I just found myself saying nothing. There were things which came, experiences which came to my mind but I just said nothing and I sort of went on to say, it's unnecessary for people to suffer but somehow

my mind just refused to articulate a specific traumatic experience but they were there in my mind, so my silence is out of fear, which I can't explain.

HEATHER: I think one of the aspects to my conspiracy of silence with the exercise in the beginning actually going through it was that, just to go back to areas of pain in my life and what if I burst out into uncontrollable sobs while we were doing it and how would I contain myself and would it be stupid because everyone else looked so together while doing it. So I think that was something that added to the conspiracy of silence.

PATRICK: I think that to me that my silence comes from a deep feeling of denial that though these things happened, I don't really want to talk about them. I don't want to face my past. I want to shut out a lot of things, you know. From myself and of course for the group too, I mean I don't want the group, you know, to even to know about those areas that I'm not quite comfortable about.

DR DANIEL: Why?

PATRICK: I don't know, it's that denial that I'm talking about.

DR DANIEL: Could you ask yourselves what your fantasy about ... we've heard some it, you know the fear that if I start crying, it will be forever, if I start screaming, you know, this room will be shattered or the more, as I call it the polite stuff, you know, being afraid and people will think I'm stupid or this or that. Let's try to put that away at least because that's the silly stuff, right. You know, it's like, people will think I'm stupid, doesn't quite belong in this discussion because there's nothing that can be stupid here. Could you have other fantasies about what will happen if you shared.

PATRICK: I don't really know how others will receive my story.

DR DANIEL: How do

PATRICK: Well they may say, well this is stupid.

DR DANIEL: Is this a South African thing, to call everything stupid?

PATRICK: Ya, and you see the other thing is this that we really come- it is true what somebody said, you know, what Geoff said, we really come from a tradition, I mean when I grew up, I mean I would be doing something perhaps naughty or something like that and a lot of us come from a tradition where you know, if you were given a slap by your mother or something like that, the next thing is "shut up", you have your tears running down, then you have to shut up, right. And then secondly, it's also from, I mean my Dad used to say, okay, you are a man, it's going to be okay, you know, sort of thing, you know. We don't talk about these things, okay.

DR DANIEL: Thank you. You see, already we have a social dimension. This stupid business. We have the transference dimension. My mother said that and therefore, she's still here in the room doing that. All your mothers are here and your fathers. And all the political figures and the oppression and apartheid is in the room. And rightly so. See silence is a vehicle of oppression, isn't it? and it's in the room with us. The oppression is still in the room with us. We are still keeping it going. We are keeping the oppression here in this room with us. So even though apartheid or whatever other trauma you chose is over, we are keeping it up. Very important, that's how we hang on. So while we say we are afraid of something, that something is .. we keep with us. And that's why, for example when we talk and we talk about treatment throughout, right, the three days. But that's how we perpetuate the trauma, okay. So please keep that in mind. That actually everything you've said, perpetuates the trauma. Silence is an integral part of the trauma. Particularly, the trauma that many of you have experienced, okay. So let's just be aware of that and that we are still getting into that really. Please ...

MS KOSI: My name is Kosi. Suffering in silence, it's terrible. When I wanted to tell about the torture I received. It was that being the victim, those who tortured me would laugh at me and feel so big that they managed to destroy me. Now half the time I can't just express myself because I felt so humiliated, especially when at one stage I had a stroke and a heart attack and I was - even when I was released I depended on my people and there are quite a lot of things which comes to my mind whenever and I can't understand why a human being can go that far, especially that I was detained

with a baby of two years and I was tortured in front of her.

DR DANIEL: Have you talked to people about it? You're saying the silence is torture itself, right? That the suffering in silence is terrible. Have you shared? What is your experience of that?

MS KOSI: I do share. I have been sharing it for the last fifteen years. When I became better. I had to learn to walk and talk. I had to share it with my husband who also underwent the same thing but up to, to date, my daughter, she suffers from that trauma because I only met her when she was three years old. Every time, every year, between October and November even at school, she suffers a lot, it's psychological because she can't explain why.

DR DANIEL: What happened between October and November?

MS KOSI: It is when I was detained with her and they took her away from me. After four days.

DR DANIEL: Go ahead.

MS KOSI: Excuse me. It is another thing again is that my husband was also detained. The whole family was sort of destroyed. Every now and then, it becomes too much and I feel

DR DANIEL: How?

MS KOSI: Especially when - seeing that I'm back home now after being in exile all this time. I look at everybody, especially white people, although I haven't been able to reconcile myself to the whole thing, you know, whenever, just as one would, and I feel so terrible about it.

DR DANIEL: Reconcile yourself to what, exactly?

MS KOSI: That everything is over. That apartheid is dead or something like that.

DR DANIEL: Can you say more about that?

KOSI: What worries me is that why so many atrocities were committed and that today everything is over and most people behave as if nothing has happened.

DR DANIEL: I'm wondering what the rest of you feel about what we just heard. ...(Inaudible)

UNKNOWN: I just had an automatic response to what I shared. There was just an automatic response which maybe it's important to share. The sharing we've just had for some of us who hear people time and again I find myself just getting over involved in what has been shared.

DR DANIEL: What is over involved?

UNKNOWN: Somehow in my mind, getting into the ...(inaudible), struggling with the issues that he is raising.

DR DANIEL: And how do you feel?

UNKNOWN: Feeling, getting angry and just - I was sharing about a dream I had recently that I found myself being the only one who had been reconciled and the whole country has reconciled ...(inaudible).

DR DANIEL: It looks like a lot of people find that funny. How many of you think that the whole country is reconciled? Look around will you please. Please turn and look around. If anybody raised their hand. It's very important, isn't it? That each one of you maybe walking around thinking that everybody else has reconciled but you. And that's part of what the conspiracy of silence does. It keeps you lonely. It keeps you lonely and isolated. I don't think you're the only one who felt your anger. Go ahead please.

MR KHUMALO: When you say, it keeps you lonely. Maybe I don't understand you or our interpretation is not the

same. Why I'm saying this is because, a person who have been traumatised, he's no more at easy with the world and then he even fail to trust another human being and then

DR DANIEL: Which is also part of the loneliness and perpetuates the conspiracy of silence. You're totally right.

MR KHUMALO: Okay. And then the lady was talking about something which happened something like fifteen years back. But talking about it, it's so fresh, it's like something which happened yesterday.

DR DANIEL: That's correct. When we don't integrate the trauma it keeps with us as if it happened yesterday or today. It's absolutely right. Those areas of ourselves that we have not healed. That we have not integrated, feel to us as if they're still with us, totally fresh, it is exactly what you said.

MR KHUMALO: Yes. We do not. Let me say personally. I do want to do away with them but it's so difficult. And then I have tried the best and the means, I have tried several times to deal with the trauma.

DR DANIEL: How?

MR KHUMALO: I'm still under a clinical psychology.

DR DANIEL: Wonderful.

MR KHUMALO: It's more than six years now. And I have tried other means too.

DR DANIEL: Like?

MR KHUMALO: A group counselling. Where we talk about our past. But what happens is this, you might feel at ease after talking but when you leave the place. It comes back again. Starts afresh. And then I have read some of the books, like Mans Search for Meaning and the other one by Primo Levy. At the end Primo Levy, end of committing society. And I said to myself, even a person of his kind, he committed society, what about me. Those are the questions which still bothers me. Thank you.

DR DANIEL: A line of the questions that you are bringing up, we will deal with throughout the three days, okay. So don't feel that if we don't give answers immediately, we won't confront them, we absolutely will. And if we don't, you force me to, okay? I just want to say, I'm very moved that you have read Mans Search for Meaning and ...(inaudible) Levy's book. Makes me feel closer to you. I knew both of them. Both Victor Frankel and Primo Levy. Victor Frankel just died two weeks ago. At a very ripe old age. Go ahead.

MR SONTORI: I'm from a farm. One other thing is lack of confidence and self esteem. Ya, the reason why I'm saying that, this, it is because, particularly on the black side, the past regime made us to believe, actually we were labelled, you'll hear words like stupid kaffir. And then the person who is saying that is the person who is having an authority. Now having said that, I mean, I understand myself as a black person that I have nothing maybe to say or anything that I'm doing it could not be taken into consideration because of, you know, such word and the way we were made to believe. The way we were labelled. Then that actually evolved something which we called inferiority complex. Then in most cases it kept me for quite a long time to be silenced. Thank you very much.

DR DANIEL: And as long as you keep those voices with you and as long as you let them keep you down, you are maintaining them. You see what I'm saying. We are in control of what happens inside ourselves, nobody else is. Sometimes because of terrible conditions, such as apartheid or other oppressive conditions, right, or because we are helpless as little children. As little children we are dependant and helpless. We can't go fetch food if we are hungry. Or other things. Then those voices keep us down, right. They have power over us and we internalise those voices, they become part of who we are. So you no longer say, well, this person said that to me. As he was listening too. Does he really have the authority or just because he is white, you see, what makes for an authority, you see, that condition you don't question. So you take in those voices and they sit there and keep you down and as long as we maintain those voices inside and keep giving them the power, they still do. But part of why we did the exercise between you and yourself, is to say that whatever is inside, is up to you. It's easy to say, I know, it's harder to really believe it and really

work like that and live like that. But try to keep that in mind. And there's always the question about every trauma. Why is it that we hold onto it too? And we will touch upon that throughout these three days because we also hang onto the traumas. And it serves us, it serves our self esteem sometimes to hang onto the trauma. We'll talk about that. This is very serious and complicated. Go ahead please Geoff.

MS NONGYEBO: The exercise that we have gone through this morning brought back some kind of memories that I never thought are still with me today. As a teenager in the '76, I lost a boyfriend. Due to cultural kind of situation I couldn't share this with my parents or my grandmother. I shared a lot with my friends. But affirming this conspiracy of silence, looking back at my experience it does come back in one way or another. Because as a student I found myself writing things that were my deep pain and some of which I couldn't defend, when I had to account why you wrote this kind of essay, you know, somewhere along the line I will write how I feel about Afrikaans, which contributed to this to a point where I lost this person. So I want to affirm that some cultural aspect does inhibit, does contribute towards this conspiracy of silence. But I think with me, much as I didn't talk much about it as I was growing up but I was somehow motivated to do a lot of things. When I look back through this experience that we have done, I think a lot of it I could attribute to that kind of silence I kept with myself.

MR DAWETI: I would like to ask, in your field of study on an international level if there is any indication that the people that were oppressive to other people in America against the Indians, in Australia against the Aborigines, and in Europe in the days of slavery at the early turn of the century, in Germany recently with the second world war against the Jews, having gone through the activities and the evil activities that were perpetrated against whomsoever, whether it was Jewish people or whether it was Africans or whether it was the Indians and so on and so forth and having made peace with themselves and I'm talking specifically the Germans against the Jews which is a current thing, have the German people, as a nation, as a society come to terms with their evil activities of the holocaust to the extent that those terms of reconciliation have been accepted by the German people at large, not just the individual Adolf Hitler and company but the society, the people, the ordinary people and I ask this because the feeling that is general here in South Africa is that perhaps the reconciliation is being done on a one sided basis by people who've been victims who have suffered a lot of personal and a lot of societal and family and national losses and values to the point where their lives are destroyed without any hope of bringing it back and the feeling is that the people who were the oppressors, largely the Afrikaners primarily couldn't give a damn even today as we speak as a society, as a nation. They don't see why they should give an allegiance to the new South Africa and it's cause and all that it stands for, regardless of the fact that they also benefit because in retrospect they also were freed from the psychological oppression that that obtained. So that therefore, the situation at hand now is that you will find at various Truth and Reconciliation Hearings throughout the country, you will find various individuals who'll own up and say yes, I was a bad policeman, yes, I did this, yes, I did that, I'm terribly sorry, please forgive me. But if you go beyond that, in the work places currently, you will find that ordinary Afrikaans people, ordinary English speaking South Africans basically couldn't give a damn. Their attitude is such that, I don't owe you anything, this is my life and what happened, happened. Therefore on a National basis, how can your experience draw these people into a situation where the African people who have borne the brunt of all the suffering can see on a National level that the white people are now humble. They now see themselves as African, in Africa and they now see themselves as part of the solution to a humble co-existence and they do not have an arrogant attitude that says, "I have nothing to give to these people and/or, I have nothing to kind of pay for the past and basically what happened, happened and c'est la vie". Thank you.

DR DANIEL: I'm a little torn because this is the part of the sharing, the exercise and you raised questions that really more belong, in terms of substance, to our discussions this afternoon and the next two days. But I don't want just to say ... I don't want to leave you totally hanging because I know that your question represents many other people. So just very briefly, the Germans have only recently begun to truly confront the past. There have been attempts here and there for years after the war, high school books did not include anything about the holocaust. History books I mean. Hitler was described as the person who built the ??????. So the conspiracy of silence existed throughout the world and most deeply in Germany, in fact there's a good book that came, by mental health professionals, that came out in the last few years, it's called - remind me tomorrow, I'll tell you okay, when we talk about the inter generational transmission of trauma we will touch upon it. In fact my next book that's coming out in three months or so is called, International Hand Book of Multi Generational Legacies of Trauma and it covers thirty two different societies, different societies that underwent similar trauma. So, and there are many complex issues that come up. I don't even want to say answers. But I think if you expect, I think there's a way in which the word reconciliation took on a life of it's own here. Time for tea.

We've discussed this a little bit in the last few days, you see, so what I said is the word reconciliation somehow took on an image of it's own. In fact we can do our exercise on the word reconciliation for you to draw, what do you think reconciliation means. Because I'm sure that half this room means totally different things than the other half when you say reconciliation. It has a life of it's own. But it also has a magic in a sense that's really false. Somehow you think and I think that's what is your name again, remind me?

MS KOSI: Kosi.

DR DANIEL: What Kosi said, you know, everybody is reconciled but I don't feel reconciled. I think she spoke very well. Reconciliation is a process, it's not an outcome. Reconciliation is not a fact, it's a process that we keep working at. Okay, please remember that. Fifty years after World War 2, we are still coming up with new findings about what the Germans did to the Jewish people and what others did as well. So if your expectation, which is totally understandable, right, let's be over with, it was terrible, I want to start a new life and to do a good life etc. It's very understandable the wish, but it's - as a wish it's understandable. As a process it gets you into trouble because you have to respect the process of healing. You know I often say to the people I work with, you know I have a lot of clients in my house, I need like, live things around and I always say, you know, if you beat up this plant to grow faster, what will happen to it, it will die. When you raise plants you have the respect to take the time to grow, to give the right kind of water, the right kind - right, sunshine, you place it the right way. You have to have the same respect for the growth of you and of your country and there are many elements involved in the process. We'll talk about it, okay. But don't get yourself stuck saying, well this reconciliation has to be now, it can't.

MR DAWETI: Inaudible

DR DANIEL: We've talked about that. See, you want a quick answer. What I can say to you is, with goodwill and with hard work, there is hope. That's really your bottom line question, is there hope out of this? And if not in one generation then in the next. People try a whole lot of things and, but as long as you maintain the conspiracy of silence there'll be no movement. For example, we have groups of children of Nazis and children of survivors. In fact, one of the people ... (inaudible) who started it, about 15 years ago, only 15 years ago, 35 years later, came to this country and in fact he's trying to create something similar here. Okay, so, but again, it's about talking to each other. It's about sharing with each other and it's about confronting all the pain and the mourning that both have to go through, okay. Drink tea and come back.

MEETING ADJOURNS

ON RESUMPTION

DR DANIEL: - view we're sharing, during the break I saw that and so I think we deprived the group as a whole from the sharing that was going on. During the break, I forgot to tell you not to discuss it during the breaks, it's my fault but I think it's also, I sort of figured you wanted to do that anyhow. So would you just share with us some of what you've shared with each other outside so we will all be wiser for it because the idea of sharing everything with the group is so that everybody learns from everyone else, right. So please whatever it is, your thoughts during the break and things you wanted to add to us please, so everybody can learn. Go ahead Geoff.

GEOFF: I just wanted to say something which sprang from what two people have said, that was Kosi, earlier on and then somebody back here. It seems that if one talks

DR DANIEL: May I suggest that you repeat your names because I don't want this room to be somebody. So, what was your name?

MR DAWETI: Vusele.

GEOFF: Vusele and Kosi. It seems that in any trauma situation, healing can take place possibly in two different ways or both, possibly they both have to happen. One is alone, with oneself or sharing with other people. The other one is somehow with the perpetrator. And I think it touches on a very important issue which Kosi raised some time ago about the difficulty of understanding that people could have done something like that to her and this incredible sort of puzzle

in one's mind about how could people behave like this and most, if one looks certainly at the Jewish religion or most religions in fact would say that reconciliation can only take place truly when the perpetrator comes to the victim in some way and there's an acknowledgement, whatever form it takes and a recognition that something was done here which was horrific or whatever it was. And I think, something that disturbs me tremendously and I get the sense that it's very clear amongst the people here, people have referred to it. There's a, there isn't a - that reconciliation in this country is a one-sided process. There's the sense in this country that it's a one-sided process. The white people of this country have not answered in kind and I can certainly confirm that around the dinner tables where I sit, you know, generally there's a feeling, oh, come on, let's just get on with life, what's done is done, the past is the past. There isn't even a recognition that something horrific was done or that people have some sort of personal responsibility here. So I don't know what I'm trying to - I'm not trying to say anything specific really but the role of the perpetrator in the process of healing, to me seems crucial and until somebody can look you in the eye and say, you know, I did this horrific thing and I suppose what I'm trying to ask is in the absence of that, what are the possibilities for healing. In the absence of the perpetrators in some way coming forward with an acknowledgement of what had happened with some reaching out of the hand. What are the possibilities of healing and I suppose the Jewish experience, to some extent, provides some illustrations because the German people as a whole did not, as you pointed out for 35 years or more come forward with that, in any grand sense but it's complex, so the point I'm just asking or raising really, what is the role of the perpetrator, what is the necessary role of the perpetrator in the process of healing?

DR DANIEL: Friday, we will talk about restitution, reparation, rehabilitation and we will touch upon those issues directly okay, so I don't want to jump the gun and I don't want, as I said to create the impression that there's anything easy about this. There isn't. The German people, while they didn't confront, in a full way what they have done, they did pay a great deal of reparations to the Jewish people and the Jewish State, now it's true, it was the allies agreement, the master plan, it was not the Germans willing, saying please take to feel better. But the Germans concurred. Perhaps at the beginning because they had no choice and later I think they wanted to atone in some ways. I think they did something else. They created one of the strongest democracies in the world. So one thing is - you see I get upset when I talk about that. So, as you see already, there are two different things, right, one is the reparation agreements and changing their own country to a democracy and they keep to it extremely sensitively and very responsibly. They are extremely sensitive to any signs of the return, any neo nazi signs or any right signs of oppression, new oppressions. I don't want to make it sound like they've done the job, they haven't, these are just different attempts at tackling it. For years I used to say to them and to others that the Jews, we cannot do the whole integration as long as the Germans don't explain to us the holocaust. We cannot explain it, they did it. So when you ask about the perpetrator, you're right. The victims do not get it unless they have lived with the perpetrators long enough as some of you have and you do get it because you know them. So as long as the Germans don't explain to us how they gave rise to Nazis and did what they did, the holocaust would not be understandable.

I totally agree then with Geoff that the explanation has to come from the perpetrator and the full understanding of the effect must be mutual. It's a long process guys, see, if I'm giving you any message is, don't expect it to happen in a day. How long was apartheid?

AUDIENCE: More than fifty years.

DR DANIEL: More than fifty years, well, three hundred years. I mean the blacks in America say, you know, slavery was 400 years. What do you expect in two years to get over it? Start to become more compassionate and more kind with yourself. Just as you would be with that plant, that I said before. You have to take your time do it right. And it won't be easy. And it's - and don't for a moment think that because the perpetrator perpetrated, the perpetrator has an easy understanding. They have to learn themselves a whole lot to truly understand how they did, what they did, how they could. Right, you said, how could they, right? I am absolutely certain that they couldn't explain it easily. So let's keep that you know, as an open question for us to keep asking, okay. Did I answer any of your questions? So, yes, Kosi, speak to the mike. Not close, just

KOSI: I don't know, it's just a thought that it was a bit better in a way between the Germans and the Jews that they didn't remain in Germany. They have got a State now, they are very far from these people. I am here, they are here, for ever and ever. So everyday, just like the other time, I got very ill when I came back here. I was admitted in hospital. My heart works one side and the other side and I had pneumonia, I was critically ill and then the day I was discharged, my

husband came for me. We were walking slowly towards the bus stop. Suddenly there were cars moving the same way where we were getting to a bus stop.

One time there was a Volkswagen, there was such a big bang and I went down and my husband kept going, he said mm, ... (inaudible) also. So, and then I heard something passing next to my head where I was. If I didn't do this, only to discover that it was a bullet which struck a wall and then when I looked back only to find that there is nobody behind us and there was this car moving slowly and there was such laughter and there was the gun pointing out of the window. They were laughing at us the way I got a shock. Now all these things because I'm here and these people are here. They haven't changed. I mean, the difference is just there that at least the Jews went back to Israel or whatever, whoever Jew is still in Germany, it became better and these people

DR DANIEL: Victims groups always do that, everybody else is better, you know. You are the only one and the one who suffers most and in a personal sense and you make sense, it's true, your suffering is totally unique and it's yours and because that's the suffering you suffer, it looks much bigger than anybody else's. So it's perfectly understandable. I will spend time in those kind of competitions, they just make you feel worse really, right.

But, let me correct some of your impressions, well, bottom line, you are right in effect, the Jews couldn't find, couldn't find a place in Europe that was the place that they were murdered and everyone betrayed them. So it's not that they had this wonderful opportunity, you know, nobody wanted them anyhow. But they did find their own land. There was Jews who did remain in Europe though and some remained in Germany. You are right in the long term that in effect when people were compared in different countries, those who remained in Germany which was the country of the perpetrators suffered more, longer term. So I appreciate very much what you're saying. However there are other peoples who are in their own lands. Your struggle is different, your struggle is to have a mutual land together, right. So it's a different struggle, it's not better or worse. It's a different struggle and in that you are more similar for example to the blacks in the United States, right. Who after slavery had to create mutual ways of living together. And to other countries with internal strife, that tried to come to terms with living together. It's funny for me that you all laughed, you know, some of you laughed when you said that, you know, it would be wonderful just to get rid of the problem, wouldn't it? It's one ... (inaudible), you know, if we only separate it, we won't have this problem. Easy solutions, I have news for ya, doesn't work really. If you have any idea that because Jews left Europe or Germany, got rid of their sense of victimisation or of their dramatic past, or didn't have to struggle with a traumatic past and attempt to integrate it, don't have any such illusions. I work with people who struggle on a daily basis with that and not only them but their children and their grandchildren. So, yes, we are dealing with different fantasies as to how easy, fix, you know, if we only left the country, if they only left the country, if we only - we wouldn't have to confront this, no, it's inside. And the real struggle is inside.

KOSI: If only they can reconcile with us, it seems as if it's one sided.

DR DANIEL: I understand your feeling and many survivors felt that for years of the holocaust, ya. It's not going to be easy and it's not going to be quick. See, so when you say, if only, and what I hear is, please fast. Doesn't happen that way, it simply doesn't. You see what - you were physically - if we broke a leg today. How long will you expect it to take to heal? What would you do about it? Come on, you know how to deal with a broken leg. Would you be able to run? Would you be able to dance, tonight, next week? It takes time. Will the pain go away right away, no. Can you put it in the closet and go dance with your other leg? See, try to be kinder. In a sense, when you say that, if they only just left, you know

Being a refugee is not easy either you know. Resettlement is not easy either. Moving to a country where you don't know the language, where you don't know the culture, that may not like you either, I'm talking about us, those people you envy. So keep all of that, please. You can put it on the table, I think it will work.

SPEAKER 2: My feeling is that what Kosi is highlighting for me is the fear and feeling of being betrayed and re-violated by the same people who have done it to you before. Resulting in secondary trauma that doesn't stop as long as you have the people around you and they continue to violate you even at the point where you open yourself to reconciliation, you feel betrayed time and again, again. I think that's even much more painful than the initial trauma and violation. I hear you highlighting the point as well that as long as people are here, as long as they are not prepared to reconcile, as long as they engage in the same activities they did last time, the victims will have this perpetual sadly of re-violating

... (inaudible)

DR DANIEL: I agree and I totally empathise with that. I still believe, I still believe, Kosi, I still believe that internal work must be done no matter what the outside does, okay. So please remember that and don't give that up because nobody will grow, do the job of growing for you. With or without them around. Nobody will do the job of growing for you. It's a very personal choice. It's a very internal one and I think it's very easy to fall because it was such a multi dimensional trauma, right. It touched on every dimension of life, didn't it? Right. Do you follow what I'm saying? It touched every aspect of life. It's so complex that it's easy to just try to put it all on one dimension on or another, you know, if, only on the political or only on the social or only on the individual. All of them have to be worked on, okay. And one doesn't replace the other. The political work does not replace the personal work or the family work or the community work, okay and the other way round too. And that I agree with you totally. The internal work does not replace the political change, the social change. All of them are necessary, okay. So let's keep that in mind. It's a very complex, very complex job we have. Life is complicated in general. Okay. So let's just not substitute one for the other, let's remember that the whole thing has to be taken care of and Friday you will see, I'll sort of share with you the system of incorporating all of these dimensions together. We'll sort of do it as a process as we're doing it. Please, what is your name? Do you have one of those, ya?

EDDIE: In 1985, on a project that was called "Confronting the Past in Justice", ten South Africans, across the spectrum of South African society, predominantly

DR DANIEL: It's wonderful to see how much interaction is going on here. Who is here that spoke to me at lunch and I made him promise that he will, that's what I get, I get promises and then the person doesn't come. Well, were you the one? No. Okay, why won't we continue?

SPEAKER 3: I just want to know if there is any Jew member is at the house? If there are, I want to know whether there are Jews who benefited out of what happened during the holocaust and concentration camp.

DR DANIEL: Benefited how?

SPEAKER 3: In this sense. You see our situation in South Africa is different. We are all oppressed. But out of the oppression, some economically managed to benefit out of it. Let's say, for an example, there was a police, his name, Mr Rama, what is his name now? The most known who kills the people. Mammasele. And then, we talk of reconciliation and the most of the victims, economically they are nowhere to be counted but in his pocket he's having more than R600 000.00 which he benefited during the negotiations. So it was an example of Mamasela. To some ordinary people in the past when we talk about apartheid, you are an enemy. Same black people and then let's come to the issue of school kids. They were always told that they should not be friends with such and such a people 'cause look what's happened to Mandela, he's in jail. You also want to rot in jail. So it divided us, this thing and then while some were suffering

DR DANIEL: You talking within the black community?

SPEAKER 3: Yes, in the black community. While some were in jail, some were in exile, some were carrying on with their education, life was normal for them. We came back home, those who never took part in the whole process, they are above now and then it brings so much division among the blacks because those who suffered are a joke today to some people because they went to exile, they went to jail but they came back still empty handed. But well, at times we do have to give a national a first priority but the situation here is more difficult which brings more painful to the victims because it's so painful for the victims to relate their stories to the people who don't know nothing about pain or suffering. And then if you relate your story to such a person, you won't repeat your story ten times, he will be tired of you. And he will avoid you wherever you want to relate your stories. I don't know whether you are with me. So the situation with the Jews, they were all persecuted, all, none. So we have two different situation here. I don't know whether you understand me.

DR DANIEL: I'm not sure. You're saying that part of your situation is that you had different factions and it's difficult to communicate between the different factions in your own community.

SPEAKER 3: I'm saying those who participated. And those who believed that, who believed in the white man. Who once said, you will never throw out the white government here, in this country. There are those people who used to

believe in that sense. So there are those who suffered, some lost breadwinners and then they are still neighbours with those who benefited out of apartheid. Today, those who suffered, they are a joke because there isn't much contribution to their families for what they have done or their children have done.

SPEAKER 4: I think here we'll come with a problem because now in South Africa people are pinpointing each other, saying that you benefited and you didn't benefit. According to my experience no - all the South Africans suffered during the apartheid system. Even those who never toyi- toyied or those who never went to exile or those whose families or one of the family member was not killed, was killed or not killed.

I'll make you an example, my father said to me last, we were just talking about the past and he said, you don't know my child the humiliation that we went through when we went to take the pass. He said to me they would go there and then one or - the males and then they were supposed to be naked and he said there were 30 year olds and the 15 year olds and the 30 year olds or it's a doctor or what, he'll put the injection. I don't know what the injection was on their bums and then they'll go and register and with their trousers, their pants on their hands and then the next thing they'll go and put on their pants and go somewhere else. And all that process was a humiliation for them and because he was black and he was a South African I don't think just because he never went to exile then nothing happened to him and according to my experience at schools, the tear gas, the education that we got, now I'm a black woman, I'm not driving a Porsche car, I'm not as, what word can I use, I'm not, I don't have everything that a white woman of my age has got because I'm black and this is what I always say when I go to places and I suffer, I say, just because I'm black, the past is still behind me, it's still following me, I'm suffering wherever I go and now when you say that nobody ever suffered I think you're getting it wrong in that sense because all South Africans, every South African suffered.

Now if you're saying that I will say Bishop Tutu took his kids to America, now it means he didn't suffer, his kids got a better education and we will be busy pinpointing at each other, saying you benefited because of one, two three. ... (inaudible) South Africans have suffered like the Jews.

SPEAKER 2: Thank you, but I wish to differ with you. I made an example with Mamasela. Now, let's say, to be fair and honest, why Mamasela can't take some of his money and give it to the poor. He made, if I can make an example, he made the kids to kill themselves. He gave them a booby trapped hand grenade so that immediately they took the pin out, it should just bomb immediately. And then some are crippled, as I said, he is earning something like 600 000 why can't he benefit for the future of those children. Like the whites, turning around, who benefited out of apartheid? Why can't they help us to take our kids to school. To show a remorse that really we are sorry about the situation. Because most people are saying, we didn't know. Some were bystanders. And then my own opinion, I hate bystanders more than the perpetrators, that's how I view things because there's nothing like people didn't know what was happening in the country, see. I'm sorry. We won't be the same. We are unique. So I won't change my standpoint. Thank you.

DR DANIEL: You didn't really need the answer about the Jewish people, right? Because what we are talking about is the situation here and how you feel. But you are right, it was different. We were all up for extermination and the people who had more strength were simply doing work until they couldn't any more and they were killed too. But I think, as I said before, there's something very interesting going on and it's all over the world, really. People are, it's not so much, the matter of pointing fingers, it's more competing for the place or maybe trying to find the place, okay in the big picture of things. Where do I stand in this? So you suffered less, you suffered more, you know. You find that between the sexual abuse survivors and the battered wives and you find that between different groups and within the groups. And I think part of the issue is that there is so much anger that, there's so much anger on one hand and the perpetrators, so to speak are not there to be angry at. So some of the anger goes inside within the community against each other within families.

And that really leads me to that comment at lunch that - I can't find him - he made a good point and then he left. He spoke about what does reconciliation really mean and the way he was speaking about reconciliation, does it mean really that we just close the door on all these feelings that are going on. And I think what is going on is a lot of rancour in part and I think we should attend to it. But tomorrow, I promise you I'll quote you "unknown" who is a holocaust survivor about bystanders. Go ahead.

KOSI: I just wanted to share with you how it came about that I am, this situation today. More specially to try and meet

brother Eddie over there. When I was detained, it wasn't the first time. '77 I was detained with a 4 year old when so many things happened but, 1981 when I was detained, atrocities were taking another form. It was worse than before. At first I reached 4 stages. The first stage was the fear, the fright, I was so terrified, what is going to happen to me. What is going to happen to my baby? What is going to happen to my husband? And my other kids whom I didn't know where they were, whether they were still alive because we had heard how they were detained and buried somewhere in all the borders of South Africa. I was so frightened, it's beyond understanding. The fear was, "what's going to happen to me"? I'd seen people who were detained, broken, others, you know, beyond recognition. Now what is going to happen to me? Am I going to confess and tell lies? Am I going to get mad? Am I going to die? What is to die? Will I go to hell? Will I go to heaven? Will I, you know, do things which are not me? That fright is terrible and then I past that stage. I came to the second stage which is self pity. I think once we have reached that stage of self pity, it's so terrible because you feel, I was even saying, "please God," in solitary confinement, "please Lord I have been such a good girl throughout my life, I have seen all my life, all my mistakes, all the good part. I have never killed anybody" and all that but so and so here, Eddie has killed somebody's anything which is dirty, "why me Lord when I'm such a good girl". You feel you are better than the next person which is a very terrible thing really when you come to think of it. At that stage I said, "please Lord," I've heard some time that when a murderer before he murders somebody he wishes he could never be found out when he commits murder or when he steals or he does some criminal act somewhere, he asks assent from you that he must be protected and get over with what he is going to do. "Please Lord, give me this one little chance of leaving this dark hole, getting outside", - I see any white child, any white person, I have to kill those people with my bear small hands because 1976 I have seen policemen or soldiers who were opening mouths of small kids and shooting them with tear gas and you see a child disintegrating. I've been to the police stations when I was looking for my daughter who was missing. Stacks and stacks of children and adults of course, looking for my daughter, trying to remember what kind of dress did she put on and I went even to the Government Mortuary where I saw a terrible thing when I saw a lady, a mother who was there, she was rolling on the - you know, half fainting. I wanted to know from her, I mean all those - I have to tell about this. "What's wrong?" She told me, "in that mortuary, you go in there, there's a child, I heard somebody calling me, auntie, auntie, please come and help me. Come and help me. I want to go and tell my mother, to come and fetch me", and she told me she ran out of there, the mortuary because she didn't know whether it was a ghost or something like that and then that is why she was fainting over there. She hardly had strength to go - so I just got hold of her next to the wall to make her sit and then I rushed into that, in the Government Mortuary, right down next to ... (inaudible). When I got in there, it's dark and so many bodies, I went and I heard the voice again, "auntie, auntie, please come this way, come and help me, go and tell my mother I'm here". You know without thinking I walked on those - I still have nightmares about that, walked over those bodies. When I got next to her, I said, "well come on, stand up then, let's go". She says, "I can't, I can't, I don't know why I can't move". So when I tried to pull her up the police came or the soldiers because they were in camouflage. It's then that I don't know what stopped them killing me, so they started beating me with their gun butts, "get out, get out" and you know hurling insults to me, "fucking bloody stinking kaffir woman, what do you want here." They kicked me, they pulled me out. I still have scars with those gun butts. So I went out. Look, I mean at that stage when that hate came, which overcame me. It was through all those things were going over my head and when I took some children, my house is next to the main road, I took some children to Baragwanath Hospital. When we got there, the white doctors were standing one side and black doctors and the nurses one side. The soldiers made the white doctors to extract bullets from these short kids and they would take these big bullets, like that into their pockets, "gaan vrek, go and tell ...(inaudible), the student leader who has put you here, go and rot somewhere." I mean, things like that, so, now "please Lord give me the strength, that when I go out, I'm going to kill every white person I see before they kill me."

Moreover, they were busy taunting me in the cell, that they have killed my husband. We were detained, we were three of us, my two year old, my husband and myself. The other kids were already out. And then for three days they didn't give me food after taking my baby away, forcing me, beating me against, my head against the wall and I was fighting but it was useless. I used my teeth trying to fight these eight white men who were beating me up, taking my baby away. And then they used to come and taunt me that, seeing that I haven't eaten food, they have taken my baby to a prison for communist babies where they are going to disembowel her and come and feed me with her insides and then they telling me how what they did to my husband. They cut his private parts and fed him until he died and how he messed himself up. You know, trying to torture me in such a way. So now that anger, that hate, it just overcame me. I was praying and praying, you know, crying and being so angry and then, later on I realised, hey man, what is this? Why am I hurting myself like this? These people who come here, they are human being you know, I don't think that when they leave, after giving me torture they go back to their wives, their families and tell them what they've done, their job, what kind of job

do they do. So I'm just ...(inaudible) myself, I'm just destroying myself and hate doesn't benefit and then I started looking at myself. I said well I have to get through with this hate. I came to the fourth stage which is very important. I said to myself, what have I done, why all this, do I deserve this. I started some soul searching. Perhaps I'm responsible for this anger, this terrible thing happening to me. But I realised, hey no man. At least I know all my faults, my shortcomings. What about these people who are doing this. These are ordinary members of any society, any family. Is this people who have got distorted minds who are angry, who are ... they belong to a certain class. So now, why Lord, I'm still alive, my family has perished. My whole family has perished, has vanished, they have been got rid of. I'm still alive. Body and soul is still together. That's when I reconciled myself to my maker, that's when my faith came in. I said, "Lord, please forgive me for all these thoughts because it's a useless fight. Help me. Take me away from this muck. Put me up here. Let me look at all these, because I'm not the only one here." It's a holocaust, if you can call it that. Anybody who is black suffers from this. Never mind these ones, my brother here is talking about people who gained from this horrible thing. They are all the same. They are also victims. Some people are weak, their egos and everything else. "Lord, if you can only take me out of this, body and soul is still together. So let me try and leave and see what happens. Take my life into your hands. You do your will. Once you pick me up from there." I must pity these people who, it's not every white person.

Now I started enumerating my friends, people who have helped me at a very deep end, like Beyers Naude, for instance. That man who sort of stripped himself naked for the truth. That man is one of the many people, some very very close relatives, my auntie has got, got married secretly to a white family. I've got coloured relatives and white people who are my - it's not white people who are bad or black people who are good. It's a human nature, there are very very bad people like Mamasela and there are - it's true and there are very very bad white people like De Kock, people who just kill without even thinking. He can kill here and make a braaivleis here, meanwhile we are busy sizzling over there. So it's human nature. So, Lord, if everybody has to die in this manner, you have got your own plans. Brothers and sisters this is how I have survived.

Up to this date so many terrible things have happened and after that, even when I had a stroke and a heart attack of which I nearly died, I saw two kosies, the other kosi was there, the other was there and I mean it is quite an experience of some kind. And from that day henceforth I stopped fearing death. I stopped really. When I'm sick, right now my heart works one side, this side it doesn't work. I've got a big scar which is a fatal scar which kills a heart attack victim but for the mere fact that today I can communicate, although I'm not very perfect, there are some words I can't pronounce and the, I've got a similar for everything else but I'm so happy and thankful that I'm still alive although up to date I've never seen my children growing, up to to date I've got only two are back in South Africa. Otherwise the rest are still outside.

My brothers and sisters I'm just sharing this, that whatever happens, although I get angry sometimes like when I was missed by a bullet. I just get angry and then I tell myself, hey, it's useless, those people are just laughing it off the way they would have killed me, I and my husband, nobody would have known and passing with a car and it's us alone, it's not me alone. Everybody has suffered on this. I just wanted to share with you this. Thank you.

DR DANIEL: Thanks.

MS PATEWE: Thank you very much. But I would like to go back to the gentleman, what's your name, Eddie, Duma. I would like to say that I think one of the important things is to acknowledge as I heard you talk is that quite a number of people have been traumatised. There are degrees of traumatisation. Some of the people have felt that they have not been acknowledged. What I heard you say was there's this lack of acknowledgement for whatever traumatic experiences we have. I don't think we can dismiss that really. And secondly what I heard you say was that related to the dimensions we mentioned that we all have different dimensions which we can relate to trauma. And the dimension we are bringing in was the dimension of the lack of self affirming experiences. We have been traumatised and on top of that there is nothing which is affirming you in life. Probably due to socio economic conditions and other situations. In that case it becomes unique to you and I really wanted to say I acknowledge what you say and it makes sense to me because you are not the only one who finds yourself in that situation.

DR DANIEL: You are also not the only one who is looking for ways to have people express their remorse by helping the future and that's very important to examine as well.

MR KHOLEMANI: Especially I'm not referring to myself, I'm working with a group of survivors and then what happened to me when I see some of the people ... what happened to some of the people, mine it's nothing compared to what I see and then they always saying, we feel at home being among ourselves because we have been rejected by the society and when they give examples, you find that it's true. As I said

DR DANIEL: Rejected by society, do you mean by apartheid or by the conspiracy of silence afterwards?

MR KHOLEMANI: Maybe both.

DR DANIEL: Both.

MR KHOLEMANI: Maybe both. We were supposed, if we talk of reconciliations. We should be all involved in this. Churches, many institutions were supposed to come forward and help those people who were in need, who need help. But rather than do those, some of the things which we think they are important, we take another direction. Today, somewhere, some how, not to say I'm justifying the issue, through the media they have been saying the members of the MK or PAC are involved in some of the bank robberies, all these kind of things. Somewhere I do justify there. When I went to jail, personally, I could not even harm a fly but due to what I saw happening while there, somewhere I can kill if I got to. Not to say I want to kill. And my trauma was more extended after my release in jail. In 1995 I think I was the first person who said, who was against the TRC. When they were still talking because certain Doctor among the Commissioners once said, "the TRC is not a money box Dr. O." I was anger, angry about that and I decided to go and make a sit-in at ...(inaudible) police station for 31 days, 16 days without food and they decided to take me to Court and in Court, the Chief Prosecutor said to me "why don't I go to State President Office because we fought for him." It was an insult to me, you see and then there was a fight. I broke some of the things and I was arrested. I was in jail again for something like 3 weeks until the Roman Catholic Church paid the bail. It's an extension of a trauma. And then I was found guilty. Again I was supposed to go and stay in prison but some people who represented me, they pleaded on my behalf so I can get an outside sentence. Today I am working but always what comes to my mind is those who are not working. That's one of the reason which pushed me to go and work with those who are not working because I don't want them to go to an extent of doing what I have done, see. And then, we are trying the best we can but there is a fear in me, that's why I'm saying, it seems, the society is rejecting those kind of people. Yes, sitting with them, you will see they are mad. But because people once said I am also mad, I understand the situation. This thing of a trauma, to me it got two ways. Some were things which happened to me. They are a joke today. I do laugh at them even though they are painful. But some of the things which I saw happening to other people are the most painful to me. Other than what happened to me, what I saw happening is the most painful thing. At times, I said at the beginning I want to divorce myself with trauma but divorcing myself it will push me to forget fellow friends who died in this war, you see. Should I say thank you?

DR DANIEL: May I - go ahead, please.

ANGIE: My name is Angie from SABC radio. If I could ask Duma a question? You testified at the Prison Hearing in the Old Fort. I'd like to know if that experience for you was traumatic or was that healing and was it a better experience than this or was it a worse experience? Because I think it links to the conspiracy of silence. Has the Truth Commission done anything to break that silence?

DUMA: At the Fort it was for the second time. At Sebokeng it was my first appearance and at the Fort it was the second time. But at the Fort it was more painful because we were there with the people who used to hang the people, see. So I don't have a problem with him because he told his side of the story and then we even exchanged telephone numbers with him, it was so good. That's why my problem lies with the so-called bystanders. And then I appreciate what is happening here, at this moment. But the most important thing is, ...(inaudible) we involved those people, survivors actually, so that they can also be given a chance to say their stories. The life span of the TRC is too short and then sometime, somewhere, giving your story to a public it's also a healing process so that you want people to acknowledge what happened to you. It assists you psychologically and then, if they can give their views and also be part and parcel of the discussion it will be good. We do have this kind of discussions, but what is happening here, we have provoking questions. I like them because they make you take out things which are deeply hiding and then even myself too, before I sit down I want to ask a question. Do I get that permission? Okay. There is something which we hide, especially those

who were in prison. I want to know from any members of the Jews or anyone who was in jail or especially you, when you interviewed those who were in holocaust, did they manage to talk about their sexual life while in jail or in the concentration camp?

DR DANIEL: I am hesitating to answer your question from our point of view because you have just told me that this is a secret of yours and, so that, no matter what I tell you I don't want you to use what I tell you to not share your secret. Is that fair? Please tell us what you mean.

DUMA: You see, I have read most of the books of the people who were in the concentration camp. Okay. Wherever I am, I always carry them, yes. And then there are things which we in a even those people, position to tell other people what happened but they are things as we have just said are our secret. And then the secret which might destroy your life and the secret which you cannot be in a position to tell or to relate to anyone.

DR DANIEL: There are no such things.

DUMA: This is South Africa.

DR DANIEL: This is the world. I don't feel right pushing anybody, it's totally your right and I respect 100% your boundaries. But I absolutely but it's very important, okay, you remember I differentiated in the exercise between secrets we have from others to either protect them or to protect ourselves. Either from feelings or from of course consequences. And secrets we have from ourselves that, they're absolutely the worst, absolutely the worst, because the moment you put a piece of you out, untouchable piece of you, first of all you deprive yourself, second of all, you know how much energy goes in to that, in to keeping that. All this good energy that could go into building, into the future and into forward looking, into healing yourself, into building, all of that goes into sitting on something that wants to come up all the time. Be it in nightmares, be it in behaviour such as beating your wife or being self destructive in any other way or destructive of others. And it really ...(inaudible) you, it takes up most of you. So, for me it's almost like you're talking about being in prison or being in jail, this is like your own jail, isn't it? So you are keeping yourself in jail and even if you did the worst thing, I'll tell you a story okay. One story that will maybe make sense to you. We have these meetings and one of the survivors who didn't speak for years, even to her children, she would be, sort of mute. Finally, after coming, like, I don't know, it was five or six years, she told this story. Her daughter confronted her about being - she used to say all the time in her life, she used to say I'm half dead, half alive, okay. I was going to tell you this story tomorrow in the multi generational presentations but I may as well because it's appropriate here. She told the following story, that in the camps she, in Auswitz, in Berkinau actually. She was in the same bunk, you know like eight people on those wooden bunks and because it was so cold and people were so hungry and sick all the time, you know, they clung to each other physically, they had no choice anyhow because, if eight, for the size bunk, you do. And people tried to, you know if you have this piece of bread for the day, you try to, some people tried to take just a tiny bit, you know and keep some in case you wake up in the middle of the night and are dying from hunger. So, one night she - and she tells this to us, after all these years, that she in the middle of one night she woke up and she was so hungry, she thought she'd die and she knew that her mother was lying on her piece of bread that she kept and she took that little piece of bread from her mother and ate it and when she woke up her mother was dead. Now clearly, taking that little piece of bread is not what killed her mother and if you think of your life today, we had so much bread here today, you wouldn't think twice about what you do with this left over bread, would you? You may if you lived in those conditions, right. Many of us can't even throw even a tiny bit of food because of that, because those images stay with you. But all these years, this is what, 15 years ago, so that means, 35 years she blamed herself for killing her mother. And that's why she didn't talk, she never left the house, you know, she lived as if she were in jail and she didn't talk to anybody. She was so ashamed and so frightened that if she told the story people will just kill her or stone her. Well, what we did there was something similar to what I sort of gave you a taste today. The whole community became a court room and we put her on trial, we had a jury and judges because we said to her, look until today you were the judge, jury, the prosecutor, the jailer, you took everything on yourself so let's give it to everybody and let's analyse what is the proper punishment for what - even, you see the point is, clearly she was guilty of nothing, probably if she said to her mother I'm hungry, her mother would have given her that piece of bread anyhow. But you see I never argue with how people feel. She felt guilty so I respected that. I said all right, you feel guilty so let's examine that.

Let's examine it together now. Something very interesting happened because there are a lot of other people who

remembered all kinds of things, you know and it opened up the possibility to examine for them too. And of course what came out was capital punishment, literally, for life. Jail for life. The community challenged that and people started negotiating with her, okay, enough already you know, you were in jail for 35 years and maybe you can now be released etc. Now she, I told you she said she's half alive, half dead. And this is a sort of an introduction to tomorrow because one of her daughters to this day lives her life in the attic. She took on that dead part and she lives like the half dead one. Her other daughter was a compulsive - got degrees and degrees and degrees and more degrees and more education, had to run this and run this and so she took that. Why am I telling you this? She had that secret, that secret became her whole life and not only jailed her, it jailed her daughter, it had her other daughter trying to be alive, alive, alive, alive, so that she couldn't sleep even because even sleeping meant that she wasn't productive. We pay a price for those secrets and you know what happened? The worst part of it, that we are of course our worst judges aren't we. Nobody can judge us worse than we do. Nobody can feel our shame. We carry so much shame, survivors carry an awful lot of shame. Basically much of the shame really belong to the perpetrators, not to the survivors.

If you think of it. The shameful act was the perpetrators act. But the survivors carry that shame. It kills them, it's awful. You can't look somebody else in the eye. You can't look yourself in the eye. So with all due respect to secrets, I find them most unuseful.

DUMA: Thank you. Now, my last question is this, are we supposed to tell our kids what happened or what was happening?

DR DANIEL: Supposed to - I love it. Do you want to tell your kids?

DUMA: I've got a fear of telling my kids.

DR DANIEL: You are afraid to?

DUMA: True. What is happening to them now. They might develop hatreds. So how to treat that kind of situation.

DR DANIEL: We'll talk about that tomorrow. Because tomorrow we are talking about multi generational and we'll get into a lot of details about that. So I don't want to be half-assed about it. But you see, but that's a very good question related to the conspiracy of silence in the family and what the outcome of that is and what happens to your shame and your guilt and all of those inner trips, you know, when there's children, with words or without words, get the feeling. Go ahead. Oh, I thought you were raising your hand. No. Okay. Eddie.

EDDIE: I think that one thing that we have in common now is

DR DANIEL: Who is we?

EDDIE: We, in this room there is a lot of pain, but it is like the tree that you plant, that you mentioned earlier on. We're breaking off the leaves. I was looking at the changes from - just in ...(inaudible), when he started and when he asked the last question. I was extremely pained while our mamma Kosi was talking and that's for me the question that let us into the earlier session that I was involved, which is a question that was hanging, what do we then do after we have listened to that painful experience?

DR DANIEL: What do you feel?

EDDIE: I feel that we need to as a society, look for mechanisms that we can use. What has happened

DR DANIEL: Let me stop you for a moment. We'll talk mechanism on Friday, okay. You remember I said before that the impulse to act often is because of the fear of feelings or the fear of taking the time to feel, to articulate and to think it through and to re-think choices, remember in the exercise I said, what choices did you make then, are they still your choices, you remember. We get locked in to those choices but the impulse to do, check on it every time you ask yourself, okay I heard him talk, there's pain, what do I do now? I hear it as, why won't we attend to the pain first? You know when you were work through those feelings and those secrets and things became like freer inside, what to do becomes a very easy question. The doing is just a natural outcome of the flow of the process. When you are in pain,

what you need to do is attend to the pain. Mechanisms, I promise you by Friday you'll have mechanism up to your ears.

EDDIE: I hear what you're saying but I have difficulty in accepting because I'm saying, after I have heard Kosi speaking

DR DANIEL: Yeah, what do you feel? You heard him, what do you feel? What did you feel when he was talking?

EDDIE: I feel that something needs to be done.

DR DANIEL: That's what I mean. No, Eddie we have to understand this interchange between us. I asked you what you feel, you didn't answer my question. You gave me a judgment instead, or an impulse. You have an impulse to do and you had a judgment, something must be done. I still have no idea, how you felt or how you feel actually. Here, here You said there is a lot of pain. Were you feeling hurt?

EDDIE: I have mixed feelings.

DR DANIEL: Tell us.

EDDIE: I'm not feeling hurt only. I have a feeling of hurt and joy for the fact that here are people that are complete strangers to me, sharing their deepest emotions with me.

DR DANIEL: Not anymore.

EDDIE: And that is related

DR DANIEL: Don't you feel privileged for that?

EDDIE: Yes.

DR DANIEL: Yeah, I feel very privileged. I hope all of you feel some of that. And we are not anymore strangers, you do know that. Go ahead.

EDDIE: But the word was used earlier on, the lack of self affirming experiences. And I think that what is happening here is that experiences are being affirmed

DR DANIEL: And the experiences are being affirmed because you are sharing them. There would be no other way to affirm, would there? You shared them and people respond and they are affirmed. See, the conspiracy of silence deprives you, society, family of that. You said it. How would you like to affirm ...(inaudible)

EDDIE: I would want to see us having many more people experiencing what they are experiencing because that's what I hear, particularly to me saying, he's saying that I'm not speaking here on behalf of myself only, I'm speaking of people who have experienced trauma in a particular way and I was excited when I heard that there was someone from the SABC here because what I'm worried is going to happen, when last did we hear a story of a victim on the mass media, on the electronic media. Since the programmes of Max Coleman have stopped, we haven't heard it. Are we therefore saying that there's no more stories to tell. I think the opposite is coming through where people are saying that we want to tell what has happened with us. And that's where the excitement about the action comes in.

DR DANIEL: Great, do you see. So you just came up with a mechanism without even meaning to. Not only with the mechanism, with the process of a mechanism too. You said there's a need to continue. The moment you attend to your feeling, the answers come, to use the media, to ensure that the process continues because it does bring healing, not only it has potential to bring healing not only for the victims but for everyone else. It makes everybody in this room feel less of a stranger. You remember we felt in the morning, we talked about the loneliness and the isolation and alienation. You feel less of that. And that's healing, not only for the victim, it's healing for society and for the Nation and the media, there's nothing more powerful than the media in effecting that actually. It's a real mission. Please.

ANGIE: I appreciate that there's a need to tell the story and I don't think anyone knows what we, as journalists are

going through. We have done this from day 1, 16 hours a day, 8 days a week. I still get tears in my eyes when I listen to the stories over and over again. I've just come back from a two month leave, holiday. I don't want to do the Truth Commission story anymore, I can't. And I have heard stories, I have heard voices, I live with these voices and I don't want to kind of say that these little shoulders are carrying all the pain but it's difficult. I think, I mean we're having another meeting tomorrow at SABC. We had one last year. How do we tell the story differently? Do we, as journalists have the capacity to tell the story, I don't know that I have.

DR DANIEL: Could you attend to your

ANGIE: What do you want me to attend to?

DR DANIEL: To attend to your pain. For a second she shared her pain with you and then she's doing something about it again. In a different way. Get off the journalist band wagon, you're a person with us. Could you attend to these tears?

ANGIE: To my tears?

DR DANIEL: Yeah. To your hurt.

ANGIE: I don't know.

DR DANIEL: I mean, why do you think I asked you to do the exercise with us, right, the two "technical assistants" people. Because you are sitting here listening to the same stories and you must have heard these stories over and over again too. Are you taking care of yourself and your pain?

ANGIE: We're not allowed to.

DR DANIEL: Yes you are, here.

ANGIE: In one sense we're allowed to but we're supposed to be big and brave and objective and

DR DANIEL: Yeah, you and the rest of the men.

ANGIE: The bystanders, you know, the bystanders, we're supposed to be on the edge and this is one story that is kind of just pulled us in. We've lived the story, we've heard the story and every time it doesn't stop moving. Let me speak for me now. I just ask myself, when am I going to stop crying. How much more must I cry. How many more stories must I listen to. It just doesn't stop. It's like the flood gates that open.

DR DANIEL: And what's wrong with that?

ANGIE: No, there's nothing wrong with it, it just doesn't stop. I mean I can carry on for another five years and probably still cry and cry and cry.

DR DANIEL: You're crying about things that - crying is the right response to.

ANGIE: I know. I feel good afterwards.

DR DANIEL: I worry about people who don't cry when they hurt. And it keeps you human. I'm worried about those journalists who are incapable of crying anymore.

ANGIE: That's one thing and I even said this on TV. This story has made me human again.

DR DANIEL: There you go.

ANGIE: I mean, I've kept quiet listening to everyone because I think that's my natural professional role.

DR DANIEL: I know the problem.

ANGIE: You know, you hear the pain, you hear the anguish, you hear where the emotions are coming from, you hear when someone is suppressing their emotions. But it's difficult. I mean we are stuck, I think sometimes in an unenviable position. We need therapy. I need therapy, there's no doubt about it. Part of me is resisting that. Part of me says you know you must go, you know, you have to.

DR DANIEL: It's not that you need to or it's a good thing for you and you need to heal. It's not ... you must.

ANGIE: It's easier to deal with, I think. But I think from us as journalists it's and what the public never hears or never sees is that, how much can we take, you know, there's one human being. Many of you have sat and watched special reports on TV, listened to our radio programmes in the different languages, it's too much. Part of me says I want to finish this story because it's really made me a better person. I've only gained and part of me says I can't. I don't have the capacity to continue.

DR DANIEL: What's standing in your way to have that capacity? Let me put it differently. What are you putting in your way.

ANGIE: It's what I'm putting into the story. It's energy, it's understanding, it's compassion, the emotions are always upfront. You, I mean, I think we've just, we had no choice but we had to feel. We did feel. People have moved us. Perpetrators have moved me and it's difficult for me to explain that to people that I can have compassion for a perpetrator who has to live with seeing himself on TV, hearing himself on radio, looking at the bill boards. An example is Benzine. I mean that's just one example. I mean he did wrong, he did terrible things but the anguish in his face still haunts me. I mean that's just one example. I'm not scared of my emotions, it's just it's a very emotional, it's an emotional job. It's a difficult job. And I don't think many people appreciate that.

DR DANIEL: I really thank you for saying that. I do want to share with you that we have both in Columbia University School of Journalism in graduate school and at NYU, New York University in New York, under my duress, we have special training for journalists in self care which we'll do at the end of today, also for everybody. We have some principles for self care so we'll share, you know I'll share with you. And not only but when I was President of the International Society for Traumatic Studies I helped with 200 people I created a curricula for all of the professions dealing with - that had to do with victims, interfacing with victims and journalism was one of the first. In fact both journalists and disaster people who work with people and police are all what I conceptualise as front liners who absolutely must have debriefing and you know, ways of healing from the traumas because they run from trauma to trauma to trauma and if you think their lives, you know, they finish this story they go to the next, they go the next and there's very little provided to heal every time. And I think good journalistic organisations must provide that. There used to be a time that journalists had high rate of suicide, divorce, smoking, drinking, everything. Including, and that's true of all the front line professions. Police as well. And I'm not talking directly about the South African Police. It's a good question to see if in fact the tortures - how did they live with it?

ANGIE: They drank.

DR DANIEL: They drank, here you go. So, I'm very glad you shared it. But the truth is that the way you share it convinced me that you are absolutely capable of doing it, in fact probably in the right way.

ANGIE: I don't know.

DR DANIEL: Yeah. I remember one session I had with some journalists, you know, there were a whole lot of guys. There were both woman and men but the guys sort of had to be, they don't, you know, they just go from story to story - what am I talking about I'm mush. So I said well I mean is any human being around. And one of them, he was sitting in the corner. A New York Times crime reporter and I saw that his face changed a little, you know, and he said that he was telling of a story in Harlem, you know, Harlem is in the North part of New York that is - has been the black ghetto. Have you heard - black and Hispanic. It's now being revived and much better but for some years it was very dangerous, internally really. People killed each other. Gang warfare etc., and he was covering his usual beat and a grandmother was walking her baby granddaughter and a bullet just came through from a gang to a gang, they were caught in the middle and the baby was shot. And he suddenly, he was telling this and he had tears in his eyes and he said, you don't

understand, he said to his colleagues, you don't understand, she wore the same red shoes that my daughter had. So suddenly he humanised. You know, it became, this is like my daughter, rather than, I'm just covering a story. Okay. So there became, we started humanising things. One of the new professors there is Terry Anderson, you must have heard of him. He was the longest term hostage in Lebanon, we are very close friends and he is now teaching there and I feel so wonderful about that because he is the kind of human being that will humanise the press I believe in a good way. We could talk for a long time about that but this was great. You see, we can discuss another mechanism that came out of that, did you realise that I came up with a mechanism? Which was? Every news media organisation should have debriefing into - Had she not shared it, had she not shared the real feeling about it we would not have come up with a solution.

SPEAKER 5: I ...(inaudible) your point when you explained my sister's situation there but we do have the kind of a victim who sees his trauma. I don't know if this is immediately or at what point in comparison, you know with others and immediately he sees his trauma, less than the trauma of the other person, the one who sees his trauma, at least, you know, pale in significance compared to the trauma of that one. Then he takes the position of trying to console or heal and to speak for the other one whose trauma seems immense and in the process this person never talks about his trauma and I don't know when can we say he gets himself humanised by attending to those that he thinks have sustained greater trauma or you know is he, can he rightly be accused too of this sickness that we are talking about. That is conspiracy of silence, so I just want to find out that because we will find some people who perhaps may never even talk about that.

DR DANIEL: First of all, I refuse to be a perpetrator here, I do not accuse anybody. Conspiracy of silence is not an accusation, it's a fact and probably if you think about it from a self protective ... or evolutionary place, let me put it as an extreme. If we only dealt on the trauma, we won't have any place to live would we? So it's a very natural tendency to not talk or to want to forget it or to want to put it away. So much work to deal with it. So it's not a matter of accusation, it's simply that that's how we deal with things, we just are realising we have been realising for the last 30 years or so that it's not doing the job, in fact we are paying such a price for it that we should examine the price. Now the person who has either suffered less or whatever, I mean, I don't buy these kind of hierarchies of suffering. As you pointed out before everybody suffered. And they suffered differently and maybe on different dimensions of the person, right. Yes, I think quantitatively yes there are people who have suffered more than others, there's no question that being tortured, being in jail etc., is more suffering than being humiliated in school, it's a fact. However, the feeling in response to that may be very similar and as intense for the person who is suffering, isn't it. I mean yesterday on the radio they kept asking me that question and I said you know we do have a limited repertoire of responses as human beings we are limited. We can cry, we can show, you know, we have only that many ways of responding and those ways of responding are universal. That's why we even have the diagnosis, right, of post traumatic stress disorder. We found out that that diagnosis covers reactions of many people to different circumstances. So the more or less is really not the right question to ask. The right question to ask from your point of view is, why would that person neglect him or herself. Because nothing says that I cannot be there for other people and for myself, it doesn't have to be either me or other people, does it. Any why does it have to be either you give to other people, do they give to you too. When you care for them, do they also care for you. Do you let them care for you.

SPEAKER 5: I don't know. You just find yourself in a position where you are saying, it seems, you know, you hurt more than, you know, perhaps I don't even have to talk about the other, depending on like we are saying it's your interpretation of the situation or the condition in which the next person finds himself in. And perhaps that person has not even witnessed or seen how you in turn have suffered.

DR DANIEL: If they haven't seen, means you haven't shared it with them. When we entered this room this morning, I didn't know you and you didn't know me. We began to know each other because we are sharing with each other.

SPEAKER 5: Declined sharing. I wouldn't even say declined sharing. You have had no chance to share with this person because he seemed to be in greater pain and the immediate thing that you had to do was

DR DANIEL: Could you tell us the real story because when you just talk in generalities, I can't get into it.

SPEAKER 6: If I might be of help to you Tom, I mean

DR DANIEL: Tom knows what to say.

SPEAKER 6: Tom, if you feel comfortable maybe a good example for me is Tom. Because knowing how much has gone through different categories of suffering whenever there's an opportunity Tom is always fighting for victims. Even when Commissioners and ...(inaudible) this opportunity and this, Tom will always come like a crazy person asking about what has happened to this and this pertaining to other people. Maybe that should be our start to really say something which you can't find it difficult to understand why would a person fight this struggle as it was a case in the past even at the time when people are beginning to grab opportunities primarily for themselves.

DR DANIEL: You have been trying - we'll come back to you Tom. We won't neglect you the way you are neglecting yourself and we have to talk at some point and we will do that very soon about survivors' guilt. What does it do for us. What does it do against us. Because I think there's a lot of that happening in the room and we are not attending to it. Please.

DIANA: I'm Diana. I actually wanted to respond to Angie earlier when she was talking about her experience and she made a comment that triggered something for me and that is that part our process as a country has been and certainly for me personally has been that there's been a recognition, especially through the media hearings that the media colluded with the apartheid system and very often in our reaction to "the media" there's a de-humanisation of the media and her sharing her story for me started to, for me personally re-humanise the media and I don't want to suggest a solution but when you said that we're looking for new ways to tell the story and I listen to you as a journalist telling the story I immediately thought to myself, that's the newest way I've heard in weeks and that the journalists perhaps need to start telling their own story about the process they've gone through in terms of what's happened in the last two years for us as a country because you are human beings in this situation and I think the whole process of examining the role of the media in the apartheid system further de-humanised the media and I mean for me personally having been a victim of that when my name was mentioned as a victim of a media conspiracy and I was offered the opportunity to meet my perpetrator and he was there, he's now in the Government and he was publicly saying that he had done this smear campaign etc., I consulted a friend who is a journalist. Many of you know Deborah Patter from Radio 702 and I said to her tell me if you think that my - because it's what we've been talking about today about this process of, does my healing only happen when I confront the perpetrator or is it my own decision to go through my own process of healing and to have that happen because I work with children who are raped and believe me they are never going to meet the perpetrators who have done this to them and so we have to find ways that they can heal as children and this is part of our legacy, we'll go into it I'm sure in the next two days. But for me personally, I was - I asked, do you think this perpetrator, this media person who constructed this story was working for the Security Police and for the newspaper - I knew that at the time but it wasn't publicly - there was no public recognition of it. Would he be genuine if I went to him today and said, I am the person who suffered, I went into exile partially as a result of that, would he be receptive to my confronting him and the response was no he won't because he actually doesn't feel genuinely remorseful and that's - this person knows him pretty well. And I said well in that case for me it's not going to help my process. My process is with me and so what you were saying, sort of highlighted that for me and my own internal process to re-humanise the media and to not just put them into this thing and I think we even have to do that as a country. To share the story from your perspective, so that we can hear that we all as a society went through this process together and that the healing needs to be owned by all of us, regardless of our professional standpoint.

DR DANIEL: See Abby, we didn't even come only with the mechanism but with an idea for a new angle for the story. We really created a living, see people used to call it breaking the silence and I always said we don't break anything, we simply open. So you see how well, let me, okay, first and then second, go ahead.

SPEAKER 7: There's something for me, maybe it is called the unspoken, not just the conspiracy of silence and I think the three things that I thought of that were sort of that were falling into that category for me of the unspoken and hearing Kosi's story re-affirmed that for me, often the quiet tales of resilience and resistance that sometimes get swallowed up in the pain but provide for me a lot of inspiration and so while I at some level never know what you have gone through, only in my imagination at another level it gives me courage that somehow somewhere deep in my I would find in such situations like you have something of "they cannot have my soul". So this is a sort of sign of gratitude for the courage I think that it gives. And in my work I think I'm quite involved in going back and archeologising stories of resistance and - so that things no longer take over peoples' whole identity. I think the second unspoken thing for me is, I had been working in communities other than white for quite a while and not only here but also in the States and came back and

I've come back to a pretty conservative white community I think and working there I thought, oh please no, but I think in my work there I have discovered that there are also unspoken stories of the lid coming off as a result of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee as a result of apartheid officially ending of no longer putting up with patriarchal systems and systems that oppress people in any form, even just in couple relationships and so I think I want to say that in response I think it was to you almost the impatience of nothing has happened in the white community, my feeling is if we take away the binoculars and use a microscope we will find quite dramatic things happening and that gives, again give me a lot of courage and things that would never have before been spoken and men who have been oppressive to woman now feeling a little more alienated from that and feeling a little more isolated, a little more uncomfortable, so that's I think very unspoken. A third unspoken area for me is, I'm sure if I was to scratch the surface of my life I would find many more examples of how I as a white privileged, nevertheless woman, still suffered under apartheid and the two instances I want to just tell you so that they are spoken. I grew up in quite a conservative community where they had, you know, the onslaught was the issue, the terrorism and so on and so we had a little community emergency thing that if our town was under terrorist attack, at least everyone would know where to go and this gave me nightmares and the one thing I did was to buy a basket for my cat so that at least I could put my cat in the basket, you know and that was my way of handling a trauma. The other thing is that, despite loving my father I hated his racism and I think I suffered under it somewhat. So those are just for the record so that they are spoken.

KOSI: I just wanted to tell you my dear that although things, at least can handle these things a bit far away from me, not far because my kids are - it's so painful for a mother, not to bring up her kids and every now and then I see families moving around with their children. It pains me. That pain, I think it's a perpetual pain and every now and then you think well everything is over but it keeps on rising it's ugly head against you. Just yesterday I was walking, going to the shops and then there came this car, it's supposed to stop and when I was in the middle of the ... before it stopped, when this chap saw me he just came and took all the dirty water on me. I was nice and wet. I mean, I go back again and again that pain, it goes continuous and every time I try by all means I always think others, I think what I went through is so little, so minute, others so worser things than me. And then this is how I sort of console myself. Anyway I'm glad at least we have reached this stage, you can sometimes listen to others and you can always evaluate whatever we have gone through and thanks God we have changed and we can see clearly. Carry on sister, it's - the journey is long.

DR DANIEL: I would like to comment on what you just said. The incident with the car yesterday, that made you wet. It's not worth pain, it's nuisance. See what happens is when we have an open wound, everything hurts, right, even a little wind hurts. But that's not worth pain. That's worth drying. Do you see what I'm saying, I can see that the shooting with the laughing, yes, it's but this is not trauma, this is nonsense. You see, we lose perspective when we are hurt and the wound is open, everything hurts. People who have had cancer always say, you know after cancer, even if they are survivors for years they say every cold becomes a cancer. Every little thing, they sniffle, oh the cancer is back. So it's the same kind of thing, everything gets magnified. When we grow out of trauma it's good to begin to differentiate what's trauma related, what's just plain nonsense and don't let you down, you know.

KOSI: Anyway what I did yesterday, after I was pointing fingers and he was laughing. I told him, I promised him, very soon I will also buy a car and I will do the same to him.

DR DANIEL: It's not worth pain, I promise you. Why not?

MR DAWETI: Because I was going to delve a little bit into the mechanisms, solutions and so on but I realise that's for tomorrow or maybe Friday.

DR DANIEL: Did you come up with one?

MR DAWETI: No, just general.

DR DANIEL: But actually any mechanism that may come up of this discussion any solution you see and we have come up with many of them at this point. Do you realise how many solutions we came up with? Without calling them that even? So listen to those. Any time you have a question that specifically comes from the flow of the discussion, bring it up because maybe we can then work on it. Go ahead.

MR DAWETI: I was going to say it's with regard to the media. The personification or humanisation of the media by

various journalists who mean very well but who work for institutions that do not share your sentiments and do not wish to portray the goodness of the achievements of such and such and such because they don't make money on those basis. So mechanisms and solutions with regard to that, ya.

SPEAKER 7: I'm not sure if there's not another conspiracy of silence and it links up to what Eddie said about the need to do something and I don't necessarily mean mechanisms, psychological mechanisms or social or political mechanisms but the trauma hasn't ended for many people. We're not just dealing with the past. People are still hungry, people are still without homes. Their children are still without education. Children get abused and neglected daily and I think we tend to - I don't know if there is enough attention focused on that, that the trauma continues. Maybe in less blatant ways and that things need to be put into place to cope with very basic needs. With my experiences with people that we're working with that if you don't recognise the basic needs, if you attend only to the trauma but you don't acknowledge that people haven't eaten for two or three days, you're actually insulting them as well. And it's one of the most painful things for me, is that we often not able to do anything about it. Releasing the pain gives people more energy but reality is that even with that energy, people have nowhere to put their energy, they have no channels to go through, to find employment, they don't have the education to have any opportunities, they don't even have the resources to start a small business, that kind of thing and sitting with that helplessness on top of the trauma is incredibly painful I think ... (inaudible) and sitting through that process, not running away from it.

SPEAKER 8: I wanted to bring another conspiracy of silence out, it came out at lunch time and that's called white guilt. And it's also related to why people don't respond. And it's related also to fear. My parents live in the Northern suburbs but kind of hard working middle class people, kind of very racist in their own way, I can identify with what you say, I love my parents and hate their racism but worked hard, can't face the changes of the new South Africa, in fact of losing power or what they saw as power or told was power and living with a lot of fear and anger, seeing a lot of their friends killed for material possessions and I wonder how often we actually don't deal with that whole side of things, we don't link up what's happened in the past with the cycle of violence, we just blame it on outsiders coming in with Mafia, Mafio power and bank robberies and AK47's and all of that kind of thing. So it's another world that is there and it's tangible and real and I don't think very much of any of us who are white who come from kind of an activisty background talk too much about it. It's kind of like our parents and their guilt but it's kind of the inter generational thing that you're going to get into tomorrow. It's also real and it's unspoken and it's palpable actually and that's often why, so you do get whites who don't care, really you do. But you also get a whole lot who don't want to actually really begin to touch things because they're really quite frightened. If they actually have to deal with the past, what is going to be left of them. It's a disempowerment thing

DR DANIEL: I was noticing that there are very few white people here and I was surprised about that. In terms of giving them a chance to explore more of what you're talking about. Hlengiwe knows that over the weekend colleagues of mine, friends of mine invited whites who are very racist for me to meet. Well it was extremely - I've been sick ever since, you know that. But it's at the same time it was extremely important for me to learn, to learn the picture. You've lived with it. I live in New York. I read about it, you know. It's quite different, right. And I wanted to see and I wanted to hear. And a lot of that is going on.

There's resentment, there's, you know - and at some point, it was way into the night, I think it was like 2 in the morning and I said you know you have a lot to mourn too. You lost power, I mean, no matter how much you hate it, they have a lot of changes to mourn and to confront in order for reconciliation to begin to have any meaning whatsoever. They have a lot to mourn. They have to be able to live with what they've done and look at themselves in the mirror and live with the rest of the day. There's a lot of fear, there's a lot of guilt, it's very hard to live with guilt, it doesn't leave you and if you don't confront it, it just - you are a prisoner. So yes, there's a whole lot to talk about, about that too and indeed if you promise tomorrow in the discussion on multi generational to in fact insist that we look at that because you remind me then in fact the friends, my friends, just like you say, well you know they're liberal and they're open and everything but their parents

It's very interesting. So it's - and I've heard it enough to think that maybe it's quite common. Don't laugh at me. Are you talking about the sense of we and them and you already know the we and them business. What we didn't touch on this morning, you know with the exercise that ultimately

Where is Eddie? Eddie has the policeman inside him. In fact as I was going to lunch I said you know, there's a policeman in everyone here. Because we internalise all of this. All of this become part of who we are. And part of healing is to, and integration is to realise this is not me. This is them. Or the other way around, instead of saying it's my parents, it's not me is to see, let me take a look in my. Is there that in me too? So I don't just keep running away and saying, it's them, it's them, it's them.

You know, in order to present me, right - to present yourself negatively which means I am not - rather than positively, I am, okay. So both of the challenges here that are very important. Let's talk a little bit about survivors guilt okay because it did come up and I we'll come back to it tomorrow a little bit but I want to attend to some understanding of it and I also want in the remainder of the time to read to you before you leave the principles of self healing that I promised you, right. Do you want to talk about survivors guilt today? Let's talk about it tomorrow.

So let's talk now - I want two things now. One is, I have a principle in life that I learned in the hard times which is that every time I'm in a situation I'd like to look back at that situation to be able to look back at that situation, let's say tonight, tomorrow, in a week, in a month, five years - and not regret anything I did or didn't do there. That is to have every situation a complete one. Now some of you shared today some of you didn't. Look at yourself. You can even close your eyes again a little bit. Ask yourself - imagine yourself tonight or next week or in a month, looking back at today. Is there anything you would like to share today that you would kick yourself in a week in a year say oh I should have, damn it, if only - Is there anything you want to share that will help you not regret today so when you leave here you'll feel wholesome about today's session so tomorrow we can start a new. Although I promise you I'll check up on you a bit in the morning. I also want you tonight to write down if you have any dreams tonight. I'd like you to keep a record of those because some of them may have to do with some things that happened here today. So would you like to share anything so you don't regret, please. No regrets. My God, what a lucky group. Right, you'll have a chance. Let me read the principles of self healing. Let me read them to you. All of this stuff is in print and you know if you want copies I'm sure they can be done. So you can write them down or maybe writing them down now will help because it's part of the process.

So I'm reading to you some principles of self healing. They are written for therapists but you know, each one of you knows how to apply those to your situations, professional situations. And they are principles that are designed to help professionals recognise, that number 1, recognise. Number 2, contain. Number 3, heal, event counter transference, remember that thing I started in the morning, event counter transference, your feelings towards a particular traumatic event.

Okay, so number 1, to recognise, is one's reaction. (a) Develop awareness of somatic signals of distress, in your body, which I call it one's chart of warning signs of potential counter transference reactions. For example, sleeplessness, headaches, perspiration, the sense of too muchness, you know that you were talking about, needing to run away. Sometimes you listen to stories that get to you and you want to be out of there. And your body tells you. You can feel it in your feet. You can feel it in your, you know, some muscles get tense, right or you get tense in your - each one of us has a particular chart, you get it in your stomach, you get it in your neck, right, you know yours don't you. If you don't, it's really worth learning. What your body tells you. At one of the seminars in New York we have one guy who looks absolutely cool but when he gets anxious he has one drop of sweat right here, just one. He didn't know it but we used to just look ... So each one of us have those secret, you know, physical chart map, so get to know them. That's number 1.

(b) Try to find words to accurately name and to articulate one's inner experiences and feelings. Now let me give you for that one of my favourite quotations by Bruno Bettelheim who is also a holocaust survivor. He said what cannot be talked about can also not be put to rest. And if it is not, I will repeat it at least two or three times, don't worry, it's very important. And if it is not the wounds continue to fester from generation to generation. Let me repeat it, what cannot be talked about can also not be put to rest and if it is not, the wounds continue to fester from generation to generation. Secrets or not, okay. So that was to recognise, right. Now comes number 2, to contain one's reactions. Remember a lot of you said, you know if I started crying, it will go forever, if I started screaming I'll break the world etc., etc. Okay, so we are talking about that. (a) Identify, say you instead of one. Identify your personal level of comfort, that is what you are comfortable with, naturally. In order to build openness, tolerance and readiness to hear anything and the key word here is anything. I have listened to survivors stories, holocaust and others for the last 30 years of my life. Similarly to you. Every time I thought I heard the absolute worst, the next day I heard a worse story and I found the only way to, it's

like to immunise, not against my feelings but like to get fit, so to speak, emotionally is to keep myself open. To stretch a little, you know. To not get rigid. So the stories don't break me. All right. So it's almost like an emotional fitness, right, kind of possibility. Identify one's personal level of comfort in order to build openness, tolerance and readiness to hear anything. You know when you listen to perpetrators here, to some of you it must have been totally intolerable. It's important to stretch. (b) Knowing, this is a very important one okay. Knowing that every emotion has a beginning, a middle and an end, remember you're afraid you'll cry forever. Have you ever cried forever. You cry until you stop crying. It has a beginning, a middle and an end. You scream, you scream until your throat hurts, you stop. That's a way for the body to protect you by the way, you do know that. Your body says enough. Enough for today. So those people who are afraid that it will be forever, no it won't. It will be as long as you can tolerate. So every emotion has a beginning, a middle and an end, knowing that, learn to attenuate your fear of being overwhelmed by it's intensity by trying to feel it's full life cycle without resorting to defensive reactions, right, like let's do something, do, all those do, remember when we were doing the thing earlier I said to you, so feel the pain, right, attend to the pain. Okay, and learn to take that, remind yourself it's okay, I'm feeling pain now and be nice to yourself about it, be kind, you're feeling pain now, okay, let's just feel it, you know, it will go away but let's see what it's about, let's keep it in sight. The moment it's not in sight, it gets ya. See, so it's self protective to feel rather than not to feel. Because when you let yourself feel, you know, you see. It's within your reach, it's your friend. Aside from which you see, if you think of it seriously your emotions are really your informants about what's going on in you. They tell you that there's danger, they tell you if something is bad, they tell you if you're happy, you know, if things are okay. They are your, you know, your scouts. They tell you what's going on. If you put them away, you lose your informants. You lose your source of direction. Of course I'll repeat it. Knowing that every emotion has a beginning, a middle, an end, learn to attenuate your fear of being overwhelmed by it's intensity by trying to feel it's full life cycle. See, Kosi let herself feel her hate. You let yourself feel the hate with all the fantasies of killing this and killing that etc., and that's why you could let go of it. You felt it, the full life cycle and then you could go from there. Without resorting to defensive reactions, so you have it written. What did you say Eddie?

EDDIE: How in such a case would one be assisted from running away from self pity? My fear is that if I do that, I'm alone in a detention cell and I pity myself so much I then can't get out of it. I need that

DR DANIEL: You will get out. You will feel the pity and by the way, it is a bad situation, there's nothing wrong with feeling pity. You're trying to give comfort to yourself, you're saying to yourself what a bad situation it is. You get disinformation. This is telling you an information, it's bad to be here. Doesn't it? It's a very important piece of information when you are in detention. And when you get it you won't need it anymore. You'll think about other things. There's so many other things to think about. Okay. See how emotions inform us. These are our main, you know, our main information sources. It's the inner media. Tells us where we are. But look, there's more to talk about this. These are not simple things to talk about, okay, so it takes much more thinking and all of that.

Okay, to heal and grow. Now the first one is a tough one you'll see.

(a) Accept that nothing will ever be the same. That's real tough. Because it involves the sorrow and the bereavement about what is gone, right. And the fear about confronting the future and having to give up the denial about clinging to, let's get back to normal as if there is back. It's a real tough one but it's a very solid advice. So I'll repeat it. Accept that nothing will ever be the same. (b) And we talked about this one before. When feeling wounded and a lot of you do, take time accurately diagnose, soothe and heal so as to be "emotionally fit" again and able to continue to work. Remember the one with the broken leg that can't go dancing. Our hearts are not made of bone but they need the same kind of kindness. When feeling wounded, and I say feeling wounded right, we're talking about your inner life, feeling wounded. Take time, that's an absolute key. You guys are real impatient. Take time. Accurately diagnose, don't just say, this is the problem, no, take time, think about it, thoughtfully. What is the problem, ask yourself, don't just jump. Accurately diagnose, it's very important to be accurate because if not, you're off. What you do may not quite do the job because you are not taking care of the problem, you're taking care of something else. So accurately diagnose. Like yesterday's right, with the water, with the car. Diagnosis, silly. So take time. Accurately diagnose. Soothe and heal. So as to emotionally fit again and able to continue to work. Seek. Seek consultation or further therapy for previously unexplored areas that are triggered by peoples' stories. See even people who go to therapy, you know, therapists who are trained and go to therapy to be trained, you know, then they get really traumatised again by stories they hear. They can go back to therapy and take care of those areas that are not explored, like those secrets, this morning, the self secrets. It's good to

do check ups. You do physical check ups, don't you. You don't do emotional check ups, do ya? What, your emotions are less important? It's amazing how people really are not self caring.

(c) Acknowledge that any one of the affective reactions or emotional reactions, for example, grief, mourning, rage, may interact with old unworked through experiences. You know, like what you said before, you know, people are re-traumatized, right. The trauma of today may interact with the trauma of 30 years ago and you'll feel helpless today, like you felt when you were a kid. Now then it was right, then it was valid because you were a kid. Today you only feel like one because you're not. But that interaction brings you back there and you feel the same helplessness, for example, or the overwhelming mourning or the rage, uncontrollable rage, right. So I say that the present may interact with old stuff and what I'm saying is, instead of seeing your pain as failure and as a call to quit, we will, if we confront these we will thus be able to use your professional work purposefully for their own growth, right. So you can really see it positively. Okay, something is going on, right. Your emotions are giving you signs. Something is going on, doesn't belong to today, it's somewhere back there, I don't know what it is, let me explore it.

Let me use the current situation to heal old wounds that I never attended to, okay. (e) (c) and (d), sure, they are similar actually. (c) was, seek consultation or further therapy for previously unexplored areas that are triggered by the stories, the patients stories or your clients or And the other one is a more positive way of putting it really. Acknowledge that any one of the emotional reactions you have, right, like grief, mourning, rage, guilt, may interact with old unworked through experiences. You are thus able to use your professional work purposefully for your own growth.

(e) There are only two more. Establish a network of people to create a holding environment within which you can share your trauma related work, your trauma in general and your trauma related work. Very important. Therapists in particular don't want to inflict this on their families so they are alone in the family, they don't want to tell it to their friends because they're afraid their friends will, some of them, if they only talk about these terrible things etc., you know the thing because you are all in it and you end up all alone. It's very important to deliberately and consciously create a holding environment, a network of people who will be there for you when you need them to talk. In fact we have it in the project, once a week, we regulate it. We found that until we gave a time for it, it either happened or didn't happen. This way, it's there. We have one group that meets every second Saturday, we have one that meets every Thursday. We have one on a conference call from a few cities that we have every Tuesday morning. So we do it even, you know on a national level. If you don't have a person in your area or a network in your area you can do it by phone. But I cannot over estimate how important that is, over emphasise I mean.

(f) Last one here. Therapists or carers should provide themselves with advocational avenues for creative and relaxing self expression in order to re-generate energies. Do other things, you know, creative, fun. And I finish with saying that being kind to yourself and feeling free to have fun and enjoy is not a frivolity in this field but a necessity without which one cannot fulfil one's professional obligations, that is, one's professional contract. Remember I'm coming back to what I started with this morning. You need to have fun, you need to get out, you need to remember that nature exists, that arts exist, that music exists, that friendship exists, theatre, whatever, I can't tell you what, you know, what to pick. But you have to have balance so that you don't get totally consumed, only in trauma work. Because you also lose perspective. You lose the rest of life. I never have more than 60% of my patients trauma victims, never go over 60%, to maintain balance. Well, you have another chance not to regret anything. Go ahead.

EDDIE: On 3(d) you said, "the emotional reactions may interact with old unworked through experiences." To what extent is it true that it would also work, it will also interact with experiences that we have even worked through already and one draws positively from that.

DR DANIEL: That would be wonderful, absolutely. But whenever it's, you know, each one of us knows whenever it's too painful or too much, it tells you that something is not totally worked out. You know what I mean, there's something there. It's totally, you know, it's part of life. Okay. As I said we can make copies of those, the article of the exercise, right. So you'll have it with you and you can mull it over and even try it on other people but remember, take time. Be kind and compassionate with them and with you, without it, it won't work, right. And the other article called "Confronting the Unimaginable" is the original research I told you about, about the different therapists reactions to listening to the stories and it will help in two ways. One is, it will sort of delineate the conspiracy of silence, right, all of those strategies we do to not hear, not hear, not see, right. But also it will sort of map for you and you could maybe

identify some of your own reactions in it. Tomorrow we will continue with the multi generational legacies of trauma and you will see that we will speak at the beginning about the conspiracy of silence within the family, within society and how it affects the family and the children and the next generation in the morning and we'll have a discussion about and I would love all of you to like think about it and in the afternoon we will talk about a survivor's age, okay. What does the normal process of ageing bring up or down as you wish for survivors, so we will examine the life long consequences, not only the now, all right. Now as I said, please remember your dreams of tonight. We will begin the morning by, sort of recouping a little of today and anything one would want to share, we will. So we will give half an hour for sharing tomorrow when you wake up you'll think about today, you know, you'd want to say something so we will give time for that and take care and have fun tonight.

MS MKHIZE: Excuse me, excuse me, before you all disappear, can I just make one small request. I've cleared it with Dr Daniel a facilitator, the Minister of Education they have a filming company which they have consulted and they made a request to come in tomorrow. It's on adult education. So they are working on a slot on trauma so they wanted to pick up on some of the skills that are being shared here.

DR DANIEL: Did they want to come tomorrow or Friday?

MS MKHIZE: No, apparently tomorrow. So I just wanted to clear

that with you, if you see people coming in and filming some sessions.....

MEETING ADJOURNS

ON RESUMPTION - 19TH FEBRUARY 1998 - DAY 2

DR DANIEL: ...[inaudible] feelings or anything you wanted to share with us?

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: No.

DR DANIEL: Anything you would regret not sharing? Alright, you have time until tomorrow. Any particular dreams? What, we have to start all over again like we did in the meeting yesterday? Alright, go ahead.

Thank you Patrick.

PATRICK: It was a strange kind of dream, it was, I was visiting Maluse Umpumalana. Maluse Umpumalana used to be one, in fact, one of the activists you know, sort of, in this country who - and he left you know on an errand and sitting there with his family and you know, my wife, I heard a plane and this sound came closer, closer to the house and all of a sudden, they started shooting at us and then of course the noise stopped and these police came in looking for Umpumalana and they thought that I was, you know, Umpumalana and of course they discovered that I wasn't.

And I don't, but I mean I woke up and I tried to go over, you know, this dream and I couldn't understand it and that was my dream last night.

DR DANIEL: Do you remember how you felt in the dream?

PATRICK: I was, I mean, the usual thing I was, I think I was scared but strong at the same time because I could face those guys and I think that, I mean, I did say to them it wasn't necessary for them to shoot the house, you know, they could have killed, you know, so many people and the children and so on. I was afraid but confrontational at the same time.

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: Am I allowed to raise a question to Patrick, to the person who spoke?

DR DANIEL: You're may, here we can interrupt.

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: Thank you. From your experience, Bishop is that not something that has happened with someone else that you are now only seeing Umpumalana in it while it actually happened to somebody else. And you are projecting that event because it has not been dealt with?

PATRICK: Ya, I think so, I mean, you know, again, you know, looking at the years of struggle, shooting did happen to some very close people, you know, very close friends of mine. But, you know, but rightly perhaps I have never been able to deal with that, I don't know, perhaps those events are still very, very deep and hidden you know, in my brain, I mean, I don't know.

Can I raise something too? And you see, and that is why, I believe that healing and reconciliation sometimes is a lifetime process and once you begin, you know, hell, today this thing comes out and then after two years something else comes out, you know, and these are the undealt issues, you know, that perhaps I have come across in my own life and these things were never resolved.

So, I mean as I always say, you know, we are, we are on a route that takes us somewhere but it's not that we can just do overnight and say okay, here's the money I buy reconciliation and tomorrow I'm reconciled, you know, it doesn't work that way.

DR DANIEL: I'll take it as a statement, rather than a question. I doubt that anybody in this room would not agree with you. I mean - Yes?

CARL: Carl is my name. Yesterday I spent a lot of time thinking about, when I think Duma was trying to touch on a bit but there's the complexity of the traumatising of the, being both victim and perpetrator and that fine line and then also within our situation in South Africa.

I think this came home to me the most with a colleague who was watching a video where they highlighted the life of a young man who was killed by the white police and she was from another political - her son was part of another political movement in the same area.

And this young man who was killed by the white police was also implicated in the death of her son because he represented another political - AZAPO as opposed to the UDF. She has very little outlet to deal with the trauma of that situation because this was within the struggle, this was within.

And it's much easier to see the demon and the enemy in the white and to come to some grips with that because you're hero in that process but her son died within the struggle and she's been almost a victim of the internal conflict there. And she feels very little place where her story can be told and heard and understood and appreciated and that's another layer of trauma, I think. And I'm not quite sure, you know, if there's a dynamic to look at, how do we begin to deal with that too?

DR DANIEL: Well, what do you think? You must have thought about that?

CARL: I don't know, I really don't know.

DR DANIEL: Okay, anybody else has an idea? And what would you call that layer perhaps? What would you name that layer?

CARL: Well it's almost double victimisation in the sense that she lost her son to the cause but also then lost her son from within. I mean, she doesn't have anyone she can say, I mean she can say particular people were implicated in the death of her son but she can't say it was her enemy, it was supposedly the people that were working together in the struggle and yet there was - and there's many incidents of this kind all through our local communities and very difficult to access because the perpetrators and the survivors are living in the same block. They're seeing each other every day still.

LINGELWI: Talking about layers, you ask the question what do you call that layer and I was wondering whether it should be given a name because it seems that there is layer after layer after layer and it's like an onion. Now, in terms of what we were going through yesterday what you're saying something about allowing the emotion and the pain to happen. Now I don't know if there's a direct correlation between the pain that one feels at the moment and one particular layer of all these layers or whether there is one big pot where all the layers go and you just deal with the whole pot together.

So looking at that dream I wonder whether it is a layer in the pot which comes out and whether it has to be dealt with as an individual layer or if there is such a thing as dealing with the whole pot?

DR DANIEL: We continue to look for quick and easy things because that is our wish, isn't it? Let it go away, let it never, let it be like it never happened to begin with, right? Which is such a deep understandable wish, but I don't think so and the exploration takes time, just like we spoke yesterday and Patrick's point is very well taken.

And we discover more and more layers and remember when we spoke yesterday about the kind layer, the kind interactions made remind one or may reawaken old, right, like he reminded us when he asked Patrick the question? So it's the digging and the understanding of the relationship between today and then, right, and to try and disentangle it and disentangle the connection. Like you remember the car that splashed the water, you know, that's not trauma but it could be related if you experience it as an offence related to the past so there's a lot of work in the disentangling that we have to do.

DOUGLAS: Can I pick up? And just because there are new people, I'm Douglas. On what Carl was saying and it reminded me of secrets and it also reminds me of community work. Because there are two signs in that means that there actually, that road is actually almost a traumatised area and two people, it actually, only for me, will come right when the traumatised people can talk to each other. I don't know, that's part of the secretness that she carries and she feels maybe she'll never actually be able to tell that story to the neighbours and what that means to her. Maybe they feel

exactly the same way and as, that's where I sometimes feel that you need community, community working in that area but that's another whole difficult area for us to engage with but an important one.

DR DANIEL: So here we are opening up the problem and the mechanism and the localisation of, is already here. I absolutely agree with you. We didn't get a name, we have to find a name. I think we ought to find a name. It will help to name what you're talking about, it will lead us ahead but clearly what you're pointing to is that perhaps this, that in that community, the trauma is the community trauma rather than individuals that live in isolation from the community and then it's more on an individual level and when it's a community trauma, yes, that is the locals of the trauma and therefore that will be the target of our interventions and that's how you conceptualise it, right? Or whether we call it the family trauma or the community of the nation, I mean we were talking about that yesterday too. You'll see that we develop together, the layers and the model that I developed, you'll see how it will come together. Please?

SPEAKER 2: I would just like to share a story on that kind of level. In one of the areas I'm working in, in a local informal settlement, a group of young comrades had been killed by a group of older comrades and there was a huge conspiracy of silence around that, nobody quite knows why, although I don't think nobody knows why but nobody talks about why and a lot of the mothers of the youngsters were referred to us after the Truth Commission Hearings, about this time last year and we started a group in the kind of support group sense like psychologists do, putting them together and thinking that if they share their experiences, there will be some change and some energy freed and what actually happened was that the dynamics of that community which is quite a small circum...[indistinct] community, came into the group and the group was not able to move because of the poisoning of the secret in that community so the group eventually decided it was splitting itself into two between the ones who wanted to keep the secrets and the ones who needed to share it and suspicion and paranoia and attacks in the community started happening. Also people felt threatened that some of these survivors of that massacre in which nine kids were killed were coming to talk about it, so people in the community were threatening those who were coming to the group and eventually the group decided that they needed to go much bigger and they organised, what they called a healing service, in the area, invited everybody, including the perpetrators of that massacre and we still don't understand what exactly the impact of that service was but it had a huge impact. A few days later the perpetrators applied for amnesty which they'd up to then refused to do and a few weeks later some of them were arrested for the murder, for the murders for the first time and that the murders had happened two years earlier. So we don't fully understand but the healing was taking place, it's still taking place. The group then continues to meet and shares experiences with other communities. I just wanted to share that.

DR DANIEL: Thank you. You gave an answer actually and the multiplying effect is wonderful, the same way when one victim speaks, other victims come forward and the same with perpetrators. It happens between communities. It's one of the things I said when we were reviewing the proposal, right, the Reparation Document, that in effect when it's in the best shape it could then serve other countries, right, so everything we do you think of, if not only that singular intervention but that it could serve forward. How would you call it then? Community trauma? Anybody has a name yet?

MS MKHIZE: Can I just say something?

DR DANIEL: Sure.

MS MKHIZE: I mean, I'm interested what I should think it came from Carl, I don't know whether it was endorsed by Moss again because it's very prevalent here that most people who have experienced trauma, let's say from a politically motivated action. It's very common that they'll be exposed to other levels of trauma. If they are younger their family might be displaced because of political violence but also then exposed to abuse of young people. Young people who you see will be the victims of other traumas but they'll be struggling with their trauma and I should think in terms of understanding, it's critical for us because often you don't know how to react. People when they come to you, they'll be stuck in any one trauma, maybe just a rape, but as a helper you will be fully aware that there are quite a number of other pressing issues in this person's mind. They are not getting better and what happened objectively you would think it's not so bad that this person will be in this state for six months or more not just moving on irrespective of having therapy and so on.

I don't know whether we have a deeper understanding as helpers ourselves and an ability to help people to....

DR DANIEL: Please?

SPEAKER 2: I think Moss actually came up with the name himself and I'd like to propose "The Onion of Trauma" because really, that's what it is, you're peeling away, as Hlengiwe says, disentangling, you're peeling away the trauma, each layer is a different trauma whether it's national, community, local, personal and think of the effects of peeling an onion, you do cry, if the onion is frozen sure, maybe you won't cry, if you wash the onion all those tips, maybe you won't cry and then you get the blurred part in the middle which is not easy to peel and maybe there's a blurred layer of trauma. It's just a suggestion.

DR DANIEL: Okay, so, oh. Please?

SPEAKER 3: I concur with the speaker who said these layers, I think she articulated them quite well but I also wanted to share a dream with you. Maybe one layer which was not properly shared yesterday, I think it was not an opportune time for me to share what had happened to me because I relived the situation and I don't want to take the meeting back but what was articulated yesterday by Kosi, all this status came back to me and I also realised that, as a student, there was this new testament that were given to us, then, that was a source of courage because I was quiet, I had no one to share with at home and there was this youth movement that I belonged to "Kiro...[indistinct] is the Catholic kind of movement which was embrasive of other churches then. Then in the movement, I used to share a lot with I think was a peer group kind of situation where we understood the struggle at our level, the then 1976 situation, but at home there was no support whatsoever. But the source of my strength was that bible. I remember quite vividly, there was some verses on when bereaved, lonely, etc. I don't know if I should say when we identify these layers, we should recognise the peer group kind of healing. But the dream was terrible because it was like I was back at Avalon where Matthew was buried. Some 20 years back and around his grave I know this Doctor ...[indistinct]'s grave and I had some squashed flowers, you know it was terrible and from 3 o'clock till now, I couldn't sleep. I even went through your resume to discover who you are.

QUESTION FROM AUDIENCE: [indistinct]

SPEAKER 3: No it didn't. I struggled to find the Panados etc. but here am I. I think I have this to share.

DR DANIEL: Thank you very much. It's very interesting because I also thought about it, who was it, was it Eddie, yesterday that said that maybe there's guilt, survivor guilt here, you said that, didn't you? Do you think that there's a connection? Between what Eddie said and the dream?

SPEAKER 3: In a way, yes, because I know when we parted, he was leaving through Botswana and there were letters sent to me to say, in case you change your mind this is the route. Now my guilt is based on why did he have to come back, was he coming back to convince me once more? Or, you know, I mean, even there I felt like I betrayed the struggle by going back to school to go and receive the kind of Bantu Education that we all boycotted then.

DR DANIEL: It's very related to what we talked about to Duma also. What do you think these squashed flowers are about?

SPEAKER 3: I couldn't make sense of the squashed flowers, maybe it was ...[indistinct] because I like flowers, I couldn't even put them in a flower pot in the house or put them on his grave they were like, I don't know, they were like useless flowers, I don't know what they represent really.

DR DANIEL: A thought that kept me up after yesterday, was two things that we didn't touch on and maybe it's related to what you're talking about. One is, the helplessness we feel to help others in their condition in the time of trauma. You said that, Duma, remember? You said that your suffering was bad enough but what keeps burning in you is the memories of others that you witnessed and that you couldn't do anything about. Am I with you? And I think that, I think Khosi was talking also about trying to help the children, remember? And that she couldn't and that was the most hurtful? And of course we also talked about survivor guilt and we postponed it until today probably because it was too much yesterday. Well, hold that thought okay, the connection between the helplessness and perhaps the guilt and maybe that those squashed flowers perhaps are a symbol for that helplessness that you couldn't bring him back. You couldn't make it better, maybe, okay? So lets hold that thought and I would like to, not to interrupt the discussion, but to add the layer of the family. Okay? To our interactions. So to be efficient in terms of time particularly because we started late, let me

read to you some of the descriptions of families of survivors of the Holocaust. Again, we will be able to print this for you so you don't need to get busy taking notes rather than just listening. I'm trying to see how does it relate to you, right, how does it relate to your experience. Right? So that I would like you to take notes of. Okay, while I'm talking, if it makes any sense in terms of your experience, does it connect to your experience? That's how we will handle the discussion at the end, right? What connections do you see? What things apply, what things are irrelevant to you. Okay and at the end of that discussion I'll also report to you of this book that's coming out that in fact Michael Simpson has a chapter in, that I mention the "International Handbook of Multi-generational Legacies of Trauma", okay, and if you want to we can talk about other populations around the world, then I can tell you little bit about that but because my most solid knowledge comes from working with survivors of the Holocaust and because this was the first population in the field that the family dynamics were explored. Let me report to you that, okay and I will report to you basically my work and here and there mention the connection to others. And I will not talk about the Holocaust, I would assume that you know about it. I started with a copy that they made and forgot every second page, so, bless God I have others. Oh, Ilinga just told me that Khosi was here before but she's feeling sick so she went to the doctor. I hope she'll come back, so let's wish her well. And some of what I will read to you, you'll see you already know.

"One way that survivors coped with the prolonged horrors of the Holocaust was to sustain the hope of reuniting with their families. While some did find a few surviving relatives, most learned where and how their family members and friends had perished. There are those survivors who never found anything about what happened. Unable to fully comprehend their tragedy, or to express their grief or rage, they were confronted with the task of rebuilding their lives. Marriages of despair, as I called it in my writing, you will understand why, formed on short acquaintance which disregarded differences in pre-war socio-economic educational status, lifestyle, age or other ordinary criteria from marriage were frequent between adult survivors, people who would say something like I'm lonely, you're lonely, let's get married. Or you're from Poland, I'm from Poland, let's get married, because there were so few." You're laughing, I see there's a connection, good, write it down. Write it down.

"Recreating a family was a concrete act to compensate for their losses, counter the massive disruption in the order in continuity of the survivors lives and undo the dehumanisation and loneliness they had experienced. The most tangible fulfilment of hope for the continuity and renewal of life was to bring a child into the world. Many survivors gave birth in displaced persons camps, or as we call them D.P. Camps, as soon as it was physically possible. Almost without exception the newborn children were named after those who had perished." Now those of you who know Jewish tradition, know that in Judaism we call, we name people after those who died. But it's quite different to be named after somebody who is murdered. Okay, especially for example if it's after ...[indistinct] sibling, it becomes a whole other mission to carry. " Often viewed as a blessing, miracle, gift, a symbol of victory, the children were to be the future in the world free of oppression and equal to or even better than the idealised pre-war world of their parents." In addition to the difficulties shared by most immigrants to the United States and this presentation is about those who went to the United States, here and there I will comment on those who went to Israel or those who remained in Europe which he actually already discussed in this brilliant group. So, let me focus on that. " The majority of Holocaust survivors as I said in addition to the usual problems of immigrants, the majority of Holocaust survivors encountered a unique cluster of pervasive, negative societal reaction and attitudes comprised of indifference, avoidance, repression and denial of their Holocaust experiences." Sounds familiar, doesn't it? Let me describe a little bit about the conspiracy of silence, I'm sure you'll recognise some of this. "Survivors' war accounts were too horrifying for most people to listen to or believe. Additionally, bystanders' guilt led many to regard the survivors as pointing an accusing finger at them. Survivors were also faced with a pervasively held myth that they had actively or passively participated in their own destiny by quote 'going like sheep to the slaughter' and with the suspicion that they had performed immoral acts in order to survive." Remember yesterday you asked me about sexuality in the camps? And somehow we got onto something else. There was very little of that not only, that the attitude of the Germans was such that for them it was the law that they were not allowed to touch a Jew. So if rapes occurred for example, they were mostly by Ukrainians or people from the area often you know, of some other countries, or the Russians later. But part of what's happening, what has been happening is that people, in the peoples fantasies about that, they thought that there was. Okay, and that creates a layer, an additional layer of suffering because of those fantasies. Not only the ignorance but to be looked at that way when you felt so destitute and so unkempt and so unattractive, right, and without hair, you know with shaven hair and with lice and was bad enough to also think that people think of you that way is truly an additional insult. But we have a lot more to talk about, I think, about that. This is what you asked about right? Good, thank you. It remained in my mind that you weren't answered. So these kind of reactions ensured the survivor's silence about their Holocaust experiences. I mean and the

radio today, I was trying to talk about the conspiracy of silence and the interviewer, John Layton, so he said "so the Truth Commission is very good here?" and I said "Ja, it's a step in the right direction, but, the telling is only one piece, the listening is the other, see, so the job of the Truth Commission has to also ensure the participation of the listener and the listener has to be the country, not? So keep that in mind, okay, another mechanism of the future of the Truth Commission, because we were talking about perpetuating the continuation of telling the story which is so important. But also we need education to listen. "The resulting conspiracy of silence, which has existed both between the Holocaust survivors in society and between survivors in the Mental Health Profession" (as I mentioned yesterday, right, for over 30 years) "had a significant negative impact on the survivors post-war familial and socio-cultural adaptation and consequently on their long term capacity for intra-psychic integration." Do you remember we talked about that? For the internal integration and healing. Survivors were forced to conclude that nobody cared to listen and that no one who had not undergone the same experience, quote, 'could really understand them.' " Their profound isolation, loneliness and mistrust of society intensified and the task of mourning their massive losses became impossible." I will refer to that later. I will end my presentation with that, with the survivor voice about mourning and the difficulty. The silence imposed by a world that did not want to hear, to hear them, proved particularly painful to those who had survived the war determined to bear witness. You know that, some of you know, that while you were going through it, the one thing that was in your mind is "I must tell this so the world won't do this again". Right and when you survived with that kind of inner force, to then be shut up or neither have the opportunity to speak is definitely an additional trauma. Not a retrauma, it's a new one and let me tell you a little story about that and I promised you to bring you the quotation of Elly Resaille so let me just find it. The story I'm going to tell you while I'm looking for that is in Israel actually. During the Eichmann Trial, wait, how should I tell it from the end or from the beginning. I'll tell you from the, wait..

During the Eichmann Trial, one of his guards suddenly broke down and this story came out, his name was Michale or Michael in your language. He was a child during the war. He was in ghettos and camps one after the other and one time in the ghetto he was caught stealing a potato. He picked a potato so the Germans accused him for stealing and gave him 80 lashes for that. Now, throughout those 80 lashes, even though he already knew that he was an orphan, because he had seen his family murdered and throughout six more concentration camps, he said the only burning mission he had was to tell so that this would never ever happen again to anyone else and when he came to Israel and tried to tell, there was like a distant cousin or other people, he said nobody would listen. He said that was the 81st and final blow, you see. He said those 80 lashes didn't do it, it was that last one that stopped him from talking. He literally remained sort of mute and Israel is, you know, very hot most of the year, right, and normally people wear short sleeves. Well he was one of the people who wore long sleeves to hide the number almost as a protest 'I won't share this with you.' Right and nobody knew his story until when he was Eichmann's guard, Eichmann insulted him and all of it came out and he started shaking and you know the feelings, don't you, he started shaking and of course he was, you know, he asked someone to hold him which was very, very smart of him, right, because he was afraid that he'll do something to spoil the trial from due process and he at least had a historic sense that at least this trial is doing what he always wanted to do, which was to tell the story. So this is a story I thought, you know, will place for you and not by the way, the first film that was made about the Holocaust in Israel was therefore named "The 81st Blow" after this story and some of you may have seen it, perhaps. It was the first film done on the Holocaust in Israel or by an Israeli. I will find Elly Resailles quote after the break, I don't want to interrupt the flow, okay? The only option left for survivors other than sharing their Holocaust experiences with each other, was to withdraw completely into their newly established families. Children of such families, although remembering their parents and lost families war histories quote, 'only in bits and pieces.' I tested to the constant psychological presence of the Holocaust at home, verbally and/or non-verbally or in some cases reported having absorbed the only present experience of the Holocaust, they would say through osmosis. Like they did in Ohio, but it was always there. Now, what I'm reporting to you is based on our work of the group project for Holocaust survivors and their children, right, which you remember we formally gave name and we can talk about why we chose this name later on. Maybe tomorrow in our mechanism discussion. On the basis of seeing a few thousands of them, both in America and around the world, I have formulated four major categories of survivor families. I like to think of them as psychological portraits so to speak. The first one I called "The Victim Families", the second "The Fighter Families" the third "The Numb Families" n-u-m-b and the fourth, in quotation mark, in quotation mark, "Those Who Made It" and you'll understand the quotation marks when I describe it. Now these are only four, okay, out of many more possibilities. Okay, but these are the four that I began to describe. Now the importance of these descriptions is at the time most of what we had in the literature, at the time that I started describing these, most of what we had in the literature was about what I call "The Victim Families". Okay, this kind of description and what happened is, I worked with many and I saw that no, we don't just have one syndrome, we don't only have one characterisation. People adapt in different ways, okay,

that is their heterogeneity in response to trauma and that's what I was trying to describe, okay, so again take notes in your minds between us here. I would like you to know that although the survivor experience post war posture, may or may not be identical with his or her war experience. Most survivors who had a victim or non-families work former concentration camp inmates. Most of those in the fighter category, were partisans and resistance fighters during the war. Now I'm going to pose a challenge to you in our process of reconciliation. I want you to think not only about the victim's families that you know, I want you to think about the perpetrators families too and because this is within a multi-generation of legacies of trauma, I'd like you to also for example think of the survivors of the concentration camps in this country i.e. for example, right, the British Camps of the Afrikaans and to think that maybe that's of the consequence, the historic consequences in this country, perhaps follow these kind of patterns? And that when we do the onion peeling, we won't do only this generation but we want to go back in history, okay?

So try to keep that in mind too, it's too many tasks but you're doing a great job as we found out yesterday already. So I'm going to now start describing the victim families. The post war home atmosphere and I'm talking about the post trauma, right, so the post war home atmosphere of survivors whose dominant family identity was that of victim, was characterised by pervasive depression, worry, mistrust and fear of the outside world and by symbiotic clinging within the family, people always had to cling to each other. Catastrophic overreactions to everyday changes were coming. Like the end of the world, like the splashing of the water yesterday. Psychomatisation which means to express your emotions via your body, right, so in physical pains etcetera, in disease. Psychomatisation while serving as an unconscious expression of the survivors' chronic grief and rage was also used to control and manipulate other family members. So for example, those survivors who are too proud to ask for help would get sick and that...[end of tape]

....mostly about headaches and physical pains rather than verbally talk about their feelings and they would rather do that and they would rather just get medications than talk so that the culture also of course has an effect here. Physical problems were far more acceptable in victim families than psychological problems which the parents viewed as evidence of Hitler's posthumous victory. It's like 'he still gets me' you know, 'the war is still getting me today'. You said something similar yesterday, right, you know, even after a good session you feel a little better, it gets you again. Psychological help was also seen as a threatening intrusion into the symbiotic network of the family. Let me explain that a little bit. Do you understand what I mean here? Since the family had to be so close, right, it didn't trust other people to treat them correctly or to understand them. Anybody would be felt as an intruder, but, there's an additional issue here which I will refer to later. Especially in American Psychology, the idea of therapy is to become independent or autonomous, right, which is to leave the family. In these kind of families who are clinging together, was the most important way of surviving and continuing to live in this world. Of course when a therapist comes in that way, that would be very threatening, wouldn't it? As of course, as carers, you would, you would understand in the transference, right, that when the family sees you as a Nazi who is splitting families, you have to deal with that transference reaction, you have to be able to contain, to take it in, to take that anger in and understand it and take it and work with it and it's very hard for good people like us, right, to be viewed and who want to help etcetera, to be viewed as terrible people, right, as the next Nazi or the next perpetrator. So it's whole huge complex of difficulties here. Yet another means of keeping the family a totally closed system was teaching mistrust to the children, like, you only trust your family, can't trust anybody else. Taking orders or instructions from outside authorities especially police for example or any uniformed people, was experienced as best as passive humiliation. Children in such families were often trained to be survivors of future holocausts and frequently reported panic and guardedness when Holocaust imagery intruded into the daily experiences for example, standing in line, okay, you know taking a train, you know, you would suddenly feel very anxious. The long term result of such experiences was often keen political liberalism. It's very important, they became extremely sensitive to the suffering of anyone and to any oppression of any group. In fact the first Cambodian refugees that came to the United States stayed in children of survivors' homes. Victim families insisted that the inside doors of their homes remain open at all times, because as I said, the outside doors were closed, right, but the inside they always had to keep it open. They would wake up in the middle of the night to check if the kids are breathing. Children came to check that their parents are okay. Any assertion of healthy independence and privacy needs by the children threatened parents who felt that they were reliving their war experiences when being separated meant total and permanent loss. Now remember that. This is one finding that is uniform around the world, the separation difficulties in these families. The demands for symbiotic devotion and fulfilling family goals, were most heavily visited upon the first born children i.e. those who are born right after the war, closest to the war. Security based on physical nutritional and material survival was of paramount concern in these families. For most parents, joy, self fulfilment and existential questions were luxuries that, private, not for us who had suffered so much. Survivor parents appear to be both very certain and

disaster smart to their children in protecting them against any negative eventuality in life. They always had to tell the children be careful of this, right? Being right and in control in their families even if arbitrarily so, seems to have compensated for the survivors prevailing sense of passive helplessness and demoralisation during the Holocaust. So at least in the family they took charge even if nonsense or about nonsense, because wrong decisions during the war invariably meant death. Many children also behaved as if every decision were a matter of life and death. Children of survivors have great difficulty in making decisions like what do you choose?

Survivor parents were frequently lost and disoriented however in dealing with American reality, right, within new countries, their host countries and it then became the childrens' task to become the families mediators with the outside world, thus, roles in these families were reversed and overprotection became mutual. You understand that? The children protected the parents. I have seen children of survivors who have told me at H4 they had to sign cheques for their parents, they had to go with them to the German Consulate because they knew English and their parents didn't and you can understand that these children had to become adults very, very fast. They had to take care of their parents and they did this out of great love except they paid a price, you'll see in a moment. The children were also called upon to be the mediators inside the homes as parents' marriages of despair, remember those? Frequently turned into interminable complaining about their mutual disappointment, like I would have never married you if it had not been for the war. Now it's true. In fact these are realistic statements. They would not have their different classes, different places, nothing in common. But, for children to grow up like that is difficult and of course with the parents to live like that is also difficult and you'll see in a moment, though, a contradiction here. Would they divorce do you think? Of course not, because Nazis broke families, not Jews. So they were committed in this kind of interminable complaining and remained that way and of course it was also one way to express anger that they couldn't express any other way and of course when people marry, with all, after all the losses, they invest so many fantasies and hopes in their mate, right? That their mate will be there as a father and a mother they lost and the community they lost and nobody can live up to any of that, but nobody knows that. Especially when you make desperate attempts to build a life. So the results we're talking about, the results indeed, now this is important as well now, it may have some bearings here. For the male survivor, for the men, had a disadvantage compared with the female in achieving psychological recovery and then reestablishing his traditional role as head of the family, making a new life often became merely making a living. Now do you understand why? I don't know if you know that piece of history. You know that in Europe, up until World War II

the only males that were circumcised were Jews, so even if the Jewish Men looked, could pass for Arian, right, if he were caught of course his identity as Jew would easily be found, you know, just drop your pants. So even in the conditions of hiding, they weren't able to provide for their families or protect their families or 'act like men' like the traditional role of heads of families. Woman, on the other hand, at those times, especially in hiding were able to, if I don't mean to say it was easy, but at least they didn't have that danger of having a physical characteristic that would easily identify one. And there were, after the war, you may imagine then, that for the traumatised men, who also could not 'be a man' in the context of the family, it was an additional insult. It was much more difficult to rebuild that sense especially if you went to another country, you lost your education, because of the war years, right? You don't know the language even if you were a physician you didn't have the language to take the American Exams so you sometimes went to work in a factory just to provide for your new family. These were very difficult conditions to feel self-respect and revive the image of yourself. So it was an interaction with the women who actually, some of them, feel very proud for how they survived, right, and managed. Things became difficult for the men and compared to the women, the women fared better. I think it's much more complicated, women talk more easily and share more easily and there more seeking groups to relate to and therefore they have more support and solidarity whereas men when they feel humiliated and ashamed, tend to isolate themselves, right, and it becomes a vicious cycle, they don't give themselves the chance to heal. To just make a connection here I don't if you know, in Argentina, you heard of the grandmothers of the Piazza Di Mio? Ya, the grandmothers who in fact changed their regimes. Of that generation most of the men are already dead. They got, mostly got sick of old causes, there were suicides compared to those women and in fact the understanding is about the activity of the women and the solidarity, the being together and you know, ..[indistinct] while the men dealt with their insults and losses by isolating themselves and giving themselves no way of venting and it cost lives. Typically in these families, the husband became a compulsive worker and took a subsidiary position in the emotional and interpersonal life of the family. The wife would frequently berate her husband in front of the children. The offspring were called upon to take sides to serve as confidantes to compensate for the parents disappointments in marriage and to parent their parents quite a bit. For reasons related to the war the management of rage and aggression was an enormous problem for survivors. During the war there was a saying "An angry Jew is a dead Jew". After the war there were no places to

express the aggression. So I'm saying, moreover, life after the war did not afford the survivors adequate opportunity for expression of their bottomless rage, leaving them only indirect, mostly familial means to express and experience it. So all of that rage was contained in that tiny little family. The immense conflict and the meaning of aggression in their lives and their roles as parents severely inhibited the victim survivors' ability to serve as authority figures for their offspring i.e. to set limits and to provide them with reasonable discipline and constructive channels for their normal aggression. You understand the unconscious conflict, no? Well the children fear of being wrong and their inhibition of anger and assertiveness they also learned to inhibit it, tended to block creative self-initiated tasks in these often disproportionately bright, ambitious and talented offspring, right, if for example if your family tells you 'don't stand out, it's dangerous.' See, you're becoming successful, it's dangerous, isn't it? Because success makes you stand out. So, even though you may be very ambitious, you'd end up cutting yourself down to, for survival, so to speak. But I just want that conflict if you didn't have it because that will apply in this society too. The issue of why would the parents have difficulty disciplining? Right, because if, to be strict they would feel 'Oh my God, I'm a Nazi'. Right, to be totally permissive, where does that lead the children with no limits and no boundaries. Okay, but that's the dilemma here and that's the dilemma of children of survivors. So if they too have difficulties taking upon themselves to be an authority and a good one, you know, a healthy one. Guilt. We are finally getting there, kids. Guilt was one of the most potent means of control in these victim families keeping many adult children from questioning parents about their war experiences, expressing anger towards them or quote "burning them with their own pain" like how can I tell them my problem, they have enough of their own, they have suffered so much, right, how can I express anger to them, I'm a Nazi if I do that. Or like Douglas said yesterday, any problem of mine is too trivial compared to theirs, right? So your reaction is absolutely not an uncommon one. Being totally passive, I'm talking about survivor guilt now, being totally passive and helpless in the face of the Holocaust, was perhaps the most devastating experience for victim survivors, one that was existentially intolerable. If I asked you right now to picture yourself totally helpless, you can't, you psychologically can't let ourselves because guilt presupposes the presence of choice and the power to exercise it. Much of which has been termed survivors' guilt may an unconscious attempt to deny or undo this helplessness. Do you understand how? When I say, I should have done, I feel guilty, what does it mean? It means I'm telling myself I should have done something which means I'm telling myself I could have done something which means I'm telling myself somebody else would open the door if I want to go, right, all of these are lies, self lies. They deny the reality of the utter, passive helplessness. But that is existentially intolerable, it's just painful to us to conceive of so we would rather continuously suffer survivor guilt and pretend like were powerful and we had choices and we had ways of acting and suffered that, than to say I was totally helpless. Do you follow that? It makes sense to you? Good. Now the children also feel helpless in their attempts to help their parents. So here you have another layer of the childrens' guilt to cover up their helplessness. Therapists and carers who want to help and to liberate people and to fix them and to get them well, feel the same helplessness and therefore bystanders' guilt. So we have layers and layers and layers of this guilt and it's very paralyzing and very painful and this is only the existential function of the denial of helplessness, okay? In my writings on survivors' guilt, I say that there are other functions, okay, for example the function of existential continuity of relationships, for example when a mother survivor in her daughter's wedding which is a very happy event, right, stands there and says "oh, if my mother were only here and if my father were only here and if my brother were only here" and etcetera. She's not doing it to spoil the party. What is she doing psychologically? Tell me. She's mourning yes, that is one aspect, that's very good, it's a function of survivor guilt but what is she also doing?

SPEAKER: She's also, she's creating a ...[indistinct] that's not present, that's not present, it's memory.

DR DANIEL: Brilliant, brilliant. She is not psychologically alone. When you say "if he were only here, if she were only here" they're there psychologically, they're all at the wedding. So she's, so that kind of survivor's guilt creates a lot of suffering, actually keeps people around you, you are not psychologically alone. In fact if I asked you to close your eyes and to imagine yourself psychologically alone, you couldn't, because just to say "I" assumes others. So this existential function of survivors' guilt has to do with psychological aloneness, right, it counteracts psychological aloneness. It does something else too, it serves a sense of loyalty to the dead. It keeps them alive, it says even though Hitler wanted you and your memory erased, I remember you. Very important, very important. That's the existential function of continuity, right? And of course, there's another function, existential function to survivors' guilt which is the moral or the ethical function. In a world where so few of the perpetrators were not only not caught, but even fewer were punished: "at least I feel guilty. So I'm not demoralised." Do you follow that? It's very important, it's important in this condition too. It would be very demoralising to think that the perpetrators go free, isn't it? You know not to feel so demoralised at least to affirm morality at least I feel guilty, so the world has justice in it. This is very unpleasant guilt, isn't it? It can eat you up and

can lead to other aggressions and vicious cycles of violence which may be one of the contributors of impunity here.

SPEAKER: Could you say that again?

DR DANIEL: Yes, one of the things we're doing now is a world study of the 35 countries that hold impunity after regime change to find out whether in fact the rise in crime in most of them has something to do with that. With the impunity. You see it's an interesting, with everything here, we, as we have said over and over again really, part of what we try to resolve is the past. But we also, everything we do has also implication for the future. So impunity may serve the past to not continue that is with wars, violence etcetera, but what is the message of it to the future. You're saying you can do bad things and go free and it's quite possible the children hear that message and if society and that's another mechanism we want to have, if society is to be able to handle the impunity without the future destruction, destructive aspects of it, it has to be very aware of that possibility and provide for education in morality, right, for new ways of, in additional moral messages to get, so that's not the only message, okay? That's what you were asking about, right? Okay. Okay let me continue. I'm saying here also by the way it's ...[indistinct] the children. Remember the function against helplessness, the first function, the existential function in survivor guilt? It does something else too. The child who cannot really undo the Holocaust for the parent, which is what the child's most loving, beloved mission is, feels helpless in that mission doesn't he or she? I sometimes when we have our big groups I say to them: "You know even God cannot undo the Holocaust, and you want to, huh?" But it's not easily comforting is it? You keep trying because you love these people, you want them to smile, you want them to be happy, you want them to behave like they didn't go through all of those terrible things. And the children, when they feel helpless like that, they may generalise it to a general sense of helplessness and incapacity or low self esteem to say to themselves "I can't do anything, right, there's nothing I can do." So from "I cannot undo the Holocaust" becomes "There is nothing I can do." Wrong generalisation, right? Like we found out yesterday, but very important trap to watch out for when you work with kids. Over-protectiveness and over-involvement in all aspects of their parents' lives diminish the offspring ability to establish outside relationship in general, in marital and sexual relationship in particular. Many dreaded being on their own and becoming adults. Most feared having children to whom they might transmit their Holocaust legacy and upon whom they would inflict a world that might suffer another Holocaust. Despite their conscious wish to make the family and large once again, this fear often prevailed so they didn't get married and did not create families. Although many children of survivors were extraordinarily driven to achieve academic professional success, the offspring of victims, of this type family, right, often felt that surpassing their parents, that is being more successful than their parents,...tea! We have a tyranny of the tea! Okay, but we won't succumb, I'll finish at least the victim's family first, okay?

Most, excuse me, so, hold on, I'm going to repeat this because this is very important and may become to you too. As I said, although many children of survivors were extraordinarily driven to achieve academic or professional success, the offspring in these families, the victim type, often felt that surpassing their parents meant leaving them behind, right, that if they become very successful they leave their parents behind. Now unconsciously what does that connect with? What happens to parents when you leave them behind when you come from the Holocaust? You never see ..that's right, so do not do that, they would undo their success. Okay, so here's another dynamic that's directly Holocaust related and destructive today and as we understand there is as a result they often unconsciously destroy their success and accomplishments. Overly concerned not to hurt and keenly sensitive to another's pain, right, in these families, the children of victim survivors frequently entered the helping professions. In fact I always joke that children of victim survivor families are trained therapists by the age of three. They only have to wait for their licence. So but what's important here for you to remember is that you see that these experiences have impact in everything, on your relationships, on your work, on your education, on your learning, on your choice of career and profession? Everything. Yes, Eddy?

EDDY: What I find missing is to what extent would the peer group influence the behaviour of children. One would assume that because they all come from a similar background that they live in this protective family. That some of these families may occasionally get together and that would give an opportunity for the children to relate with each other. I can't imagine them relating with children outside of that experience, but if they relate to each other, has it been helpful in any way for the development of the child?

DR DANIEL: Well, it's a brilliant question, as usual, here. The reason we built the group project for Holocaust Survivors and their children was to bring people together in groups, in peer groups. So they do help each other,

absolutely, but yes, somehow assuming, that, you see you're touching upon a very important phenomenon that's not written about too much. That is how survivors settled after the war, did they settle in communities? Did they seek each other? And in fact some did, in fact some created such communities that they're like ghettos, self chosen ghettos. For example there's the very, very, orthodox community in Brooklyn, a community of survivors. Brooklyn is near New York City and what's absolutely astounding there, they even named the street as the names of the streets in the townships in Europe that they lived at. So when you go there it's like going in a time warp, finding yourself around that. So some survivors created communities and on the hand it was helpful, on the other hand it sometimes perpetuated the sense of isolation and mistrust. Also on a community level and not just on a family level, okay? So there's always, every choice we make is always the 'but'. There's the price we pay for our choices and in terms of mechanisms, we want to plan them in such a way that the 'but' won't happen. That we'll make choices that are good and healing without paying the price if things go wrong, but to sort of secure that, the healthy development. That's what we talk about, sustainable develop, right, of any programs we talk about. It's a great question. You'll see in my description later that survivors, we will talk about a little bit, to see how survivors who lived isolated lives, their children, what kind of price their children paid. So remind me again later. You will see where it comes up. Okay, tea, five minutes? How many? Fifteen?

Oh, you need fifteen minutes? Ten. Okay, great.

BREAK FOR TEA

ON RESUMPTION

DR DANIEL: Two. That's the second type, or if you will, the second portrait. Someone asked me if to have questions on the victims families now or wait till we finish. Let's wait, I think, because you'll see, the rest are much shorter descriptions and I think when you see the complexity maybe you'll have some of your questions answered without knowing it, okay?

The Fighter Family: The term fighter was chosen to convey either the way such survivors described their physical or spiritual role during the Holocaust or the posture they adopted after the war to counteract the image of the victimised Jew. Am I clear? It was either direct reflection what you went through or what you did or to counteract. However, many who were fighters during the war lived as victims, right, described before, after liberation and this in congress transformation bewildered their offspring impairing their development of cohesive self images. I'll give you an example. One son of survivors who was a member in our project only at his father's funeral found out his father's real story. After the war, the father, basically the family picture was that the father was like a nothing, as he'd say, the father was a baker, he left the house at four in the morning, he came back at four in the afternoon, was very tired, the house had to be quiet and he basically watched a little television perhaps and then went to sleep and the son found nothing to be proud of. He was actually almost ashamed of his father. He was like a beaten man and that's when we were working with him, that was usually what he would talk about and how the mother ran the house and even made the father feel smaller than he felt. At his father's funeral, and oh, and just to add another dimension, and they were very lonely and isolated, okay, they'd never people to the house, also because of the sleeping cycle right, so no friends came etcetera. At his father's funeral, 800 people showed up and there wasn't enough time, the whole day went with stories of heroism, how he saved their lives and what a wonderful man he was., that in the ghetto he taught little children to keep them, you know, growing, and you know, the total heroism and greatness, to a genuine greatness.

But what happened was, has happened to many. At liberation, after liberation, he found out that in a fact, he doesn't know anyone of the people he knew before the war, they were all gone and he plainly died psychologically, he died with them so to speak. So what is the son going to do, right, with the lifetime of one father and with this new knowledge. That could be very bewildering, that's what I mean, okay. The father was a fighter but became a beaten victim after the war when there was nobody. He felt, clearly by those 800 people, they were, they thought of him but I guess he lived in such a way that he couldn't nourish on that and perhaps they gave up on trying to reach him as well. Well luckily since our project has a network throughout the world he was able to, the son, was able, he literally did a pilgrimage, not only to his father's town but around the world. In Israel he found one person who had known somebody from the second town, in Hawaii he found somebody, in Australia and he literally devoted a year of his life to recapture the wholeness of his father, right. So when we talk about integration and all the processes we talked about today, yesterday, today, right? Reconciliation, all of these and long term processes and one has to stay open to finding new facts that one didn't even

know ever. So again and again I want you to appreciate the long term prospective, okay? In this, in what you're facing and actually what all of us are facing. It is important to emphasize that using the word "fighter" to connote the dominant identity of these survivors does not imply that active fighting rather than sheer luck saved all who escaped the fate of the six million Jews who were murdered in the Holocaust. All survivors will tell you the only reason "it's luck" and any time, this is very important, when you attribute your survival to special heroism or special qualities, think about it; what are you saying about the six million? Very important, it's really, really important to remember: To respect the total picture and the memory of people because if you're implying that those six million didn't have their dreams and plans and did everything to try to live and survive and raise families and have dreams for their families then you're so wrong. The home atmosphere of fighter survivors was permeated by an intense drive to build and achieve and the home was filled with compulsive activity. Do, do, do, do. Familiar? Any behaviour that might signify victimisation, weakness or self pity was not permitted. Is it familiar? Familiar in many parts of this country, not just one. Illness was faced only when it became a crisis although physical illness was more acceptable than psychological disturbance, both were experienced as insults. Okay it's like "I don't need your help, I'm not a cripple. Hmm? I see it's familiar here. Pride was fiercely held as a virtue, relaxation and pleasure were superfluous, that didn't matter. Families of fighters, like those of victims, did not trust outside authorities. Unlike victims however, they permitted and encouraged aggression against and defiance of outsiders, thus escaping the victim families double bind. Remember the double bind when you tell your child "Succeed, succeed, but don't stand out"? They don't have it here, they say "Strike out, do it." Intergenerational involvement and overprotectiveness were found in fighter families as well but without the burden of distress and worry characterised in victim families. Some fighter marriages were formed during the war in, for example, amongst partisans. After a longer acquaintance period then the marriages of despair mentioned earlier. Children of fighters had difficulty, now think with me, see, you'll see the relationship to relationships and to work here, okay? Children of fighters had difficulty in sharing and delegating responsibility to others, you understand why, right? You have to do it all and when you have this difficulty, you can't quite have close friends, can you, because you have to tell them what to do and they can't do anything for you etcetera, etcetera, right? So they have difficulty sharing and delegating responsibility to others both interpersonally and professionally so you can do co-operative things, for example, right, because you must do it and you know best anyhow. You know that, right? Their contempt and intolerance of any dependency in themselves and in others acted as a deterrent to forming peer and marital relationships. So even though on the surface they may look like they are much better than the victims, right, because they don't look weak and they don't get anxious easily, that adaptational styles has its price, right? In these families the offspring had to establish a hero fighter identity in order both to belong to the family and to separate from it. You understand how? Right. If my father is a hero, right? To belong to a hero family I have to be a hero too, no? Very important. Furthermore, in order to separate, how can you separate from a hero family. You also have to be a hero to strike the world, right? That's quite a job for a little boy or a little girl. In their search for validation and esteem, children frequently sort out or created dangerous situations. You see, if your father survived the Holocaust and he's this absolute hero and you want to be like him, what do you have to do? You have to create a Holocaust. That is very important because I think quite a bit of that is taking place here. To create dangerous situations in order to show that you... behave like danger can't touch you. We were in Soweto in Dube and heard some statistics about youth in communities that have 94% Aids. Another community, 86% Aids. You're killing yourselves. Nobody else is doing that now. For a whole generation, 94%? You're leaving 6% now. That means that there is some careless going on, some total disrespect to life and to the value of being alive and being well and no respect for the future in wanting to build families and have children etcetera. Very scary, I was very shocked. Very shocked. This is killing of a generation so I, really, this is really a major, major commitment that you must take upon yourselves as a whole community and not so much by moralising but more so by trying to understand where is their sense of future?

Is this whole generation having post traumatic stress disorder, part of which symptom is a foreshortened sense of future? Are you saying, all of you children are so either traumatised or inherited a trauma so they have no future and therefore who cares what they do today?

Are you saying that life lost totally, the value of life? This is extremely serious because this is now self-inflicted and this is part of, remember yesterday we talked about taking the responsibility to grow?

Patrick put it in very good words yesterday. This is your children. I'm glad I shared it with you because I mean I only found the words last night, I was so shocked, we didn't even talk about it. I was literally sort of trying to see the picture here to understand the scope. So let me leave that with you and we turn to this, but it is part of this, it is part of this because it may very well be that you give your children an unconscious message, right, that they're inheriting a message

that life doesn't matter and the future really means nothing and building families and building new generation and really creating a country that you can say is mine for the future, but that's doubtful.

See, I want to share something personal with you, I, I, the state of Israel was born after me. I was a child when Israel was born and we were all, and you know we lived after horrible wars, we lived after the Holocaust, we lived with enemies all surrounding us. But the sense in every child, the sense of we are building a homeland, every inch that, you know, of the desert that we covered with gloom, I remember that was like such an ideal, we have a birthday of the trees and every birthday of the trees it's a day, you know, it's an annual, each one of us, you know, planted the tree and every year we would go to visit all our trees. You know, there was such a sense of rootedness in that land, such a sense of I'm responsible for every inch of it, for it's growth, for it's development and not only to the earth, it was to the people around, you know to the new immigrants. They would come and we would receive them and even, I remember at the age of eleven, twelve, thirteen, we would go teach them Hebrew. Aah, you know, teach those who didn't know how to sew to sew, I mean it was a real sense of building together in togetherness and there was wonderful sense of future and each one of us, I remember I felt I was totally responsible for this whole country, you know, if I do anything wrong, wow! You know. To this day there's nothing more wonderful than that. Nothing more wonderful than that because you grow up with that feeling and you know, and other people become important and other lands become important, the world becomes important. You really, and you feel good about yourself as a result.

So you know, this year's the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, you know that and we are participating in, you know, in commemorating it and celebrating the achievements and shaking the world community as to what's not done yet. But you see, it's the same sense, looking back, what else can we do to make it better. It's a really totally different sense about life and please take that sense and bring it to your children. This is their opportunity to start a new country for themselves, a homeland, to build, to plant, you know, to be responsible for the plants, to water them, you know. So sorry for this diversion but I've been shocked in the last two days, you know, with these kind of findings, it's..last night I cried and cried and cried, I couldn't go to sleep. Couldn't go to sleep, I would suddenly see the picture of the future. You have so much work to do, you have so much work to do. There's, I feel a little envious too, because you are starting some new legacy, there's something wonderful in starting something new. But there's a lot of work to do. Ya, sorry go ahead.

SPEAKER: If you can bear with me, this wonderful sense of something that need done of, for, of, of, of, responsibility towards you neighbours and towards the country, where was that sense in the Jewish Community during the Holocaust? It's an unanswerable question to me, or unanswered question to me, why did the Jewish Community allow the Holocaust, allow themselves to be taken out of their homes, taken out of their communities? Here and there in Warsaw, few places, there were groups of Jews who said no, but millions of Jews just allowed things to happen. I know it's a long answer but why did it happen?

DR DANIEL: A very short answer. It's a very short answer. If somebody walked in here with machine guns right now, what would you do? What would you do? Somebody came with machine guns into your house in the middle of the night, what would you do? Where would you run? Did you have where to run? You would pray, maybe that will be the last act.

SPEAKER: Some people will run, some people will fight, some people will pray, but..

DR DANIEL: And most will be killed and wouldn't be here to tell how they felt. You see, when I spoke before of helplessness, I meant it. When I said the myth of going like sheep to the slaughter, I chose my words very carefully. It's a myth, per capita, the Jewish people of Europe resisted more than all of the countries of Europe put together. It took the Nazis, the Germans to be exact, six weeks to take over Warsaw Ghetto. It took them overnight to take over Austria, two weeks to take over France, etcetera, etcetera and the rest of Europe and everybody collaborated. It wasn't the Jews who let it happen, it was the Christian world that let it happen and we must be very, very careful and as Warsaw Ghetto is just a symbol, there were many other rebellions, in ...[indistinct], there were many other rebellions. There were many other escapes and I don't know of any other people who spiritually resisted the way the Jews did who didn't become part of the evil, consciously and deliberately. After the war we could have killed freely. Freely and the world wouldn't let us. If after the war we'd started killing Germans, nobody would have said boo! They'd probably would have helped us because they felt so guilty. We didn't, because we didn't want to become like Nazis. It was a very deliberate choice, you

can ask every survivor and yes, some youngsters would beat people up or would steal food, but very few killings happened. It was very important not to take on that identity. I'm very glad you asked the question, actually, because the attribution of responsibility and finding out the total picture of any trauma in order to resolve it, to integrate it, is extremely important and the clearing up of misconceptions and stereotypes and you know and myths. So and I'm sure you have plenty of those too, you see, okay and I'm sure you have legacies of these too. I mean I sat, same thing with Saturday evening, with people who all they could talk about was the concentration camps that the British put their grandparents and the impact they had on them and how much they hate the Brits today. It's as if it happened yesterday and on and on. I mean, just from a few days here, I'm blessed with people sharing with me so I can find out things, but I'm glad you asked. If any of you had that misconception or myth conception, I'm glad that I could at least in some way clear it up. Please.

SPEAKER: I heard you saying that after the Holocaust there was that sense of togetherness among the people, I mean among your people when you went to Israel. Staying there, you tried to be responsible for every part of the land, to be responsible for whatever was happening in the country, am I right?

DR DANIEL: It wasn't after the Holocaust. The seeking to come back to the land of Israel was a dream throughout the 2000 years of exile and ...[indistinct] and the two generations before the Holocaust began to, that's the Zionists, right? The Zionist organisations began to come to the land of Palestine, at the time it was the land of Israel, was called Palestine and it was a British mandate, right, it was under the rule of the British. But there were, there were former waves of emigration to Israel before the Holocaust, so again, don't attribute the State of Israel to the Holocaust. Not from the Jewish point of view. We began to build it before the Holocaust. It was, again bear with me, I'm being very open with you, it was Christian guilt however, I believe, that allowed for the state of Israel to be born in the United Nations. Okay, but we must separate the two. Remember you have to think of all the actors in any, in any arena, when you talk about trauma and don't forget, without that, you would never get the truth, you would never be able to integrate the trauma so, and move on from it. In that sense, the Truth Commission is trying to establish, right, at least what happened and the continuing of these efforts will be very important. Please ask your question now after I miss, after I cleared out that piece.

SPEAKER: Now, I wanted to ask you a question from the experience and from the research. What is happening now in South Africa? The high rate of crime and all that is happening now. Do you think maybe that maybe the cause of the apartheid, the after effects, is it, did it happen to the survivors of the Holocaust, after the Holocaust? What I mean is that did, was there a high rate of crime among the people?

DR DANIEL: No. First of people were too weak and sick and depleted to feel either happiness or anger. They were too weak to feel. So to, you have to be strong to commit crime, but that's really very secondary, that's too physical an explanation. I don't know how much you know of the history of the Jewish people? Okay, in terms of physical, or, particularly in the Diaspora, we were for 2000 years in the Diaspora. Now, you'll correct me, my Jewish colleagues here may add their own corrections but let me just take it from that point of view, right, for the tendency to act. You know that in the Diaspora, the Jews could not own land, they could not vote, they were, most of the time we were floating people. A country here or there allowed us to be citizens and to contribute to the country but we were not allowed to own anything and so that I think in a real way even though the message was there before, that we are the Nation of the Book, right? That we, from Zion, Torah will come out, right? From, I don't know how you say it in English, that Torah will come from Zion, there was a great belief in developing knowledge, developing ones mind, developing ones values and because we were in the Diaspora and we were persecuted over and over and over again, I think in a way to adapt to being persecuted always, we had to conclude in some ways that materials things, physical things are not that important, that only what we can take with us to run and what you take with you to run that you can most rely on is your mind, you know? Your heart, your mind, your conscience. So crime was not a possibility or a choice. It's not a typical thing for, in the history of Jews, a Jewish history in the last at least 2000 years. Maybe we can help each other that way. Okay, because one of the books I read before I came here because I did a lot, I tried to read a lot, so you know, to know some, some of the standing of the politics, of the history, etcetera of this country. One of the books analyzed South Africa as always solving things with violence. From the very beginning. That violence was the way to do things, to finish things, to resolve them, to..violence by every means, force by, power by violence. And if you have that heritage in your history, you know, it's something that you grow up in and so you have the challenge, perhaps even, you know, with the Jewish people, perhaps to find out their ways. Could be very nice, actually. We talk a lot you see, we talk a lot in talking,

talking and feeling and thinking replaces action, remember what we talked about, how yesterday when we talked so much about acting, violent, acting, right, crime, acting. External. Takes away from the internal, right? From expanding and growing internally, from developing ones education, ones mind, ones values, creativity, the internal world. So maybe there could be a nice way of learning from each other.

SPEAKER: Thank you. You did mention about the inherited trauma. I don't know whether, the way I understand the concept trauma as the way you do. Sorry?

DR DANIEL: Tell me how you understand it.

SPEAKER: I mean, inherited. Something which is a foetus, inherited, a disease only, as something, talking about the genes and genetics. But now you are saying that they're inherited. I don't know in which sense you are you saying they're inherited trauma, because we talk about environment and where the part that it can play and...[indistinct] to pass some words ..[indistinct] to make a trauma to childrens, but it end up talking about inherited. I don't understand. Will you please explain in detail?

DR DANIEL: Ya, actually my next book which I mentioned to you "The Multi-Generational Legacies of Trauma" is three chapters about those questions. About the questions of genetics and biology of transmission of trauma and there are grounds to believe that there are genetic transmissions. Now, that field, in the field of trauma is developing, so we don't have the answers yet but we are beginning to ask the questions in the right way and we found that chemically, for example, children of survivors have similar endocrinological functioning to their parents when they had post traumatic stress disorder as a diagnosis. It's a little complicated, when the book is out you'll have time to really read it carefully. So I'm sort of like answering in a jump because the truth is, that all the dimensions of life are involved in transmission. All the dimensions of life. I keep curbing myself from laying out my model to you. I'm going to do it after we've finished the family stuff. But your question is very well taken. It's scary isn't it? When I got that chapter into the book that Rachael ...[indistinct] I got terrified. I was so sorry that she had findings, positive findings. I often say to people, you know, as a scientist you can be glad for significant results, but as a human being it can kill you. It's one of those.

Go ahead,..[indistinct]

DUMA: Thank you. I want you to help me please. You say the Jews hate, blame the world, for what happened to them?

DR DANIEL: I love to interrupt this way. I did not say the Jews..

DUMA: What did you say, please?

DR DANIEL: I did not say that.

DUMA: What did you say, please?

DR DANIEL: Now you can ask the rest of the question.

DUMA: Unless you answer this one first. Whom do you blame for happened to the Jews? Who's responsible?

Who's responsible?

DR DANIEL: Ah, when I was speaking, I was not speaking of blame. I was speaking of responsibility and I'm not the greatest scholar on this. I'm quoting scholars. If we blame anybody, it's the Nazis. That's blame. We also know that the world could have prevented it from happening and chose not to. You were the one who talked about bi-standards yesterday. That's what we're talking about here and you're the, ah, I have that quote for you. Let me get you that quote from Elly Resille so you don't blame me for forgetting. Listen to it: "At the risk of offending" he wrote " it must be emphasised that the victim suffered more and more profoundly from the indifference of the onlookers than from the brutality of the executioner. The cruelty of the enemy would have been incapable of breaking the prisoner. It was the silence of those who believed to be his friends. Cruelty more cowardly, more subtle, which broke his heart. There was no longer anyone on whom to count. It poisoned the desire to live. If this is the human society we come from and are

now abandoned by, why seek to return?" That's the feeling okay?

DUMA: But you specifically mentioned the British.

DR DANIEL: Mentioned the British in two context. One is what I learned from the Afrikaans I met last weekend, about the concentration camps here and I also mentioned the British in the context of before the State of Israel was born. That area of the world, Palestine, was under British mandate. Okay?

DUMA: Thank you.

DR DANIEL: I can tell you a lot about what it was like to grow up under British mandate but that's not part of this now.

DUMA: I want to take you back a little bit again. You said, I think yesterday, the Jews refused to forgive because who are supposed to give forgiveness, are those who went to, who have been killed, who are dead.

DR DANIEL: I want to correct you. I didn't say we refused to forgive. I said we do not have the right to forgive. It's very different, right. I have no right to forgive for my grandparents and my uncles and aunts and cousins and everybody in my life that was killed. I have no right to forgive for that.

DUMA: Okay.

DR DANIEL: This is quite different, than I refuse. I wish, I wish they were here to tell me how they felt.

DUMA: Thank you very much. So I won't say much, but, I would like to say, I'm in the same position. People who are hanged in front of me, the most painful thing is that I know the dates, their last words. I'm saying today, I also don't have no right to forgive the whites. Saying the whites, I know that is not every white who participated. As we say "The Germans" not every German participated in all those things, but, those who participated, they know themselves. Thank you. So I know you're lying when you say I want to learn from you and thanks I'm learning because I always thought that I'm the only person. So thank you very much.

DR DANIEL: I thank you. You know the learning is totally mutual. I'm learning, I've been learning, I cannot tell you how much I've been learning from you. Go ahead, Douglas.

DOUGLAS: I want to come back to the heroes and say that in South Africa the problem has been, people have always made heroes out of those who are warriors and not looked. South Africa has such a rich history of non-violent direct action, in fact it contributed more than the military action to bringing South Africa to it's feet if the truth be told. But people always think up struggle in terms of that way, not in the power of the ideals, the boycotts and everything that went through them, where people just refused to co-operate and didn't do..so we emphasise the military aspect always instead of the heroes who actually, that stories are so important that people begin to hear that not everybody colluded, not everybody was passive but that they found ways of resisting. That's just in response to how, how we need to build up a whole culture and that's a challenge to the educationalist for outcome based education and values based education, is that instead of always naming things after military heroes and all the rest of it. Repeating the past all over again in your naming process, as we do, I think we actually have to find ways of finding community symbols. People who actually stood out in a way that was peaceful, strong and said something differently instead of the dominant model, which is that and until we do that, yes it's true, we are going to live with the outcomes of the past and the violence but we won't set up that new value system that you begun, at least from my point of view.

DR DANIEL: I cannot agree with you more. Particularly for the future and for the youth. They have to develop or you have to develop for them, right, models that are different from that, to identify with. Adolescents look for heroes, they look for direction given by heroes, right, to follow, to grow. Give them good ones. It's in you hands. By the way the name of this here, the 15th Anniversary of Human Rights? In America we call it "in your hands" because Eleanor Roosevelt who wrote that, right, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, she said "It's in your hands" so it's in your hands.

SPEAKER 2: I don't quite know where it fits in but I just feel it's something that urgent for me that has come out of all

this and it links up to what you were saying about the victim families saying something about they want to tell their story so that the world would no longer perpetuate such abuses again. I think for me it's a case of how vulnerable we all are to abusing power and misusing power in any form and that power comes not just from people as an inherent thing but it becomes a system of, that then recruits people. And so I was told a story which I find quite touching by someone here about being shot and sort of surviving that trauma and then being beaten up by her husband at some later point. So for me not just saying how, telling a story that the world will not longer perpetuate this, but to sort of become conscious how each of us use and abuse and misuse our power whether it be on the basis of race, on the basis of class, on the basis of gender, on the basis of knowledge. One of my people I talk with, a client of mine, spoke about the idea that therapists can also be translated as the rapist and therapists who perpetuate, not just the conspiracy of silence but a more abusive way of practice, almost, for instance in this situation making the client feeling somehow responsible for her rape. So, and academics knowledge, is, so it just feels something really important to me that we all acknowledge, personally, our, how we can get recruited into abusing power.

DR DANIEL: Then tomorrow when we do the review of mechanisms we will touch on quite a few of your points, so keep them central. Yes, dear?

MS MKHIZE: You know I just want to pick up on what was said by Duma and yourself where you talk about, when you say you have no right to forgive on behalf of especially people who died. I mean this question of remembering, we've been struggling within the Commission saying it's something which needs to be ...[indistinct] very, very carefully in a country like ours where the peace process is still very fragile. I just want to hear more about that because, lets say I was with a group of young people and we're reviewing where we come from and they had that, people are likely to, just to stick to that and to hold onto their positions because we are from a country where we were divided by all sorts of things and I can understand what you're saying, that you have no right to forgive on behalf of those who died. But there's a question of saying, where does that put us when we are thinking of reconciliation and...[indistinct]? I understand you but I'm trying to integrate that so that I can have a deeper understanding of it.

DR DANIEL: Okay, I would like to answer it as an opinion, okay, because I believe that this issue of forgiveness and it's relation to reconciliation deserves study, serious exploration. It's not just a matter of opinion because if it's only a matter of opinion because if it's only a matter of opinion then yes, then you can say your opinion, you can say your opinion, you're against this; and it will go to action, here yet still or to crying, no good. So please receive it as my opinion, okay? Not as my studied area but as my opinion. Based on some of the work, of this work, I don't see, we didn't have as a requirement, forgiveness. Okay, that is a cultural, religious difference between us. So let me give you a little bit more of the world view that does not necessitate forgiveness, because when I came to this country, my understanding was that this is stemming from christianity, that this is a Christian belief. I respect that but I don't share that world view, right? So we share, we come from our experience here. I think I can safely say today and I think most people will agree that despite very hurtful and difficult feelings, the Jewish people and the German people are for the most part reconciled without forgiveness. I do not see forgiveness as a necessary element in reconciliation. I simply don't see that. You can live together respecting each other, understanding each other, learning each other, accepting each others difference, cry apart for your losses and cry together for your losses and create relationships without forgiveness because my sense, just with being with you, is that some of you don't want to forgive because you don't feel forgiveness. But you are willing to participate in the struggle for living together in this country. Forgiveness is a very complex, lengthy process. It does not come by instruction. I mean the Afrikaans still have not forgiven the British, have they? Did you ask yourself why? Probably rather similar to how you're now looking at the Afrikaans. Now you can perpetuate it and you say, you see what I got worried about yesterday when you were talking, Eddy, in particular, when you were struggling, remember? I must forgive, you remember you own words? I got so worried because I felt it was enforced that this is your religious belief, I'm not putting it down, I'm not putting it down, please do hear me, I respect you and your religion, but sometimes I think we prematurely enforce the beliefs that we grow up on. So it becomes like a strategy rather than a real understanding that it takes very complex processes. If you really give a thought to forgiveness and I'm just at the beginning of this okay, because I had to confront it meeting you although that's not totally true. The year 2000 some Christian colleagues want to have a meeting on forgiveness in Jerusalem on the 31 December into the 1 January 2000 and they invited me to be on the planning committee. I was very glad to because I believe in togetherness and I believe in getting together be it people, individuals, be it nations, be it religions, be it the world, you know. Now we got into very interesting conversation, they invited me and they invited and Armenian patriot, you know from also in Jerusalem, right? They have their headquarters. They also invited a Moslem leader and we had a very interesting discussion

because originally they saw it as the Christians will come and this is a celebration of Christianity of course, right? And I immediately said you don't know what you're going to create, if you're going to come to Jerusalem, right, the spiritual home of so many religions and you're going to say "we the Christians are going to tell you how to forgive". I said you're not going only to have a failure, you'll justifiably be thrown out. My idea was and I don't know if it will come out, was to invite all the religions to share with each other their concept of forgiveness, see? So you will tell me what you mean, I from my heritage will tell you what I mean. The Indians, the Hindus, the Moslems to really create a worldwide, really serious dialogue that what do we each mean by forgiveness. Can we learn and I'm sure we can learn so much from each other by what we mean, you know, because we come from, it's a different way of viewing the world and we can exchange those a bit, you know. Well it may happen or not. We can do it here but ever since then I've been sort of like challenged by that. To do something, to do a meeting like that. Even if it won't happen in 2000 in Jerusalem, it can happen everywhere we want. Now, but it challenged me to think, what is forgiveness and as I said yesterday I think of it as a process the same as reconciliation, these are processes. Okay. In order to forgive, what has to happen? It's wrong, it's wrong. What has to happen?

MS MKHIZE: Confession of your sins.

DR DANIEL: Okay. That's a fifth or sixth step. You see that's a fifth or sixth step. First of all you have to know that something is wrong. First of all you simply have to smell that something maybe wrong. Accepting it is a totally different challenge, isn't it? Accepting that something wrong was done, you know how difficult it is, you're struggling with it every day. So until we get to the acceptance that even something was done, it is a whole lot of process. All the feelings that go into that and all the struggle to even admit it. You don't want confessing, confessing comes way later. You first have to accept that you did it?

MS MKHIZE: Then you accept your responsibility for whatever you have done as an individual.

DR DANIEL: Okay. What else?

SPEAKER: From my understanding forgiveness, forgiving someone, it's saying that I'm not going to revenge. Like for example with this, what happened in South Africa, if we say we are forgiving somebody we are telling that person we are not going to revenge but we are not going to forget what you did to us.

DR DANIEL: So you're bringing a different aspect, right? Which is a preventive aspect. That's excellent. See but that's already after, isn't it? See I trying for you to create a process, 1,2,3,4,5,6,7. You are absolutely right. This is wonderful. You are saying it's a substitute for revenge. It's an alternative way of resolving things with an eye to the future, okay, because like everything else we talked about, forgiveness has to do with past. You're adding the eye to the future, the value of it towards the future. Fantastic, I love it. But if we don't go all the steps we need to go, we won't get there because the need to revenge will remain and it will erupt. So I agree with the outcome, we still have to establish the process, okay?

SPEAKER: I think first you must acknowledge ...[indistinct] If you're going to be doing the forgiveness you've got to first acknowledge all those emotions and name them.

DR DANIEL: Wow.

SPEAKER: Because what happens is often superficially we say "I forgive you" but we actually haven't dealt with any of that inside and because we feel we've got to forgive, we just say "I forgive you" and then it means nothing cause the whole emotion comes back again.

DR DANIEL: That's right.

SPEAKER: So you have to move with that first, come to terms with that. It's come up to a point where you're comfortable with that and then maybe you can embrace that and then I think that a very long term one might be, actually, this is a waste of energy, I've moved with that energy, I've seen what I can do with it and it's now, I'm shutting the past, I'm shutting the door on that, I've actually dealt with it and I'm moving forward. It's not just a, not seeking revenge, but I actually feel complete without it.

DR DANIEL: Ya, Kosi spoke about it yesterday. How she resolved her hatred and transformed it. Do you remember? You are absolutely right, instead of closing the door on the past, I don't believe in closing doors, I would rather use the word letting go. It also gives you the sense of choice, okay, so the words we use, the words we choose are also very important to the accurate process. Patrick?

PATRICK: Sometimes I like to think that, that the necessary conflict that you start with really has to be owned, hm? You know for me it's a process that begins there because I have to, you know, and bringing up all those feelings and by accepting it, you begin to say "and then what?" and then you go on adding to the other steps, perhaps. So there has to be a way of managing and accepting that inward conflict. Call it conflict resolution, you also like need that.

DR DANIEL: ...[indistinct] the feel of trauma, of massive psychic trauma, he wrote the first text book really, on that. Now this will be difficult for you so take it very slowly. I know it's difficult because it took me years to say these words without feeling rebellion inside my stomach. What he's saying, you see by far, Patrick, we spoke only about from the point of view of the forgiver. Don't forget, there's the forgiven. There's the whole other world in what happens to the forgiven. Do they feel the forgiveness? All of that stuff. But even before that, for a forgiveness to truly be a forgiveness, you really are saying that you accept the other person as he or she is. You accept their actions. You see that person as a totally human being just like you that had reasons to do what they did. Right, the word forgiveness at least the way I mean it, is that I mean that I embrace that person into my world. It's no longer they and me. That's a tall order don't you think? You can't get that by just saying "I forgive" and that really hurts, I mean even when I say these words to you I feel my stomach saying "No!". Well, but it's a fact, it's a fact you know, it's a real total challenge. See so I'm not saying forgiveness shouldn't be there. I'm saying, boy oh boy, you, by saying that, you are having a huge, huge road ahead. Very complicated, full of obstacles, it won't happen just by saying "I must forgive" and therefore I forgive. It's between you and, it's not between you and everything that needs to be done and you haven't talked out the forgiven and as long as you don't understand the forgiven you are not forgiving. See, so there's so many resolutions. Yes, please?

NAOMI: I am Naomi. My name is Naomi. True forgiveness. Is this not something that only God can give? It took me 17 years to get over my divorce, 18 years to rid myself of anger, of bitterness. Today I accept it but I haven't forgiven but I can be civil to that person, we can speak decently to one another, I respect that person, but to really say I have forgiven him, I cannot say that, but we are civil we accept, we carry on.

DR DANIEL: Reconciled?

NAOMI: Ja.

DR DANIEL: Right. Do you want to forgive him?

NAOMI: I don't think so.

DR DANIEL: Somaya's being trying so much, but she's sitting near me so I can't see her. Please.

SOMAYA: I think the most important thing about this session today was the focus which you gave to it in relation to reconciliation because when I look at the dynamic here in this room, we're running away from family, we are going back to individual issues and this is a pattern that has been happening that we marginalise the paid in the families, we marginalise the issues of forgiveness and reconciliation in the families and we talk more about ourselves, we even talk on behalf of the families and I'm beginning to feel a bit uncomfortable that we are hijack this session from what it was meant to be and go back to our comfort zone of speaking for ourselves. I think it's very important. It's a new dimension that's being introduced here today. I would like to say what I hear happened today is that we have had German families talking about their pain in relation to Holocaust. We have heard Jewish people talking about their families in relation to Holocaust. We have heard Japanese talking about their experience of Hiroshima in relation to their families. We would like today to hear about the pain of the families in relation to Apartheid and I think it's very important that we draw onto those experiences because from what I've heard from the hearings, the TRC Hearings, there's lots of family pain but we have never had time to deal with it. There's lots of forgiveness that has to take place within the families. I heard yesterday one of us saying "I'm angry with my father for having been a racist, I would like to forgive my father, I would like us as a family to work on those issues" Parents have said "I'm angry with my son who was a fighter, for the pain he

brought to the families" and those are all the issues that are very important so can I say that can we please come back on track and deal with the things.

DR DANIEL: Yes, my dear. We just try one more, okay two comments and then we continue.

SPEAKER: Okay, thank you Madame Chair. Ya, what I was trying to say Madame Chair, I'm saying for instance maybe in South Africa it's different. Like for instance when you speak about forgiveness being different from the Jews or whoever who was involved during that time because in South Africa we find it very difficult to say I said a person for instance, where have been sitting with the means of production, you know, for the past twenty years and is still owning that thing and we cannot just simply say because you have reached a certain level our politics, maybe you can accept that particular person. What you trying to say here in South Africa is, if a person comes to you and say "look forgive me because I've done...[indistinct] to you, like the bishop was saying, okay fine, before I forgive you, what is the next step forward, you know? For instance let me take the question of, I'm sorry to mention the name, but the question of De Kock for instance, and he's sitting with millions of rands somewhere in his banking account and if he say look, I know your father was a breadwinner, please forgive me because I had to kill him under ...[indistinct] reasons and maybe I can try to contribute in terms of help in this family by taking kids to schools and so on and so forth. Maybe we can discuss around those bases, then forgiveness will be applied from that understanding. So as I was saying, South Africa to be different we, we targeted from that understanding, maybe forgiveness it will be different from other countries you know, in our country. Thank you.

DR DANIEL: Thank you, yes we say at the U.N. "global problems, local solutions" Okay, I promised you and then I'll go back to the families.

THABA: I think in any process of forgiveness to be completed, one of the preconditions would be restitution. We do have restitution in terms of material terms like money but there are lot of things which were psychologically taken from us in the form of dignity, our self-image and for that to build this on it is almost impossible and which makes the process of reconciliation to be difficult so I believe, if we could come up with restitution in terms of psychological factors, that could help us.

DR DANIEL: I agree one hundred percent and we'll talk more, tomorrow primarily, I mean you keep pushing today into tomorrow and I want today to be fully lived, so let's join back with the wisdom of Durban and go on with the discussions of families. What we didn't discuss and I want to see how your brain works on this. What do you think, what professions were the fighter family Jews? What professions, were the children. Law? Very good. Politics, Medicine maybe, administrative positions, yes. Army, police, right, law and order. Business? Maybe, if you are in charge. It had to be in charge either way, you see, so it may be a little difficult. Let me, now psychology belongs to the victim families, we already decided that. Let's move now and this is interesting it's almost like we had an unconscious conversation here, a collusion, because you remember that I said there are four types of families, right, the victim, fighters, numb and those who made it? And it's quite possible that people ran away, sort of getting it perhaps that the numb family is probably the most tragic one and it's frightening to think about that, it is. So let me describe the numb family and you'll see how different it is in some ways and similar in others to the others. In numb families, both parents were frequently the sole survivors of their individual families which before the war included a spouse and children. We spoke a little bit about how difficult it is to helplessly witness the murder of anyone else but when parents are there to witness helplessly the murder of their own children, that's a wound you cannot heal from. There is simply no healing to that wound. What we found conversely, that's just a theoretical aside, what we conversely found, is that when the, biological unit of mother and child survived, even in separate places, let say the child was put in a convent in hiding, okay, and the mother was in Auschwitz and totally separate for four, five years and the mother came to claim the baby who didn't even understand the mothers language, didn't know this woman, even under those conditions, there was a better prediction of mental health than it was any other combination of survivorship. So think of those, I think there must be some profound truth in it that we haven't totally discovered so I'm referring it for you to think. The post war home atmosphere of the numb families was characterised by pervasive silence and depletion of all emotions, the parents capable of tolerating only a minimal amount of stimulation either pleasurable or painful, even pleasurable was too frightening. Some children became too frightened to imagine what could have led to such constriction and lifelessness in their parents. As a result their own inner spontaneity and fantasy life were severely restricted. If you don't allow yourself to think or to fantasise you restrict your mind. In numb families the parents protected each other and the children protected the parents.

Children were expected to somehow grow up on their own and to take care of themselves. You remember, Eddy, you asked me before about people who lived together, right, and I said later I'll talk about those who live isolated lives, these are, tend to be isolated families. You know that...[indistinct] placed a rural areas, get a store and basically the parents will stay, will work with each other 24 hours in the store, maybe the family lived on top of it and the children were basically on their own. Despite the infrequency of physical and verbal contact with their parents, the children were also expected to understand that they were loved because of their parents' pained efforts to support them financially. It was like the only way they could figure it out or they were supposed to figure it out. Offspring often adapted by numbing themselves which resulted in their appearing less intelligent and capable of achieving than they actually were or by being perpetually angry and disruptive in an apparent effort to evoke negative attention instead of none at all. So at least if you, right, you make people at least angry or upset with you. The children frequently adapted outside authorities and peers as family in order, in an attempt to seek identification models and to learn how to live. I told you if you listen you'll find some answers in this. In desperate attempts to please their parents, they tried to achieve generally accepted social standards but often felt out of place, forlorn and not genuinely involved in their pursuit. I'll give you an example. One of the sons, I'm giving you only men today for some reason, one of the sons of survivors in our groups is a world known cancer specialist and you know, one of his books came out with a great review and as he would always, as was my, it was his father's birthday, so he brought the book to his father, very proud you know, and showed it to him and the father who, you know, who usually would sit in this chair in the corner, like this most of the time and he brought him the book. The father basically did something like "ah" and the son was crushed and this was not the first time, right, but he kept trying and trying and trying and trying and trying. He used to cry bitterly that if he only could put a smile on his father's face, one time. So you can understand when, that you can be world known and highly respected in your field and totally forlorn and for that to be totally unimportant. So that's the kind of stuff I'm talking about. Since these children rarely felt central or important at home, children did not believe that others would consider them worthy of attention. In their unconscious fantasies, their spouses or the future spouses served as a parental figures they were deprived of, you see and when you marry somebody to be your mother or your father, it can create a problem. Especially if the other person doesn't know it. So they couldn't say yes or no, they didn't know what you wanted. Their powerful need to be babied often curbed a desire for children of their own. Now I hope you understand the tragedy here because it's quite similar to what I said to you about the generation here, because if these children don't have children, there won't be a third generation from them. And I was very glad you brought up the need to talk about families because when I thought about today, I felt that the non-family will be of particular meaning here and this constellation. It was very interesting that we moved to forgiveness to resolution before we really looked at this kind of dynamic, so please remember it. It's the most tragic really, because it cuts off the next generation from happening. Let me move now to the quotation. Families who quote "made it". This fourth group is less homo-geneous than the other three. Many of these survivors were motivated by a wartime fantasy and desire to make it big if they were liberated in order to defeat the Nazis. Persistently and singlemindedly, they sought higher education, social and political status, fame and or wealth. As with other survivor families they used their money primarily for the benefit of their children so they still couldn't enjoy it themselves but they pushed. Now I want you to listen to this one too because I think it has ramifications in this country. I mean a little a bit of what we talked yesterday about right, the blacks who did build lives compared to the quote "victims". Remember the arguments yesterday? So I think this will be also somewhat representative to what we discussed. Outwardly, this group was more completely assimilated in this case, into American society, right, or you into this society than other survivors. Some achieved a, quote, "normal posture" by completely denying and avoiding their past and any reminders of it. For example there were some survivors who would the moment they achieved, they reached the shores of the United States, took the number out of their arm, so no evidence. Our new names, thank you, absolutely, some chose new names particularly Christian names so their Judaism will be hidden. Absolutely, in fact that you're reminding me just off the cuff of a close friend and colleague, a psychiatrist, who survived, liberated as a child by an American black man and he took on his name. They're still very close but it was a very, it's a very nice story. It took him then a good many years to add his own name to his name and we gave him a birthday party saying he was reborn. So you see when we talk about integration, it's the whole life we are talking about and all the identities we've had throughout our lives. Children of this group reported feeling cheated and bitter at finding out, usually indirectly, about their heritage. The denial in these families often resulted in, in a numbing isolation and psomatisation and in this respect they resembled the numb families, okay? So sometimes when you make it outwardly you carry a numb identity inside as a price. And you see whenever you guys come up with premature solutions as I see them, too quick, that's what I don't want to happen. This is the only survivor group of the four discussed to have a high rate of divorce. That's why I said those who made it. That becomes American, right? So I say those are made in America. You remember we explained why others wouldn't? Some who right of the war married other survivors, eventually divorced. Most of those who made

it were too young at liberation to rush into marriage, they also tended to marry non-survivors, you see, so that's another way to assimilate. The survivors role in these families was the dominant one. His or her ambitions became those of the family members although proud of their parents achievements, the children reported feeling emotionally neglected by them. Except in those areas leading to their own demonstrable success, that means whatever you show, that's good, anything else was neglected. Okay that's very important because those achievements that you keep collecting without any sense of goodness in your heart. In contrast to their emphasis on good appearances, the parents unconsciously encouraged semi-delinquent behaviour in their adolescent children, using their money or position to rescue them from the consequences. We had one family like that, the son committed only petty crimes but he somehow always managed to get himself into jail. Always, anywhere, all around the country. Oklahoma, in jail, you know they would call me, "Oh my God" but only after a while you realise how proud the father was that he was able to go there and rescue his son and this was the unconscious dynamic, you see the son had to do these things in order to give father the pleasure of being.. Some survivors in this group, devoted much of their careers, money and political status to demand commemoration of and attention to the Jewish experience during the Holocaust and dignity to it's victims, people like Elly Resille, you mentioned some yesterday too, right, Victor Franco,

...[indistinct] Levi. Right, they used their Holocaust experiences as a means to understand the roots of genocide, to find ways to prevent its occurrence and to aid victimised populations in general. The Holocaust was also a central theme in the works in members of this group who were involved in the arts. Now the interesting bit here is despite the some willingness to undertake psychotherapy as a culturally acceptable pursuit, you know in America it's rather acceptable, we have like streets, like 86th Street in Manhattan is called "Shrink Road" you can see people coming every hour. So despite their willingness to do it is the thing to be doing you know, culturally, those who made it tended to deny the long term effects of the Holocaust upon themselves and their children and would rarely discuss the Holocaust as a factor in their psychological lives. These are the four families I wanted to describe to you. Let me just share with you that it has been corroborated by research basically throughout the world as a good representation of families of this population, but in one of the pieces of research by John Segal in Canada, he found that in effect, by my description of the victim families, I really described two different ones. One is the most, more mistrusting one and one is the more depressed one. Okay, so he in fact found that I'm describing five families, not four and as I said at the beginning, these are only four or five, I'm sure that in different cultures and even in our culture there are other portraits but my purpose in doing it was not only to describe as intimately as possible what it's like to live in these families but also to remind very clearly, that not everybody responds in the same way. When you have a diagnosis like survivor syndrome or post-traumatic stress disorder, people adapt differently and I rather prefer to call it adaptational styles to trauma than symptoms or syndromes because these are really ways we live with the trauma and I'm more interested in the meaning of our behaviour as in our inner life than in saying that yes there's sleeplessness, yes there's autonomic reactions, yes there's you know, I don't believe that those really convey the living meaning of what it's like. So that's why or very important to me to describe things this way to you rather than give you a lecture on post-traumatic stress disorder, okay? I do want to..this is hitting the lunchtime. Great, I just before lunchtime, I want to make two comments, so it will keep you thinking during lunch. You realise that my presentation was strictly about life after the war, right? I did not, for therapeutic purposes and for genuine integration, we have, have to do the totality of the persons life not only but the generations before and the hope for the generations after, right? We have a real lifelong longitudinal perspective, otherwise you can't just heal this piece, right? So we didn't talk for example about their backgrounds at all, right? We didn't talk about what country they came from, whether they came from a town or from a city or from a rural, you know, ten minutes to lunch. We have an extra ten minutes..so all of these demographics we didn't discuss at all. We didn't discuss whether the people were orthodox religiously before or were assimilated, right? Or reformed or whatever. So there so many more questions to ask when you ask when you actually meet a person or a family, you want to know their background. So please remember I didn't include that and that the different backgrounds and the age, when you were traumatised, all of that makes a difference of course as you saw in our exercise, hey? You remember we went through all of those identity dimensions. All of them are important to establish. Okay. Ten minutes. Ah, I see the hands. Okay go ahead.

SPEAKER: There is an element that I think is important for us to just acknowledge which is that the family within our traditions in South Africa and it's not only the African tradition, I think even amongst the Afrikaners, play a very important role and therefore what you're saying is very important but do we need to have ideals for the family because as we were debating earlier on, on forgiveness, I was worried that we were beginning to set ideals for ourselves that make us prisoners and when I listen to you my brother, I'm worried that the ideals that you are propounding are ideals that are noble, they're very good ideals, but we become so imprisoned by that, that for us to begin to affirm our own

humanity becomes a problem for us and what we then do is to begin to transfer our own values to our children that I know that there's a lot a children that are having extreme difficulties because the environment in which they are growing up is different from the environment in which we are growing up and particularly if we look at the environment at the schools, particularly those children that go to schools that they meet people from other backgrounds, children from other backgrounds. That is very difficult for them to assimilate because at home, the value system that we as parents portray, contradicts what they're experiencing on the school, in the classroom and on the playgrounds regularly and therefore it is important that we agree on what the end is. Is the end of the whole process for us to bring about healing? Or is the end to restore human relations and all those other things fall in it and we're saying in order to bring about healing, to restore relations, we should start somewhere and it's important that we should start in the family, but we give due recognition to the fact that in our context when we talk about the family you may be referring to an extended family and we don't have exactly the same experience as what the victims of the Holocaust may necessarily have, in that the family has been destroyed completely, but we acknowledge that in the South African society at the moment, we are walking that very thin ice, that the family may in fact be destroyed unless we deal with it as a matter of urgency. That we are still suffering from that traumatic consequences.

DR DANIEL: That's extremely well put. Now again, I'm, you always tempt me to jump ahead with your comments and perhaps after lunch instead of directly going to ageing, I will first share my model of thinking and you'll see that you'll find some commonalities in there and maybe we can follow the model and see whether the interactions between different dimensions which is what you're talking about can be systematised in ways that make sense in this culture and in this context, okay, so very well put. Please?

SPEAKER 2: I just wanted to ask a question about some of the stories of resilience in the families that you studied, who there, I think what often is unspoken are the acts of courage or resilience that take a generation that leave a positive legacy with children and take them further. How accessible were those stories and just what are your thoughts on that?

DR DANIEL: Well, we'll talk about it this afternoon. It's within my model, okay. But just for your information there's a whole field on resilience that I believe is way overdone, but you'll see why later. But both when I present my model to you and in a discussion on ageing, you will get your answers. The way I will present it later will be question, as a question mark, vulnerability and/or resilience, okay? So we will look at it as a dilemma again rather than as an answer and I'll report some research that will be directly to you and answered to you. I think that one of the things that perhaps I would pick up now is, not so much the positive values of resilience. I mean for anyone to have survived is resilience and of course the values that go along with it because some survived as animals so I don't know that's resilience to what, kind of, you know? So it's all, again, it has to be ...[indistinct] in meaning, in meaning, to be a model because that's what you're talking about right, the transfer of that piece and I think a lot of resilience came through when I was describing it, didn't it?

SPEAKER 2: Maybe it was just my meaning, making, that I didn't feel that come through so strongly, I felt more coping mechanisms and defensiveness but how the next generation was burdened, I didn't feel that, so that's perhaps also why I wanted to raise it.

DR DANIEL: Again, can we take it from a kind of transference point of view for a moment? It's very sad to listen to survivors' stories, period. Even sadder to listen to learn that their children are not spared and that perhaps if we don't do anything even their children won't be spared and I think partly it's very difficult to live with that sadness. Very difficult to really understand how sad things have been and how much evil has taken place. I'm talking about a whole century, I'm not just talking about our people or your people, all of the whole world sort of will look crazy if you look at this century. Really, evil and crazy. I think that perhaps the question about resilience comes as, please, give me something good to hang on to, tell me also something good, don't just leave me with sadness, it's too much. So I just want to, instead of answering you yes, no, whatever, just consider that maybe your reasons for asking is that you need something to feel joy about it because when I said to you, even in a joke, you know, that these children are mental health professionals, that they're health professionals, they care for society, they choose careers that are, you know, full of goodness and justice and that's good stuff. But somehow I think you got the feeling more than that balance and I'm going to even make it worse for you. See part of the reason I do this work, okay yesterday by the way, who asked me yesterday, I think Douglas, yes as a researcher I did the kind of transference research, right. As inclination, I built the project because to realise that 35 years after the Holocaust there was no programme of help to survivors anywhere,

necessitated me taking responsibility. See another thing is, in Judaism, we believe that knowledge is responsibility. When you know who you cannot not follow accordingly. So that's how we built the project, you see and we built the first programme in the world to help survivors and their children. Bless God, many followed. But to be honest with you, after all these years of work and I mean we laugh a lot and there's a lot of joy too and fun in the work, because there's a great sense of humour and there's a lot of love, lot of love in this community. You're talking about the importance of family and community, there's so much love in it and so much cherishing of everyone. That's wonderful and, but, but part of my commitment as a teacher, right, I talked about researcher cination, as a teacher and advocate, part of my commitment is learn the lessons because I truly believe that there was no meaning to the Holocaust, it was just destruction, it was taking anything good about civilisation and turning it into systematic inhalation of a people. There was nothing good about it, there was nothing to learn about that, except mechanisms of destruction and how evil rules. It's important to learn because to prevent it from happening. But, the only compensation, if you will, for that meaninglessness of that destruction is to take the lessons to other people, right, it's for everybody to learn from it. So not only we won't do it again, but you won't repeat the mistakes to, like, the conspiracy of silence, like lack of caring, lack of programming, not knowing what to do, being, you know, forlorn in the world and all alone. You see, so I find hope in that, I absolutely find hope in doing that. That's why, you know, coming here has been so meaningful to me and is so meaningful to me because that I believe it is what we are about, okay? Now, but I must leave you with the truth which is the sadness, okay? And a want to quote a survivor, a member of our project, her name is Isabella Lightner and she wrote this: "The sun made a desperate effort to shine on the last day of May in 1944. The sun is warm in May, it heals, but even the heavens were helpless on that day. A force so evil ruled heaven and earth that it altered the natural order of the universe and the heart of my mother was floating in the smoke filled sky of Auschwitz. I have tried to rub the smoke out of my vision for 40 years now but my eyes are still burning." She then later in America wrote: "I searched the sky in desperate sorrow but can discern no human form. There is not a trace. No grave. Nothing. Absolutely nothing. My mother lived for just a while, Potio, for less than 14 years. In a way they didn't really die, they simply became smoke. How does one bury smoke? How does one place headstones in the sky? How does one bring flowers to the clouds? Mother, Potio, I'm trying to say goodbye to you, I'm trying to say goodbye."

Let's get together after lunch.

MEETING ADJOURNS

ON RESUMPTION

DR DANIEL: A lot of good work in such a short time, hey? So, we spoke about families an interactions within the families and we want to also tackle what happens to survivors when they age. And I have a personal request, I've been carrying this silly camera with me and I want to take pictures of you so don't let me not take them today. I have it here.

I will quote Elly Resille again. Well, you're smiling now, I'll take it now. Who knows what you'll feel later? That's right, to use the feeling, right. Alrighty, okay, that's nice, okay guys.

(Photographs taken)

DR DANIEL: Have you ever had a lecturer do that? Usually you take a picture of the lecturer, I like to have my audiences. No, it's really a way for me to actually have you with me when I go home. So it's not revenge at all. I want to remember you, thank you.

Alright, to ageing now. Elly Resille said "You must look at them carefully, their appearance is deceptive, they look like others, they eat, they laugh, they love, they seek money, fame, love, like the others. But it isn't true. Anyone who has seen what they have seen, cannot be like others, cannot laugh, love, pray, bargain, suffer, have fun or forget like the others. You have to watch them carefully when the pass by an innocent looking smoke stack, or when they lift a piece of bread to their mouths. Something in them shudders and makes you turn eyes away. These people have been amputated, they haven't lost their legs or eyes but they will and their taste for...."

(interruption, tape turned over)

...seen, will come to the surface again, sooner or later." One of the major questions that poignantly foreshadowed by

Elly Resilles prophecy is how will traumatic life experiences impact on the normative process of ageing. While this passage, that I read to you, portrayed Nazi Holocaust survivors, it could be describing victim survivors of other traumata who are now beginning to engage in this process. Recent ...[indistinct] studies in the United States indicate that rates of PTSD in the general population, PTSD is post-traumatic stress disorder, right? Finally I'm talking like you, in acronyms. That rates of PTSD in the general population are substantial and much higher than previously reported. Did I tell you that rates of PTSD in the United States? The general rate for a lifetime PTSD what we call is 7.8 percent. 7.8 percent of the populations of the United States has post- traumatic stress disorder. Can you sort of fathom that? Now knowing what you know now about multi-generational developments? If only half of these parent children, the United States has a huge public health problem in it's hands. Now the United States is not involved in a major war, external or internal, it's a fairly stable democracy, doing quite well economically today, the first big power of the world. So if you just estimate what would it mean for countries that have been ravaged by war and conflict and crime etcetera, etcetera, you can just imagine what a public health problem we have in the world today and my estimation would be that you have a much higher percentage right now so you really have to understand that and to make sure that there are programmes to prevent just a ripple effect of more and more of it. So I'll continue, in her review ...[indistinct] who studies veterans, concluded that PTSD can last a lifetime. Spiro et al, suggests that because of the prevalence of combat exposure in older cowarts, that means in the older generation. You remember that, these are the ones that fought in World War II from America. It is a hidden variable in the study of ageing men. What these people are saying is actually whenever you study ageing, you should always look for that, particularly if you know that a generation went through wars. The richness of the longitudinal studies of Holocaust survivors gives us a seminal understanding of the impact of trauma on the normative process of ageing. I'm going to be a little technical, the moment you don't understand a word, stop me okay? Because we don't know exactly what words we know or not of the technical kind. Following Erickson, you know of Eric Erickson? Very important writer. Following Eric Erickson's critical conflict of ego integrity versus despair. How many of you don't know Eric Erickson's work? Okay, so let me just address this particular issue because it's really very important. Eric Erickson did not so much speak about stages of development but he spoke about war conflicts that every stage of development presents in our growing up process. So for example, the very first one, the first year of life will be trust versus..it's not trust, I haven't taught this stuff for many years, so you'll forgive me if I can't give you the full, and it's worth reading him, okay? But the first, well the core issue for the first stage of life is trust, okay? And every one he speaks of the issue and it's opposites, so I don't remember his exact language for that. What is it? It's trust versus? No, not his language. Yes, it is versus mistrust in normal English, but, read it it's worth it. I won't even be able to go to the hotel to look it up, so, I can't promise anything for you tomorrow. So maybe one of you who knows this stuff can bring that. But, you understand the idea, right, that every stage of development presents us with a particular core issue, okay? Now, ageing according to him, presents us with the ego conflict as he calls it, of ego, critical conflict, of ego integrity, whether to have, to become an integrated person, right, versus despair. He in fact says this is the main choice of adulthood and ageing. Can we create integrity with our whole lifetime? In the life review? Right? Or are we faced with despair. So, Henry Crystal, I mentioned him to you before, in the massive psychic trauma book? He borrows on Erickson, on that concept, and he finds integration as the task of senescence, or the process of ageing. The usual occurrence of old age, he says, the loss of gratification, understand? Ya, the loss of gratification supports and distractions, the shift from doing to thinking, right, in ageing we do less and we are faced with more time to think and more thinking. From planning to reminiscing, right? From preoccupation with everyday events and long range planning to reviewing and rethinking ones life, right? Looking at the totality of ones life. He says that all of these tasks during ageing impose the, I'm quoting Crystal now, the inescapable necessity of facing ones past and the choice to either accept oneself and one's past lovingly or continue to reject it angrily. Are you connecting to this because these are exactly the questions we ask about trauma no? You are a very smart man putting things together that way. The major obstacles faced by survivors of the Nazi Holocaust throughout their post war lives have affected their attempts at what he calls "post traumatic healing and mastery of their intrapsychic injuries" Understand? Okay. As well as, he says, the history affects the view and evaluation of their lives in their old age, okay, it's different when a survivor look back than a person who has lived a fairly stable, ordinary life. And these are the obstacles that Henry Crystal sites, some of them in technical language so I will explain each one, okay? So the obstacles in being able to do this integration and review he says, these are, he calls it post traumatic consolations of, one is called Alexithymia, the second is called Anhedonia. Now Anhedonia is a little easier. Anhedonia is the inability to be happy, the inability to experience joy or pleasure. Anhedonia. Alexithymia is a whole complex of cognitive processes, the way we think, the way we fantasise, the way we let ourselves feel, okay? In a sense that we can't really let ourselves, Alexithymia means we can't let ourselves feel, so we numb ourselves, okay. That's a way to block, remember yesterday, we say we get overwhelmed by the feeling, so we cut them out? You stop thinking, right? Because you are afraid to think about certain things so thinking sort of gets

either fuzzy or blocked? You get very afraid of having fantasies because when you let your mind roam freely, like we tried yesterday. When you're a survivor you may hit some very painful spots. So you cut it out, okay? So your fantasy life, you don't allow yourself to have free fantasy life and you can see that that really stands in way of creativity, right, in the way of free spontaneous thinking and feeling. That means it restricts our mental life, doesn't it and when you have a ...[indistinct] time here, you're also on top of all that, you also find more comfort in dealing with like very concrete, simple things, right, rather than embrace abstract reasoning and things like that. So, do you get the feeling of it? Okay, very important concept, you know, for clinicians and a lot of research is being done with it now, including on a biological basis because they found that there are connections in the brain that in fact reflect what has happened both biologically and makes sense then emotionally and cognitively. So these are two of those post traumatic constellations that are the obstacles that Crystal lists.

He lists more, he lists the after effects of survivors guilt which we have explored already, right? Shame. Difficulties in management of rage. Quantitative and qualitative deterrents to working through losses, that is, they had so many losses and in such a horrible way that it makes it impossible.

I for example believe, following not only Isabella Lightner that I read to you, that it is impossible for the mind to even conceive of six million people. So how could we mourn them meaningfully? There are more obstacles. Excessive use of repression. You remember the cutting things out of awareness? Denial, psychic splitting, inner splitting and externalisation, that is, seeing everything out there in the outside rather than being able to see the conflicts internally. So he says that all of these are obstacles to be able to integrate, right, that's general in integration of trauma, but it's specific also to ageing people who were traumatised. Families of these survivors, were robbed by the Holocaust of their normal cycle of their generations and ages and of natural individual death. Now this is very important. Researchers such as Leo Itinger who was also a survivor of the Holocaust, in Norway, he died recently. He found out that survivors of the Holocaust die five years on the average earlier than the rest of the population and that they are more ill of any disease or illness, more significantly so than the rest of the population. So you still don't have natural, individual death, it's still under the shadow.

So to put it succinctly, on the average, survivors are more sick, more often sick, age and die earlier than non-survivors. For many of them, imminent death and the loss of loved ones have become equivalent to anonymous murder and being forgotten, right, so the normal process of ageing goes back to re-traumatise with the old meanings. Also, survivors did not see their parents age and as a result did not have models of ageing or of realistically expectable intergenerational relationships during ageing. You know the age group that survived basically, was the one that was able to do slave labour for the Nazis, right, those who survived after the ordeal and basically the majority of survivors were therefore between 18 and about 26, so you can imagine that they did not see their parents die and therefore they had no idea also what the demands of their children, when they become old because they didn't have models for that. Some elderly survivors have been able to recreate non-biological adaptive quotes "extended families" who aided them during ageing, in fact, part of the functions of our project that I described to you is to provide a community an extended family for people who don't have them and there is that feeling in the community that we built. While parenting and especially grandparenting, has been healing for old survivors, in some cases, new grandparents report being flooded with memories, associated nightmares and fears of their grandchildren being taken away, tortured and murdered. So you see even very joyful future looking images and occasions and happy happenings in life take on the memories overwhelming them.

Old age in itself is potentially traumatic for survivors. First: Old age intensifies and magnifies the post traumatic constellation that Crystal outlined, remember? The one, the list I gave you? All of those obstacles get magnified in old age and the various post war adaptational styles of survivors that I described this morning, it becomes more intense and more extreme. These four adaptational styles, you already know them, indicate a terratagenicity of adaptation and quality of adjustment to the Holocaust and post Holocaust life experiences. Second: Many Holocaust survivors experience the normal phenomena of old age as a recapitulation of Holocaust experiences. Thus, they experience their children's having left home and their spouses friend's deaths as reliving of their massive losses during the war. They feel further estranged when their children follow the American ideal of independence. I mentioned something like that this morning. They may experience the sense of abandonment, isolation and loneliness common among ageing people in the United States as a repetition of being shunned and dehumanised during and right after the Holocaust. The latter may be similar to combat veterans particularly, I'm talking from the United States point of view, but particularly Korea and

Vietnam, POW's, that is Prisoners of War and survivors of other stigmatising traumas. Typically, because of their massive losses the families of elderly survivors are extremely small and the socio-cultural support system that might be helpful in time of need and limited, you remember there was a great loss of extended families. So when an ageing survivor says to his daughter or son "you're the only one I have" it's real, because it may very well be that that's it. That's all that remains.

Furthermore, some older survivors do not have the financial resources to seek appropriate help. Now this is a point I want to just underline for the Reparation Committee. We did speak about it in the Committee meeting but I want to share it with all of you so all of you are aware of it and may be able to help you. You know that the agreements of payments are for six years, right? For reparation. Listen carefully to what I'm telling you. Survivors may be the poorest old people. So you search your consciences as to the implication. I urge you to know that this is something think about seriously and to understand as risk and I really am one that believes in national conscience so remember that that's down the road, something you have to think about and to plan for. In many families of ageing survivors, the children are called upon to fulfil all the functions that normally would be taken care of by the extended family. Thus, factors in the histories of some of these families have created difficulties among parents and children that are exasperated when the parents approach old age and render the children unable to care for them. I'll give you an example. During the war for example in ghettos, you know people were starved. It was the little children that were the only ones who could crawl through the sewers or, you know, climb trees and over the walls to go and find, fetch some food for their families. So here there were little tiny children who became the breadwinners so to speak for the family. Now think some more, it means that little children took care of their parents, of the adult people who were supposed to take care of them and they became quite good at that, they became quite good at helping adults. In the camps, too, you know, nature gave, had the wisdom of creating children in such a way that they evoke our maternal or paternal reactions. So in the camps also sometimes when the children would ask for a little extra food, they maybe would get them and they would bring it again to, share them with their father and mother if they were together. But I'm saying to you is the children, unless murdered, were in some cases able to function as adults and to help the adults. Now after the war, ah hah they were still children, they no longer thought of themselves as children, but they had to go to school like other children and the parents started demanding that they treat them again as parents, right? Created in many cases quite a bit of resentment. Now when the parents again in ageing become helpless and in need, the resentment sometimes stands in the way of taking care of them. Do you follow me? So that's one story, okay? So that explains to you the difficulties that may arise. But of course there are other stories like that.

You remember the one I mentioned this morning. Like the mother was in Auschwitz while the child, right, was hidden in a convent, didn't even recognise this woman, right? Had to suddenly create a relationship again. That's your mother. Not only had to undergo the loss of the people who may have helped with those years and the child grew to love and had to leave, to be ripped away and adapt to a new country with a new language, is all that. Those created always complicated problems. So these were lifelong problematic kind of relationships. So that's another way of having some difficulty.

Yet another one is the very heroic survivors, that the children learned to see as totally invulnerable, right, nothing will ever happen to them, of course they survived the Holocaust with such heroism but they wouldn't survive a hear attack? That's small potato. And if the child remains with that view of the parents as totally invulnerable, the child wouldn't help the parent. The child will deny that this paragon of power is not there to lean on. Okay? So this is yet another route or in the family of not providing the ageing parent with what they need. And of course this may be true for many populations, we know that these kind of difficulties exist in the Cambodian populations and the Armenian populations. Okay a lot populations with massive trauma. Elderly survivors also tend to dread inability to work. Why? Huh?

SPEAKER: Not working meant you would be sent to the gas chamber.

DR DANIEL: Absolutely. Very good. Did you hear? Inability to work in the camps meant, what? You were killed. So elderly survivors also tend to dread inability to work because of retirement as well as deterioration and illness, since these states signify certain death, much as they did during Holocaust. The post war meanings added to towards their work and the people in their work environment also determined their retirement experience. There may be loss of structure, routine, self-esteem, status and friends and a protective shield against being mercilessly attacked by memories. Many survivors worked, worked, worked, worked, anything to not remember, not to think. Another, you know at old

age they suddenly can't and they have literally, they call it like they're attacked by memories. The clinical literature on World War II veterans contained similar discussions, thus retirement maybe clinically inadvisable for survivors unless they develop structured routine and preferably meaningful activity to quote "fill their time and social space and to release their energies, that often are really made of anger and grief". So when you make plans, long term plans make sure that this kind of thinking is included. Some survivors experience moving and being placed in Nursing homes as recurrence of the disruption of their lives, of being uprooted, dislocated and incarcerated. This is particularly the case with hospitalisation which may bring about psychotic like delusions of being in camp again. I get many phone calls from hospitals in the New York area. You know, survivors would, you know, they had, let's say they had a stroke or something and they're picked up to the hospital, they're being restrained and for them, of course, it's a total trauma to be restrained and they start screaming "Nazis, Nazis" and they really experience it that. I call it delusion like because it's really not psychotic but they really feel it. I mean if you ask them they know they're in New York but they really feel the doctors as Nazis and I get calls not only to treat the persons themselves or to find somebody who knows their language, like Polish or German or Yiddish, you know, and can sort of get them carefully and caringly out of it. But also to take care of the doctors for whom it's very hard to be called Nazi's and again it's the same issues that I brought up this morning and to be experienced as these terrible people, why are they trying to help you? Tough hey?

The survivors, this is again, I'm repeating, again confined and given numbers. You know in America, the first thing you get in America is a number. You know you don't think about things like that unless boom! it's right in your face. They must also submit to the humiliation of being helpless and being told what to do quote "for their own good" by authorities whom they have learned to mistrust. You know who did the selections in this concentration camp? Doctors. How do you like that as a self-image for yourself? Really tough.

And a similar kind of issue is for soldiers who'd been seriously wounded and had experienced the triage. You know what triage is? Let's say in the war when many casualties are brought, somebody has to make the decision when there's very limited staff. Somebody has to make a decision as to who goes to be operated on first. That's called triage and in it there's the assumption that those who you can save better will go first, so you can absolutely be sure that in some of these situations, people are left to die and soldiers, old soldiers.. What, Khosi? Speak to the red thing. Ya put it on the chair, ya.

KHOSI: When you talk about doctors, the whole thing comes back to me because when I was detained after torture and then all the other things they did to me and then I was taken to a District Surgeon. When I got there, having some medical background, I knew about a doctor and patient relationship and secrets between them and then I started telling the doctor what they've done to me. At first, the very torturer didn't want to leave the room when I was talking to the doctor and then I protested. I felt this was one time when I have to spill all the beans and then eventually the doctor said well, you'd better go outside. When I told the doctor he was busy writing down everything I said. I told him what happened and then he recommended some medicines, he found out that I developed high blood pressure and all the other lacerations I had in my body and then, afterwards, then he called the policeman. When he came in the doctor took a photocopy of the report, gave it to him and then he told the security chap bring her back after five days, these are the medicines. I was so horrified that it has taken me exactly 16 years to get to a male doctor because I can't trust him. You know it took so much for me to be ...[indistinct] to be given this treatment after the stroke and heart attack I had. It's only afterwards that I had this stroke and heart attack. I was never given those medicines until I got so ill and then afterwards I don't know how long I was lying there on the floor, solitary confinement. When I was taken... Somebody higher up who came into the cells, taking rounds, he wanted to know "why are you keeping this woman here" and prior to that the person who is Station Commander or whoever it was, protested to these security chaps "look I don't want another Biko case here, take this woman, kaffir woman out of my police station because I'm going on pension very soon." So I don't want to go and answer questions" and then I think he must have been the one who called this man from Pretoria who came in and looked at me and said "why are you keeping her here". That's when I was taken to the General Hospital which was strictly for whites. When I got there on the way getting to that hospital, I was taken into a room where there were two policemen with guns day and night. You can imagine somebody, I could hardly talk but my mind was very clear although I couldn't communicate and lying there on the bed and then these policemen, men always day and night sitting next to the door and outside my door I realised one time when I was taken to the X-rays for the stroke. It was written "highly infectious disease" and the hostility of the nurses and the doctors. Fortunately enough, I must say this, there was a young doctor who, a neurologist, who attended to me. I didn't want to talk to him. I told him, you know, he could understand me although the anger, I was telling him "look I don't want you to touch me, if I have to die, let it

be because I've been betrayed" and all that and all that. And then afterwards, you know he was so patient with me, he begged me that look you are here now in the hospital, I understand, I want to help you. Who are you, where do you come from, what is your name? And then he said he was Dr Levine. I said okay, you and me understand each other. I am Khosi Mbata from Soweto, I'm not a terrorist from South West Africa. That's how they registered me in the hospital. You and me, your background being, your parents or your grandparents were in the Nazi concentration camp. This is what is happening to me. I'm not what I am here. That is how we came to understand each other, he treated me so well but still, up to today it's so difficult for me to get to a male doctor because of that, what happened to me, I just wanted to, otherwise it touches me deeply.

DR DANIEL: Thank you. You know, there have been quite a few initiatives in the human rights field to remind people not only of peoples' human rights in general, but also the violations of human rights and the necessity of education in human rights for professions. In one important one of course is doctors. So they themselves who have made the oath not to hurt, will be responsible when they do and when they violate human rights of others. In fact we're preparing a book on the 50th anniversary, you know, reviewing the 50 years since the declaration and what the international community has created for prevention, for familiarisation and one of the chapters is on doctors. So if you permit me, I may quote you a story. Good, thank you.

KHOSI: Please go ahead.

DR DANIEL: Say it again into the mike, I feel silly but I do want that.

KHOSI: I say, I'm giving you permission to go ahead and publish that some people somewhere must know about such things. Moreover at that stage I thought I was the only survivor in my family because my babe of two years I was detained was also taken away from me by force and then my other kids were missing, my husband I didn't know where he was because we were detained the same time, the three of us. So now I thought I was the only one and then I was praying very hard that I must survive in order at least I must tell the world what has happened, you know. I think perhaps even that kept me going when things were bad.

DR DANIEL: And you remember we mentioned those survivors who survived to bear witness? There you go.

KHOSI: Unfortunately, I wasn't here.

DR DANIEL: I'll give you a copy. Here.

KHOSI: I'm still a survivor because I went to the doctor this morning. I was very sick this morning, I went to the doctor now everything's alright to come here.

DR DANIEL: Well we both wished you well, I told people that you went to the doctor today.

KHOSI: You must have sent a vibration.

DR DANIEL: Absolutely, I said let's wish. Let me continue then. So speaking still with survivors right and when they're hospitalised for example, they feel that they're being tested, restrained and operated on as though they were undergoing Nazi experiments and you can actually just open your minds and make your own possible connections here, right, because the triggers are not so difficult to discover. Renewed religiousness and return to traditional rituals in ageing survivors may have an integrated function in nostalgically attempting to recreate order, structure and continuity with the pre-Holocaust past. Survivors who go to the synagogue may do so more to listen to and hum the melodies of their childhood homes, community or statal which was their small town in Europe rather than to utter the words of prayers. Many survivors find it very difficult to say merciful God, for example, hmm? But, the memories help them, right, there are soothing memories. Their return to religiousness reconnects them with childhood sounds and language, with the smell of H...[indistinct] which is the Jewish bread on Friday night, with the sight of mother lighting the candles that used to warm their hearts on the eve of Shabat. So I'm saying that a lot of what's connected to traditional religion, the survivors may return to, to recreate that sense of continuity and integration. Crail, Robert Crail, who is a child survivor psychiatrist point out that child survivors, this is very important, those who were children when they survived during the trauma, may not have these memories to comfort them in old age and may, quote "be taken straight back into that hell",

known as the "Shoa" which is Holocaust, without warning. You see, as children, if you were children during trauma, any trauma, that is world you know and if that's the world you fall back on in your old age, it is straight to hell. Rather than if you were older, you have some positive heartwarming memories to go back to. Now we come a little bit to touch up on the issue of commemoration that some of you are interested in. Building monuments also serves the re-establishment of a sense of continuity for the survivors and the world. Elly Resille stated that the hearts of the survivors may have served as the graveyard for the known and the nameless dead of the Holocaust who were turned into ashes and for whom no graves exist. ...[indistinct] Not only survivors but also many children of survivors shared the sentiment, they would say we are walking graveyards. You remember the survivor's guilt function of loyalty and against aloneness? That's part of it. It's also to ensure that somebody remembers, remember? Many children of survivors also share the sentiment as I said. I believe that much of the Anhedonia, remember the inability to be happy? And the holding on to the guilt, shame and pain of the past has to do with these internally carried graveyards. I know, one of my closest friends, a survivor, she died a few years back. She, after the Holocaust, she wouldn't listen to music under any circumstance. She used to be a musician before the war. She wouldn't go to a concert, she wouldn't, she said she can't. She literally lived her life, you know, sort of like a memorial torch so to speak. Survivors fear and you spoke about it yesterday too, survivors fear that successful mourning may lead to letting go and thereby to forgetting the dead and committing them to oblivion which for many survivors is tantamount to perpetuating Nazi crimes. I think Duma, yesterday, didn't you speak about that? Where's he. Disappeared? How do you like that? I know. But you remember Duma mentioned that yesterday. The fear of forgetting, if he forgets, you know, if he forgives for them, you know, he's committing a crime. The attempt to make these graveyards external to a large degree, creates a need for building monuments so that the survivors might then have a place to go to remember and mourn in a somewhat traditional way and to have their pain shared by others. Do you understand what I'm saying? As long as you have to carry it all inside your life is going and it's not shared by anyone also. The monument is almost like taking this graveyard and putting him out here and I can go and mourn and I don't have to be mourning all the time 24 hours a day, seven days a week and you can share it with me. Very important. So for those of you who are, you know, in that Committee or that initiative.....

DR DANIEL: ...and if it can function of documentation an extension of bearing witness of leaving a legacy so that the victims, the survivors and the Holocaust will not be forgotten. So then the monument will bear the witness, I don't have to be bearing witness all the time. Not only when I die, I don't have to worry because I die, nobody will remember anymore because it's there. It's a legacy and it ensures the preventive aspect as we said, right? To not repeat again. Recent attempts by Neo-Nazi groups to deny the existence of the Holocaust and to call it a, quote, "Jewish hoax" also play an important role in the survivors need to leave, quote, "evidence behind them and to make the world a better place". Integration of trauma must take place in all the relevant life dimensions or systems and cannot be accomplished by the individual alone, for example, well that we're going to talk about tomorrow but remember that, I mean I've said that enough times for you to remember it. As an expression of the usual need of children to get to know their parents before they die in conjunction with the parents need to be a witness, right, there's an interaction here. Many adult children of survivors collect all histories of their parents and encourage their parents to commit their life histories in writing. They also usually say well it's not only for me it's for you grandchildren so they're having a future continuity as well as from the past to the present. Kensler, who is a colleague from Los Angeles, has demonstrated the benefits to Holocaust survivors of giving video testimonials. This is very related to the Truth Commission. She did her doctoral citation on that actually and maybe I can ask her to send you a copy. The recent surge of survivors memories usually dedicated simultaneously to the lost loved ones and to their children, a test to the parents' need to leave their legacy behind. Healing through sharing is also attempted by World War II veterans. Discussions with children, with grandchildren, taping and sharing recorded narratives and book writing are increasing including published works by surviving family members about the father or the uncle who never returned. See, so all these attempts are taking place and should be tried here too. That ageing survivors are unable to integrate the Holocaust should not be surprising. Humanity, western culture and society in general have not yet integrated the Holocaust despite attempts by brilliant experts in the prime of their lives who work in many disciplines. Survivors and non-survivors alike. To expect survivors to accomplish this task in their old age with their diminishing capacities may be expecting the impossible. The reactions of society at large to the survivors, the conspiracy of silence, right, had a significant negative effect on their post war adaptation and their ability to integrate their Holocaust experiences as we touched before. Now you want me to touch up on some treatment related issues? Ya, because we didn't build it into our programme but I have some comments on that here, so, they are not complete but they'll give you some of the ideas. Clearly, to optimally meet the complex needs of elderly survivors but I believe so of any survivors, any programme for them must be comprehensive, integrated and formally and informally networked with all relevant services and resources in the community.

Let me repeat that because I think it's true for whatever you're going to do. Although, again, we can make our peace. To optimally meet the complex needs of survivors any programme for them must be comprehensive, integrative and formally and informally networked with all relevant services and resources in the community. Now it's a little bit about my project, let me quote this: "The group project for Holocaust survivors and their children was established in 1975 in New York City area to counteract the survivors profound sense of isolation and alienation, to compensate for their neglect by the mental health profession and attempt to respond to the pessimism about helping survivors." And the literature was full saying there was no help for survivors. "It provides, this project provides, individual family group and inter-generational community assistance in a variety of non-institutional settings, training for professionals working with traumatised populations and consultations with and relevant resources and institutions like hospitals, synagogues etcetera, in the community. Since it's inception, the project capitalised on the unique reparative and preventive value of group and community therapeutical modalities." Eddy, I'm coming back to some of the issues we raised before. "Among the numerous advantages of the group modality in treating survivors and their children, for this population these modalities has also help rebuild a sense of extended family and community which were destroyed during the Holocaust."

Now veterans also have begun, older veterans also have begun group therapy and community involvement so you actually find that fairly much as a trend. I know Kulumandi have groups here, am I correct? And I believe also in Cape Town I heard in the trauma centre they offer group, so it's become rather accepted as a good method of treatment.

In addition to Holocaust or trauma related event counter transference, remember from yesterday? Feels like ten years ago. So in addition to those counter transference reactions, that's important now, therapists working with ageing survivors have to consider the reaction to old age which is called like ageism or gerontophobia, people who consider ageing people, you know, dismissable, should not treat them, for example, or people who consider them only wise people to learn from and they forget that they need comfort, also should be retrained.

So what I'm saying is, in addition to the Holocaust related counter transference reactions, you have the, here, the reactions specific to ageing, okay, which may be determined by their culture. There cultures that have tyranny of youth such as the United States or the culture such as Judaism which view ageing..oh, excuse me, the tyranny of youth is related to viewing ageing as a decline waiting for death, right, or for example the one that Jews have, we treat our elders as a source of wisdom and completion of a learned life, okay? So the culture we grow up in also determines how we will treat different people.

I have another paper, actually, talking about that, but not in context of ageing, but in course of children. You know people have specific reactions to children that may be different from their reaction to adults or to ageing. It's very good to always be aware of all of those so we remain clear minded. The projects go, our project, which are preventive as well as reparative assume that integration of Holocaust experiences and we mean longitudinally, throughout a lifetime, into the totality of the survivors and their childrens' lives and awareness of the meaning of post Holocaust adaptational styles maybe internally liberating, may internally liberate them from their traumata and facilitate mental health and self-actualization for both and that awareness of transmitted inter-generational processes will inhibit transmission of pathology to succeeding generation. Did you follow me? Ya? Good. The central guiding principle as a ..is it teatime again? Okay. The central guiding principle of integration also informs the choice of therapeutic modalities, techniques and interventions for example and I have copies, we can make copies of that one too. The diagnostic and therapeutic use of constructing a multi-generational family tree with survivors and their offspring although it triggers an acute sense of pain and loss serves to recreate a sense of continuity and coherence damaged by their Holocaust and post Holocaust experiences. Whether family therapy is feasible or not, viewing the individual within the dynamics of his or her family system and culture is of great therapeutic value, particularly for ageing survivors so they don't feel like their family less.

Furthermore, combining therapeutic modalities and techniques is especially helpful in working through long term and inter-generational effects of victimisation. I want to show you quickly an example of what I mean by building a regenerational family tree. Very quickly. There is an article that you can read but when someone comes, right, and I recommend that, I now use it with every new patient, Holocaust, non-Holocaust, trauma, non-trauma, I have learned so much about it and it gives a wonderful framework to understand a lot of what's going on with any particular individual, any particular point you talked. Okay so let's say, let's say this person comes, squares for males, a circle is for females.

Let's say he came to us, okay, and he tells us that he has an older sister. Now he maybe married or not so if he's married we do that, right, to show that, right, if he has children we add them here. We also find out about the sister, okay? We also ask for example if there were any abortions or miscarriages that they know about, right? Were there any children who were given away, okay, and we note those if there were, okay. So for example, they will be noted like this, alright. Now, this is mother let's say and father and we found out then one of how many children, right, was the mother's families. So we hear a whole lot, I'm not going to complete that, you're getting the idea, right? We hear about the father as well. These were mostly large families, right, that was the custom. We find the names of everyone, ages of everyone, we note it all on this, okay, the education, the profession, all of that gets noted for everybody, right? These in turn, right, have their own parents. You find out what happened to them, their names, who they are, the names are important, remember about the naming, because you want to know who was named after whom. Who was chosen not to be named after. Some children are names five names just to make sure that everybody's name is remembered. In a family like the numb family you'll have children who were there before, right, so these will have siblings, you understand what I'm saying? That we note either from the mother's side or from the father's side? These can get extremely large actually and most of the time I go back some more, okay, and I want to know how they live etcetera. All of those issues I told you about. Now what you typically see, what you typically see, death is cross that way, what you typically see in this, and get the idea what it is like to be part of that. And we ask also questions about the extended family because all of these had cousins and aunts and uncles as well. We also asked about religion, their religious practices, we ask everything you want to know and even what you don't want to know, we ask about that too. We found out a lot of things, we find with some who they don't even know how many brothers, sisters mother had. We find some who don't know their names, they don't know who they're named after. They don't exactly know what happened to them and by the way here we do note what happened to them, every death has, we try to find out if they know, if it's known at all, so we would write Auschwitz or ...[indistinct] where they died, how they died. We always note, also, the year of, both the year, the year that they got married and the year that they arrived to the United States or to Israel or to wherever. But this is a sort of way to give you that, right, that sense. I remember very poignantly, a young woman, a child survivor who came to the project, I mean, she was training, she was being trained in family therapy, so in the class they asked everybody to do their family tree and everybody else had a whole lot of people and names, living, married and she went to the blackboard and did something like this and she said the whole class became totally silent. Nobody could say a word and that it was for her though, the first time that she realised the extent of the loss. Now, I called it you remember diagnostic and therapeutic. Some people construct a tree with me after three years because it's a real process of communicating ... [indistinct] and with the family ...[indistinct] they don't dare to ask the mother the names of the sisters or brother, for example so until they get better and are able to dare to ask and to find out or ...[indistinct] ready to find out. It may take lots of work, so that's why it's both diagnostic and definitely therapeutic even though as I said it triggered, it may trigger an acute sense of loss. I remember and counter transferentially as well, I forever will remember one time, an initial session with the son of survivors who sat with me and we had, actually had a double session because it sort of continued and I didn't feel right to stop. We traced a tree of 72 people, all murdered, including his father's two children from before the war and if you can sort of identify with me, the therapist sitting with him, doing it, and with him sitting with me, doing it, there was so much pain in the room I can't tell you. I literally I was in so much pain. To this day I can feel it. He continued more and more and another one and another one, Auschwitz and another one, ...[indistinct] another one and you could see this young man, I mean, like progressively crushed under this and he and his sister were the only two children of these only parents I mean only two meaning the rest didn't survive. But it was very helpful, for him it was very integrative. Right, it's the same as to tell the truth, to tell that story isn't it? Except this is visual. One of my, one of the, one of my patients said once that it's like sitting with grandmother and hearing family tales so she was did for comfort, you see, so this is one of the things we do regularly with everyone. Let me go back to reading some.

"Integration and recovery involve the victim survivors ability to develop a realistic perspective of what happened, by whom, to whom and to accept the reality that it happened the way it did. What was and was not under his or her control, what could not be and why. Accepting the impersonality of the events also removes the need to attribute personal causality and the consequent guilt and false responsibility."

You remember yesterday when we did the exercise, Eddy remained and the other was the policeman, we didn't give him a name. It was so clearly impersonal but Eddy was trying to make it personal, right, he was saying "what about me, how come you do that to me, how come you walk out when you see me?" Very interesting right? So he was trying to make an impersonal event personal because it also humanised his sense of himself to think that this was not personal.

"An educated and contained image of the events of one's life before, during and after victimisation, potentially frees one from constructing a view of oneself and humanity solely on the basis of the victimisation events. For example, having been helpless does not mean that one is a helpless person. Having witnessed or experienced evil does not mean that the world as a whole is evil. Having been betrayed does not mean that betrayal is an overriding human being behaviour. Having been violated does not necessarily mean that one has to live one's life in constant readiness for its re-enactment. Having been treated as a dispensable vermin does not mean that one is worthless and taking the painful risk of bearing witness does not mean that the world will listen, learn, change or become a better place." That's the other side of the telling, that's the world's response and that is I think for your society a crucial, a crucial focus. We started talking about it yesterday, when we asked you to speak as a journalist, remember? You were the other. It's so important because otherwise the victims don't know what's the reaction to what they told. Like who's the listener, am I listen to, does it have any meaning, does it have any consequence, does it make the world a better place? Are people going to create programmes to make society better? I'm challenging this. For the survivors, essential components of the ageing persons preoccupation with "who loves me, who cares if I live" are the devastating questions, "who will remember me, will the memory of my people and the Holocaust perish?" I promised to go into that vulnerability versus resilience thing that you asked about, but maybe you have some more questions now about this or some more references like you feel that this makes sense to you, yes, no? Or you want me to continue, please? Speak to the ...[indistinct]

AUGUSTINIUS: My name is Augustinius, I'm from Kroonstad. You know in Kroonstad I'm also a survivor of the past Apartheid era. What actually happened there, how I survived, I survived in the way that the, I can call it a miracle, by miracle actually. When police, army shoot me with a hail of bullets, as I said I survived by a miracle. Then, when you talk about healing, I don't think for my personal view of when, I think only thing that can heal me, because every time or every day, on this day, the 19th of February, is when this all happened to me in 1991. So that's why I came today because this is, keep on coming to me, on this day of the 19th February. I can't sleep, my dreams are that. I dream like I'm living in a ...[indistinct] area, I'm dreaming like I'm living in a, where feelings are made well, like you see, I don't know how can I describe it, but as I've said it keeps coming to me every time on the 19th February when police shot me with hail of bullets and thereafter, nothing had happened to them and even what we can call, what do you call it, perpetrators of this violation against human rights. They never came forward and said, they never came forward and said what had happened in my town area, they never said come to the Truth Commission and said, we give orders so that I shouldn't be killed or other people like all my comrades and it seems like the TRC at the moment is now about to close and I feel that the TRC will close before I'm telling the story. I'm telling, the TRC will close before I'm turning the unturned stone. I feel very bad because till today, some of higher ranking officers in the police they were behind this thing. Like magistrates, like prosecutors in my town area. They were protecting this gangster who were people innocently, even the President of the ANC went there in 1992 and asked them some questions. They never answered it, they only make promise that they will see to it. What do you do?

MS MKHIZE: I didn't get your name.

AUGUSTINIUS: I said my name is Augustinius Kwakwano. I also had a statement here in TRC offices, I put it clear what had happened during that time and even today when I came in here, I don't know how I can, I also said, I'm not attacking TRC but to come to TRC to give in my statement it's like going to the police station and giving my statement what had happened when you are in ...[indistinct] or what had happened against you because why I said so, because when I came here to TRC offices this day, they phoned to Kroonstad. I tell you my statement, I did my statement in 1996. Till today nothing had happened and they phoned to Kroonstad police station and the police there said they know nothing about my case and my case ended up in court and I'm giving also my case number here in at TRC that's why I said to give my statement to TRC Officials, Commissioners also, is like going to police station to give a statement. The next following day the police will say your statement? We don't have your statement, don't know who took your statement. Otherwise sometimes they will say the one who took your statement is not here, he's ill, he's off, he's on leave, he's certain courses, you see.

MS MKHIZE: I just wanted to acknowledge what you have said in brief that we really, I for one, may be, we understand the difficulty that people like yourself might experience in the sense that we still make use of the same structures which in the past perpetrated suffering when we want to get more information about what happened. But that is not a condition which determines what we do with the statement. We asked them whatever information they might give them, then if we do not get satisfaction, we accept what a person has given us. But regarding your dreams and what you are

experiencing, I would say it's a normal reaction. That's why one of the things we are working hard towards achieving is that in society there should be opportunities for people who look at what they went through with more time and see how they make sense of it and integrate it and be able to move forward so we hope once we have those opportunities in society, you will get an opportunity of looking at it. But I am pleased you have shared with this group.

DR DANIEL: Part of what I was asked to come here for is to help plan for projects for help here, okay, so your need for help will be addressed that way. But I think also, didn't some of you yesterday, spoke about the need to keep the testimony taking even if it's not strictly under TRC? So you'll continue to collect statements and testimonies, no? Well it's something to look into, you know, because, I mean, you've heard of Steven Spielberg and his foundation for Holocaust survivors? He's the one who made the film Schindler's List remember? And all of the income that came out of the film goes into collecting testimonies for survivors. It's a video archive of all the testimonies and his dream is to have every possible living survivor be videotaped so that remains forever as a record and I think that is extremely important, but we'll talk more about it tomorrow. But just to add something to what you said. I think you're not the only one who spoke of what we call anniversary reactions. That survivors and their children tend to relive on the anniversary of the trauma, the trauma. In fact most children of survivors when they show up for therapy, I always ask, does this date have anything to do with whether your parent, when your parent was incarcerated or liberated because they even, they sort of rake on those dates. So it's good for you to know, when you know that it's the 19th is coming up, to be nice to yourself in particular, to have your friends around you so to create a balance to those horrible memories, so you don't feel helpless about them. Take charge of that day. You called it a miracle that you survived, celebrate the miracle and I'm really glad, very touched that you're sharing it with us today and I'm really glad that we are here with you.

SPEAKER: I wanted to speak because I would like to pick up on what the gentleman has said because it's common trend, he might not have articulated it, but there's this issue of the sense of justice, forgive.. no, dealing with your own personal struggles without feeling that justice has been done. This part of the thing I heard from him and from experience I have no answer to that, I know you'll ask me what I think, but I would like to hear you that how does one deal with this issue, that's coming up so frequently, reconciling what a person sees as an unjust way of doing things especially when it relates to the perpetrators and then saying that I must start reconciling with myself. What is justice. To whom? Who defines it?

DR DANIEL: You do know, I mean I'm not that hard to figure, I do not favour impunity as I mean, the definition of justice includes doing justice. You're just collecting the documents. Normally we first collect the true, we first do enquiries and investigations and put them all together and that is called the preparation of a case and only then, and that's the first part of the judicial process, ya? Then comes the second one which is the trial, then comes the second one which is the judgement. I understand your political futility and believe me I feel very deeply for it, for you. But that piece of justice is not included and that's part of what you have to live with and calls for your own creative therapeutic, rehabilitative efforts because the quote "doing justice, due process" you don't have and I think it's very important that you simply, like Khosi said yesterday, recognise it, go from there. Find symbolic ways, not only for reparation and compensation etcetera. Find symbolic ways for justice. I mean I was actually wondering yesterday, when Duma was talking about, I did not recognise the names because I'm not that familiar, right? But you've mentioned some names of people who have made a lot of money and you thought that they'd perhaps could contribute some to compensation for victims? I think that is in a way a way of restitution, returning and justice. Okay, that is part of doing justice, right? You're laughing at me. Am I naive? Or do I sound like from Mars?

SPEAKER: Our amnesty clause which is in the act from parliament does not put that as a condition, I should think that that should be societies trend.

DR DANIEL: I know. I know. Well, look, to my mind it's not ideal or optimal. In the absence of that, however, part of your task is to substitute for it because the feelings I hear are either of great disappointment or great resentment and you may need to find alternative ways because it is a trauma all in itself and if you want to we will try to continue. Let's try to continue to work together on it because at least the reparation initiative should address it. Frankly, it has so many implications that it needs a whole lot of thinking, it's not only on individual basis, it's not only with the guy who beat you up will be, will receive punishment. It's what society looks like that says I can live without total justice, but, I want a democratic justice system for crimes that have been perpetrated today. It's very, a quite a challenge you have, I mean that I'm perfectly willing to participate in you know, in continuous dialogue with it. But let's not pretend that this is an

ideal situation. It's not. It is a totally normal sentiment to want justice done. Go ahead, and Michael after.

KHOSI: Talking about the anniversary of the devastating day. Every 22nd October, that is the worst day in my whole life. Unfortunately I have no one to talk to about this particular day because my immediate family, that is my husband next to me and one child. They never want to talk about this day, is the most miserable day of their lives and then sometimes I would like to talk about this particular day to some friends or family. I fail to communicate with them because they feel so horrified or I don't know whether they feel guilty or any other thing, you know, especially with my husband, he feels, because he was, we were detained the same way they also tortured him severely. At one time or another he always feels he wasn't there to protect me, I think it's a men's way of doing things. That he is there to protect his wife and children but so much happened to me, in fact even worse than him. Now he never wants to talk, you know we can never talk about this and then otherwise I'm one person who is trying to heal. I want to talk on this particular day, how I felt and how the whole thing happens and then he just crumbles and he gets so terrible.

DR DANIEL: How? How? What happens to him?

KHOSI: He, he, I can't describe it, you know, even his physical changes, his way of even trying to, just tries by always to change the conversation, you know and that's a denial of some kind but I am much more open about it, I think it's some, the way women are. Men are always closed up. Sometimes bring some intense atmosphere in the family. How do I talk about this anniversary like my comrade over there was saying?

DR DANIEL: Did you try to discuss with him that you understand how he feels and maybe that's why he's afraid to listen, that maybe he feels guilty about not having protected you? Did you discuss his feelings, did you ask him how he feels?

KHOSI: I do and to him his anger is always directed to the past system and how these people are roaming around free, you know, for instance we both came here to the TRC, we made the statement, up to the date 1996 when we came back from exile. Nothing has happened, no, no, nothing. So now it is frustrating, moreover, I've seen some of the police, the security police who tortured us. If I have to sit across the table, perhaps we face each other, he will feel so happy and glad that at least I, he managed to destroy me, or something like that I mean there's always..

DR DANIEL: You see the irony is, that while your husband feel bad that he couldn't protect you then, the result is that he is not protecting you now and he can do that because by sharing and listening, you may come closer and help to protect each other really. So maybe you can tempt him that way. But you know, I mean, are there places here that you can go for like a couples counselling? Because some of it, you're totally right, some of it is just that for men it's easier for men to feel angry than to feel in pain or to share fear or discomfort. For women it's easier to talk. It may be a good idea, may be a good idea and it would be good to understand in the whole family what's going on, you know, how come people are not more protective for each other, more there for each other. We talked today about families, right, you'll get the paper to read.

KHOSI: He does protect me in every possible way, but it's only this part about torture and all that has happened, moreover perhaps it might become better if all the children from all over the world can come back one day even if it's only for 24 hours, we can see our kids we can be one family. Now the problem is that the other kids are still very far from here. I've got only two kids here who are back one from Australia and one from America. The others are still out there. Perhaps maybe to him maybe that is the thing which, he never wants to talk about this horrible past.

DR DANIEL: Because the consequences are still going on. Can you plan for everybody to come home on that anniversary or around it?

KHOSI: It's not possible because we have no means of, the kids most of them they're still at school wherever they are and we are not working we are just back from Exile. We are still struggling to survive.

DR DANIEL: Now we'll continue that. Okay. Michael.

MICHAEL: In fact as our sister reminds us, we also had a Diaspora, perhaps not as a Jewish Diaspora but with similar effects. I think what of the other things she reminds us of is that perhaps one of the acts of reparation that the injured in

this country owe to the victims is that absolute duty to listen and to listen as often as needed and for as long as is needed and that doesn't cost money, it costs effort, it costs will, it costs other things but it should be seen as a requirement and is something that is owed. Our other brother at the back when he was referring to the money that some have received, it is a dramatic example I think he was referring to that when the Vlakplaas Unit that specialised in the assassinating our people closed down, over 17 million rand was paid in golden handshakes to the assassins. The chief of it, the best paid serial killer in history, received I think 3 million, more than 3 million. But I agree that it is perhaps unrealistic to expect any of those people to pay anything back. It is interesting in regard to the debate as how much should be paid to our victims in that nobodies here to pay 17 million to the survivors. I wanted to raise one of the points that was made about, I think one of the issues that is often unexamined, is this, this visceral metabolic need for a sense of justice and the impact of not having that satisfied and I think it's a pity that whatever political compromises led to the institution of amnesty, nobody bothered and has yet bothered to think through implications that has for others and what at least you can do about that even if you are giving amnesty. We are in different situations, some of the people that we work with like my brother and sister we've heard here, can say "on the 19th March Sergeant Cloete shot my son" it's a specific perpetrator, specific event. Others like ourselves, I don't know who it was who tried to kill me, I know they did, I don't know who it was, I know somebody got away with it but I can't name them and therefore on the one hand there is the pain of those victims who know a specific act by a specific person is being ignored, and those who know that that's not possible. There are those who know that the District Surgeon you may have to go to where you live, or your local clinic, maybe the doctor who sat and helped them when they were torturing you, or that the policemen you have to call when there's a burglary is one of the people who were responsible for beating up you or children. So there are different, again, layers and dimensions in the way that, in what has been neglected and the failure to deal with that.

I think one issue that I wanted to mention now in relation to the justice thing, that I fear very much, is that there may be a massive amnesty by inactivity. Unless the Government will agree and the Truth Commission must be very adamant about it in their recommendation, that every single named perpetrator or identifiable perpetrator who has not applied for amnesty and got amnesty, must be investigated and prosecuted with the fullest vigour the country has, otherwise without even paying the cost that the victims were told they must be grateful for, of hearing some of the truth, they will have got away with it and it is highly likely. We know, I respond to your complaint about the bad doctors because that's one of the areas I've been testifying about, I have no belief that the medical council will ever take action against them. The profession of Association of Psychologists look like they might take action against some of the perpetrators. Other specialties, other fields of people who were professional perpetrators are likely to be left free. Unless the justice department can guarantee every identifiable case will be investigated and prosecuted they will all get amnesty without even applying for it and that must, that is the worst possible bargain.

AUGUSTINIUS: Thank you again. I want to thank you for what you have just said and then on the other hand I want to congratulate a fellow comrade, but presently I'm having a problem. He's fortunate somewhere, somehow, he managed to submit a statement. How many people are in his position who did not have an opportunity to submit their statement. We have written a letter to the Chairman of the TRC requesting them to give us just a month because we have discovered that more people are coming forward and they didn't have a chance to submit a statement. We are still waiting for an answer. Failing which, the work of the TRC will be incomplete and the pain, the trauma, for those who failed to submit a statement will be extended for the rest of their life and then, coming to the issue of the perpetrators, they are always the winners. They were given amnesty, they were given golden handshake, they are being protected now by the Government on the expense of the survivors. Here we are today. None of the perpetrators are among us. We are the people who are supposed to initiate reconciliation. I like that statement from the sister, I forget the name, I'm sorry, if we say we reconcile with whom are we reconciling? There is so much to say, it can take years I just want to give others a chance, but the last thing is this. If I might offend other people they will forgive me. Where we come from we do what a group counselling. We want to respect, we try to respect one another. When somebody or someone tells what happened to him, I request that we should give him a chance. We should listen to him because if I start telling my story and people start moving in and out it seems as if no one is paying attention to what I am saying. By doing that we are aiding to taking away a dignity we have, we are a people who are supposed to bring back our dignity because we are here together to restore that dignity, failing which, we are perpetrators too. Thank you.

SPEAKER 4: I noticed that you didn't mention any of the experiences of the Holocaust survivors as a response to question that's been posed over here in terms of justice, that we found there on a much huger scale but you've got the survivors sitting back and looking at the country that perpetrated it and certainly, perhaps the countries. It seems to be

amongst the most prosperous and best economy in the world on the one hand and what's coming out now as a result of this whole thing with Switzerland, is you'll see thousands and thousand of Holocaust survivors who are living on almost nothing in Eastern Europe and I think in America as well? That's what I read and is there not something we can learn from the transition that the survivors made in terms of dealing with this because, just like there it was clear that there's not going to be any human justice, there was a tiny percentage of Nazi perpetrators that were ever brought to any kind of justice and it's exactly as is being expressed over here. The reality in the world is that most perpetrators will continue to be so-called respectable members of society, they will have the financial and they will have all of the, whatever that they had because they've already established themselves and nothing is really going to happen to them and that's what we're going to live with and is there nothing that you've gleaned from contact with the many survivors that you've, that could help in a situation like this?

DR DANIEL: Well what I have said until now, is precisely what I've learned from them, which is, that survivors need the full process of justice and it's very difficult to complete, right, to complete a traumatic situation without. The fact is that the survivors of the Holocaust did not get justice. The Nuremberg Trials barely had captured any and punished less and in fact in '92 for example, the Netherlands, who'd held three Nazis for a lifetime in prison. In '92 they decided to be kind to these old men and let them free and the fact that all of the survivors said, "well my grandfather who would of been at that age, doesn't have that choice because of these people. Don't do that". Well, the Netherlands just the same released them, out of the kindness to the old person. So there are many wounds beyond not having the justice. That are related and yes, the story of Switzerland is almost, is disgusting and it, it's almost disgusting in an elementary sense because it's money, you know, it's like it doesn't even have a moral meaning to it. It's just grabbing money at any cost and suddenly again, it's up to the survivors to do with it and suddenly people again, 50 years later have to start in finding documents? And prove? We'll talk about that tomorrow, actually quite a bit, the process of, judicial process and such, so I don't want to take away from the systematic discussion of it, but yeah, listen, survivors of the Holocaust, I think the most bitterest, the most bitterest, the most bitter or the bitterest pain that survivors have is that Holocaust has not served as a lesson. Survivors truly believe that if the world learned and found out what happened, it would never ever let any such thing happen again, anywhere, to anyone and today when you look back, it seems like this just served as a precedent, that the world is worse and worse and worse and you know, Hitler said, one of Hitler's justification, I'm quoting, he said that the world didn't care at all when the Turks massacred the Armenians and therefore he's totally secure in his plan to annihilate the Jews and he was right. And you know what? We also said never again and we knew now how so many "never agains". So I think part of what's needed to be done is a real look at what being human means today, in our century and I think, you know, approaching the year 2000 maybe will give us some special urgency. About taking a look, what have we been doing in the last century? What have we human beings been doing to each other? And I think, you know, because anywhere you look you feel the most pain here because it's your pain but you also know of so many other peoples', right? And very little learning seems to be, to happen. Now the United Nations was created to prevent such atrocities from happening, right? Right after World War II and the world community has created many wonderful instruments to prevent, to ameliorate, to participate in writing these wonderful declarations on the principles of basic, The Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power, and on, and another one that I'll talk about tomorrow. So we have the words on paper, we are now called upon to implement and to live up to what we really believe in, what we say we believe in and as I said to you in the morning, I do have a sense of envy even though I have an appreciation to how much work you must do because there's a pioneer spirit in this country. You have the opportunity to make the world a better place. Huh?

SPEAKER 5: I say I don't think wove got the time to make it a better place, time is short.

DR DANIEL: Are you speaking personally or are you speaking...she's taking it on by herself I want you to know. You can use us too! Sorry, excuse. Let me find out what this is, sorry?

MS GROBBELAAR: Ms Danieli, I'm the Information Manager in the office.

DR DANIEL: Ya?

MS GROBBELAAR: And maybe I can speak to the questions Augustine has asked.

DR DANIEL: Wonderful. The Information Officer of the TRC wants to address your question, Augustine, as a special

gift for your anniversary.

MS GROBBELAAR: My name is Janice Grobbelaar and I'm the Information Manager in this office and I'm not a psychologist I'm a sociologist so that might be a problem. I would like to address broadly, the issue Augustine has put to us about him coming to the Commission and him being told that the South African Police was unable to provide us with documents so as to corroborate his statement. I have his statement and I have the documentation here. He made a statement to the Truth Commission and a gentleman called Ali Mohapi took his statement. Since then, we've tried to trace to corroborate his statement. The Commission, with all twenty thousand statements we have received, attempts to corroborate these statements by investigating the claims, because for us there have to be claims in the paralegal sense that the person makes who comes to the Commission. This is to ensure that the Commission acts in a legitimate and fair way to everybody who comes to the Commission. This is to ensure that we don't spend all our investigative time on one or two or other very famous cases. So we have a general and standard policy that says we corroborate all statements. Statement comes into our office and we have a quite sophisticated database in which the statement is captured and then it moves to our corroborative team and our corroborative team have a series of activities that they carry out in order to see whether they can find substance for the statement. So when you say you have been picked up or beaten by the South African Police and you mention their names, we attack, we approach that police station and we ask "have you got any records of this, is your incident book available, is that still captured there?" Now I must tell you they destroy information every five years and then every ten years, okay? So there's a problem, this is 1991, that's the first issue. We then say are there any other issues we can take up on for example, is a lawyer mentioned? We then approach the lawyer and we say "are your records still available? Can we make use of your records?" We have done that in this case as well, there are no records available, in this particular case. But I'm trying to make it a general issue rather than a specific issue. We would approach, if a person disappeared, we would approach missing persons, we would approach the ANC office, we would approach all kinds of sources which may have this people that are missing or have disappeared. What kind of sources are there? We would look in the databases that do exist over the time period but particularly of the '80s okay? The Human Rights Committee database in which peoples names are listed and what they came to the Human Rights Committee is listed for.

So we look at all of those positions and we try to find information. Ultimately we try to go back to the individual who made the statement to us in order to establish whether that person can give us more information because we have been unable to corroborate with the sources that we have tapped into in this regard. On the other hand I must say to you, we obviously have a capacity problem. So it is not possible for us with an office of fifteen corroborators to send someone out for all 6200 statements who were taken in our area to personally look for witnesses, okay? So we try to do this by fax and by telephone and if all else fails we send people to the area to try and trace somebody. So in general what we're trying to do is find some evidence so that in methodological sense we can say to South Africa, all 20 000 people who came to the Truth Commission received the same treatment. We did the following things, we tried to trace this. If we can find no information and even if we do find information we still make a finding on the balance of probability. In other words this is not a process which is beyond reasonable doubt, it's not a legal process, but it's a process in which we try by understanding the dynamics of South Africa, to make a finding on the balance of probability. But you will understand that we need to do this, because if we don't do this we will be accused of having people come to the Truth Commission, giving us statements because they believe that there's a financial or material reparation somewhere in the background. So there's an incentive to come, alright? There's an incentive to come, there's an incentive to exaggerate. These are the questions that the public will ask because this is the taxpayers money that is being used here. In general that's the kind of process that we follow. Are there any questions about that?

AUGUSTINE: Thank you very much for your explanation but don't you think that the lifespan of the TRC is too short?

MS GROBBELAAR: I'm an executive in the TRC so my opinion is a problematic one, we have to talk to the decision makers here. Let me say that we have a limited capacity, right? We have twenty thousand people who came, six thousand statements made to this office, sixteen corroborators, two and a half years, any, you know, the logic of that argument tells you that detail is very difficult to establish. But I think you have understand the TRC also in a broader context, it is a state intervention, it is part of process, it cannot resolve the situation but it can begin a process, okay? And the process is one, we hope, of reconciliation and not further anger, we hope reparation, we hope on the basis of South Africa accepting the legitimacy of what we said because you all know there are competing truths in South Africa, there's not one truth, there are competing truths and somehow we, in a methodological sense, in a sense which is

acceptable to people have to go through a process which most of the people in South Africa can accept. Not everybody will accept it, some will say "you did too little", some will say "you did too much". We can't pick up both ends but we can try to pick up as many people as is possible in the beginning. It's an expensive process relatively speaking and I know we can argue this in, is the life of one person not worth more than 200 million Rand which is what the TRC has spent. That is not within our control. From a psychological point of view and you know I have sort of Psycho III so shoot me. You can't keep this process open too long either. Well I think the process needs to gain momentum in civil society, I'm not saying the issue of support groups the issue of X and A and Z shouldn't be carried on but you have to understand what the role of commissions is for state actions and for governments. They are exercises in dealing with the problems that the Government has to deal with on a relatively short term basis okay? It's the function of a Commission and this is a state intervention and what this Commission should be doing is kicking off other interventions and in that way we can say it's plus, but no states will allow a commission to go on ad infinitum. It's autonomy also becomes circumscribed the longer it goes on because the State and the Government begin to intervene because what needs to be done is they need to be looking better and not worse, alright? So the time of two and half years in my view, and if you look at the history of Commissions, is not too short, given the functions of the State and what it wants to achieve in this context. So it certainly is not, you know, 50 years after the Holocaust they are beginning to open up the Swiss issue. Simon Wiesenthal sits in Vienna, I think he's still alive and he has rooms and rooms full of documentation and it's very difficult, it's not begun to get finished and there's an enormous amount of work, so I'm not suggesting finishing, I'm suggesting the State cannot open this up, it hasn't got the capacity to deal with opening this up so radically, I think. But those are my opinions, okay, they're not official opinions.

SPEAKER 4: Ya, I think that it's all very well to explain the process, but do you explain the process to people who come and give your statement because frequently support groups and other things have the feeling of people who've given a statement and had no feedback. I appreciate you've got fifteen collators but if I came and gave you such an important statement of my life, and you sat and took two years and I heard nothing about it, I would feel very angry and that's what we talked about, about further victimisation. When the victim is actually retried and I'm not saying you're trying the victim, you just need to give the victim a process or a progress report, it's courtesy, it's etiquette, it's respect and I think that's where civil society actually gets irritated and angry when it doesn't happen.

MS GROBBELAAR: Let's answer there. Everybody who came to the Truth Commission whether it was in two years or six months should have received two documents from the Truth Commission and they're in files, the letter thanking you for making the statement and a letter sent out three months ago saying the situation is still happening and if you gave a statement here I can go and file and I will probably find both the letters on it. We can't control the post either. But what I'm saying to you, yes is I understand and yes we've tried to deal with it by doing that. No, no, I mean I'm honest, I, you may be assured that those of us in the Commission are much more concerned about the victims of the Commission than about the politics of the Commission, okay, and for us it's a very difficult task to work in a context where we have to see the victims and we have to talk to people and we have to deal with the most important thing in their lives and their pain under these kinds of pressures with these kinds of capacities. So be assured that I haven't met anybody in the Commission, in the Executive of this Commission, which is where I work, I do not work at the Commission level, that takes this responsibility lightly at all and it isn't aware of these issues and as I say we've at least made two interventions. Let me also say that there's one thing that I've learned. I've spent twenty years in academe so I'm an academic and this has been a very new experience for me. I have learned that it's very hard for people with such pain to hear a process argument and you can say that this is our problem and it certainly is our problem, the management and explaining of the process but I've learned that it is very hard for people to hear it and I have sat on platforms with Hlengiwe for example explaining this and it's very hard for people, as the gentleman said to deal with this in that sort of almost bureaucratic way. You know I understand the problem, it's not that we don't understand the problem it's how always to deal with the problem that is an issue which we I hope do our best to do. Thank you.

DR DANIEL: Eddie you wanted to ask last question because I think we will close for the day and see you all tomorrow. Go ahead, Eddie.

EDDIE: Ya, I'm not going to shoot the messenger. Because I feel that we may need to ask ourselves what is it that we're trying to achieve. I don't think that we are at a stage now where we want to make an evaluation of the TRC, that can happen later on. I think the essence of what we're trying to say here is that amongst us there are people who are saying that the healing is complicated by the processes that we have set up and we need to find a way in which we deal with

that. I think the advantageous position that we have is that we're not dealing with it 35 years 50 years later on, we can deal with it now. But what we're also saying when we deal with it is that people are saying that we want to see justice and we have not analyzed or unpacked what exactly is meant by justice. We assume that when people say justice that the perpetrators must be punished and persecuted, is that really what people want? Is it not the justice that is more geared towards what will change things for me as the victim rather than so much justice that is concentrated on the perpetrator and that's a problem that we have recognised in the Roman Dutch Law system that we're using in this country. That justice concentrates too much on the perpetrator and does nothing for the victim and Dullah Omar's office is busy looking at the whole idea of restorative justice now. Another element which has also come out, and then I'm going to keep quiet, today, was the whole idea of symbols and you have mentioned the monuments and I think that we must guard against a situation where we set up Commissions where we look at other people to do what we ourselves have difficulty in doing, not because we don't want to do it but we have extreme difficulty in doing it and what I sense is the case of many people who are pained in our situation at the moment is that we have difficulty in dealing with that and for me this three day event is part of exactly enabling us to start a process of dealing with that and I'm glad that you have warned us not to be in a hurry because I think that one of the difficulties that we have is that we, the pain is so deep, that we can't tolerate it, we feel that is eating into us, into our bones and we want to see something substantive happening and here we are talking to a fairly moderate group of people that are paining, there are very many other people out there that are paining much deeper than this. Some of them not expressing it, in the way that we're expressing it if we look at the social difficulties that we are experiencing in our society and therefore, the symbolic TRC must help us to look urgently at symbolic monuments that we can set up so that our brother here would be able to find refuge in the Vaal for when he feels really pained. Why is it that our brother has to come all the way from Free State to here? Is there a possibility that we can set up something there to help? If we go to the Biko Memorial in Mdzanani it's very helpful when one is, because I have a friend there who is suffering severe trauma and he was excited to take me to this memorial site but we don't have that and when we think of memorials, we mustn't think about war memorials, we must think about something more meaningful than that. I don't think that a war memorial is meaningful but then we are saddled with a problem that we come from a history that has been affirmed which is plagued by violence, so what do we put in that history that is meaningful that is a reflection of what Doc called earlier on, the non-violent resistance in this country. What do you use to portray non-violent resistance? It's easier to portray violent resistance and therefore I'm saying that we must, in conclusion, we must not look so much the TRC can do, at what other people out there can do. I'm not saying that we must not keep the TRC on its toes, but it's important also for us to look at what it is that we can do because it quite apparent that we cannot rely on those structures to do those type of changes that we have ...[indistinct]

DR DANIEL: Not to do, especially not to do everything that needs to be done that they're not even supposed to do. But I think that's a great idea for homework for tomorrow. Why won't you really sit with yourself and think what will be meaningful symbolic memorials for you, because tomorrow we are going to go over the different elements of healing and integration and the commemoration is one of them. So why won't you give it a very serious thought tonight so that we can meaningfully discuss it tomorrow. Great.

MS GROBBELAAR: Look before you go can I just say that the last comment on your report, Mr Kwakwano. Mr Kwakwano was also contacted telephonically but was told that he had since moved without giving a forwarding address, have you got any time, can you come and speak with one of our corroborators now?

DR DANIEL: Wonderful. What a good idea of the day.

AUGUSTINE: About the address I've given on my statement is that I've given two addresses and two telephone numbers where I can be contacted. I was only contacted...

MS GROBBELAAR: I'm just saying to you that you're very welcome...[indistinct].

AUGUSTINE: Okay fine.

MEETING ADJOURNS

ON RESUMPTION ON 20 FEBRUARY 1998 - DAY 3

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Ms Hlengiwe has asked me to come in and I have, they're sort of poems, sort of readings which are based on some experiences and I will just take you straight into them as a way of setting the tone. The first poem is actually - goes back to the 1960's. Certainly one of the rather surprising elements that has come out of the Human Rights Hearings has been that there are obviously some particular dates that people remember. People remember '76 and '76 tends to have become the start of the revolution, everything happened in 1976, but in fact the time period covered by the Commission goes back to 1960 in Sharpeville, obviously and this is something that happened. I mean this is based on an experience in 1964. It's entitled "The Greys" which in those days had the same connotation as John Vorster Square, it was the Greys just down the road, was the centre of the security police and it is the place where quite a lot of things happened. This happened on the evening, or during the night in fact, of Friday 24th July 1964.

He was standing in front of me shouting 'Jew bastard, you Jew bastard!' which, as you knew very well by then, was incorrect on both counts. Still he stood in front of me screaming 'Jew bastard, you Jew bastard, I'll kill you!' and a lot of additional filth about my mother, my grandmother and my children yet to come. The generations talked that night,

the generations screamed from the depth of the hulk in front of me, screaming 'Jew bastard, Jew, I'll kill, kill, kill you!' Because of the bomb, the bomb had killed that night, a lonely unwanted bomb spluttering rage in the great hollow hall of the tiny whites on their way home. The bomb spluttered and killed. He screamed 'Fourteen! Your bomb killed fourteen, Jew bastard, I'll kill you, your bomb, your mother!' Not my bomb of course, as he knew only too well, but 'fourteen' he spluttered, 'fourteen!' Coming closer, the rage and the fear of the generations, screaming and coming closer. He took off my glasses and put them down on the table so they wouldn't break, so I stood in front of him unsheltered by glasses, might break, and his arms, 'Jew bastard!' began waving towards me and I tried to concentrate. 'I'll kill, fourteen!' on the hands of the arms coming towards me, telling myself 'This is it! This is what it will be like when it really happens, when it really happens to me.' And the hands clenched and hit and struck, sharp, grasping blows at the eyes, ears, eyes, clenched blows at the head, with cupped fists on each of: 'Jew bastard! Kill! Kill! Kill!' And I watched as the body went down to the floor and I thought 'This is what it will be like for me when it really happens.'

And I saw the body on the floor being kicked and I thought 'When it gets up it will be the end.' But when I saw the body on the floor get up, I remembered what Stan had said about when you're arrested for a pass or something and they start beating you up, that the best thing is to scream, scream anything, scream because that pleases them and it takes your mind off it. So when the body got up, I screamed, screamed, screamed something silly like: 'No, no please! No, no please! Please no!' And it pleased him so much that he screamed 'Jew bastard kill!' and the hands hit the body again down to the floor again, then the screaming and the body and the scrabbling on the floor and the kicks and the shouts was one. Was me. So I got up. 'Jew bastard!' And then there were two of them and the second watching the first and the first waved his hands. 'Hy's 'n Jood, in Jood, 'n bliksemse Jood!' And the second nodded and I said nothing. Then above, the floor began to rumble like my floor had rumbled. Muffled rumbles and thuds, thudding cries, spluttering thuds and then nothing. Quiet. The first looked at the second. 'Ons het hom'. And the second nodded. The hands paused, pushed across a chair, handed me the glasses from the table and said, 'Here Jew, have a smoke'."

The second is based on a hearing which we heard in Alex Township, people might remember, in October 1996. It's based on some of the testimony that we have been hearing:

"One witness has a dark suit and a waistcoat and a glove on his hand to help with the arthritis and a stick. Thirty years before he didn't need a stick to stir the streets, him and the other kids. They picked him up he said and roughed him up a bit in Alex before taking him to Pretoria. Compol, the big house, their house, with the warrants of officers like cells in corridors where they do what they want and they start giving him the treatment, pausing only to bring in another pickup, looking dazed, to watch while they batter him and batter him and batter him. 'But I was lucky', he said. 'I shat myself and they said, 'Jasus, maar die Kaffir het gekak en vat hom weg, hy stink!' They start instead on the spectator. He is from Cape Town. His name is Looksmart. By morning, he's dead."

Another witness tells how she's heard about her teenage son. How he'd been in the street with friends when a passing Hippo shot him, no sense to it, no reason. Then they collect him, she said, still alive and batter his head against a rock. Twenty years later, tall and high pitched, she spits fury, red hot. 'Maybe', she says, crumpling into her pain, 'he'd still be

here if they hadn't hit his head against the rock'."

"Three witnesses together, grannies with doeks and darting eyes take it in turns to weep as they tell of their children across the border in the safety of Gaborone. So many details of the cars they took to get there, of the scenery along the way, all the details, the shoulders, they, the soldiers, sorry, the soldiers they explain shot anything that moved and raked the cupboard where the overnight visitor hid. Tore the cupboard to pieces, to pieces, to pieces. And there was this large white sheet at the funeral, she said, with all the names listed and his wasn't there, wasn't there, wasn't there. But there at the bottom, ah! Joseph. Afterwards the hall echoes with the laughter of kids in the square outside and we sit wondering about these lists of bodies and mortuaries and more mortuaries and coffins, coffins, coffins, bones, bones and the glistening eyes of mothers and survivors and the evening shadows ring with the sounds of children and you have to think of tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow."

DR DANIEL: It's tough isn't it? Why won't we as we did yesterday, just to connect again? How are you? You want to discuss any feelings about the poetry? What, what's funny? A teapot is absolutely more easier to take than the poetry, no? It is a nice distraction, it's my comfort. Yes? Oh wonderful. Hi.

TIMOTHY: First time. Timothy. I know you have showed some sign of concern about the conspiracy of silence in this part of the hall and I must assure you that we have been listening very attentively to what you have been saying and we were taking notes though we were silent. I'm concerned about just one or two things. I've listened to you sharing with us your experiences and how you're dealing with them. It seems to me yours was and is, you're dealing with a people, a nation with one culture, one tradition, one religion, same values, from the same background and with one hope of rebuilding a great nation. Now I'm concerned about...

DR DANIEL: As always I want to correct misconceptions. Yes, Judaism is a one nation but if you knew how many different, how complex that nation is and what a range of complex ideologies and understandings and cultures there are in Judaism. See it's interesting that, right, we always start this way, with a stereotype. From the outside, when you look from the outside, you really don't know the inside, hey? Right? The Rabbi, Harris, who is the Chief Rabbi of South Africa who is with us today and I just had a very quick understanding as to the complexity, the internal complexity of the Jewish Community only here and we in fact, we say then it is, well in the United States and not only, remember after I presented the different families yesterday? I said that what we didn't talk about is the different demographic questions and the different backgrounds of these people? Like some were very orthodox, some were totally assimilated, some were living in rural areas, some in big cities and they came all from different countries and every country had it's own colouring of the way they have been. In Israel we have, how many cultures? Just in the Jewish Community? See we have a joke that, okay I'll put it differently, I'll tell you a joke that we told in America that the American President and the Israeli visiting President sat together and the American President said "What do you know? I am a president of over 250 million people." So the Israeli President says "What do you know?. I am a president of 4 Million Presidents!" So it's a good joke because it really characterizes. There's another one of a Jewish guy, you know, the boat got lost and found himself, you know, on a deserted island. So the first thing he does, he builds a synagogue, right? Then when they find him, you know they find him working on the other side of the island so he said "What are you doing?" He said "I am building the other synagogue, you know for the people who wouldn't step into this one!" So these jokes are just to give you in a humorous way, you know, the kind of sense of differentness within the Jewish Community, okay, so you don't need to start with a stereotype of a people. You really don't. It gets us nowhere to do that. Every time we did that right, yesterday, every comment that started "well you" had a lot of misconceptions in it. I think it's better to ask or to simply talk about you and then we can talk together and I think that's part of what the reconciliation process is about, isn't it? Don't assume that you stereotypically know a people. Not even a person. You know when people say to me "You know what I mean?" I always say "no I don't". So.

TIMOTHY: Well thank you for making that clear. That's why I started by saying 'it seems' because I wasn't sure of what is happening. Now, my concern is how do you bring these cultures together in rebuilding a nation? The intercultural part of it. I'm sure you will be able to cover that today but I'm very much interested in that one because we are here dealing with people of different backgrounds, different cultures and we don't understand one another in this country. From where I come from we deal with people of any race, culture, you name it, status. But then I found that there is still this problem of intercultural relationship that we still have to build and that's my concern at the moment. I'm sure you will be able to cover that as how you dealt with that part of it. Thank you.

DR DANIEL: Right, we won't be able to cover that without you, though. But two things we already learned from just our interchange, right, that there is a tendency to stereotype, right, if you don't know you think that you can reduce a people or a person to one impression or to not even an impression, just a belief. So the best thing to do if you really want to know the people is to ask them and I agree with you, I think there is a lot of need to talk with each other, not at each other but with each other. I was thinking last night also, you know, we have in conflict resolution, I told Pat this, some of the, some of my colleagues are trying to come up with like very simple succinct way of putting, of putting the problem, of explaining the problem and like one of the ways that's very lovely, they said it's not you or me, it's you and me. It's a very nice little set immediately to establish that we are both in this together. It's not either you or me or I have to kill you or you have to remove me. We're together. It's you and me and we respect, I respect you as much as you respect me or as much as I wish you to respect me. I want to know you. You're as valuable to me as I'm valuable to me as I'm valuable to you. So what we're talking about is even a way of looking that before you even begin to talk and what you're saying is and it's a very positive thing, what you're saying is beyond the disappointment and the hurt and the hateful feelings, there is a curiosity to get to know each other and that's wonderful. See, so, the first way to, the first, I heard the building aspect already in your question. You don't know each other, you would like to know each other. For years and years you've treated each other in stereotypes, you know, there were enemies. We talk about that, there are theories on, you know, the image of the enemy, right? To experience the other only as an enemy. As long as the other's only an enemy, you don't need to get to know them at all. In fact the only thing you need to do is be very careful of them. In fact to get to know them means that they will be human beings to you. It won't be so easy for you to slightly relate to them as bad or as dangerous only. You have to at least give them as much interest and respect as you do to your own complexity. But again you see it brings us back to the same issue that comes up all the time in our discussion. Getting to know somebody takes time, takes patience, takes attention, takes focus, takes openness, takes a dialogue, right? That means listening to each other not talking at each other. Spending time together, taking the time to learn what you're about, what the meanings of your behaviours are. So, here you already have a few, right, doors to see what, but to say I want to know you, gosh, that's wonderful. That's the first way to get to be friends. You remember we began this saying, you know, what am I going to open up in front of a group of strangers? Well we are no longer that. Because we took the time to be with each other, to listen to each other, to learn from each other. I don't just mean it as easy words, I think you know that. It's really the way to go. See and it's very hard after being enemies to even relax a little to do this because you're so used to being, I call it a porcupine position, you know. The thorns are up, the ears are sharp, you know and only the mouth is aaaah, you know, either to scream or to shout or to, to, and the arms are beginning to move and you all know that posture, don't you? So easy to act - yugh! So easy. It's so hard to just say okay, let me, let me cool it now and I don't mean cool in the sense of cold, I mean let me relax it, let me put down the defences a little, let me open the ears a little, let me try to just hear a little bit.

Let me see does it hurt so much to get to know that that person also has feelings? Children, mother, father, history? So there's a lot of that to do. We talked about it in, you remember on the first day I mentioned to you, groups of children of survivors and children of Nazis, this is one initiative of, I mentioned to you Dan ...[indistinct] a colleague from Israel who has done that, who, he came to visit here in fact. I know he met with you and you know, arranged for people from here to come too to the groups.

We have another initiative actually in the United States to bring to a summer camp of two months, Israeli children, Jordanian, Palestinian, Egyptian, all the quote "enemies" either former enemies or still current enemies and they lived together for two months. There's only one adult in the camp to run the administration. The kids live together. They have counsellors but they're very young counsellors from, you know, camp to camp. They lived together for two months. They have these lengthy conversations with each other about 'how I saw you'. Gee I wish we thought about it ahead of time, next time when I come and at this point I'm committed to it, I will bring you tapes of that camp experience to show you, the kids themselves say: 'I came here, the only thing I knew about you was that you had to kill me. I never thought of you as a kid who goes to school, who is studying, who may fall in love with somebody, who has a girlfriend'. Never occurred to them. The only thing that occurred to them 'these are the enemies, these are the bad people who are out to get me, so I'd better very careful and get them first.' I'll bring tapes of that next time, you know, we have to really plan, because you're so interested in these programmes and they do exist and I can bring a lot of that material in, see being here I'm also learning what, what you need more than what I brought with me. Further kind of thinking and we can do that, we can do that well actually and we can try it out too. So perhaps next time we'll have groups of former enemies because you see as Yitzak Rabin said, you know our Prime Minister who was killed. He said you make peace only with enemies.

See, when we talked about reconciliation and the difficulties, you somehow think that you have to begin by being, by pretending to be friends already. No, you're beginning from having been enemies and that's the first thing to attend to and we did it a little bit between Eddie, you remember, Eddie and what is your name again? Rajiet. You remember? You acted the enemies. It was very interesting when we opened it up you became more of the enemy and more and more remember? That's a very important phase of the process. To see, to explore all of that. It hurts like hell but without it, it won't go on from there. Eddie can I ask you a question? Where is he? Hi. You don't have to answer. We had a lot of speculations about, right, in the room, about what you wanted from the policemen, right, in the bakery. What did you really, we never asked you for real, how did you feel? How did you feel when he walked away, what really you wanted to ask him? To those of you that weren't there, why won't you just fill in very briefly what it was okay?

EDDIE: It's difficult.

DR DANIEL: I know.

EDDIE: I really wanted to talk to him but the other side of me was also saying, when he walked out, 'good shot', and I related it to my wife and she said to me it's wrong. You should talk to him because she also identified with his wife and could imagine what she's going through. Now that women solidarity was an important element for me and it pushed me where I was saying that if I do get the opportunity I would want to talk but I'm afraid also, that he's going to respond the way it happened here and therefore wouldn't want to do it in an area where I could be embarrassed. I would want to do it privately but recognise also it's not a private affair and that's the contradictions.

DR DANIEL: No, it's a beautiful contradiction there because it is a private matter isn't it? Each one leaves a, two unique hearts but it is representative of the whole problem. That's a beautiful way of saying it. When you said "good shot" to yourself, that part of you, what that does that mean? You were glad that, what? That he was too what?

EDDIE: That's an element that we have missed in this workshop to a large extent, we have concentrated on our losses and not on what we've gained. It was good shot for me in that he now realises that we have been victorious in our struggle. He doesn't hold the power any more, the power belongs elsewhere and those that they have persecuted before are now the ones that they have to co-operate with and the "good shot" was therefore to say that "you were not victorious".

DR DANIEL: And the part that wanted to talk to him, what was that about what did you want to talk to him about and what did you want to talk to him for?

EDDIE: I think it's what we said earlier on, the conflict that one has with our own faith. I relates for me with the whole thing of forgiveness that we started discussing yesterday where my faith tells me that you can't go on living with this person. My understanding of my faith experience is that you must set things right before the sun goes down, whatever we understand by the sun going down and I have a feeling that for this person, the sun is already going down and my faith coerces me to set things right with him because I know that he cannot hurt me any more or at least maybe I should say that's how I feel strongly about, that he can't hurt me any more. But now he's hurting someone else, battering his wife and as a person with a social consciousness my faith tells me that you must do something about that even to the enemy. Because what is the enemy, who is the enemy? How do you define an enemy? His wife is not an enemy and maybe by doing that, one can actually contribute towards restoring human relations because part of my work, I'm getting paid for doing this, is to say to people like Duma, he's not here yet, and to people like Khosi, let us search together for a way in which you can become reconciled. You see this whole thing of Ubuntu then comes into the picture as well where I've tried it on the first day with Duma, we were smoking in the toilet, interestingly and we said what happens now with muntu nguntu ngbantú? Your humanity is affirmed by you being with other human beings and if you cut yourself off to other human beings because of what they have done to you in our situation, also very often because of their skin colour. I mean what are you doing to your own humanity and I'm therefore challenged also as a carer to say you can't ask other people to do it unless you explore ways of doing it yourself and if one therefore goes through that tension in your own life you begin to appreciate how much more difficult it is for those who have gone through much more painful experiences and I was saying to someone this morning that the wonderful thing about being a carer is that very often you learn much more from the people that you are meant to be serving and you give more to them than what, they give more to you than what you give to them and one is just then, in that context, challenged by your own

commitments and understanding of the situation.

DR DANIEL: See even, I'm very glad I asked you because even in the way Eddie talks you can see that in his own being there's so many different parts and they all exist so it's again, you and me. It's both a victorious feeling and a compassionate feeling and the enforcing feeling and many more feelings of course and all of them exist in the same person. Each one of us has all of these different parts that have to reconcile. Very hard and a part of him is still angry and still calls the guy the enemy and still needs to see him down. So now it's another up and down before it was this up and down now it's this up and down, there's no way to really talk from this position. You see that? See we can even draw, you know, when you talk, we can draw the directions of talking, are we talking with each other, are we talking at each other, are we talking to each other, are we talking down to each other or up? Different ways create different relationships. You wanted to comment or, no? Okay. Lets...Yes go ahead.

EDDIE: Can I just say, if for me I then reflect on what we have done over the last two days. The first day for me was very enriching it was a little bit better than yesterday. Why, because I was hoping that we're going to have a lot more participation yesterday and everybody has noticed it that we don't have participation of everybody and some people like us who talk a lot are now beginning to feel inhibited. We are talking to much because others are not talking and I don't know how to deal with that. Is it the right thing to do at this time? But the other is also if we look at the onion of the trauma, I think that we have not said it, that we have rotten onions as well, where you can't peel it off, I mean it is rotten all the way through, the thing falls apart once you touch it. The second is that we also have an onion that is standing in a glass of water and there's more skins growing onto the onion all the time and although we are trying to get to the core, we very often don't have the tools to do it, so it only makes us cry and I'm afraid that we're going to give up peeling. I'm afraid that we may have reached that stage and the last thing about the onion is also to say that some of the onions are deeply underground and we just can't get to them. If we take a fork we are going to pierce right through the middle of the onion and there again, therefore, this event is for me extremely meaningful because it warns me that I have to use my hands, I mustn't be rough.

DR DANIEL: Carefully?

EDDIE: Yes, I mustn't be rough.

DR DANIEL: Your onion is very doing very well, Angie. It's beginning to smell here.

ANGIE: At least we're laughing ...[indistinct]

DR DANIEL: Ya, well laughter is both liberating and gives us a perspective that we don't have if we don't. Please?

KHOSI: Well, I have the same feeling with Eddie, I realised yesterday, you know, I'd, I can think and try and think in what has been happening for the last two days although the morning part I wasn't here, that it seems as if I'm here and I'm rather, you know, sort of draw attention to myself as if in the whole audience nothing happened to them because it's not much contribution, you know, as if they will just listen to me and I would like to apologise about that because I feel it is because of the many things which has happened to me and being afraid also away from here that when I talk about these things nobody wants to listen or they feel oh, you know, as if I'm drawing attention to myself but to me deep down my heart I this was a general genocide to black people as of old, for almost 400 years. Whatever I'm saying, I'm just saying, it's just the tip of the iceberg because I even write in my statement here, I didn't say it all. There are many things, especially that when I made my statement I made it to a young man, whose a man, and there are certain things I couldn't just tell and I wish perhaps I had a chance of talking to another woman, you know, where I could tell everything and I wish everybody here could contribute or say something because it feels, it makes me feel so small as if I want to be seen as the wronged person and second thing again, I think I'll stop from there, it's about children, our children. You talked about the children, Palestinians, you said it all, but with us, we are doing more compromising from our end than the white children, privileged children. We have even gone to an extent of taking our own kids into the white schools to go and join them and there are daily, children are being held with insults from other children, white children. It is one of the many things, many wrongs, I know it's only three years old but it's rather too much. On my own, I don't know what can be done on that. At least perhaps you may have to go and approach white children or white people, go and talk to them and hear their side of the story. It's another thing to live a year and say please can I talk to you, be my friend? We black

people, it's natural that we are so forgiving really. Even now we are embracing the white people but they have nothing to do with us in exception of the very few people like Braam Fisher, you named the all, there are quite a few who even died in the struggle, you know, who had seen the light. It's so difficult for us.

MR VINEY: Sorry, my name is Ron Viney, I'm from the National Monuments Council. What has come to me is that, what has come to me specifically is that we should not go ahead here and perpetuate and recreate myths around the whole struggle. I come from that background you mentioned with the Brits and the Afrikaners. Now part of that myth that came from there that it was a white man's war. It actually wasn't. We had a huge brouhaha from the press in the Free State when we started digging up the 20 Thousand odd black people who actually died in the British concentration camps. That kind of myth we must be careful of recreating here and perpetuating.

DR DANIEL: Right?

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Thank you. Mine is to recognise what we have said in terms of multi-generational legacies of trauma. I look back in the '70s when young people who were actually going back to the parent to say, as we have said, you respect in our culture. Any other adult as your parent, therefore as children we are saying to you don't go to school because our leaders were detained then, then you have to take responsibility as parents to those kids. The effects of that in our families, in our society to date, you find a situation where in a community there are things that needs it, people, other people or citizens in that locality or in that community to take up the challenge but they would say our children will solve this for us, you know. It is there in different communities where adults will say we know these young people, whether they will call them young lion etcetera. But you know that is destructive to the children themselves. But I want us to recognise mechanisms that were put in place by South Africans like the Rustenberg Declaration. It goes to an extent of people who committed themselves to action where church leaders even from the other white community were committed to this action. We need to revisit that and find out how far are these actions that they were committed to, enhance the TRC, because we have the situation whereby the life of the TRC is about to come to an end. We need those people whoever, who were part and parcel of this declaration. Even in the Kairos Document, things were explicitly put down on what is reconciliation, what reconciliation is to do. How we should go about, the reconciliation should take cognisance of, we need to revisit that and those organisations or the people who are strictly tied to that need to come out quite clearly. I'm concerned about the statement that Bishop Tutu has made and what it has invoked in the white community because they felt, some of them felt it was too general, it didn't take cognisance of them, white activists. Perhaps this kind of workshop, now that this is the last day, we need to find out if we could be in a position to enhance that and clarify that general statement that has been made to say, this, in our context, this is what it means because a lot of what we have shared has put us into a better perspective.

We need to recognise that even in the white community. We have people that needs to be recognised, a people ... [indistinct] and in that regard I think we'd be in a position to move forward with the process. Thanks, that's all I had to share this morning.

DR DANIEL: Well that's great. I can see that the right people are taking notes! Ron, I'm sorry, we didn't acknowledge your feeling and you clearly feel so intensely. As intensely about you're being stereotyped as everyone else about everyone else about them being stereotyped. I want to acknowledge that. But, and I'm very glad you said it because I think that you can see how anytime you stereotype anybody, it hurts like hell. So in effect, it's a way to undo people, it's way to say well you don't matter, I have an idea that's all that matters and it's so important for us to talk, you see, to look and to listen and to learn. Please?

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Something, it's I believe it's not necessarily politically right thing to be saying but I think it comes from just a true honesty of where I'm at in all this. I think I was touched by a story of someone from Australia who reflected on his experience and he said that there was some injustice amongst the Aboriginal community and someone who was unfairly imprisoned anyway and beaten up and so on and he, as a white Australian, took up the issue and phoned one of the Aboriginal leaders and asked him what can we do, what can I do and this person's response to him was go take care of your own. He said, "do you know how many white people are beaten up, do you know how many white Australians are being unfairly imprisoned for their stands against certain things?" and he sort of said "go take care of your own, that will be very helpful to us." And so again I think it's part of my maybe defensiveness of a stereotype that nothings happening, but there's something about, in my own work for instance, I think even though it's

predominantly amongst the white community of continually addressing patriarchal ways of being that impose on people, that sort of reduce other people to being non-people and that gets played out in gender, you know, that gets played out in relationships with couples, families etcetera. For me those are challenges that are not enough. It's not doing enough about our whole Truth and Reconciliation process and I don't mean it to replace that, but at the same time it's maybe challenging some of the things that gave rise to Apartheid. So I suppose I just wanted to bring in a whole another level of complexity that again, if one uses a microscope, perhaps a lot is happening.

DR DANIEL: Go ahead, she hasn't said anything yet. Go ahead.

HEIKE: That's exact..oh, my name is Heike and because I haven't said anything and that's being challenged a bit now that I can understand there might be a funny feeling about...

DR DANIEL: Now let me tell you it's been my dream that everyone here would participate, okay, but I'm very patient that way, I knew it would happen, you see. Please learn that from me and Khosi and Eddie, you're not talking too much? You're talking and other people will be talking too. Go ahead Heike.

HEIKE: Okay, ya well I wanted to say something because I don't want you to get that feeling there's something and some people sitting in the corners and you don't know what's going on. But the reason why I wasn't saying terribly much because I was thinking so heavily yesterday and just to give you an idea what I've been thinking about without having any conclusion. I'm a second generation post war German, I'm not a South African. So I was very interested yesterday to hear about your analyses and your experiences with families who have come out of a traumatic situation and my family situation is that I would say they were typical Germans, non Jewish Germans but I think it's very interesting to see and during my life it becomes clearer for me that it was a whole mixture. It was a typical standing by, not doing anything situation. It was a bit of being mixed up in the perpetrator and responsible as a perpetrator situation as well, but it was also quite a bit being in a victim situation. My parents were youth, youngsters, young people when the war happened so, and they were refugees after the war, a displaced people themselves. So I found it very interesting to see quite a lot of parallels in the families you described in what I experienced myself even though I came kind of from the other side and I know of course that what happens to one side of a community in a way always kind of hits back or comes back to the other side of the communities. So I was kind of confirmed in that. Where I'm still struggling a bit and that's because I'm culturally not that much rooted yet in South Africa is to draw the parallels with the South African experiences and I sometimes had the feeling what you're saying was closer to me and my experience to what I could relate it to in South Africa.

DR DANIEL: In the book I mentioned, the one that Salvio took the leaflets, there are some excellent chapters about second and third generation Germans. One about second and third generation Nazis, that is, children of Nazis and grandchildren of Nazis that are extremely powerful and very important. Go ahead.

HEIKE: May I still say something. I think the consequences are what my parents had experienced might even play a very big role in my being in South Africa because I kind of had the feeling that being interested in a way, also fascinated by a war and by a highly dramatic conflict situation is something that drew me to be part of this here. Also the feeling of being committed to peacemaking, to kind of stirring in this whole pot of violent conflict, of who is guilty, what can we do to overcome this. It is something that I grew up with so I think it's not a coincidence that I'm here and that I also feel committed to the South African process and I think I'm trying to, well it's a bit speculation, but I might be trying to follow something up that has passed me by in Germany maybe and that I can do here now.

DR DANIEL: Yes, you are exploring your own history here and you're trying to undo your own history here too so you're trying to both understand it and heal it. So this is wonderful actually. I will take the time in the break to give you the name of the book that came from Germany because I think it will teach you a lot. Gee so many people who haven't spoken. So hold on just a second, let me first give it to everybody who's not. Go ahead, your name?

SEPO KULA: My name is Sepo Kula from the North West Province and the reason why I decided to stand is, my sister here saying sit down I think. I'm perhaps one of the youngest of the people seated in here and I am not necessarily challenged by what brother Eddie and some of the guys have said here but more by what I will be doing when I go back home. I wanted to say something, I wanted to pose questions and I, deep inside I thought, perhaps I'd be touching on those wounds. Perhaps questioning and listening on the other hand is just not enough. What would be happening if I go

back home? I am, I haven't been, I not a survivor, none of my members have been going through the atrocities that many of the people here have felt, but as Eddie said umuntu umuntu ubantu...[indistinct] When I reflect on what they have gone through it, it hurts. Again it's like, what will I have done had I been part of that. Now that I wasn't part of that directly, what is it that I'm going to do? A challenge that I think the future generation would be faced towards. What is it that we have to do? We talked again yesterday about the monuments. Perhaps it's something that for those who haven't been directly effected to really think deeply about. What is it that we have to do? What are we really going to do to try and reflect on the atrocities being done to our fellow brothers and sisters. It's like this workshop is just not enough, there has to be, you know, many other workshops in different parts of the world or rather of South Africa and especially in..

DR DANIEL: The world is round!

SEPO KULA: The world, ja, and especially in the North West Province where we were not much part of South Africa but as you know Boputhatswana where atrocities have been committed by the Bop regime but not as much as those who were in the then South Africa went through and there's a lot that one needs to say and question and perhaps as the workshop progresses one would be getting light as to what needs to be done in future. Thank you.

DR DANIEL: I totally agree with you and actually I think in some ways there's a sadness that this workshop is going to be over today? I'm very sad. On the other hand there's happiness about knowing that we are going to continue and I think the more we talk the more we realise how much work there is to do and I think one way to look at what this discussion the last three days has been brought to us is some dimensions that we're seeing is to, how to go from here, okay? Please.

FREDDY: My name is Freddy. I just want to add on what Khosi was saying about the whites, you know, distancing themselves from the democracy that's taking place in our country. We have seen the Afrikaner schools turning back our kids from their schools and we have seen a lot of them on this government of National Unity we are still singing Die Stem of Suid Afrika which reminds us also of the past and we have seen demonstrations of the Afrikaaners still waving the old Afrikaner, old South African flag. Those things when we look at them they make us you know, hurt, we feel hurt about them.

THABO: My name is Thabo. Basically what I wanted to do is, just to, if I review what happened, what transpired in the past two days, I find the experiential part on the first day to be very therapeutic even though I didn't share personally the trauma that I went through and I'm referring specifically to, I had one misconception about the peoples of this workshop. I expected that we were going to be given a package on how to immediately come to a process of healing, I didn't take it as something..

DR DANIEL: ...[indistinct]

THABO: Ya, particularly to what you said, the concept of attending to the pain and I find that to be very useful. Thank you.

DR DANIEL: Thank you, I just want to not leave Freddy unresponded to because what Freddy is saying we have to attend to the hate too? Do you want to talk more about that?

FREDDY: Did you sing the German anthem after the war when the German's left you there? Were you made to sing the German anthem?

DR DANIEL: No, actually, we were writing our own.

FREDDY: We have our own but we have our but we...[indistinct] Die Stem it confuses us.

DR DANIEL: Excuse me, do not, shhh! Do not do, do not quickly get over this because I can see people really know what you're talking about which I really didn't. See you're teaching me so much you're beginning to appreciate how much you're teaching me, right? But do you remember what I said before, not you or me but you and me? Is there a way to sing both anthems? No? Will you please tell us about that?

AUDIENCE MEMBER: All I wanted to say, it wasn't only two, it's three, it's the Afrikaans one, the English version as well as Nkosi Sikelele.

DR DANIEL: And what's the problem, you can't sing three?

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We, I sing three!

FREDDY: No, I can't sing my enemies anthem. I've got my anthem.

DR DANIEL: So you're still with enemies.

FREDDY: Pardon?

DR DANIEL: So you are still in the enemy camp?

FREDDY: Yes.

DR DANIEL: Fair enough. Fair enough. You see that's part, this is part of the process, right and part of the feeling. Go ahead, you've been trying. What's your name?

CHRIS: My name is Chris. Fortunately I'm coming from Eastern Cape, former Ciskei Bantustan. Now, there is one thing that I wanted to share with, that we'll be moving from a wrong premise if we rationalise the whole process of reconciliation as if we're fighting a racial struggle. We're fighting a just struggle against apartheid and its surrogates. The repatriates that were supporting apartheid, blacks, you know tyrants like Gzo, tyrants like Gzo, Sebe, Mtanzima and so forth. It will be wrong for me to say that I won't appreciate the role that has been played by white people during the course of our struggle. Whilst we recognise that there are those who are resisting for the process of change, you know, there is nothing wrong for us to kick start the process, you know, as blacks, Africans in particular, people who have been experiencing the problems. There is nothing wrong for us to say that we are peace loving people, you know, want to build this country, all of us belong to this country. Let us unite. Those who don't want to support us, as South Africans, those who don't want enjoy their process, history will judge them and history will bury them and I want to say to all of us as South Africans, the believers and non-believers, let us forget but we know that it will be a process to forgive but let us try work towards that particular process. Because, if we as the current generation, we don't try to work towards reconciliation, the generations to come will still have that hatred. You are going to tell your grandchild that ag, those people have done so and so and so unto us and they will grow having that particular hatred and what is going to happen to us, our future generation? You know and whatever happened upon us, that will be the history, we must be able, day and night, try to teach our grandchildren or our children that, you know, so and so and so, some of these things happened. In the past there were the wars of resistance, we were told about those things, they are the history now, you know. We are not saying that ag there were tribal wars between Zulus and Sothos, between so and so and so and so, we are taking those things as part of the history, but let's forget about those things, you know, now let us build the new nation. I'm trying to appeal to people, some of us, I for one, I used to say that I can't sing the Stem van Suid Afrika but now I can sing because I'm one of those people, you know, who are working towards reconciliation.

DR DANIEL: And perhaps you also feel more ownership of your country and therefore you can choose what you want to say and to do?

CHRIS: Ya, that's true.

DR DANIEL: Okay, see, this is very important, you said I'm now feeling empowered and I want to exercise my power this way rather than build only on past hurt or hate. Now again, this is a phase in the process, isn't it? So let's respect that rather than say 'Oh, stop hating!' Because hate has been a part of the process and in fact it has been a part of what empowered, not sort of in a good way, but just the same, did give a sense of power and a sense of saying 'I'm not that, I'm this'. The only thing I want to say though, you remember the first day I told you about the people we said that there's hate addiction? Right? People that get stuck in their hate and never live a full life because of it and never give themselves a chance to experience the fullness of life? So the only thing, acknowledging that it's a totally understandable feeling. Try not get stuck in there and to deprive yourself of the rest of the feelings of being human. Go

ahead.

FREDDY: Talking in Israel, we sympathise with you about what you went on, but our struggle is different, it has been different to yours. We have been oppressed for more than 48 years, 300 years, no 300 years and even after independence we are still living with that. It's left you and went to Germany, we are still living with them, they have built, they have claimed that this is their country. We live with them.

DR DANIEL: See, I do want to answer you. First of all I did answer it yesterday so I'm not going to repeat what I said yesterday, but perhaps my view will help you. I live with the Germans. I live with the Germans 24 hours a day. I live in this world. The fact that you said the world and I said the world, it is the world. You're living in the world, you're not just living in your street. I live with the Germans all the time, every decision they make has an effect in my life and those for you, every decision they make has an effect on your life. To pretend that you can just push people away some place and put them in some disconnected and non-threatening place is another quick fix that doesn't work. But you see the most important part of this discussion is that the enemies we lived with are the enemies inside ourselves. You see? You will live with that enemy. Every time you hate you are with that person or with those people, inside. Very important. The same as we said with guilt yesterday, remember, that we keep people that we love together with us, when we hate we keep people we hate together with us. That's very, very important to acknowledge and when you say 'they' and 'me' it's the same as, you know, you're putting so much energy into that wall and to building that wall and to keeping it hard. It's not that I don't understand the feeling, I do, believe me. But it's very important to keep the perspective of everything you are, try to learn everything they are, try to learn everything they are and try to communicate. It's not that you don't have choice, see, what you're saying is let's throw the whites out, or let's go some place else, that's what we did, we had no choice nobody wanted us. You think when I moved I wanted to leave my home? The Jews lived for five thousand years in the Diaspora, longing for Jerusalem every day. 2000 years, you're competing with the 48 and the 300, we can pull 2000, I mean, if you want to really do numerical gimmicks. We didn't have a land, we had no rights. We could, we were the only tribe that remained alive despite being dispersed in the Diaspora and being persecuted all the time, we are still alive. We're the only ones and we still laugh and then we still love and we still try to bring love to others as well. We could just hate, I told you, after World War II we could kill Germans and no one would blame us for a second. It was a matter of choice, at some point every one of us when we look in a mirror, has to ask 'How do I want to live?' You remember I gave you that thing about no regrets on the first day? That every situation in life to live knowing that you have put all of you in it and you got everything from it and you've been totally there that, you know, your whole being is right here? It's a wonderful, wonderful way to be because you always gain. There's nothing to lose. You don't cut yourself off from anything. But, I'll give you that no regrets rule even more deeply. When was this, 1936, I was told that I had three months to live at most. When that happened, a whole series of things happened, some were awful. Like friends of mine started mourning me already and they weren't there for me and in fact when they called and cried I had to comfort them and when I didn't die, you know, they already mourned me so they were no longer my friends. It upset them you know, they cried and cried and all that. Very interesting, what happens, okay? While being operated on and not being able even to move, it so happens at the same time the University I was teaching at had to, went through budget cuts. So while I was immobile, I get a letter telling me that my job is gone. So, I was told my life was gone, right, I was losing people all the time. There's a funny way in which you keep saying goodbye all the time, you know and you're losing all the time. I lost my job, that everything I trusted in, my body, my wellbeing, my friends, the people I loved, my work which as you know I love. And it was Thanksgiving Day. The man I was going to marry, whose birthday was Thanksgiving, the day before, left a note that he can't take it any more. So here I was on Thanksgiving which is a very wonderful holiday in America, very wonderful and it's a family holiday. I had not nowhere to go, I couldn't go anyhow, and I live on the 31st floor, those who come to New York, you're welcome, it's a gorgeous place, and I have a terrace and I went to the terrace and I was ready to jump because it felt to me like nothing, there was nothing there. You see Eddie when you talk about giving up, I know those feelings and by the way, that's after I did the research on hope. So I was an expert on what was going on. I saw all the processes, at the same time I was feeling all the feelings just the same. I was ready to jump, really ready to jump and believe me I did feel hate for people who abandoned me at that time. I know that feeling. I was ready to jump probably because I couldn't live with the hate, too. Everything was too much. And suddenly I saw in front of my face an aunt of mine, I had a memory of hers. She's not a real aunt, you know after the Holocaust there were very few people of every family left so sort of called aunt and uncles everybody you loved. So here was my aunt. It's a very nice story because when she arrived to Israel from after the camps, she was a survivor. She was not my aunt we didn't know each other even. Israel did something wonderful. It sent children like me, I was a child, with curls and all, must have been very

cute, and we wore white little clothes and we came to the boats, people then came by boat, with bread and honey and salt to welcome the survivors and this woman, she saw me and she's the one I gave the bread to and the salt to first and she looked at me and this is the woman who became the aunt. I adopted her, she adopted me. Years later, when I was teaching her son in school, she came to a teachers, what is it, teachers/parents conference and she told me that when she saw me that day, that's when she decided to have a child and she told me her story. They were taken to Auschwitz. Her fiancée was shot in front of her face, in front of her. Her mother was being taken away. One of her sisters became mad and started screaming, literally became totally mad so she was shot. Another sister became so paralysed that she didn't do anything which was lucky, I also know her, she survived as well, but she survived like an automat, you know she was like totally, she was able to do everything they told her which was the right thing to do at the time in order to survive but because she lost her mind, really, she's basically lived in a mental hospital in Israel ever since she arrived back. Hannah, that's the name of my aunt, was given the job of clearing bodies from the crematorium and one of the bodies she cleared was her fathers and she lost it. She decided to commit suicide, she couldn't take it any more, so she went to the, she went to the fences to, you know they were electrocuted, so even if you just touched them you'd die. And she said that while she almost touched the fence, from the corner of her eye she saw the Nazi guard aiming the machine gun at her and suddenly inside she rebelled and she said, you're not going to get my life so easily. So when I was standing on the terrace, ready to jump, I got that feeling and I suddenly became happy. It was clear to me that no matter no long I had to live I will do it my way, I will do it the right way, I will do what I believe in and I'll find my way, as she did. So she has been one of the people that has, you know, that sits on my shoulders, you know each one of us has a whole bunch of people on our shoulders? She is one of them, you know, I sort of, you know Eddie, when I feel like giving up I talk to her, you know. Now there was another lesson I learned in those days. See when you're told you have...teatime! The tyranny of tea, I'm going to finish this story even if you're dying to have tea because it's really I want you to take it into your heart. When, when you're told you have three months to live, every minute becomes of a different, totally different value and I learned two things. One is, to appreciate every minute as if it's the very last minute of my life. At the same time I also learned to treat every minute as if it's going to go forever. Can you do that trick? It's an incredible trick, it's an incredible trick because whenever I feel like it's only one minute I say ah ah, it's going forever, you know that patience I told you about? That's where it's coming from, that feeling. I also learned though, another feeling that's really my teacher if you will in life. I want to know the very last second before I die that I can look at my maker and to look myself in the mirror at the same time because you see Jews relate with each other and with God, they are two separate relationships and I want to look back and say I did good, I did it right, it's been an okay life, don't want to regret, I want to feel ashamed as little as possible.

So keep that in mind and see if you want to spend, if think with that way, I don't know, it feels different to choose to hate or to choose to love or to choose to be angry all the time. You know, when you see it that way, you can see well I have a choice to do this, or this, or this, or spend my time feeling this, or this, or this. Try to keep that image with you because it's the best I can give you. I can read you everything I wrote and give those ideas too and we'll do that after the tea break no matter what. But if I can give you something that is really me, that's me, okay, that's and it has a religious feeling to it too, but I don't even and I'm sure it's coming from my Jewish self, but I don't think it's only Jewish, I think it's for everyone. So go drink tea.

MEETING ADJOURNS

ON RESUMPTION

DR DANIEL: See you know what I love about the process, every time I look, people are talking with each other here. You're the ones who told me it's a strangers group. We beat that one. A few people came to me and I think want to speak some more before we get to a little more formal presentation. See I have a teacher in me that has to do what I said to myself I must do although I think it's okay. Go ahead, Michael.

MICHAEL: Sorry, I was speaking for those of us who were electronically disenfranchised before tea. There were a couple of points that seemed to me to be emerging earlier on that I wanted to get off my chest because my chest is large enough already.

DR DANIEL: ...[indistinct]

MICHAEL: Three and then I'll deflate. One is one of the things that has bothered me from when we first began talking about the TRC is, I think reconciliation is completely the wrong term. I think reconciliation is impossible here because I see a couple who were in love and have quarrelled, I can help them reconcile, they are getting back to a relationship, a good relationship they had. We've never been married, we've never been engaged. One of the things Apartheid did was to make sure that most people, not only between black and white communities but even amongst black communities, didn't meet each other, didn't know each other. It's not reconciliation it's conciliation we need to start with. We're starting in different camps not knowing each other and trying to find a way together. It's the "re" that bothers me and I don't think that's it's just a technical pernickety point, it implies that there's something we had like the African Renaissance idea that we must get back to something. What we need to do is to get forward to something we never had but we need badly. A second point is something that I found coming from a number of the people who were commenting before and my last two point are actually related in that.

One that I would like to ask you to comment on, either now or later, is one of the things that struck me very much at Jad Vachem at the great Holocaust Memorial in Jerusalem, that I think we may need from the TRC side to look for an equivalent in South Africa because several people commented on it. There were whites who died in the struggle, who suffered in the struggle, I know that too well. There weren't many, they weren't the majority and therefore on one hand they either end up being cast with the perpetrators or cast into no man's land. The commemoration at Jad Vachem of the Righteous Gentiles struck me as a very important model for us in a sense that they're at the very important central site for recognising the huge scale of Jewish suffering. There was a place for remembering the people who didn't have to be part of that struggle, who could have avoided it, who could have been, as the majority were, bystanders, but didn't, but tried to play a part, did play a part in some way and maybe one of the things we need as a way of recognising those who did what they weren't compelled to do except compelled internally rather than externally.

And that was where it led to my third point. A lot of what we talk about assumes that there were two types of people in Germany or two types of people in South Africa. There were victims and there were perpetrators and I'm amazed at how huge the world literature is while ignoring the role of the bystander and when one thinks that in modern writings about child abuse they talk about the facilitator. I think the bystander/facilitator, the people who did not go out and torture someone, but if they hadn't done what they did and especially if they had not done the things they didn't do, the torturers wouldn't have been able to do what they did, they wouldn't be able to get away with it and that is, there were a lot of, huge number of white bystander/facilitators, there were a substantial number of black bystanders/facilitators too and that's a group we never deal with, we never talk about, we never understand. Their instinctive practised skilled role in conflict is to stand aside and let other people fight and try and pick up, some of them try and pick up the profits around the edges and some of them just pretend it isn't happening. When we now say we have a struggle to recreate a new South Africa, why isn't everybody jumping in? One of the reasons is that the bystanders are standing by like they always do, they worked fine before, they're still doing it. Nobody has ever tried to de-programme them or teach them any other way of getting involved. Those who were from the small number of whites and the huge number of blacks who were involved in the struggle are generally too burned, too damaged, too pained to be able to take a leading role in that. Our activists, I mean, the whole repressive system successively creamed off every crop of activists and took them away and made sure they stopped doing that or that they were damaged in a way that they couldn't continue doing that. It's not fair of us to look upon that group in society to lead the new struggle for the freedom we haven't finished getting yet. But I think it may be why we keep saying, I remember the, the, while you were talking, I was remembering the memorial at Daga or other camps saying "never again" and you looked past memorial and saw a military camp on the other side. Whoever thought it was "never again".

One of the reasons why it may keep coming again is that we ignore the huge majority role of the bystander/facilitator who helps it happen, never helps it stop and nobody ever talks to them, talks about them or helps them find a different role in society. The far end extremes of the perpetrators will probably never change. Every society has some of them. One of the reasons we have to build safeguards here is to make sure that those that are still amongst us from all sections of the community, don't get a chance to do it again because by God they will if there is a chance. Why don't we also look at that middle group, why is there an even bigger conspiracy of silence about that role? Maybe because the majority are in that role. It's rare except in situations like the Holocaust for there to be a huge majority of victims. There are often a smaller proportion in society, South Africa's also unusual in that way, in the proportion of directly victimised people. The perpetrators have huge powers but they're also relatively small in numbers and the rest, the audience who should be listening as you were saying yesterday, to what the survivors need to say, that's another reason why they don't

listen. They never needed to and they don't see why they need to now.

DR DANIEL: I want to respond. You made three points. One was the reconciliation/conciliation, I totally agree with that but I think sensory conciliation is a process. I don't find that a difficult word to live with, okay, even though I totally agree that, but I agree and I disagree. It was going to be one of my points at the beginning. I agree and I disagree because just the mere fact that everybody lived in this place meant that you shared the land, you liked it, you didn't like it, that's separate question. But I look at the reconciliation as a national, national initiative, not just perpetrators and victims and from that point of view I think the word is correct. So I don't have problem so much with that and by the way I was, when I was on the flight here, I thought about another one which I, which I actually for the first time I realised...you journalist, you find out. The word remember...it just occurred to me after all these years of speaking about memories and remembering blah, blah, blah. What does it mean? It means remember. So. The opposite of dismember, sure. So it's a nice thought, I haven't given it enough thought yet but whoever made that word must have had that in mind that memory maybe had that function of making you a piece of a whole again rather than disjointed. It's a nice thought. Yes the Jad Vachem, it's an interesting thought that you quote. Who are we commemorating here? Jad Vachem is actually called the Memorial of the Holocaust and Heroism so it commemorates the victims, the heroism of the victims and resistance and in it, well it's always developing, see everything is process, even a memorial building, it's a process. We have the Avenue of the Just for the people who helped the Jews, okay, and there's a tree for everyone who helped. It's wonderful, it's just absolutely wonderful to go, you know, to go there and near every tree you have the name of the person, right, and where etcetera and in fact there are books in the Holocaust will say victim, perpetrators and rescuers so we absolutely attend and respect and celebrate those, who despite belonging to whatever, in America we call the silent majority, that's why we call it the silent majority in America. You know the majority of America, nobody knows what they think, they don't let you know either. No, they may know but they may not be bothered, yes America's huge you know and to travel, I live in New York which is not, which a world all on it's own. It happens to be in America but it's really not, but it's totally different from the rest of the country and the rest of the country has a love hate relationship with it, right? They love to visit but they would never stay there and you know we have the stereotypes. But if you go, but again having come to the United States, right, from abroad? I see it, for me it's such a complicated country, people are so different from one place to another. They even have different accents from one side to another. They think differently, they act differently, so see you can't even stereotype that piece. I think you said you wanted to talk some? Please, just tell everybody your name.

BILL SCHUTES: My name is Bill Schutes, I'm a retired Civil Engineer which you can't see but what you can see is I am a white person. I'm one of those people with whom the black people are worried about having to live in the future. I might also be described as one of the bystanders or whatever else you may like to say. But what I would like to say is that a change of heart which is a really a deep thing is possible in our country because I'm not going to tell you about other people, about me. I went to Stellenbosch University where they train Afrikaans and I could also be speaking in Afrikaans right now, so I have a long history on the Afrikaans side from 1803 when my, the first Schutes came to South Africa. Now I went through an experience when I was at University and that was just after the 1948 election when the Nationalist Party became the Government and the experience that I went through apart from changing the whole direction of my life because I grew up not believing in God and I became a Christian, but associated with that, I began to realise that I was just like a lot of people all around me who rejected people of other races. We wanted nothing to do with people of other races in South Africa and I began to realise that this, although I didn't physically hurt anybody, this must have caused hurt and I had the opportunity to apologise to black people in an interracial meeting at that time and I must say to you it's not to my credit, God changed my heart. I started to be interested in building a different South Africa. I was never imprisoned for my beliefs or activities, I was interrogated by the security police here in Johannesburg. But I saw that we could build a different South Africa and having retired two years ago, what I trying to do and it's not easy but nothing is going to stop me is to reach my own people, particularly Afrikaans people, to say that we don't need to fear the future. You know many Afrikaans people are saying they feel their country is no longer their country. Now the way we Afrikaans behaved, we thought nobody else mattered and it was our country and I would say the essential characteristic of the way I was, was extremely selfish and arrogant. God changed my heart. I can claim no credit for that, I'm saying it twice but I met some Coloured people in Cape Town and I was talking with them and one of them, I was told, had vowed he would never speak to a white man again. I phoned him and I said I'd like to come and talk to you, can I invite you out, you and your wife out for a meal. 1980, you couldn't do that without breaking the law unless you went to an international hotel. I think we need to acknowledge all these things that happened in the past. He said, no, I must come to his house. My wife and I went and his living room was full of his friends and he asked me, a

white man, to pray for them in his house. I'm not a dominee, predicant or minister, I'm just an ordinary Christian, but that's why I say God changed my heart. He accepted me, he was willing to trust me to invite me to his house. So I have great hope that, and I could go on for a long time because I've so many experiences and I love talking about them, but, what I really want people to hear is, it is possible for white South Africans, Afrikaaners like myself to face the truth about the hurt we have caused. The hurt to black peoples' self, their humanity, their dignity, by the way we have treated you. We denied that you were people, that's what we did and I think a lot of white people still have that frame of mind but it is possible to win, to get through and I have great hope for what we can do in building relationships in our country. It is possible. I'm so grateful a meeting like this is happening where people can talk about these things. Thank you.

EDDIE: Can I engage the person. I've heard you saying exactly the same in 1996. What have you done and what has been your experience since that time in efforts to get those Afrikaaners, as you're referring to, to change their attitudes?

BILL SCHUTES: I can tell you I haven't made much progress although this really is my fulltime commitment. I have made contact with various churches, various organisations and I cannot claim to have made great advances but I still I believe this is what I should be doing and I'm doing it. I've made contact, I've had several meetings with Beyers Naude who a lot of people here know and we're trying to set up something, he and I, but it's difficult but not impossible. It can be done. I haven't satisfied you Eddie, but that's my answer.

DR DANIEL: Eddie is impatient. Eddie wants things now and he wants them to get done.

EDDIE: No, that's not it. We heard that God's intervention came in 1980. We are now 15 years down the line.

DR DANIEL: 19, it's near 1999.

EDDIE: Oh sorry and I'm saying that it is important that when we, to make this type of confessions, that we bring something substantive to people. I was talking to Freddy during the tea break and if I'm impatient then Freddy's a patient. But we're saying that there's a lot of things that have happened and what is important for me that I think, just to take it at another much more pragmatic level, I'm beginning to find answers. I ask myself why do I want this policeman? Why do I want to help him? And as I was talking this morning, I found an answer. That's there's two things that have happened in my life, in my family, not out there, in my family. We're looking at a broader scenario. What we did yesterday was to look at the facts in the family. These things are effecting us in our families in a very significant manner. Whoever's going to do the recording must not, please, not write this.

In 1966 I was a little boy....

[INSTRUCTION THAT STORY BEING RELATED BY EDDIE BE OFF THE RECORD AND NOT TO BE PRINTED FOR PERSONAL REASONS]

EDDIE (CONTINUED): What is this saying to me? That my father has been dehumanised, unconsciously by the system, my brother-in-law has been dehumanised, I want to believe it's by the system as well. I don't want to put the blame on the system only, but I'm saying that the legacies of our past are effecting our family relationships in a very, very severe way. I have had the opportunity to talk to a number of people who are in leadership positions in our country at the moment and one gets the same sense from them, that our family relations in this country are carrying such heavy burdens that if we don't do anything about it, it's going to be destroyed.

DR DANIEL: That should absolutely be on record.

EDDIE: Okay, but let me pose a question, I've not asked you a question here all the time. With the people that you are working with in New York. Is it your experience as well that this multi-generational consequences of trauma are very often hitting us very hard and in many instances we are not able to work through it? And that's not only true for the side of those that were direct victims, the black people in South African society. I have spoken to a lot of Afrikaner people who are telling me that because I have been on the border, I fought the war against these terrorists and the communists and now I'm confused because these people are in positions of authority and many of them can no longer live with themselves and we tried to do research recently on the number of suicides that we have within white South African

society. Family suicides and it is very high and therefore we are saying that the past is catching up with us in a unique way and I therefore want to repeat my question to you. Is it true that that is happening or are we blaming some other people for our own faults?

DR DANIEL: I think it's time that I give you my system so that it won't so much sound like either/or it's either other people or us or either the family or the society, okay, because I mean we know now, remember we spoke about post-traumatic stress disorder? It's as, it's present in the same proportion. I'm going to do some drawing, it's present in the same proportion between the perpetrators as it is among the victims. So I would be absolutely unsurprised to find suicides there, I would actually, the same way I told you that we're trying to study the relationship between impunity and crime and rise in crime? Part of what we are measuring is suicides as well or measures of what we call demoralization, right, because you're talking about demoralization, see and we always, the field always is not sure whether to talk human language or technical language. I'm wedded to the human one, so I want to, as you see I'll have to draw things. I will part read you because it's simply succinct as it's written, and we do need to be cognisant of time. Yes?

AUDIENCE MEMBER: I don't know what impunity means.

DR DANIEL: Oh, you will learn what impunity means but by the way you do know what impunity means, but I will talk about it more systematically. Impunity means to not be held responsible for bad things you do in the judicial system or otherwise, actually. But we can talk about, I mean, we had a whole week seminar just on that. What we're really talking about, each word we are using deserves a whole lot of work, so, okay. Let me start reading and I will, okay, my model is called "Trauma and the Continuity of Self and Multi-dimensional, Multi-disciplinary Integrative Framework" and like you like it, and finally after all these years of people don't recognise my concepts, I've decided to do like the Americans do and like you do and I'm acronymising it, so it's this TCMF Framework. Maybe now people will remember it.

Trauma Continuity, Self you'll remember, Multi-dimensional, Integrated, these are the main words I want you to remember. Oh, by the way I have the name of that German book. "The Collective Silence, German Identity and the Legacy of Shame" and you can see how rightly it connects silence and shame.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Who's the author?

DR DANIEL: It's an edited book, Heimannsberg and Schmidt and it appeared in 1993. Actually it's an edited book and some of the chapters are unbelievable, you know extremely moving and actually in terms of forgiveness, those of you who are so preoccupied with it, the last chapter in that book is written by a Pastor. It's written as a letter from him to his son about forgiveness and he, I think, was a Nazi, so it's very worthwhile reading for those of you who are so interested in exploring the forgiveness aspect. Yes?

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Could you give us the name again?

DR DANIEL: Yes absolutely. "The Collective Silence: German Identity and the Legacy of Shame."

So let me share with you my model and I'll draw a little bit. This is the attempt to delineate and encompass the nature and extent of the destruction of catastrophic massive trauma having to account for the different contextual dimensions and levels of it and the diversity in and in response to it, dictated the formulation of a multi-dimensional multi-disciplinary integrated framework. The framework will thus help guard against the reductionistic impulse to find uni-dimensional explanations for such complex phenomena. Okay, so I'm trying to just by drawing the framework you always remember that you can never explain anything uni-dimensionally, right, by only one dimensional. You should remember that underlying each of these dimensions which I will draw in a minute, there is a distinct philosophical view of the nature of humankind that effects what the professional thinks and does so if you focus only on the family you think one way, only on society, right, only on religion. You have a whole other different view of humankind, that's very important to remember. Okay and....there's a telephone? There are telephones everywhere. Tea and telephones, I love it. It's the TT terrors. TTT! Okay. An individuals identity - the "I" Like when I ask you or you ask me who am I, now follow me now, there's a lot of fun in doing this. An individuals identity involves a complex interplay of multiple spheres or systems, okay, now if I ask who the "I" is, those of you who know psychology or whatever, I already include the physiology and the psychology recognition of feeling, right? That's the "I". Now the "I" does not exist in a vacuum

as we have been discovering. It's multiple spheres of system among these internally are the biological and intra-psychic, right, the ones that internal. The interpersonal, familiar, social, communal, the ethnic, cultural, ethical, religious, spiritual, natural, right you can continue with these spheres, right? This too is written and you'll get, when you get the big book. Then you have the educational, professional, occupational, the material, economic, legal and biometal, political, national and international. It's a floating session! Free flow, it's part of my concept! What would you like us to order you for lunch? I can't think about it right now, let's wait a little okay? Ya, if you got overwhelmed with these dimensions, they're not inclusive, right, I just threw a few at you. Each dimension may be a subject of one or more disciplines, right? Psychology, the human psychiatry study by psychologists, psycho link etcetera, etcetera, right? Which may overlap and interact such as biology, psychology, sociology, economics, law, anthropology, religious studies and philosophy. These systems, now it comes, dynamically co-exist, okay so you have all of these dimensions, right, horizontally, these systems dynamically co-exist along the time dimensions to create a continuous conception of life from past through present to the future, right? You have it? Ideally, the individual should simultaneously have free psychological access to a movement within all of these identity dimensions. So if I ask you "Who are you?" You could easily tell me some of these dimensions, right? More challenging is if I ask you, okay listen guys we've been working towards this for two days, "who were you before you were born?" Do it fast, we can spend a whole week on just this, believe me. "Who were you before you were born?" Just play with it. "Who were you before you were born, when you were one, when you were five, when you were ten, twenty?" Now each one deserves a whole chapter, you know, but just play with me you know, ah thirty, some of you are there, right. Forty. Who do you see yourself as five years from now? Ten years from now? Twenty years from now? How do you like to be remembered after you're gone? You see I'm saying that this is rather rich and each one of us has all that. Well ideally there's a free flow in all these systems, right, now expose you to trauma, expose you to trauma causes a rupture in these systems, a possible regression and a state of being stuck in this free flow which I called fixity to differentiate for those who know Freud's theories to differentiate from fixation, it's not the same. The time duration, extent and meaning of the trauma for the individual as well as the survival mechanism or strategies that he or she used to adapt to the trauma and post victimisation traumata such as the conspiracy of silence, right? What comes after the trauma, next one it's the, conspiracy of silence, it's the second wound somebody called it (Siemens) or ...[indistinct] another theoretician called it 'the third traumatic sequence' and the Vietnam veterans literature calls it 'the homecoming stress', will determine the elements and degrees of rupture, disruption, disorganisation and disorientation and the severity of the fixity, you follow me? Again each one of these words is a seminar, so, you are getting the idea, we get stuck in here. The fixity may render the individual vulnerable particularly to further traumatic ruptures throughout their life cycle. Remember that's we saw in the ageing process for example yesterday. This framework allows evaluation of whether and how much of each system was ruptured or pro-resilient. You hear your questions here? Is it the social, the economic system, the you know, the family system? Right, we have all of these here so we can ask ourselves which system was, was ruptured which pro-resilience with which we can use to help the healing? So even though it looks real simple it really gives you a very good picture how to think, the comprehensive way of thinking and may thus, this system, inform the choice of optimal systemic intervention. See in different traumas in different communities, you would choose the family as the target of intervention or the society or the nation or all of them as you must do here, okay? But if you systematic..as you are doing here, but if you doing it systematically as you're aware of all these systems, it becomes much easier, the job is not overwhelming, it's clearly in front of you. For example, the Nazi Holocaust not only ruptured continuity, right, but also destroyed all the individual existing supports. The ensuing pervasive conspiracy of silence between survivors and society including mental health professionals as we talked about, deprived them and their children of potential supports. Do you follow me, it's not only the support, you're doing the trauma, it's after the trauma of well. Integration of the trauma must take place in all of life's relevant dimensions or systems and cannot be accomplished by the individual alone. Roots to integration may include re-establishing, reliving and repairing the ruptured systems of the survivor and his or her community or nation and their place in the international community. Okay, you remember I mentioned then, okay I we can now....

That one of the first things Mandela, said you know that when he became president was "we are now a member in the community of nations. I'll never forget that so he immediately and I always quote that to show the importance of being international, the nation. People think that "oh this is far away, you know like you said right, it's stuff like this. No, that was the first thing Mandela said. Made me very happy.

Now we talked a little bit about integration, we spoke about the family system quite a bit, right? We spoke about the long term, even though you asked about the issue of vulnerability or resilience, I don't know, do you really want to talk about that? Let me just very briefly because I promised you an answer. I won't go into the full discussion of it but oh,

I'm sitting, I'm sitting. Tea, telephone, sit. Tea, lunch, telephone. We spoke about, let me just give you a small answer but it's actually a very important question. As I said, I said some of the systems maybe ruptured, some may be resilient? Now people who claim that there's only resilience look only at the systems that are resilient and not looking at the rest and people who think there are only vulnerability look only at the vulnerable systems and not at the resilience and when you take a system like this you don't have that question any more. That's why I asked so the question is no longer vulnerability or resilience it's vulnerability and resilience, okay? It's very important for you to remember. There's always strength, if you don't see it something may be wrong with your eyes rather than not finding it and it's the other way around too. I haven't found any survivor, people ask me always "don't you have anyone who just made it?" You know they resent that I don't give them the good news, right? "Don't you find anyone who just made it?" like an acrobat of survival somebody asked me once, honest, in a university setting, "haven't you found any acrobat of survival?" I said not only didn't I find one, but if I found one I would really think that something very pathological is going on. If he or she went through the debasement of humanity that he or she went through and came out as if nothing happened to him or her, something is really worrisome. Okay, so what I'm saying is even asking the question as a moral implication also and not only a scientific interest. But if you ask me, just a second, I do not want to deprive you of one, ya, I do want to quote you some of the things because there is a great deal of, I mean the issue of resilience today in our field is like the hot topic and I'm taken as a, I'm a pariah in that way a little bit because people who are for resilience, it's like a political party, right? I'm for resilience, I'm for vulnerability and they're not ready yet for a system, for a comprehensive system. If I were to choose a party I would choose the vulnerability one when it comes to post traumatic consequences because of what we've learned in the last, yesterday in particular, okay that the vulnerability that stays in the family, the vulnerability that can catch up with you in ageing, even if you have, right, soared through life. The very good examples, Duma is not here today, but you remember he spoke about how he couldn't understand Prima Levi? You know of Prima Levi? Holocaust survivor, he was a chemist before, well he was a chemist before the war, suffered horrendously during the war and became one of the best writers of the world and a source of hope for all of us and April 12 1987 he committed suicide. There's another writer by the name Viagi Kazinski who was like a brother to me who survived. He had written an incredible book that some of you may want to read. Certainly you should read Prima Levi's work. Viagi wrote "The Painted Bird", just the name of the book to show you how he felt as a survivor, a painted bird. It's a very powerful book. He wrote about his childhood during the war. He too committed suicide four years ago. Bruno Betelheim whom I quoted to you committed suicide. The reason why I just mentioned these three and there are many others and by the way those who made it, I didn't mention that to you. Those who made it, remember the family category, have the highest rate of suicide amongst survivors and their children. I mean those who don't look it, hey? We pay a great price for the choices we make in the postures we choose in life but I want to give you some of my understanding of those suicides so you don't just think that I'm some, you know doom voice telling you the bad news. The reasons I chose these three is that were world known successful individuals in every way you want. Now you remember we talked, Augustine, you remember we talked about anniversary reaction? Bruno Betelheim committed suicide on the date that he was taken to Dago, forty years later. On the same day he asphyxiated himself. Viagi Kazinski did too. Viagi was a wild free person, couldn't, I mean if you gave him these lights around him, forget it. I always think about him when I do these. He had a heart, he suddenly developed a heart condition and had to go with electrodes, you know, to be monitored. He just couldn't live like that, he needed to be free. Asphyxiated himself. Prima Levi threw himself off the stairs. Those of us who know him, know that his mother became very ill, so here was another major loss and he himself became sick and you remember all the associations I gave you with being sick? And these are people who gave all of us hope and meaning in life. So I'm not saying they didn't and I'm not, I'm telling you especially about very successful people, right, so you remember that. But if God forbid the Iraq war will happen, there was research that was relevant to the last Gulf War to this question so I just want to just report to you about that. In Israel, you know that Israel has survivors and people who are not survivors of the Holocaust as I told you Israel is full of very many people with very many different legacies. You remember the last Gulf War, you know that people had to wear the masks and again there was a fear of a gas, dying from gas and you can imagine, if you were a Holocaust survivor, what it would mean to you. So a colleague of ours, Zahava Solomon who is a close friend, studied survivors of the Holocaust in response to the situation compared to others and indeed she found that those people, that's the meaning of the trauma, those people who connected the meaning of this attack to the Holocaust, had a recurrence of post traumatic stress, suffered much more than those who didn't make that association.

So the meaning we give things is also very important, remember the car flash, right, so it's not what things happen but the meaning we give them. Do we say that they're similar or they just things that happen today? Zahava did a, actually a study, before that in 1982 during the Lebanon war and almost by mistake she compared, she sort of had a lot of data, she

was the Chief Researcher in the Israeli Army so she had all the data of post traumatic stress as a result in those soldiers after the war. Well, because she's a child of survivors she decided she'll compare children of survivors with those who weren't and lo and behold what she found, you remember we talked about transmission? What she found was that those, the children of survivors, who fought in the same war as the others developed more severe, more PTSD, more severe PTSD and it stayed with them for a chronic, much longer time than the others. So this is a way to answer your question about vulnerability versus resilience or vulnerability and resilience in my system because....

(Recording interrupted)

...question, but worth studying, I mean some very good studies came out of that question. But again you see my thing is not always you or me but you and me so it's theoretically that way too. You had your hand up a few times, who was it? You did, right? So please ask and then we'll go on to claiming redress to the immediate issues at hand and issues of justice which I promised you. Go ahead.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Talking about resilience and, and what's the other one you spoke about? Vulnerability. When you place intransigent in the scheme of things in accordance with the psycho-analytical forces that you are conducting?

DR DANIEL: I don't know the word.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Intransigent. Intransigent, refusing to change.

DR DANIEL: Inaffixity? It's being stuck in the rupture.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Say again?

DR DANIEL: You remember I called it fixity, I said someone creates fixity and you become, the danger is you become stuck here? You know, you won't move on? There is so much more to talk about this okay, because the easiest stuff is say which system, the more difficult and the least studied dimension in our field is the dimension of time. Being stuck in time is one of the most important results of trauma, isn't it? Intransigence is being stuck in time and that's a matter of choice too and you say, you know, common sense language knows that. We say he's still a child, you know, we talk like that about people. What do we say when we say he's still a child? We mean he's still in it, you know, he's stuck in that period and he treats life today he may be 50, 55, 60 but he still treats life as if he's still a child, okay? We can be stuck in the trauma. Yes and you had a quest..he was first, so Mosie your'e next okay? Okay. No, no, no, he's hand was first, I'm trying to be fair.

MELANMASHAWA: Melanmashawa speaking. Right. Eddie made a ...[indistinct] statement not so long ..

DR DANIEL: Say that again?

MELANMASHAWA: Eddie here made a ...[indistinct] statement that one of the legacies of trauma was the suicide, family suicide and I believe that people together just going to the TRC testifying what really happened because of this trauma, post traumatic event, they don't cope and they end of committing suicide, self destruction, demolishing and whatsoever that do we think of and today I just want to know, other people here, right now, for example, that particular situation of behaviour, but not waiting, what can you say? What words can you give as South Africans to deal with the situations? It's just an ongoing process in South Africa committing suicide, family divorce, whatsoever. Thank you.

DR DANIEL: What are these people doing? They're re-rupturing. See when their birth is a rupture and being stagnant means you re-rupture. You're absolutely correct. See you remember we talked about foreshortened sense of future as a result of trauma is if the future doesn't exist? It's the time dimension pathology isn't it? Suicide means there is no life after this, life ends here. Re-rupturing, this is very interesting theoretically and it's a wonderful question and let me give sort of a side answer to it. Simmons, the guy I just mentioned, whose name I just mentioned, he started as a policeman in New York, married a psychiatrist and became a psychiatrist himself. Martin Simmons is his name. He was a good cop. He was I think was the first or certainly one of the very first who started training police as to how to work with victims, how to help victims of crime. Real good cop in my book and he came up, you see we came together because I came up with the theory of the conspiracy of trauma, that's what I called my work, right? He called it the second wound

because he said the trauma itself is the first wound. What happens after the trauma, the conspiracy of silence is the second wound, right? If you were right and somebody says "well you dress like that, what do you expect?" That's a second wound. Or make you guilty for it, that's a second wound and the people who are supposed to take care of victims, the police, the hospitals, clergy, clergy is a very important potentially destructive, I'm sorry I have to say it, potentially destructive retraumatizing discipline that has to be retrained sometime to really understand things from the victims point of view and how to heal things. Police, what did I say, nurses, the family, the community. So all of those agencies, so to speak, that they're supposedly to care for us when we are down or when we are in need. When they fail us, right, he calls it that's a second wound. Now he's a very, he's a wonderful man, he talks like, you know, straight. Now listen to this because this is a beauty. The third wound is the one we inflict on ourselves as how we perpetuate the trauma. How we re-rupture ourselves, what do we do with this and how, what we do with the second wound. So if I go to my Rabbi and my Rabbi makes me feel guilty for having been victimised rather than say to me I'm glad you survived, I'm sorry for what happened to you, you did nothing wrong. This is Martin Simmons, the same guy, he says there are three things you have to say to survivors, I'm glad you are here. I'm glad you survived, I'm sorry this happened to you, none of this is your fault. Very simple words hey? Everyone understands these words, you don't need to get very highly theoretical. But if that's not what you say, if you do inflict the second wound, what does the victim still has a choice about what to do whether to inflict the third wound on him or himself. Do you see what I'm saying. So if you come, if I go to the Rabbi and he makes me feel like dirt, I can say to myself he needs to be retrained, he doesn't know what he's doing or I can walk out of there feeling totally like dirt and committing suicide like not having ever intimate relationship with somebody I love and divorce my husband or my husband too. Let's set the sample example, I can come home and "let's take that, hold on." And he says to me "Oh, I'm going to kill the guy". All I need from him is to hug me right, and to say I love you, I'm really sorry I'll be here for you, nothing changed between us, you're still to me, you're not a damaged goods any more, you're still to me the woman I love. Instead only cares about his macho ego, he's going to retaliate, who gives a damn about that and by that what is he saying to me? He says I don't really love you, you are my property and now you are damaged all I'm caring about is to retaliate the guy for damaging my property. See there are many messages in, that we do without saying in our relationships, so if that's the case divorce may happen you see. For a good reason, no? But it happened because he took the second wound and I made it into a third. We have a choice about that. When you talk to victims about that, to analyze with everyone and again you take time, you listen, you talk, you find out what dimension do they feel actually? What is it? See with Eddie it was interpersonal, right? It's between him and this cop. I think for you, the way you talked at least we know each other so little, right, it's more that when your people and them, so it's more societal, right? Some of you talk more on the political realm, so of you were talking more about the religious aspects. We talked about the family, if it's a family dimension, right, so we've covered a lot of these dimensions if you realise, okay, but you have to carefully analyze and see where the rupture is and remind the person that he or she have a choice about being stuck there or not and they have a choice about whether to appropriate it and make it part of themselves or not. Please go on.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Thank you. I have a deep...[indistinct] that you are a reconciled psychologist.

DR DANIEL: Thank you, my ...[indistinct] succeeded.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: And here in South Africa we've got many psychologists and of which some of them, they're not working with the situations and now the TRC is getting much old, we talk about the TRC which is in the state of late adulthood getting aged. Right, and the people right now are not ready for reconciliation of which we know that reconciliation is not an overnight process, but, the problem is the post traumatic effect. What words can you draw up for the psychologists here in South Africa to deal with these particular situations after the reconciliation process? What words because this is going to happen and even today I don't know whether it's the question of a conspiracy of silence. P W Botha is not getting the TRC, I don't know why and whether he's not I understand the concept to reconciliation I don't know, what can you do? Give us the direction of South African psychologists.

DR DANIEL: When you remember I said that all these different dimensions are dealt with by different disciplines? Clearly not only psychologists have to be involved. All of you, every profession has to be involved. I happen to be a psychologist who likes to do everything or to see things in a comprehensive way but I could have been a sociologist who does that, you know, so I totally agree with you. You involve all the relevant professions. In fact it's a responsibility of all the relevant professions. I as a psychologist couldn't do a political analysis, right, I as a psychologist, even if I could, I wouldn't because I would assume it's their responsibility both to see and to therefore make a decision. I would

like them however to consult with me and more importantly I would like them to consult with the victims. One of the main tragedies, not only in South Africa, everywhere, is that the parties who make the, the parties who sit around the table and negotiate do not have the victims among them, right? It's this government and the opposition and they do the talking, there's no victims to have a voice in there. So all the made, the other plans and the decisions are not including the victims point of view. Now you can change that in fact I mean we have gone in this week through all the recommendations of the reparation and the rehabilitation committee and we corrected some of them and changed some of them and added some stuff and delete some stuff, we did a lot of work. I think for example that your voices are very important in making sure that it gets implemented. Services of many kinds are included in that proposal including psychological services and social services, but, politicians don't like things that may cost money even if it's a good investment. They hear money, no - no resources. I know, I'm at the U.N. you know it's impossible, the moment they hear money, forget it. So they don't think about the issue, they only, close off.

Now your message to your politicians has to be, we have learned and we know that these are long term and even multi-generational problems. You have to ensure that we have appropriate services for those. If you don't provide the victims with help now, you may not be spending your money now, but you're buying yourself a huge cost later on and you may even buy yourself another war that costs a whole lot of money and a whole lot of loss of life. So, again, I'm a psychologist but when I talk to politicians I try very much to understand where are they and what do they think and therefore to talk to them in their language to get what I want done, okay? This is very important, you want to get something done, you really have to listen to who the other party is who you co-operation is with. If you only repeat yourself, you're the only one who hears it. You know, so it's wonderful, so you hear your voice you hear it again, you hear it again, you hear it again. You have to hear their voice not even to be nice, just in order to know what to say if you want them to hear your voice. Am I talking too much about this? I don't think so. I'm trying to say you talk differently to different people too in the sense, only in the sense, not to be, to put on an act or something but in order for them to hear you and there's nothing humiliating or wrong about that. They have language, their language, the same way I have my language. I've just promised Mossie, he's been so patient.

MOSSIE: I just want to pick up on what was said earlier on and also what some, what you've said now in relation to fixity, is it fixity? Stubbornness, somebody used the word stubbornness.

DR DANIEL: Not stubbornness, stuckness.

MOSSIE: Stuckness. Does the TCM model help to explain, let's use the word stubbornness, of the people who were not directly traumatised. I know you did mention something about families and demand to generational effects of trauma and so on. But I think to use a faraway example, if in Europe there are these new Nazi resurgences. Now those youngsters weren't necessarily part of the, of that, the hard years of the 40's and so on, '30s and there is this Neo-Nazism coming up again. Now does one call that a, connect that with this, or is it just stubbornness related to issues of economics or nothing to do with psycho-analytical issues because in terms of our reconciliation journey or conciliation journey for that matter, to what extent are we to entertain the perpetrators' problems in relation to trauma or, because they are still very much definitely economic self interests which keep people where they are and so I'm just wondering whether this TCM model was intended for victims or whether it is applicable to perpetrators and their children in so far as working, finding a way forward is concerned.

DR DANIEL: I intended it to be applicable to all. See they're stuck in the same trauma as you are. It's not a different trauma, same one. The reasons why you call it Neo-Nazi is that, you just said that. Neo-Nazi means Nazism again. No? It means repeating that. Now what's interesting about that is that the people who choose it are people again, the youngsters, who are forlorn, who perhaps live in poverty, whose parents don't give them direction and don't find a place in society so they adopt that as their gang, so to speak, or the peer group as you, you know, with those ideals. No everybody is stuck. You know what you're reminding me of that survivors often say that the only person who, the people who would know best what they went through is other survivors and perpetrators because they were there. They were there with them. No this applies to all and the economic situation is extremely important to analyze. Again it's not up to me to analyze it because I'm not an expert in this, but if we were to have a real planning, we will have everybody, we will have all the experts together and plan it together and do the healing together because you're right, without economic healing the problems that are related to economic healing will remain. That's why many of the initiatives that I encountered this week have been economic, right? To find work for women so that they can be paid, you know, doing

the beads or to, you know, it's pretty hard you know to do the soap business with the kids, you know near Alexandria, for the kids both to work and to earn, you know to feel useful and to feel economically viable to the community. So I think each half dimension has it's own and you want to have all of them. I said healing integration is in all dimensions. All. I didn't say for a moment only in the psychological, did I? Please.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: I just want to ask a simple question. Maybe through your research have you managed to research between the conflict that is taking place in the West Bank between the Israelites and the Palestine people and do you ever think that there will be a reconciliation between the two groupings, Palestinian people and Israelites people because they are the people that who just claim that no, this has been their promised land from God, occupied the land of other people, you know and there is that struggle between the two nations. Do you think that there will be a reconciliation between the two groupings?

DR DANIEL: Believe that the forces for reconciliation, I believe, I choose my word carefully. I believe that the forces for reconciliation are stronger than the forces against it but what we mean by reconciliation is very important isn't it? It means living together in peace and security and mutual respect and mutual prosperity and there are forces against that and again, the moment you get stuck some place you become entrenched? My tongue refuses. I need it, I need to see it to, thanks. The moment you're stuck, you're stuck I mean basically so if you get here, thanks, you can write right near the fixity. You see, so those people who Michael mentioned you know, most people are in the middle and most people of Israel want peace and I'm sure most Arabs want peace and we've had some peace already, so it's not impossible, we know that, each ones..

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Intransigence.

DR DANIEL: Oh, Intransigence.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yes, refusing to change, basically.

DR DANIEL: Right, thanks, okay so it's exactly the word and you see I think it's also part of a more general thing around the world, general movement today around the world of fanaticism and fundamentalism? People who take the extremes and just there and nothing, and part of who they are is not to move, to be stuck and when you have so many people on both sides, committed to not moving, no movement will happen even if the majority craves for it, prays for it, works for it. But again, you're really talking about the political dimension because those who don't get the peace done are the politicians. If you looked at the social dimension, the community dimensions, the family etcetera, people want peace and people live in peace with each other. So again, don't mix up the political dimension with the social dimension with the community dimensions okay? I just told you about so many initiatives of bringing kids together from there and you should hear those kids, I'll bring you those videos. You know when a Palestinian kid and an Israeli kid and an Egyptian kid, you know, I brought that group to a United Nations Congress on Crime. I wanted those politicians to listen to kids so I had, in the same panel I had an 80 year old Muslim clergyman from Egypt and a thirteen year old, three thirteen years old. It was wonderful and the kids were the last to speak and you should listen, you should have been there because everybody started crying. They very simply said we are the leaders of the future, we are going to handle our jobs differently, you know, we're going to make sure that this will happen, you know, but they have come so empowered to feel that they are the leaders of the future, that the futures in their hands. I have total hope when I listen to these kids because they really are fantastic. Ya.

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: But however you can't separate the two, you know, because day and night, yesterday or today, you are going to see that there is that physical conflict between the Israelite people and the Palestinians and you can't say that now let's put aside politics because everything is influenced by political situations.

DR DANIEL: No, no, not everything. Don't ever be uni-dimensional, you're losing the picture. You're losing, you've just lost the picture. Politicians change.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: How?

DR DANIEL: I intend to live a long life, the longest life of a politician is eight years.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: How does it change?

DR DANIEL: No, no, listen you're being unrealistic. He changes because he or she has no choice. Especially in democracy we have a maximum of two terms in most of the democracies of this world. That is the length of their political life to affect my life or yours. You just flattened yourself right in front of us, you're doing it to you. They are not doing it to you. You don't like them. In a democracy there are democratic ways to choose others instead. That's the wonderful thing about democracy, see I live in two democracies, it's in my bones. No politician runs my life. I choose the politician, if I don't like them I choose somebody else and if I care enough I go to talk to more people to vote for who I want also and excuse me and if I really care I will give up my practice and become a politician.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: For eight years?

DR DANIEL: I know it's a terrible job, no it's a terrible job. I wouldn't do it because there are so many things you have to do for that, that I don't want to do. There lives are very difficult have you tried to be a politician? Have you tried to speak for a party you don't particularly believe in? I mean it's really rough, it's not easy life. Go ahead, you haven't spoken, I first want to hear the voices who haven't spoken, go ahead.

DAVID: Ya, my name is David. I want to contribute maybe around what has been raised now, the relation, the situation of the Israelites and the Palestinians. To my understanding my knowledge is that in a way in your life, let's maybe we have different understanding about what is politics. I understand unless maybe we have different understanding of what is meant by politics because to my understanding politics, everything that you live with on every day, you know in everyday life, but the influence..

DR DANIEL: But your whole life isn't one just politics?

DAVID: No I want to finish what I'm saying and maybe you'll say your understanding about what I'm trying to say. My understanding is to say that you know political life, maybe to my understanding, does have influence of our life and vice versa. It is unfortunately sometimes must be given time you know to say our thinking behind these things. My understanding is because of, I mean politics is not an event and to me again it's not correct or something that you can define it, maybe within a particular situation, but it's a process on it's own, how then do you understand something. When you look at the situation of the Palestinians and the Israelites it's because of some particular interest of a particular group to say I then I wanted to stay there and to be stagnant at that particular place is because of some certain influences and some certain interests.

DR DANIEL: ..[indistinct]

DAVID: I think is what I'm saying and as I said that is the political life that is within ourself and that what of course is really telling us on daily basis what are the things and what are the happenings. What I'm trying to say here is that all of those people the Palestinians in particular for them to do that I think it's because of their own interest and because their own, I mean, situation which of course they want to find themselves in that situation and you look in the situation whereby they're fighting on each and every day. It's because of a particular political inclination what they want to achieve at the end of the day. Either they want to reconcile that particular period that the war was supposed to be, I mean, was supposed to be something of the past but because of a particular interest are still continuing and how even it's difficult for them to reconcile. I think I want to refer the situation to the South African situation in the South African context. I don't want to be that somehow to be revisionist...

DR DANIEL: ...[indistinct]

DAVID: I don't want to be a revisionist but I want to be someone who progresses someone whose part of the times, you know the change of times. You are in a situation whereby you have a people who were the victims of the forced removals and want to place them in a particular situation at the end of the day you want to come to them, you want to reconcile with them, do you think that's going to be possible for them? Because at the end of the day what they want before is to reclaim their land, their belongings before. What I'm trying to say here is that, you know, in the process of reconciliation there are a number of aspects that we need to concede. It's not a matter of reconciliation between a white and a black in terms of colour. It is not a matter of reconciliation because of our thinking and the thinking of other

people but because of the interest that we need to share an interest that we want to achieve at the end of the day and what we envisage. I think that is all I want reconciliation. So of course routine for some times it's not for me that we have a neighbour of a white, a particular colour person, I mean the process of reconciling this person. It's difficult when we fail to reconcile with your own African neighbour. How can you reconcile with someone from a particular, I mean, group? It's very, very much difficult. You start by self reconciling yourself reconciling your mind, reconciling your thinking, you see. But that should not give an individual such a broad, you know, democracy like anyone whose to experience what is democracy. That's why in South Africa we have this Bill of Rights so of course it's given people a certain, you know, privileges within their country. I'm not interested maybe if I'm living in the ...[indistinct] country to harm others people interest but my responsibility is to ensure that how can I begin to leave those people? I think that is the whole thing about reconciliation but the story that has been said here, I'm not sure how does it, going to help and assist in making sure that we really achieve what we're into today.

DR DANIEL: You haven't been here for the whole three days have you? Ya, no, no, no, because we have, a lot of these questions we have asked and attempted to address so I'm really sorry, I don't think repeating, I mean maybe some of you could fill in the people who just showed up today. But do not neglect your questions.

To just remind you so the basic principles, it can't done right now because if you like it, that's number one, it takes time. Even in terms of the interest, you see, you're talking about a basic interpersonal question. I have interests, you have interests, can we live together? Now that's a very basic immediate question that each one of us has from the first moment we wake up, you know? Where you sit, you sit there or you sit in my chair, or we both can sit. So one of the things I said today before between it's not either my interest or your interest, it's your interest and my interest and seeing how we can negotiate having all interests met and that holds true between you and your friends, between you and your loved ones, between you and your country, between you and your neighbour and between one country and another. That's what the United Nations is about. Sometimes we compromise sometimes your interests overtake the time if need be, sometimes mine, you're talking about a normal process of living together with others. You really are. You know, I quote another Jewish wisdom for you, what the hell we've made such a thing of it. A Rabbi, Helal and Shamai, there were two Rabbis in the history of Judaism and one asked the other "How what you put all of Judaism in one word, in one sentence?" "So I give you the sentence" he said. Now I'm translating from Hebrew so bear with me. "If not me for me, who will be? If not now, when. But if only me for myself, what am I?" That's the struggle we have, it's a struggle, it ain't an answer, it places the question. You have a good question but don't reduce it only to politics. Your question is really from you and one other human being to you and your country. You don't like my answer, you want a simpler one, you want me to say that it's all politics. So what you're, shall we shoot all the politicians? No, no, no dear what you're saying is if it's only the politicians what do we do, just throw them out? You guys love to throw difficulties up, it's like you know, it's like faeces, people problems you go flush them in the toilet. Doesn't work like that. You're not talking about living with each other, you're talking about how to get rid. That ain't living with each other.

DAVID: But what is important here is the interpretation of the situation.

DR DANIEL: When you interpreted it only one dimensionally, you are lost.

DAVID: An understanding that we have maybe is from a particular school of thought which of course maybe ...

DR DANIEL: No, no it's an only one school of thought.

DAVID: I'm not sure maybe you're committing yourself to that which of course I might not think what you have in mind but what I'm saying my understanding of the interpretation might be wrong. I'm from a particular situation with a particular history and a background and maybe you are from a particular situation with a particular history and the way in which you see things might be different from my situation. But at the end of the day...

DR DANIEL: I see things as you and me and you see things as you or me. It's a face, I agree with you, it's a fundamental difference of ways of living in the world. It's not coming from separate situations it's different ways of being in this world. Being, being, not thinking, not schooled, being.

DAVID: Okay, but I want to avoid maybe a dialogue between me and yourself maybe what..

DR DANIEL: No, that's not true, you want a, no the way you talk you don't want to avoid a conflict, you are in the conflict.

DAVID: We'll reserve some of the things for lunch but I want to raise some of the things. To say that maybe our interest at heart is to make sure that we build the nation, that is our responsibility for now and..

DR DANIEL: To meet your needs as a nation you'll have to do a lot more thinking than what you have done, a lot more and a lot more talking to a lot of people too. That's your aim.

DR DANIEL: I feel awfully guilty if I, what? Now I know you already what you mean is, you don't want me to leave. Thank you. Do believe me that I'll take all of you with me and I have the sense that we will, that we will repeat this in six months or so. So I want everybody to stay in touch, so I would very much like it if you as a community stay in touch because we have created a sense of community and I think so many good ideas came up. That it will be nice for you to continue the dialogue and planning together, okay? I do want to talk about reparation, compensation, the process of reparation as it happened with us for you to see what makes sense to you, what doesn't make sense to you. As we did with the families stuff. Shall I describe first the process of claiming redress. Now the German, the name the Germans gave it was "Wieder Gudmagom" which literally means to make something good again, to make amends for the suffering during the Nazis. Of course it's in extremely insulting words if you think of it. It was experienced by the survivors as yet an additional series of hardships. The ...[indistinct] powers after World War II issued laws restricted to restoring to the original owners property confiscated by the Nazis. It had strictly to do with property and as you know today from knowing what's going on with Switzerland and the rest of the world, a lot of people took the Jewish property and it was never returned to anybody. The laws did not take into account personal damage to victims of Nazi persecution. Those who had suffered in mind and body or had been deprived unjustly of their freedom or whose professional or economic prospects had been summarily cut short. Nor did these laws consider assistance to widows and orphans of those who had died as a result of Hitler's policies. The Western Allies placed the responsibility of the reparation of such damages in the hands of the newly constituted German Federal States. Following a few stages the Federal Republic of Germany enacted what's called the Final Federal Compensation Law on September 14, 1965 twenty years after the end of the war. So when you get jealous of our story please study the facts first, okay? Twenty years after. You're now only four years after. Twenty years after came that law, thus indemnification for persecution of persons was differentiated from restitution for lost property. Only then they started to talk about people. The implementation of the compensation law was traumatic in itself and let me quote you a lawyer, a reparation lawyer here, Kirstenberg, he was a good friend. He said "even when most German officials showed concern and willingness to compensate Jews for the wrong done to them, their so called Wieder Gudmagom was only concerned with monetary matters. A moral Wieder Gudmagom was not planned and did not exist. No one bothered to restore the survivors' dignity. On the contrary the procedures inherent in some of the paragraphs over the restitution laws inflict indignities upon the claimants while at the same time, German authorities are elevated to the status of superior beings who adjudicate the claimants' veracity and honesty and classify them in accordance with degree of their damage even if the applicant had indeed been confined to a concentration camp they behaved as if he were trying to extort money from the German government under false pretences. The survivors had to prove that they had been damaged. Their attempts at self cure were destroyed once they had to admit that their damage was permanent sealed and signed by the authorities. To receive payment often sorely needed the applicants had to subject themselves to the most humiliating and degrading seemingly very correct legal type of investigation." (They had better not see my lunch). "Bureaucratic deadlines" this reminded me of the arbitrary time of the end of the TRC, that has to not be. I was just told that special report is going to also going to stop in March by Jane and I think it will be a terrible tragedy because if you're okay, even if you close the TRC at least have the public process going and I think this is the way to do it, right, to ensure that it's public because this programme has been so it will be very good to continue it, you know, so there will be a respect for the process. I really very strongly recommend that and I recommend that you lobby for it, you know, with the station. "Bureaucratic deadlines are used for the unfair and prejudicial practice of rejecting claims. The German Treasury enriches itself when a claimant dies before his case is concluded. At this time, this is 1980, fifty percent of the claims are denied, twenty five percent are still pending, this is 1980.

Only one fourth of Jewish survivors received a ...[indistinct]. A case in the court alone takes eight years for the termination while many of elderly claimants are not only humiliated but suffer from lack of economic necessities and monies for treatment of ailments which exacerbate in old age. The victimisation" he concludes, "of the ones persecuted

continues." Crucial to having claims processed was undergoing a psychiatric examination, it wasn't automatic that you received money, you had to not only prove that you were a victim but also to go to a psychiatric examination. To be an examiner, the only requirement was that the psychiatrist be able to speak and write German which was not the language of the victim. So it wasn't Yiddish or Polish or any of the languages of the victims. German, to be able to write a report to the government. Which were the language..okay, it's very similar here, I heard, I mean people bitterly talking about some people only insisting on talking Afrikaans or, so it's, there are some things that are so similar. The psychiatric examiner had to determine and try to express in numbers how much or what fraction of the patient's emotional illness is in his opinion, in those days it was only his, due to the persecution he suffered. The law required a minimum of twenty five percent damage in order for the applicant to receive pension. So if you had less, if you had twenty four percent suffering, you weren't compensated. Examiners had intense emotional and moral reactions to this process, you remember my transference thing? These reactions motivated much of the writings and were poignantly expressed in most of them. Islo, one of the examiners and a good guy, speculates that one major reason for the experts and the courts quote

"Open or concede hostility against those who have had to bear suffering, great suffering, had to do" he calls it "universal archaic pagan contempt that man still tends to feel for the weak and humiliated, for those who had to submit to physical punishment, suffering and torture".

He concludes -

"the minimum one may be mad under such circumstances is that the responsible authorities recognise those who cannot control this archaic feeling and exclude them from the position of experts in matters of compensation for suffering."

When a physician refers to a concentration camp experience is quotes "disagreeable" he has given away his secret contempt, he has thrown away the right be called an expert. If he continues to avail himself of that privilege, he must share the blame with those who continue to use his services. Kristal and Nederland, right I mentioned Kristal a few times he's one of my foremost teachers. They say even the hearing of the tales of the concentration camps survivors is so disturbing and traumatic, so abusive to the examiner that some are compelled to avoid obtaining the details of the traumatisation. You remember that's the conspiracy of silence between the mental health and? They then arrive they say, at a meaninglessly brief summary of the experiences and Hoking report cases quote "where the patients have been told not to describe their experiences, only their symptoms."

Fred, a friend of mine, a Czech Jew of Viennese origin and a sole survivor of a well to do family whose total possessions in Prague were taken over by the Germans and then by the Communists left via France to the United States and began pursuing compensation in the 1950's. He describes his ordeal as follows: "The fact that I was three and a half years in concentration camp didn't count. At that time unless you were literally disabled such as missing a hand, they recognised nothing. I always found it distasteful to spend days fighting a bureaucracy that tried to tell me that I'm not entitled to that money, providing documents, writing letters, writing to, trying to, having to prove I was indeed worthy of compensation. When I tried to get payment for some medical bills they wanted copies of the bills from 1946 to 1956. I had no way of finding them so they figured out an average and offered me 200 dollars if I waived claims against medical bills and I said that that is an insult and told them to keep the money and leave me alone. Fighting for these things absorbed so much emotional energy, it is bad enough that I have to live with memories, but to have to stir them up and also face ones persecutors, I don't have to face Nazis any more but I still have to deal with German bureaucracy. I got disgusted and wanted to quit but I knew if I didn't claim it, the money will remain in Germany. They won't give more to someone else."

Okay, let me move on to motions of restitution and compensation. What I didn't do here, I didn't tell you that this was paper, I wrote this for the United Nations High Commission of Human Rights and this was a special group of experts working for the United Nations on the rights to restitution, compensation and rehabilitation for victims of gross violation of human rights and fundamental freedom. Now this was written in '92 and what I did is different from the others who sort of focused more on restitution, no compensation. What I did was, interviewed victims, survivors of the Holocaust, Argentina Regime, Japanese, Internees and World War II in America and some Bapal victims, to simply give the voice of the victim because the voice of the victim is normally not included in writings of lawyers and politicians

and such.

So what I'm going to do now is basically quote victims about these issues. Most of this is their voices, a little bit is mine. Where was I, restitution and compensation, so again, this is what victims said: "Of course everybody says that money is not enough, there is a disagreement whether we should take money or not. Some people don't need it at all financially yet insist on getting reparation. Compensation is a symbolic act because you can never be compensated. It is minor in amount but major insignificance. Many people are desperate and need the support. They are living on a pension of 200 dollars a month and it's critical." No, they are living on a pension, right, they are retired and elderly and 200 dollars a month can save them, you know. So it's critical to receive that. For a family in Bapal even 15 dollars a month may make a difference even though it's a pittance. Let me continue. "How does one compensate for three and a half years in concentration camp? For me or how does one compensate for loss of a child? It's impossible. How do you pay for a dead person? For a Korean woman sexually abused by the Japanese in World War II. It's not the money but what the money signifies. An indication. It signifies the governments own admission of guilt and an apology. The actual value especially in cases of loss of life is of course merely symbolic and should be acknowledged as such." Now another survivor: "The money concretises to the victim the confirmation of responsibility, wrongfulness, she or he is not guilty and somebody cares about it. It is at least a token. It does have a meaning. Just a letter of apology does not give the same meaning and does not have the same meaning and even if it is a token it adds." Now this particular quote was from a Japanese internee in World War II. You know that America had concentration camps for Japanese ...[indistinct] during World War II, do you know that? Everywhere you look there are victims of gross violations of human rights. So it's, this particular quote was from a Japanese internee and so he says in our system of justice, that's the United States, and our system of Government when damage occurs money is paid. So he said in that system money should therefore be part of it. That's another saying, psychiatrist survivor: "We have demonstrated that people can be damaged. There must be an acknowledgement that wrong was done. Then those who were damaged are entitled to compensation for their damages and a programme of rehabilitation. The acknowledgement is necessary because without an admission of guilt, people remain angry when you see that here. Rehabilitation programmes must be available on the long term basis." Now I will repeat that as many times as everybody in this country hears that. In Israel, there's some survivors who went to Israel, okay? In Israel idealist fought against taking money, okay? They said "I refuse, it's blood money". They used to call it blood money and they felt that it would be an insult to the memory of the victims, okay? Now this is a one of them looking back.

He says "Today I'm sorry because I concluded that I did not succeed to change anything by refusing and the truth is that here and in Israel" well that's both in America and in Israel, "in Israel there are ageing survivors who don't have an extended family. The steady sum enables them to go on. The fact that I gave up only left the money in the hands of the Germans. We were wrong." And I agree with him. Actually out of that came my recommendation that whenever survivors refused the money, put it in a special fund so it remains raising interest and when the survivors need it or when their children, or if they want to, how do you call it, to contribute it to other victims help or to build hospitals, I don't care what. I think there should be a special fund, okay, so please remember that and I think another survivor from Argentina said that later.

Okay, should there be one payment? Actually it came up, see, all of these issues come up for you and came up for us. Okay, so the question was should there be one payment, right, or a payment like for you it's through six years which I think is too short but, okay. So the survivor says no. The monthly cheque in some ways weakens the trauma. Listen to this please because that did not come as a consideration there, right? He says when it becomes routine, it transforms into something permanent that somehow enables overcoming survivor guilt. Sort of a reminder, right, that it's okay. You remember our discussion about that? The routine swallows the guilt so there's a psychological value here as well. Okay, Argentina and Chile. the Argentinean and Chilean parents they said to me that the state will admit that a horrible crime was done to them and that it was done without any justification or reasons or was purely an expression of political harm and abusive power and violation of their freedoms and human lives. Not only was there a crime taking lives, suddenly they are without their children. They were also robbed of the chance of their children helping and supporting them and standing by them in old age. Thus at least they should have a compensation for the rest of their lives, not a single lump sum. There is no place for a single payment. A house is a house but when it comes to human life you compensate for something that could have accompanied them throughout their lives. Therefore, there's a logic in receiving regular compensation. This should be legalised throughout the war.

Okay, I'm going on with again Argentina. In Argentina, responses of different victims groups seemed to vary. The mothers, the Plazo De Mio Organisation, you know them right? Right, everybody knows? The Mothers' Organisation officially refused economic reparations as the governments attempt to buy their silence and in the absence of social and historical recognition, that their children had been political and social opponents and not criminals. The former political prisoners, especially if they had been in prison for a long time, consider economical compensation as their rightful reparation. Mostly young people, their imprisonment deprived them of finishing their studies, progressing in a job or establishing their own home and families. In married cases the long period in jail caused great economical difficulties to their families. Many of them feel that this is a partial moral recognition of the damage they had suffered and that albeit in a small way, they can at least win something from the state.

For people who are ambivalent, who have mixed feelings, their ambivalence increases when compensation is experienced as an offense, yet it is necessary economically. I'll go on. Here it comes, the impunity. I'm quoting Argentina, I mean survivors. Perhaps the most crucial aspect is that of "impunidad" that's the name of impunity there or amnesty there. I'm quoting: "That traitors collaborators, torturers are not punished. As long as persons who had violated human rights or exerted torture could go free, there can never be a true democracy in society. A democratic constitution is no guarantee against torture. Impunity under a democratic constitution is a continuous repression. Impunity stops democratic process. Torturers for example should have absolute maximum punishment. To practice torture is equal to committing murder." Okay, now I'm going to the Japanese Americans again. "Most Japanese Americans", I'm sure they have a lot of feelings here and I'm sure we can stop to discuss after every voice, but I'm not going to do that now, the whole thing is to have everything and then we, so I don't feel guilty for not giving you this piece of work. That made a difference in the United Nations. This is part of the United Nations resolution. The agreement you have here doesn't live up to international agreements. It's important that you know that. But again, I want to bring you voices from other people. "Most Japanese Americans felt finally vindicated after 50 years". Okay, I really want you to hear this, okay, please hear this. 50 years it took them. Having spent ten years fighting this system, do you hear me, impatient kids there? They fought ten years to fight a system. Not as a Japanese issue. They fought it, they were very smart, listen to this. They didn't fight it as a Japanese issue like "feel guilty for me". They did something extremely smart. They made it an American Constitutional issue. Brilliant but it took 40 years for them to get that idea. Okay, "so many of our people", they say, "could now talk about it" They bring the benefit out, okay, because for 50 years they didn't talk. I mean their conspiracy of silence was absolute. It's also cultural. So it got very complex. So he said to me, "not so many of our people could now talk about it and express deep seated feelings for the first time in 50 years. "That was the positive therapeutic side" he said. "It was only a token compensation". Now, you would laugh at this, but that's America. He says "Twenty thousand dollars won't cover what was lost, jobs, names, all properties, horrible living conditions, dignity, citizenship. It's not the money but what the money signifies". Psychologically it lifted the big burden off the Japanese Americans who always feel that the "system couldn't trust us but viewed us as potential enemies, as second class citizens. At least we now feel not accepted but vindicated for what happened 50 years ago. The apology," he said, this is very important, "the apology was more important than the amount of money. After 50 years of maintaining that they were right, the government did acknowledge that they were constitutionally wrong." Now it was very interesting, I don't know if I quoted it here, let me read, just in case, there was something very interesting. When they received the money, you know, and the signature from the government, it came in brown manila envelopes and they got very insulted that it was a bureaucratic matter, so again they raised hell about that. Sent back those and received it with a presidential seal in white envelopes. So everything is important. You remember I said yesterday you can't fix it all by one thing. Everything is important, even the envelope. When dignity is at issue you have to really be careful and sensitive. "Economic compensation" another statement, "given to torture victims should be very substantial. The torturers should compensate for their crime by having confiscated all their property in order to pay back to those they have tortured." Duma spoke about that yesterday, he didn't even talk about confiscating, he spoke about just giving, you know, contributing. "Whether members of governments, police officers and doctors who have participated in torture, all property should be confiscated from them. This is the most important aspect of restitution and used for compensation to the victim. Furthermore, there should be general awareness in the whole population about this aspect and the situation as such. It might be very effective preventively if this principal was generally known." And think about that, if people had to also pay money, people for whom money matters, that perhaps could be another preventive measure, right? Let me go on. That's a Holocaust survivor now. "Before I anything else, the victim wants an acknowledgement of a debt that somehow sometime a government writes laws and one of them is Mr Such and So, deserved the praise of the country. The first step of the government such as Argentina is, the State of Argentina has woefully wronged those people who were persecuted by the military dictatorship and we feel contrite and wish to apologise. The full sense of it is that it should be

a law, nothing else". Do you have that already? The national apology? You've got a new law to fight for. And they say and put it on the books "We have done wrong, we acknowledge it" It is very important as a political matter I would absolutely have the books opened, open the files and let the facts speak for themselves. This is another one: "Let us find a way and make a general statement. Clearly victims of governmental wrong should be compensated and this is the way we should go about it as we had established norms of international minimal behaviours, crime against humanity, we need prior legislation for compensation for victims."

And international criminal court which I mentioned to you we are working on partly is trying to do. Okay, I'm going on:

"Legal procedures against victimisers and financial arrangements compensating the victims unnecessary steps in the aftermath of man made calamity. However there are not sufficient steps for societies to recover. In societies which moved out of totalitarian regimes into quasi democratic ones such as Argentina, Chile, Eastern Europe. Victims and victimisers of the former regime go on living in the same society".

Okay, hi guys, those who brought that up? Okay? I told you you'll find some answers later. "As they do not have", we are actually having an international dialogue because I'm giving you voices from all over the world. "As they do not have any social and psychological mechanisms to repair these past relations, these may just penetrate deeper inside and thereby be transmitted to the next generation. Therefore a long legal and financial steps in each of these countries is socio-psychological institute should be established to work on the after effects of trauma with both children of victims and victimisers.

The end result of this process should be to try to bring them together, to think about the overall social responsibility. What can they do together so that trimental tensions will not burst out again and again within the societies." See, we touched on a whole lot of these and then somebody else says: "I'm still concerned that it makes it easier to just assign monetary value and not address the profound emotional and moral breach." That's why we have to insist here on the services, special services and social, psycho-social services. Oh here is that front one. Okay, "because of the long term and or inter-generational transmission of victimisation" guess who wrote that? "There should be no statute of limitation" that's me. "Should be no statute of limitation. If the victim for moral reasons refuses the meaning of the reparation payments, the money should, nonetheless, not remain in the hands of the perpetrators or the silently acquiescent proceeding socio-political system, but it or the equivalent sum, should be put in a special long term fund whose purpose should be future oriented both in terms of education, prevention and latter care as provisions for the future for themselves and offspring care if needed and necessary." Okay, you've got to hold on to your voices on that.

Let me move on to commemoration and education. Some of the commemoration things we covered yesterday but I will repeat it because I think it's important enough. "The need for commemoration for the victims and society. Rituals are very important. There is no organised society, religion or culture that does not have rituals of memory. Commemorations can fill the vacuum with creative responses and may help heal the rupture not only internally, but also the rupture the victimisation created between the survivors and society." Let me go on. "It is a shared context, shared mourning, shared memory, the memory is preserved, the nation has transformed it into part of it's consciousness. The nation shares the horrible pain. What may be an obligatory one day a year ritual to others, the victims experience is a gesture of support, of sharing the pain, they are not lonely in their pain." I would love to invite you to visit Israel on "Yoma Sha'ar" on Holocaust day. Eight o'clock in the morning, everything in the country stops. There is a siren and everything stops. People get out of the cars, people stop walking, nothing moves, you don't hear a sound. Everybody stands up. A whole moment and then the siren call go again and things start moving again. I cannot describe to you the feeling, knowing that the whole country is together experiencing this. It's truly an incredible experience, you really should, if you have a chance ever, it's just an incredible experience. Nobody feels alone at that particular moment and that's worthwhile doing for the survivors and for society, it's a moment of reflection, it's just a little moment, but you remember, you think, so I highly recommend that as part of when you come up with the date for your commemoration day, I highly recommend something exactly like that.

In the discussion, like you're having, is it a day of heroism or a day of a martyrdom right? Is it a day of liberation? I think because World War II sort of ended in similar time, you know, during a few months, it sort of worked, it's always a compromise, so it, it was a, I don't know exactly what the upshot, I was there. I was just, remember feeling totally relieved that it was decided, but a lot of the issues are very important that come up in the discussion because the

meaning of the day is supremely important and that would count but we very clearly try to give both of the martyrdom and heroism to it. Okay I'll go on.

There should be general awareness on high level. Information and education about the situation. How it arose, what are the consequences. Statues of heroes and martyrs, paintings, streets should be named after them. You have it in your clause, I was so happy to see that. Streets should be named after them as should rooms and colleges and museums. Actually I don't know how you handle your schools but how about naming schools after them? Something very interesting happening. In United States, two months ago, would you believe, two months ago, this is years and years and years after. Two months ago, three schools in the South decided to change their names from White names to finding Black hero names. It was so interesting that, see this is part of long struggle. There should be memorial services, scholarship funds - very important, concerts and theatre performances and educational books. This is, another one says: "commemoration should be done with great dignity and with the feeling that while it horrors those who suffered" excuse me - "and with the feeling that while it honours those who suffered, those who have died, it's also done for preventive purposes in the spirit of the knowledge that compensation for loss of lives, hell, hopes can never be fulfilled. Maintaining the commitment to 'never again' and the possibility for inter-generational dialogue which may include dialogue between children of survivors and perpetrators." I touched yesterday upon, you know, the survivors carrying this internal cemeteries, so you already have that idea and we talked about the importance of monuments in, not only in commemoration but documentation and education, remember? The extension of bearing witness? So you remember those functions.

Okay let me go on to complete this and give you my final goals and recommendations that have been submitted to the U.N. are included in it. It's really very succinct, you know, it's one, two, three. So let me do it with you very slowly, very carefully. Okay, I am briefly relisting the goals and recommendations that emerged from those interviews, right, with all of the survivors and I'm really, I'm not giving a full account of course but what I have I think, well, the world thought its good enough, so I join in with that, or at least it's a good start. Okay.

Re-establishment. That's a goal. The goal is to re-establish the victims equality of value, power, esteem, dignity (depends what word you like there) which is really the basis of reparation in this society or nation. But (A) is from the victims point of view, so now, this is accomplished by:

- a) Compensation, both real and symbolic
- b) Restitution
- c) Rehabilitation
- d) Commemoration

This is from the victims point of view, right?

Okay, let me go on.

B. From the societal point of view. The goal here is to relieve the victims stigmatisation and separation from society. This is accomplished by:

- a) Commemoration
- b) Memorials to heroism
- c) Empowerment
- d) Education

And you may imagine that what I mean by education is on all levels from pre-school through all years of school, to the media, to public education, to colleges, universities, etcetera. Okay?

(C) and last one for now. This is from the nations point of view, okay? Repairing the nations ability to provide and maintain equal value under law and the provisions of justice. Shall I repeat it? Okay. Repairing the nations, that's the goal, right. Repairing the nations' ability to provide and maintain equal value under law and the provisions of justice. This is accomplished by:

- a) Prosecution
- b) Apology
- c) Securing public records
- d) Education
- e) Creating mechanisms for monitoring, conflict resolution and preventive interventions.

That's it. You can submit it to your politicians. It was nice to hear other people, no?

Please you wanted to speak.

JOHN: My name is John. John van Rooyen. I'm from the education department and I've been observing and listening to the proceedings for the last three days and there's one aspect that keeps on coming back and that is the question of the financial and the economical aspect and I think that is quite a very important aspect of the whole debate and you've read some quotes in terms of what victims have been saying world wide and many of them have raised the economic side of it as well and there's just a few points I would like to raise before I would also like to make some recommendations and the one important one is the fact that victims within South Africa, at the moment, are still being oppressed. Oppressed financially in the sense that during the years of Apartheid, the Government loaned huge sums of money, from especially institutions within South Africa and the pension fund and I think it's a very small amount, from either IMF or the World Bank. Today, we have a situation where the very same victims that are now getting jobs and especially in the public sector and getting to a point to be almost determined or deemed to be the middle class, are now being taxed, taxed to such an extent, they still suffer because they pay huge sums of tax, for they have to contribute huge sums of their salaries to tax. The families are suffering because the breadwinner has little to spend on reparation within the family itself, on education, on many of the social aspects within society and I think that is a major concern and that is something that we have to look at. It's either we have to drastically change the tax structure, I know it's a very difficult and complex thing to do but some thought will have to go into that process. We need to do something about that.

The second point is immediately after Apartheid which I think it's not dead yet, but let's just call it post-apartheid. One did not have or South Africans did not get a sense that the international world were really that much concerned about the suffering and the pain that black people had to go through during the years of Apartheid and I'm talking about in the sense of the treatment that's been meted out to South Africa in not acknowledging that South Africa, post-apartheid South Africa should be treated as if it is post war South Africa because a war was fought in this country.

And thirdly, I think what we need to do is to, we need to get a champion, a champion to fight for the deaths the government have, for that to be scrapped. I'm saying this because much of that money, if we don't have to repay the huge sums of debts to, ironically, institutions, where we are sitting now, the Sanlams and Old Mutuals etcetera. We don't have to pay them, these huge sums of money, then that money can be used for social services, for rehabilitation, for reparation. I know that the TRC is at this point in time awaiting a cabinet approval for the sum of approximately plus minus 2 Billion Rand for the purposes of reparation and rehabilitation and if only, only the government can be given the opportunity to pay back perhaps half of the debt, or half the debt gets scrapped, over a period of five years or so and we restart paying the debts again. There will be huge, huge, huge sums of money that will be available for reparation and rehabilitation, then the TRC can go on for approximately 10 years, 15 years, 20 years to pay victims and that is part of a recommendation that I would like to make and just something interesting, you said earlier on, yesterday, you said domestic solutions for global problems and I think that as part of my recommendation here, in terms of getting a champion is that we need to change it around and say global solutions for domestic problems because are debts are more domestic debts and it's not what we owe the IMF and the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation and my recommendations specifically now is that perhaps we found a champion. Perhaps you are the champion and perhaps we

need to nominate you as a champion so that you can fight this and place it high on the agenda of the United Nations in those discussions etcetera and things so that they can exert pressure on these institutions within South Africa so that they can scrap the debt and I would really like to hear your opinion in terms of choosing you as a champion. Perhaps for some period and when the State President retires maybe he can take over that role and pursue that further. Thank you.

DR DANIEL: I have chosen that mission and I do that as I hope you know. I don't think the World Bank will think of me as worthy of listening to so please use me as a champion, you know, where my voice will make a difference. I'd like to be effective but look, what you read was, sounded very rational and I wonder whether you can write it up and send it to the appropriate people in your government and even to the World Bank. I don't think they will not answer you at least they'll acknowledge that they received it and somebody will read it and I think in principle, you know, coming from you, that aspect will, you know, be more powerful coming from you than from me anyhow because they can easily say to me "What do you know about that?" and they're right. But we can stay in touch, you know, you can send me copies and I can see if there's anybody I can bug it with. Please?

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Can I respond to that? There is already initiative to have the IMF thing declared an odious debt. It's one of the concepts. There are already people from South Africa doing that and I don't know why we need outside champions, I'm tired of that. We need to, no I'm serious about it, we need to fight the battle from within. If we declare it an odious debt, then let's face the consequences of declaring it an odious debt but also as you say the ... [indistinct] are part of our internal odious debt and the Archbishop of Cape Town and John Ngunkulu and part of the poverty summit is looking at that and constantly raising it in international media so it is constantly being raised at an international level by South Africans and I think that what you then look for is not champions, but supporters of the concept from elsewhere and I think there already are. There's already an international initiative in this regard and that's Oscar Arias's initiative which is about saying that you should actually start marketing nations and checking how much they spend on arms. South Africa must do an internal search before it buys Corvettes and more aircraft and cuts off all the military staff, thus increasing the potential for more armed robberies and other things to happen so we've got a lot of lobbying to do of our government to begin to realise the concept of rehabilitation and I really firmly mean that when the budget comes up and they start saying oh it's such a small part of the defence, it's such a small part of the budget, we need to say yes it's a big part for victims, the money that you're talking about and what you can do with it so I think the challenges are there for us as citizens to actually push through as much to the IMF as through our own structures and our own government and own responses to the question.

DR DANIEL: Go ahead.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: You were talking about the day of the siren and the day of the moments or the moment of silence rather and I don't think we have to look very hard, we've got already the Day of Reconciliation, we can put that to work and it costs nothing to have a similar thing, a siren going on, people standing together, I think it's a valuable moment. Then I've got two, and I think they're thorny questions, but I think they something we need to think about and it's an open question. Do we as South Africans have a responsibility to see that the perpetrators are rehabilitated and how? And it's a question I've put to the Truth Commission several times and it's a tricky one. And then secondly, you were talking about the Government apology and I was wondering, in our case, and it's the same with Argentina where you had one government taking over from another. It's the same problem with the SABC. My board could not apologise for the previous board and it's understood. You can understand that the new board can't apologise for the old but I think it's the same question. Can this government put in something, a public apology in a newspaper, national campaigns or whatever, apologising for what we as South Africans did, whoever that "we" was.

DR DANIEL: I'll take a shot at..you first.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: I think that in all fairness that or to lay to rest, you know, the whole burden or part of it, that the government or some of our people have to begin talking about some kind of a tax that people who have gained much from Apartheid are able to pay, not much, so that all the kind of things that we are talking about, monuments for instance, schools for instance, you know, art and so on, so that these things can be made a reality you know, in our situation because if we expect you know, the little money that reconciliation and commission, you know sort of that, we will be leaving those people scot free. May be looked upon as Apartheid in reverse but I know that you know that you know that, that the amount of money that you received for your education was not the same as my son and as me, do

you understand? And even if it can be sort of a free, a free or volunteer something, do you understand? Perhaps that will be something that a lot of people will want to do.

DR DANIEL: I love that idea. I was just interviewed about remorse, I wish we talked about it before because it's a brilliant idea. Now it's very interesting because I'm thinking what is the right level to have that idea? Is it that the government should do it? Or is it that society should do it? Should it be as a tax thing or the courts should decide or should it be, as you said, a voluntary, my feeling is voluntary. I believe in people, I can..and my sense is perpetrators will be very glad and probably relieved and maybe you can do it on a communal level so that it doesn't single out but you know, sort of makes it a communal level of, you know you're reminding me, before I came here, I told Hlengiwe, you know I was talking with friends about how little money you have for the reparation, rehabilitation, all of those things and I thought well, if we did fundraisers in the United States, you know I was already doing that. If we did fundraisers for that kind of stuff and suddenly we were thinking, you know, well who do we invite? Black people? White people? Interesting questions, you see, even when I think of it to bring it to America it will create a whole lot of questions. So it's not an easy solution but it's a brilliant one nonetheless and I think if you do it so that it's social contributions for social causes. So it's clearly on a societal level rather than as a punishment even though it is in a sense an alternative or substitute for justice and you know it and we know it, but still, if you still make as their possibility to do good, you do it positively, right, the possibility of do good to you know, remedy that way and it's really very dignified. Actually you know, you just gave me an idea, my mind is running you know, you can call the memorial in the name of whoever you want to and the contributor name should be on it too. So in effect, you're giving them the dignity too. You're dignifying their doing this, their acknowledgement and the implied apology. I think it's brilliant. How you do it, you know your society to how you do it. Michael, go ahead.

MICHAEL: Couple of points. One, the idea of the silence is powerful. Interestingly it was done in South Africa because after the First World War and for a period after the Second World War until, without anybody deciding it, it seemed to just fade out. There was the procedure that on the timing of the Armistice being signed for World War I the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month. There was, I think, a two minute silence and this was followed in many of the Common Wealth countries and I can remember as a child seeing it in South Africa and finding it very powerful even though I didn't know what it was about because obviously if all these people will do something that big, you had to find out what it was about and that's one of the important functions of it. It challenges you to explain. Couple of other quick comments of what we said. Of course we must invest in the rehabilitating perpetrators. We know quite enough about repeat offenders of petty crimes. We know quite enough about the problems of repeat offenders in petty crimes let alone in the gross crimes but again as I mentioned this morning we must also rehabilitate the bystanders or they'll continue to stand on the sidelines. So we're saying there's hardly anyone that doesn't need, rehabilitation sounds a bit formidable and a bit like "we know what's better for you" but a re-education process, a process of learning from the past so that we are not condemned to repeat it, is something that there is nobody that I can identify in this country and that isn't in need of it and the idea that people can say "yes, very useful for them, I'm okay I don't need that" but we all know there's a them somewhere that needs it, all of us needs different aspects of that.

MICHAEL: (cont) ...There you have their names already and all the victims identified, dead victims identified to the TRC who therefore weren't able to make statements. Name the sports fields, name the swimming pools, name the public libraries, name the facilities. We have far too many named after politicians, lie them dead. It should almost be a rule that politicians don't qualify for that process unless they are victims, that would quite it down quite a lot. One of the other recommendations we made earlier that I would fit with what you're saying is, why don't we build into the curriculum one of the processes that would continue the TRC process of having students, children, go to the victims, the local victims, the survivors in their community and take their story. There are still millions of stories that were never recorded. The TRC has had to focus on gross human rights abuses and has led to the tragedy of saying well, if your house burned down but nobody was killed, we can't attend to that now. There are children that should be able to continue doing that, decade after decade and to have a way of collecting those stories. I'd like to appeal to the TRC similarly as a process we were discussing at lunch. There was this strange process by which there was a decision that the report will take, will be in two volumes. That was before anybody knew how much data there was going to be so we'll get two volumes worth of truth and the rest will have to be left out. I'd like to appeal that if that is seen as important in terms of the paperback edition, that there should be an addition of a fuller report, all submissions, all evidence, all transcripts put on CD Roms because at that way, at a fairly lower cost, every public library, every school, can have the archives of the TRC there, not set up at the University of the Western Cape or wherever where people have to make a

pilgrimage across country to be able to see them. Not so that ordinary people who are not skilled with degrees and librarianship don't know how to walk amongst all those files and find stuff. On a CD Rom you put in your grandmother's name and you see if she's mentioned. You find out about her, you can check about the things, simply, ordinary people can do that easily.

DR DANIEL: That's a modernised [indistinct]

MICHAEL: To me it's a nice use of technology to do something friendly that we want to do.

DR DANIEL: [indistinct]

MICHAEL: You should see the alternatives. I also share the point that volunteer payments are important because taxes are, if we put something for the victims in the category of taxation, that is as loved and as unpaid as it is, I don't know that we will be achieving the same moral message, the same psychological and social message that we want. The only area where that attracts me is, there may be a need for the voluntary funding but may there not be a need to consider some separate treatment of those very large golden handshakes that many of the perpetrators awarded themselves out of the public purse, which was untaxed as far as I can recall and simply restoring their taxability would raise a surprising amount of money. But I still worry about what Eugene de Kock, if he's going to stay in prison as long as they say, after the first 100 years I'm not sure what he's going to do with his three million. The other point to back to what our colleague from the Education Department said is, the advantage of the volunteer fund but of it being marketed, about it being put across as a moral obligation is first of all that people do gain some moral sense from giving to it. I don't know anybody who feels morally enhanced by paying their taxes, whatever those are spent for. They don't feel that as a moral act on their part and something they feel good about and we don't see where it goes. Again, though, the funds that are expended in this way should be absolutely transparent. They should do better than businesses but we should be, all be, shareholders and there should be an annual report to the shareholders that says we ran this for you, this is what happened, this is where it went so that we should know that. We have public media that spend a lot of their time showing us the Nagana Olympics, I think could maybe fill in some of the time doing that. But what I was going to add to it finally, was that it's not just the people but echoing back what our colleague at the Education Department said, that is a chance to ask some of those multi-nationals and large intra-national companies that profited from Apartheid to make a contribution and let us publicise very openly what they said in response to that letter and how much money the Sanlams and the large companies did. I think that would be a very interesting exercise for them. Final comment on Sanlam, is my experience is my experience..

DR DANIEL: Shame works very well doesn't it?

MICHAEL: Shame is a very useful process which I think we have under-exploited grossly and particularly for large companies where they have to answer to some shareholders when they have to try and look good particularly at this stage in our history when they're wanting to look good to the international shareholders, then let them stand up and let them put that in their report and see how that appeals to the international community. Final comment on Sanlam, because I think it's relevant to this, as a company that sold insurance policies to large numbers of people in this country, guaranteeing them that they would pay them for any health reasons they became unable to work, my experience has been because I've had a lot of the cases come to me, that there are cases of people with gross PTSD, some with dementia, who were suffering from the conflict who the Sanlam people, Board of Directors and their Medical Advisors, consistently refused to pay a cent. I've had to battle with them in cases where they say that this person is not unemployable and I say they've lost their job, they've applied for 57 jobs, none of them will give them. A man of 57 whose dementing is not likely to be given the job in any society let alone one where we have so many unemployed. The only one I've won so far is when I wrote back to them and said if you think he's so darn employable, employ him and they paid him out.

DR DANIEL: You've had your, just him first, you've tried so hard. Go ahead, I'm sorry.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Thank you Madame Chair. I also just wanted to add from what, I don't know, was it the Bishop was saying and maybe I mentioned that yesterday that, Madame Chair, that for it's as agree with people who are saying maybe the perpetrators for instance at this point in time are sitting with a lot of money in their own banking account and some of them need to be held responsible for that. They need to contribute to this healing process and I'd like to add by

saying the other thing I'd like to suggest that maybe this question of reparation, it must not be a question of the Government and the TRC alone because when you read the TRC document it said "the TRC will recommend 1,2,3 to Mandela and Mandela will decide and I think you are creating a very serious mistake. If you listen to people like Duma and my brother that's from Kroonstad, yesterday, I think it's a process that needs to be driven by the victim and the survivors themselves because if you read I'm a victim and someone's going to decide whether should I get the bread instead of the land, then there will be serious problem. So I think maybe as a community here, one of our challenge is to make sure that we are going out to have this, how do you call it, survivors groups like Kulumani or whoever is engaged with the stuff like that to bring these victims and survivors forward so that he must be the one from their own feelings in terms of how should we reparated and assisted and so on. So that at the end of the day the TRC or Mandela is not going to be blamed for that thing.

So you are saying a project should be led by the survivors and the victims themselves because we are speaking about things that has happened, sometimes we are speaking about issues like the land that was taken by a force, by a certain company, whoever, and that's a gross violation of human rights. Maybe those people they are in need of their own land and you are giving them R2000, R6000, something of that nature. I don't think it will serve their own interests. We are saying one of our challenges here, let's go out and get as much as victims and survivors we can maybe a premium to this type of [indistinct] and they must decide how should they be reparated and I think maybe somehow we can achieve something.

DR DANIEL: Actually, I would do that very fast because I believe the thinking is already taking place, am I correct? I was smiling because last night we were sitting on the document and we added every time they said, you know, build monuments and that, I said with the victims' opinion, with the victims' opinion, so I think it's already in the document. But I don't know how realistic that is, so Ilinga can tell you.

ILINGA: Well, earlier on I wanted to say it will help us a lot maybe if you can say something about lobbying strategies. You see there are things which we cannot change. Cabinet ultimately will have to make decisions as to how victims are given reparations, on what form will it take, how much, what is it? While we are formulating policies we used to have forums of this nature and victims all over the country were part of this as far as possible. But I should think the process, I think like last night we were looking at the regulations which maybe by now as we are talking they've been promulgated but I don't think so, I will check first. The question really is, how do victims, professional bodies who are on the side of the victim, watch the process very, very carefully and be able to make sure that they have the greatest say all the way throughout and the major problem the way I see it is are just the divisions.

DR DANIEL: You mean within the victims?

ILINGA: I mean Human Rights Organisations, they are still, they still do not forge links in such a way that they become a threat to policy makers. Victims are scattered all over, they do not have the resources, I mean even the Kulumani initiative will be weakened by the fact that they don't have sufficient resources. But also we haven't been recommending their position in isolation as for instance if they're specialist in trauma, they ought to be vocal professional bodies. But what has happened so far since the Commission started, people will watch Max du Preez' programme, write papers, go overseas and talk. But internally there's been very little about what you are saying which would have threatened policy makers to realise that this issue is serious. So I should think that the lobbying and co-ordination strategies are critical if we are to succeed.

DR DANIEL: Absolutely correct. Everything we go from the U.N. on behalf of victims, every declaration I mentioned to you? Dog work, just dog work and we paid our own money, go to U.N. conferences where we can find them and bug them and convince them and lobby them and it's been very good indeed, I think you're absolutely correct in terms of using professionals because for example when I come to discuss something with a politician, he doesn't know more than I do on this and he has to respect the fact that I'm Doctor Daniel. You know he can treat me badly but he cannot not respect my opinion because it's a professional opinion. So, but, co-ordination among NGO's is most important. To have an allegiance so the politicians know "oh my God". We call it, we have a Coalition of NGO's. Coalition, we have an alliance, we have committees, we always get together. Like minded people? And because numbers create power in politics no matter where you put the number. So when you get like minded NGO's and expert NGO's, human right and experts on human rights law, get lawyers, get psychologists, you know get psychiatrists. People who when they speak

the politicians can't just pooh pooh them. And victims and the victims have to make the professionals speak with the voices of the victims and to always identify them that way. I when I speak to them I say I speaking for the victims, I'm not speaking for Doctor Daniel. You know at the U.N. they don't even write names so it doesn't matter. But they will know that there is a contingency out there that they will need in order to look good and be re-elected you know, a constituent I meant not a contingency. And yes, co-ordination is very important because if one NGO calls him in the morning and tells him one thing, and the other NGO calls him in the afternoon and doesn't say it and says something else. It won't make any difference. They'll say "oh they're just.." you know. Also you can get people make petitions, run them, have people sign them. Go in the streets, get petitions. I've done that. Get as many signatures on what you want as possible. You know you need the name, the address and the signature. Get them, I mean feed them into their faxes and there's election coming up? Well dear, that's your chance. Not only, oh let me tell you about something else that will give you some support. The United States - Douglas, please, my voice has just gone, I'm trying to sort of live the end of it. United States, now, we've had an initiative for the last five years of putting a victim's amendment to the constitution adding, amending, the constitution of the country to include victims' rights and we probably will get it. It took twenty years of struggle but you have to think that way, I mean you have to take a long term point of view. There is just no way you'll get anything short term done but we dogged them and we went to their different states, right, and so in a different state, different people, a lobby. We have a national organisation for victims' assistance in the United States, right? Many countries now have them, established one, I don't think you have it here. Which is an organisation made of professionals, experts into disciplinary, both law enforcement, judges, victims, psychologists, volunteers. It provides training it has meetings. It's a very powerful lobbying body. Very powerful lobbying body. They appear before congress, they prepare papers to, you know. You have not gotten it yet so you really should because numbers are power. Intelligent advice, well looking documents. Not too long - politicians don't read. They make statements, okay. I don't mean to make fun, I mean I appreciate politicians, some of them are real good people and have everything right. But is sort of like what we do, you know, you want something to be passed, you have to put a lot of your time into it and your money. Don't expect anybody to appreciate it but you feel better about yourself I promise you. Yes please, then you.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: I mean maybe this one will be my last contribution but, particularly towards the recommendations. I think I'd like to buy the suggestion made by Morgan to say that it would be better to bring together victims and survivors, I mean perpetrators, as to decide how they want to be re-compensated because sometimes it's difficult to think on behalf of other people who have already felt the situation. You know I think we must move from one premise of, like I want to make an example, everyone and each and every organisation when they go and look for funding they will see that because of this and this and this and this we're going to address this because of the poor. Which of course I think we must stop that tendency of ...[indistinct] on behalf of the poor. The poor themselves they must help to, they must take initiatives on their own and make sure that they contribute in changing their situation.

Secondly I want to contribute something to what has been raised by Douglas there. I want to agree with you that you say that it's our responsibility and make issue that how didn't we address the question of the economic debts because most of the money that has been used from the debts it was not used internationally it was used within the country and it benefited most of the individuals and companies so of course are generating income for their own and I think you shouldn't be taking too serious note that the very same companies that are operating and investors from those countries, they must take responsibility of ensuring how then can they contribute in the ...[indistinct] of this country. It should not be the responsibility of the government only in making loans on behalf of it's people but should be taken into cognisance that very same people who benefited from those debts, they must be able to contribute something and ensuring that they ...[indistinct] of this country. And lastly is to say that our contribution may be part of the society in building up on this process it's not been seen as if it is maybe we are crying for those who were victims but we must make sure that we become part of them. That is the only way which of course will build up on the question of reconciliation and making sure that the process of reparation and compensation goes without any doubts because I don't think it will be very much fair to pay me R2000 when I've lost my father which of course I won't even see him for the rest of my life and maybe you raise some of the recommendations around the question of education as part of addressing those situations.

And the other thing is around the contribution of the government in this instance. I think it has been a tendency in South Africa if not in other countries to say each and everything will be then put to the government and we need to be responsible to the government. What I want to ask you here is that in assurance that justice is done and done take it's course, you have to make sure that the very same people, perpetrators and people who caused this very same situation do contribute something to the life of the victims rather than ask people who have not been part of the victims

contributing something to them. It would be very much useless for us to do that because of the incarceration substance to happen more and more because the very same perpetrators there will be with the lesson that if I do this the government is there to stand by me.

You looked at the case of Botha was paid a number of millions of rands just because I think that is very much useless for the government to pay that for him because he's a person who was supposed to do that on himself because of the ... [indistinct] in that he has contributed to that situation. It should not be taken as a responsibility of the government and innocent people did that, disadvantaged poorer people of this country to contribute to that situation. Thank you.

DR DANIEL: Thank you.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: I know I've been a fly on the wall for most of the proceedings but at the special report, at the special hearing of the TRC on business a lot of these issues were raised and the taxation, wealth tax, all these issues were raised and very pertinently. Many big companies were asked, I feel in a kind of a threatening manner as to how I would like to contribute and as these guys know best, they dodged this question. They tried to keep their hand safe and keep their hands clean with the whole thing of the wealth tax or some sort of forced payment from their side to be extracted and I think the whole idea of a shame kind of payment is the best way to get money out of them because taxation will be dodged by them somehow. You will not get more tax from the taxpayers of South Africa. They know how to do that and to enforce them to do it they will find lawyers and people and will retaliate so the only avenue is a shame payment.

DR DANIEL: You know in the United States we did that with money for the arts, you know we go to one organisation and we say well Mobil gave us such and such, how much are you willing to? So it's shame and competition. It's deadly. Go ahead, after him.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Just out of curiosity, Dr Daniel, how many countries were involved in the establishment of the martial plan for the special rehabilitation of the State of Israel?

DR DANIEL: It wasn't for the State of Israel it was for the Jewish people. Actually, quite a lot of the reparations, you're right were given to the Jewish State rather than the individual survivors. But these were just the allies, the United States, France, Britain, was I think the Soviet Union was then too. No, the allies of World War II. I think that's it. That was the martial plan. I believe it was Russia also, I'm not totally sure.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: The reason why I ask is simply that prior to the National Party taking over in this country in 1948 there was the British Empire, there was Anglo-America and much of the wealth and the resources of this country were deeply tapped into prior to 1948. Now the Sanlams and Old Mutuels and so on and so forth, they're all jumped into the bandwagon as it were at the time. So is it possible that we can explore further than Sanlam and Old Mutual and so and so forth and seek to engage the British Empire as it stands now and the American Institutions as John intimated earlier on. Not with any degree of arrogance and or chip on our shoulder because that doesn't help much as we know that Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe is really struggling seriously to not to take the land back from the farmers and so on and so forth and making the British Empire, you know, to compensate. But is it worth pursuing? Could we kind of peek into their national psyche and conscience as the people who were here and who really did the greatest of damages and then left and said thank you very much Afrikaaners, take it off and then run with it?

DR DANIEL: Well you don't have the same allies involved here as there were in World War II, okay, so probably the Brits are a good place for you although the, you know, but they always know how to find ways not to. But the Brits are good for you but listen I mean the Americans brought me here and America it isn't one place that America was really not involved in all in victimising and they do have a partnership programme but this is how I came, through the partnership programme. I believe France has one, I don't know what they have done, right? Does France have too? Have they brought people here or what? The arts. Well so, if the arts get some of their stuff for the monuments, you know. You see explore which country you have these partnership programmes with and press them in the areas that they are providing it. These are specific projects, you know, time limited but they're good because they get done, so.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: I think because the Americans sent you here I would take the line with John that you should go back to them and say to them "well done for sending me to South Africa but here's what has to be done.

DR DANIEL: Actually if you want me back it will be good if you write to them, to the Embassy and tell them that and then they will bring me back so it's a, actually that is a good way.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: This is good, John and I will get on to it.

DR DANIEL: Go ahead, you talk.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: This isn't so much a national solution but more of an individual or local but the structure already exists with tithings in churches where people feel usually about 10% is donated to a church and that's already a structure where people out of conscience give something back, give something and so the idea of perhaps, specially in predominantly white churches of which I think there are a few that are quite well off. Maybe that churches allocate specifically to reparation initiatives or memorials or whatever it is and the other idea is that...

DR DANIEL: And make them compete with each other too.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: And those would be bringing them back to sort of ethical moral sort of roots. The other thing is about tithing can take place in the form of financial or time service and so as a sort of bystander kind of reparation thing of contributing service in whatever form whether it would be through people doing adult education or therapy for no fee or whatever. Those might be ways individuals can contribute.

DR DANIEL: Go ahead, Patrick. When you do that remember one thing. Don't go and say you owe it to us, say we should have a better South Africa. Take it as healing the country that's their country too. Remember please, it's a "we" initiative. Make it dear to them, make it something that they will be proud of doing.

PATRICK: I just want to, it's a personal thing, I just want to thank you very, very much for your contribution in this ongoing debate in South Africa. It is true that reconciliation is going to take very, very long time in our country but as I always say, every drop makes the, you know the ripple bigger and bigger and bigger and we hope and wish that one day we will be where the people of the Jewish religion are. But I know that it has been a long, long way you know even, you know, sort of for them. In fact, well, one of the things that I've said, you know, earlier on with somebody here having lived in the States, I have seen in different cities, small, large cities, monuments of you know, the Holocaust and I saw, I was just trying to sell the idea that when we think about a monument, we must also think about one big monument somewhere but which can be replicated, you know, in all these cities so that on occasions we can go and cry and weep there and again you know take of take strength, you know at that very, very place. I didn't want to do this, you know, with empty chairs because I hate preaching to empty churches so I mean that is why and I'm also going to be leaving just now, that's why I thought okay let me say this public...

DR DANIEL: Create a competition between artists to contribute to peace. Competitions are wonderful. Can I give you a hug?

PATRICK: Thank you very much.

DR DANIEL: Yes?

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Just to add my voice on what was said on the churches where people go there for their wellbeing or their morality. I think we need to recognise the hierarchy of the church and in this regard to support that the church leaders have to be, a letter has to come out of this to the church leaders so that enable this process to take place within the churches because we find a situation of this hierarchy that is inhibitive within the churches and secondly I would like us to look at the moment of truth in this transitional era. When I talk about the moment of truth it's my understanding of the Kairos Document. That the people who have vocal, need to once more, re-look this situation and come out with a Kairos that would empower the victim to appoint that a victim would say we have been crushed but not destroyed so that victim is empowered to a level where my brother there has said let the victim articulate, let the victim articulate, let the victim be empowered. To say like we had a participant who was very vocal. We need to do that so that things are not decided for the victims they are decided with them. That's my humble contribution to this today.

DR DANIEL: Well, why don't we all talk together for a little bit? Right, Douglas go ahead.

DOUGLAS: Can I say that I think that in terms of networking the beginning of the process is as you've said in the community here and that requires that as soon as possible we get a list of who was here and that whether it's a TRC or whether it is one of other organisations present here that some responsibility must go to someone otherwise I'm just fearful that the whole process gets lost if we're serious about fighting for reparation and actually having our voice heard. I mean some of us can take it up in church quarters and other things but as a united voice I think this is a very good forum to begin with. That's what a very good outcome for me would be and I think that that's maybe something that I would ask the TRC to help us with in that regard because they will have lists, addresses, people and here we've had a broad spectrum, victims, peoples in the professions and working together.

DR DANIEL: I totally agree actually, I would love to have a list too, so, and it will be excellent if we can get an initiative studying here. It will make me feel wonderful for one. Where, you belong to? No, he said education, right okay?

AUDIENCE MEMBER: What I would like to know is at what degree is the recommendations you're going to give to government going to be adhered to in practical terms?

KHOSI: Well we have been told that they will look at all the recommendations and ultimately, after they've debated it, they will take whatever positions which the government will be comfortable with but generally, there has been a commitment to the reparations process, we don't know what that means. I should think what we need to do is to devise ways of communication. Like if government promulgate regulations, in other words it becomes law that this is what we want to do, we need bodies who will look at that and have a say as to how do they react to it, what is it for them and that should be a beginning of a rigorous process of interacting with them.

DR DANIEL: Of systematic lobbying, this is what good lobbies do, they're always informed about everything else going on. Call the right people, go, you know, learn what they're about, what's important to them, how to recruit them to what's important to you and you find the good guys, you know and they become your core group and you go from there and you help them too you see. You become part of the process of decision making. That's good lobbying. I'm feeling really relieved because it's not me whose leaving, everybody else is leaving. So I'm just relieved to just sit here. I think we're going to leave soon and I don't want to be the bad guy here so. Well for me it's being wonderful I hope for you too. But what will make it really wonderful is the continuation of it. So it won't just be a wonderful event but a part of a process. The word process probably gets out of your ears but that's what we have to make, it's just a step in the process.

KHOSI: Just for now I'll say thank you to you in a very special way but I should think for us as a commission this is the beginning of a process. Dr Daniel is still going to Kwazulu Natal to our office there and the Western Cape so the task is not yet over. We're still going to sit down look even at how to formulate the report, the outcome of this. I wanted to ask one of you, who will volunteer and express whatever you think would have said by many of you. That will give us a kind of affirmation as well that we made the right choice. This morning when I was with some people from the U.S. State Embassy, the question was "how did you choose her" and then I said well I had met with her some time back briefly, I knew her work and other colleagues, Dr Alex Boraine and Professor Mida ...[indistinct] went to a conference. They came back with her name. It was like I jumped and it will be good for us to get feedback of some kind whether, how you felt about the process and that will be a way of thanking her as well. We have had many people as a commission but the feedback I've got so far, is like it's too late. But for me it's not too late to have you, you came at the right time when we were lobbying and looking at each and every point of and negotiations between us and government so it was timely but I would like really a volunteer.

BILL SCHUTTES?: That raises the risk, I may speak the truth and who should do that in a place like this? We can, thank goodness, be brief. This is the other end of the day to the other problem when people say introduce the speaker and you're faced with the speaker who needs no introduction. Well I think many people didn't know Yael when we began but now she needs no introduction. Two things, I think, come to my mind that we need to say. One was some time this morning someone said something which sounded like a need for a quick fix and you said boy, did they ask the wrong person. I think we can say, thank God they asked the wrong person because as I think it was H.L. Menkin said "to every serious problem there is a solution immediate, obvious, appealing, obviously right and completely wrong" and

we have very many people queuing up from America, from Europe, from other countries to sell us quick fixes and simple solutions and one of the most important things you gave us is the message we can't hear enough that there is no quick fix. If you think you've fixed it quickly you haven't fixed it and that the perspective that we've needed of the long term studies the long term experiences of others is absolutely vital to us. Thank you very much for doing that, I know how much impression you've made on all of our other friends and colleagues here and I know that we've begun a conversation which we will do all week and to make sure it doesn't end here.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: At lunch time I asked you on a one and one basis if, whenever you're addressing seminars like you were today and it tends to get personal by virtue of the fact that you are of Jewish origin and when it does get to you as a person and you obviously answered, you know, correctly by so saying I mean that I knew the answer before I even got it from you that it doesn't get to you. I actually then went on to extend a shoulder for you to lean on in case you need one and also a handkerchief if you wish to wipe your tears but the Islamic thing, the Jewish thing is as old as time itself, don't let it get to you. So, if it did get personal, you know from Wednesday, Yesterday and today, Kwazulu Natal, Cape Town's going to be worse with you know, all it's elements and so on and so forth and just remember that you have some people who are you know very, very strongly pro you and thank you very much for coming here.

DR DANIEL: Thank you. And I was trying to think of what you asked me as well, further than the quick answer. I think in a sense this seminar brought the best Jewishness in me. I didn't at all think that that will be an aspect of the discussion. I came as a professional, you know, to give my professional knowledge. But I think because there have been, you know, issues of religion came up, I mean, you literally distilled the best out of me, I think, that way. So from that point of view, in fact I thank you.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Bravo.

MEETING ADJOURNS